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SHAPING THE NORTH-SOUTH ENCOUNTER:
THE TRAINING OF NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

by

Tabish Surani

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

Shaping the North-South Encounter:
The Training of Northern Development Workers

Master of Arts, 2001

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This study is an exploration of how Northern development workers facilitate pre-departure training for future Northern development workers. Through the lens of an interlocking theory of oppression, this inquiry into training Northern development workers is situated within a systemic analysis of power and privilege. As training programs are a critical site for future development workers to understand their professional roles, the focus of this study rests in working with facilitators who engage Northern development workers in an analysis of identity and its intersections with the historical, social and economic conditions in which development work is located. Combining relevant literature with participant experience, this study explores the complexities of training development workers and how these complexities are negotiated by facilitators. This inquiry into training programs is an effort to understand how facilitators intervene to shape Northern development workers understandings of what constitutes the North-South encounter in the context of development work.
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PREFACE

And while the path has been neither linear nor easy, it has shaped our shared political and intellectual commitments; we have changed, grown, and learned how to sustain each other during the last seven years. We have challenged each other to be clear; we have become attuned to the pulse of each other’s thinking, and we have developed an analytic language which now truly belongs to both of us. This has required each of us to let go of our inherited beliefs about the ownership of knowledge. And, as a consequence, we now know that our best ideas are produced through working and thinking together (Alexander and Mohanty, 1997, p. xiii).

This thesis is part of a larger study entitled Shaping the North-South Encounter: The Training of Northern Development Workers. This study was collaboratively designed and researched by Gulzar Raisa Charania and Tabish Surani with the permission and support of our thesis committee, Dr. Jim Cummins and Dr. Shahrzad Mojab as well as the Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning. Out of this study emerged two Master of Arts theses that reflect different areas of focus within the same research. This thesis, the second in the study, entitled Shaping the North-South Encounter: The Training of Northern Development Workers, focuses on formal learning processes, investigating the organization of pre-departure training for future Northern development workers. The first thesis, entitled Encounters with Northern Development Workers: Reflections from the “Field”, documents participants’ reflections of their experiences as Northern development workers. It also provides a context for understanding participants’ articulated priorities and visions for training. In both theses, we employ the pronoun “we” to acknowledge the insights of both researchers.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Here comes one of the most important sentences in this chapter: *study the rich and powerful, not the poor and powerless…not nearly enough work is being done on those who hold the power and pull the strings. As their tactics become more subtle and their public pronouncements more guarded, the need for better spade-work becomes crucial. If you live in an advanced country, you undoubtedly have the social and cultural equipment to meet these people on their own terms and to get information out of them. Let the poor study themselves. They already know what is wrong with their lives and if you truly want to help them, the best you can do is to give them a clearer idea of how their oppressors are working now and can be expected to work in the future* (George, 1986, p. 289).

We conceptualize our research as an exploration of the ways in which Northern development workers as facilitators organize and implement pre-departure training programs for future Northern development workers. Recognizing that priorities for training often emerge from participants' prior experiences, this study also explores participants’ reflections of their work as Northern development workers and the meaning they make of these experiences to illuminate professional roles and practices. For the purpose of this study, we are interested in how facilitators challenge future Northern development workers to reflect on and negotiate their identity positions prior to participation in overseas development work. As training programs are a critical site for Northern development workers to understand this professional role, the focus of this study rests in working with facilitators who engage these individuals in an analysis of identity and its intersections with the historical, social and economic conditions in which development work is located.

This study is part of a larger effort to explore and problematize our own desire to participate in international development as educators from the North. In positioning ourselves as future

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1 We are using Northern development worker to “reference Canadians and other Northerners, who under the auspices of Canadian NGOs, do development work on long-term contracts, in ‘developing countries,’ regardless of what titles, such as ‘volunteer’ or ‘cooperant,’ are attached to this work” (Heron, 1999, pp. 5-6).

2 We use the term participants to reference the individuals with whom we worked in this study in their capacity as Northern development workers and facilitators engaged in pre-departure training.
Northern development workers of South Asian origin, this work also involves an exploration of our practices of negotiating and understanding our identities and assumptions about development. While this study does not document this process, it is present in and parallel to our research.³ Dei’s pressing question, “what political space do I choose to occupy at this moment and why” (1999, class notes) made necessary an examination of the seductive impulse to work in Southern communities. Initially we imagined traveling to South Asia and working with feminist organizations and educational institutions committed to social justice. Given our own origins in South Asia, we felt there was a legitimacy with which we could intervene to do this research. We were operating under the premise that contrary to mainstream understandings of South Asian women, there are many and varied feminist organizations and movements and our intent was to bring those stories to a Northern⁴ context in order to disrupt “the production of the ‘third world woman’” (Mohanty, 1991, p. 51). We felt more entitled than white Northern researchers engaged in projects claiming to empower Southern women without an analysis of larger systems of disempowerment from which they, as dominant researchers benefit. Initially, we invested much of our time trying to understand how we could do this same research differently rather than how we could do different research.

³ Also present but unexplored are the complexities of negotiating our identities as researchers of colour in dominant sites. Most of the research literature we were exposed to through course work focused on the intellectual acrobatics of dominant researchers to rationalize their continued research of/in marginalized communities. We were also able to access literature exploring the complexities of non-dominant academics researching within their own communities. While we recognize the value and necessity of this work, it was more difficult to access literature examining the complexity and negotiations of non-dominant researchers researching in dominant sites. Stanfield speaks to this lack of attention, noting “scholars have yet to debate the outsider/insider knowledge controversy from the standpoint of traditional outsiders, such as people of colour, conducting research on traditionally dominant subjects, that is, whites” (Stanfield 1994, 176).

⁴ In this study, we are using the terms North and South to refer not to “geographical categories but rather socio-economic ones, referring to the line which divides the strong world market sectors from the competitively weak, economically superfluous sectors in society” (Sachs, 1997, p. 291). We recognize the increasing discrepancy of wealth both within and across nations but the focus of our work rests with exploring the North-South divide and the location of Northern development workers within this economic context.
Many of the readings in our research methodology courses centred dominant bodies conducting research in/on marginalized communities. These works explored the efforts of dominant researchers attempting to circumvent or employ participatory methodologies to address power imbalances in the research relationship, historically and as they continue today. According to Sutherland, this work for dominant researchers involves attending to power imbalances and tracing "our different and diverse positions in a colonial continuum of power which I contend is resolutely, ongoingly colonial, particularly in terms of race and gender, and our consequently different investments in changing those oppressive structures, institutions and relationships" (1994/95, p. 42). Using the language of academic freedom and obfuscating real power imbalances in research and the material benefits attached to them, most Northern researchers deny the need to engage seriously with these issues. We understand this dismissal to be an exercise of privilege on the part of these researchers who continue to understand the world as theirs to see, to name and to claim (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 80). As Behar argues, "out of that legacy, born of European colonial impulse to know others in order to lambast them, better manage them, or exalt them, anthropologists have made a vast intellectual cornucopia" (1996, p. 4). It was in listening to dominant bodies engaged in elaborate and self-serving projects of rationalization in order to not take seriously the implications of who should be doing what research and where, bypassing an interrogation of this desire to study the other that we were able to trace our own complicity in not pursuing the relevance of these questions for our own research.

Thinking through our sense of entitlement to do this research involved a process of identifying places of privilege and penalty in our lives to understand how we are implicated in systems of domination. Through this process, the saliency of Northern status in the context of international development became particularly difficult to deny or ignore. Due to the nature of our collaborative research relationship, we challenged each other about often implicit assumptions that were driving our own research interests and investments. While our positions in systems of
power and privilege are not identical, we share in common historical ties to South Asia and our status as Northern women of colour of Muslim origin. Through a recognition of our own relative positions of privilege as women of colour in the elite world of the academy, living in the North with our origins in the South, we have chosen to interrogate our own complicity as future Northern development workers in order to resist performing ourselves as dominant through a “politics of saving” (Razack, 1998, p. 160) people from the South. We had to seriously interrogate our assumed affinity with South Asian feminists working in the subcontinent to “recognize our own habits of dominance and our complicity in systems of domination” (Razack, 1998, p. 160). This interrogation has meant a refocusing of our research to political projects in the North that have enormous impacts on the lives of people in the South. We write from the context of the North.

In this thesis, we consider how facilitators organize and deliver pre-departure training programs for Northern development workers. Combining relevant literature with participant experience, this work is an exploration of the complexities involved in training Northern development workers and how facilitators negotiate these complexities. This inquiry into training programs is an effort to understand how facilitators intervene to shape Northern development workers’ understandings of what constitutes the North-South encounter in the context of international development work. We are particularly interested in pedagogical choices and strategies used to prioritize and render visible issues of identity during the training program. A synthesis of facilitator insights into the training process will provide the basis for an exploration of pedagogical strategies for future training programs, centring identity issues. This thesis draws on participants’ accounts of their work as Northern development workers and facilitators and the meaning they have made of these experiences to illuminate professional roles and practices of Northern development workers. These detailed accounts, as outlined in Encounters with Northern Development Workers: Reflections from the “Field”, are significant as they reveal
interpretive frameworks of identity, culture and power as well as conceptualizations of their role as Northern development workers, enacted in training. It is through their own experiences and identity negotiations that participants articulate an understanding of the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours that Northern development workers require.

Although we chose not to situate our project in a Southern or indigenous context, we align our intervention in training Northern development workers to support the efforts of indigenous projects as articulated by Tuhiwai Smith. These projects are based in efforts to develop and support indigenous based research that seeks to reclaim indigenous cultures and languages (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 142). We are drawing primarily on her elaboration of this intervention with respect to a “critical rereading of Western history” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 149) through which issues of Southern economic underdevelopment are reframed, historicized and contemporarized. Our effort to investigate training programs for future Northern development workers is an intervention to explore the possibility of a different North – South encounter. It is within this context that we will investigate the discourse of development worker and implications for training within the larger international political, social and economic context. Facilitators are in a unique position to influence and challenge Northern development workers' understandings of their participation in international development. It is the recognition of this potentially powerful location inhabited by facilitators that has led us to training programs for Northern development workers as a site of potentially tremendous change. However, we remain cognizant that training is situated within organizational constraints, mediating the orientation of training and possibilities of what understandings of development worker can emerge.

In choosing deliberately and strategically to work in a Northern context, our work speaks to Northern development organizations and individuals participating in, or contemplating participation, in international development. We orient our research with the intent that it will
ultimately lead to more reflective and critical\textsuperscript{5} development worker practices in the South. As we have used this research as an opportunity to continue thinking through our own participation in the South, our hope is that readers will also choose to work through or continue working through implications of Northern development worker participation in international development. For us, processes of working through demand we move beyond individual good intentions to consider the impact of the larger Northern presence in Southern communities.

We do not understand our work to be a how-to manual for facilitators, many of whom have decades of experience in international development and in training future development workers. Our goal is to document and theorize themes, ethical dilemmas and absences in training programs, specifically around issues of identity. This study does not account for the impact of training on the attitudes and behaviours of Northern development workers. Rather, it focuses the content and processes of training and in this thesis, traces them to participants’ own experiences and reflections. As educators, we also see many resonances and points of connection to other training and education related sites where anti-oppression work is identified as a priority. We also see the relevance and applicability of this critical analysis for community development work within the North. In the final analysis, we hope our work will make a contribution to shaping a North-South encounter based in Northern practices of accountability, epistemic and methodological humility (Narayan, 1988a, p. 38).

\textsuperscript{5} We rely on Dei’s explication of critical as “a critique aimed at understanding and transforming existing ways of thinking and knowing and doing things” (1996, p. 10).
CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

The difficulty many of us face in drawing attention to the issue of material inequalities as a key factor in research...suggests, to my mind, that the desire to transform the world is often weaker than the wish to enjoy it as it is (Patai, 1992, p. 145).

Rationale

As training programs are a critical site for Northern development workers to explore their role in the South, we worked with participants who engage these individuals in examining their participation in international development. Our interest lies in exploring how participants understand and negotiate their professional roles as facilitators and Northern development workers in the South. This inquiry allows us to consider the implications of these understandings for the organization of pre-departure training for future Northern development workers, particularly around issues of identity. While the focus of our work is not institutionally based, a consideration of participants’ experiences is clearly situated in an institutional structure that provides a context, mediating the possibilities of what understandings of development worker can emerge and how these understandings inform the training process. The methodology we elaborate below is for both theses that comprise this study.

While we appreciate that curriculum and organizational documents “act as some form of expression or representation of relevant elements of the social world or that we can trace or ‘read’ aspects of the social world through them” (Mason, 1997, p. 72), we prioritize a methodology that centres people. Our methodology incorporates interviews with fifteen Northern development workers/facilitators and observations of sessions of training programs in four Canadian non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This methodological choice reflects an understanding that curriculum is not a written document alone, detached from its interactional process. This approach recognizes the complexity of curriculum and infusion of personal meaning as it moves from text to articulation and enactment. We use interviews to explore the meaning participants
articulate of their own experiences and teaching practices as they reveal processes of identity negotiation as well as their understandings of appropriate roles for Northern development workers in the South. Observations further allow us to explore how participants enact these understandings in the context of training Northern development workers. Our work with participants also presents us with the opportunity to understand competing priorities and visions of development worker that emerge through observations and interviews. The focus of our research is consistent with an ontological perspective that recognizes individual negotiations within competing frameworks of development work as “meaningful components of the social world” (Mason, 1997, p. 14). The impetus to develop these research relationships is based in an ontological position that suggests “people’s knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions are meaningful properties” (Mason, 1997, p. 39) of social reality and the epistemological position that an acceptable method of generating this data is through interaction with people to make meaning of their accounts.

While we had to define the parameters of this study, we did consider the ways in which Northern development workers, enrolled in pre-departure training, experience training and negotiate their understanding of what it means to be a Northern development worker and competing visions of development work. Acknowledging they have the potential to be powerful agenda setters, guiding the curriculum and shaping the direction of training, in this study we focus on the role of Northern development workers/facilitators in influencing understandings of what it means to become a development worker.

Meet the Participants

This study is not conceptualized as a comparative analysis of the four participating NGO training programs. In order to protect the anonymity of the non-governmental organizations and participating individuals, we do not disclose specific details of each of the NGOs or training
programs except to note they all have programs for sending volunteers\(^6\) to participate in international development in the South. We protect the confidentiality and identity of research participants by not including distinguishable characteristics, such as their real names, work places or organizational affiliations. For the same reason, we identify all participants as facilitators and use this term to include individuals involved in organizing, overseeing and facilitating training sessions.

All participants in our study have overseas development work experience, the majority in paid as well as voluntary capacities. Most have at least five years of experience in international development. Nine participants are women, six are men and participants range in age from mid-twenties to mid-fifties. Six of the fifteen participants have their origins in the South and variously identify as people of colour, immigrants, non-whites, visible minorities, blacks, South Asians, Canadians, Northerners, Westerners, and in the case of one participant of colour, there was no self-identification. The nine remaining participants variously identify as whites, Canadians, Westerners, Northerners, members of a tribe and in the case of one white participant, there was no self-identification. All participants have university undergraduate degrees.

Data Analysis: “In the Field”

We gained access to pre-departure training programs and participants by contacting non-governmental organizations that have overseas volunteer sending programs. Initially, we mailed out twenty-five requests for participation to NGOs that fit our criteria and chose to work with four such organizations. Administrative consent was obtained from each NGO, as well as individual consent of participants to be observed and/or interviewed (see Appendix A). Some agreed to be observed, but declined to be interviewed while others were willing to participate in both

\(^6\) For the purpose of this study, we have purposefully used the language of Northern development worker rather than that of volunteer in order to account for the material and personal gains incurred through participation in international development work, often obscured through the language of volunteerism.
observations and an interview. In some cases, we were only able to interview participants and did not have the benefit of observing them in training.

Our methodology allows us to explore themes that emerge in interviewing fifteen facilitators to consider how they understand their own experiences as Northern development workers and articulate training priorities around issues of identity. We use observations to understand how facilitators introduce, respond to and synthesize issues of identity during training. As our work is not organizationally based, articulations and observations are not connected to specific institutions or internal politics of organizations. In orienting our work in this way, we are better able to protect the anonymity of participating individuals and organizations. In addition to allowing us to see ideas as they move from articulation to interaction and enactment, observations and interviews illuminate the continuity between participants' understandings of the role of development worker, training goals and organization and implementation of training. This methodology also allows us to gain more depth to participants' articulation of development worker and clarifies the challenges of moving from experience to articulated training goals to pedagogical practice. Because we observed participants prior to interviews, observations provided a point of departure to explore the breadth of experiences of participants as Northern development workers and facilitators.

**Observations**

We observed sections of training programs and in many cases, training was heavily outsourced to facilitators external to the NGO. We interviewed at least three and no more than four participants from each of the participating NGOs. Through observations of training programs, we were able to glimpse the complexity of participants' understandings of development worker that inform their pedagogical choices and practices. We were able to explore participants' understandings of development worker through interactions as they emerged in the training context. Observations further allowed us to explore what is implied through these practices about the role of facilitator
in training Northern development workers. We were also able to glimpse behaviour (facilitation style, group interactions and dynamics) that often escapes articulation due to its familiarity or assumed insignificance. The organization of training and pedagogical strategies are not arbitrary but reflect assumptions, often not rendered explicit, about what is required to prepare individuals to participate in international development.

Depending on the NGO, either administrative personnel or participants arranged to secure consent of Northern development workers enrolled in pre-departure training programs (see Appendix A). The size of groups in training ranged from five to sixteen Northern development workers. While they all consented, during the training we observed varying degrees of comfort with our presence. Some development workers commented that while they were initially hesitant, they became more comfortable with our presence through the course of the observation period. Some development workers also approached us during breaks and lunch to ask specific questions about the study, our interest and motivations. However, it also appeared that some remained uneasy with our presence. In these cases, there was minimal interaction with or acknowledgement of our presence. We observed that in the two training programs where we were present for introductory activities, we felt better able to establish a more comfortable rapport with the group rather than disrupting an already established group dynamic. We recognize that whatever the response to our presence was or appeared to be, "where the researcher is not a party to the interaction but is simply within earshot, knowledge of his/her presence may still have an effect" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.130).

In each of the four participating NGOs, observations lasted between two to three full days. We observed sessions in the four training programs for a total of seventy-seven hours. We observed eleven of the fifteen participants that we later interviewed. Of the eleven, three participants delivered sessions that lasted two to three hours, six participants delivered sessions that lasted one and a half to two days and two participants organized training programs that were heavily
outsourced to external consultants. We observed these two participants over a two to three day period. The remaining four participants, whom we did not observe, were involved primarily in organizing training.

Our observations in each of the training programs began with a brief introduction outlining our research and addressing issues and questions from participants and Northern development workers. In most training programs, we sat on the periphery of the group, usually not together and did not participate in group discussions and activities. During observations, we took descriptive notes, documenting the interaction between participants and development workers, copied charts and notes that were posted on the walls, sketched the room layout and seating arrangements. Our purpose in documenting interactions between Northern development workers and participants was to understand how participants introduced, responded to and synthesized issues during training, particularly as they relate to identity. Where we have documented interactions from training in the thesis, we use italics. However in subsequent sites, we alternated taking notes, as we felt quite conspicuous when we were both writing, particularly when there was disclosure of a personal nature. Alternating note taking enabled the other researcher to observe the learning environment through participant responses to development workers’ non-verbal dynamics such as body language, eye contact, note passing and side conversations. In one training site, facilitators asked us to play a more active role in discussions given the small group size and limited space that prevented us from separating ourselves physically from the group. In this case, one researcher continued to document interactions while the other participated more actively in larger group discussions and activities. Through the course of observing this training program, we rotated these roles. We were aware of the need to balance our participation in group activities while not dominating or heavily directing these conversations. In all but one training program, we were invited to join the group for meals and breaks. While we intended our observations to be unobtrusive, we learned that not all participants share a common understanding
of what constitutes unobtrusive observations. Some participants indicated that not engaging in discussions or joining the group for meals was more intrusive while other participants preferred us to play a more discreet role. In order to minimize disruption to training, we relied on participants to direct our role and participation.

**Interviews**

Interviews allowed us to understand the ways in which participants’ experiences as Northern development workers inform training practices. The methodological choice to include interviews reflects our understanding that interviews are an “extremely important source of data: it may allow one to generate information that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain otherwise – both about events described and about perspectives and discursive strategies” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 131). Interviews explored the following three interrelated areas: first, we asked participants to provide us with background into their interest and involvement in international development. We then asked participants to articulate their priorities for training, as they are informed by their own experiences as Northern development workers. Finally, we explored how participants organize training, their pedagogical strategies and development worker responses to training (see Appendix B). While we used an interview guide to cover these specific themes, many of our questions were in response to ideas and experiences raised by participants during the course of the interview or as a result of our observations. These questions were deliberately open-ended to elicit their understandings of identity in the context of development work.

All observations took place prior to interviews. In observing participants first, we were able to more fully appreciate their theories of teaching and learning as well as understandings of identity. These observations were used as a point of departure in subsequent interviews to understand more broadly participants’ understandings of the role of Northern development workers as well as the
theoretical underpinnings of their training practices and approaches. We often drew on specific examples and interactions from training to explore further our own observations and insights while also encouraging participants to speak to their wider experiences as Northern development workers and facilitators. We were both present and participated actively in semi-structured interviews with fifteen participants that lasted on average for one and half hours. Conducting interviews jointly was something we routinely negotiated. Our involvement in interviews often times depended on a combination of factors including the rapport we had established with the participant, our ability to predict the other's responses and our own priorities within the larger research study. Through the course of the interviews there was a process of negotiating when individually we would intervene or follow-up on issues. There were times when we would both ask questions simultaneously or wait for the other to take up certain points while in other interviews we found we were able to anticipate with greater ease the other's participation. In order to ensure accuracy, we audiotaped and transcribed all interviews. We conducted one joint interview with two participants at their request. In this particular interview, our role was minimized as key issues were taken up in conversation primarily between the two participants. Our task was more to intervene and pose key questions to direct the conversation when appropriate.

During interviews, we observed some similar tendencies among participants. Most expressed some hesitation about providing responses that were 'correct' or 'appropriate.' Quite often, participants asked if the information they were providing was useful and relevant to our research, looking to us for affirmation to continue. As well, there was some resistance to having their responses recorded as definitive and some participants qualified that their comments were not exhaustive. In most interviews, participants noted they found the interview process to be quite exhausting and in some cases evocative of deeply personal experiences.
In order to share the preliminary insights generated through our research study, an interim update was sent via email to all participating NGOs and participants, outlining our process for data analysis and organizing themes that emerged during interviews and observations. As well, a final report summarizing the research findings will be sent to all participating organizations and individuals.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND APPLICATION

Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical grounding for our exploration of Northern development worker identity and practices. Our goal is to synthesize diverse theoretical resources to consider what this framework makes relevant to ask and investigate in this study. We have not provided comprehensive theoretical elaborations of each of the theorists we draw on and recognize that theoretically there are contradictions and divergences between them that are not fully explored. We begin with an explication of an interlocking theory of oppression that sets the context for our inquiry. Recognizing that “research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 5), we locate our work in an explicitly anti-oppression framework that we elaborate in this chapter. We also accept Lather’s characterization of openly ideological research as “neither more nor less ideological than is mainstream positivist research” (1986, p. 64). Our work considers the possibilities of consciousness-raising of Northern development workers through informal and self-reflective learning processes as well as in formal learning contexts, in this case pre-departure training. We bring together these theoretical insights to further investigate the complexities of Northern development worker identity and orientation of pre-departure training. In investigating our statement of problem through the lens of this theoretical framework, we situate our inquiry of development worker identity, experiences and practices within a systemic analysis of power and privilege. While an interlocking analysis of oppression makes relevant investigating social relations of domination and oppression, it also renders visible the limitations of liberal ideologies and approaches to social change. Central to the liberal approach is a celebration of diversity and respect for difference in ways that

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7 This chapter was collaboratively developed by Tabish Surani and Gulzar Raisa Charania and provides the theoretical framework for this study.
peripheralize urgent questions about social organization and relations of power. Given the centrality of power and privilege in our work and understanding of social relations, we have chosen deliberately to explore the transformative potential offered by the critical theorists, whose insights we synthesize as they relate to our study.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Account of Interlocking Oppression**

Because we understand everyday encounters to be structured through the lens of multiple oppressions, we have chosen to engage extensively with the theoretical framework developed by Razack and articulated in *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms, and Classrooms*. In identifying interlocking systems of oppression, it is a theory committed to social change and anti-oppression with respect to all systems of domination. This affinity to Razack’s work has emerged from a powerful recognition of self and naming of experience that cannot be isolated into racialized, classed or gendered selves. As Bannerji argues “it is always like that, this being in society, it lacks neatness, a proper compartmentalization” (1995, p. 11). In developing this analysis of interlocking systems of oppression, Razack identifies the foundational influence of Trinh T. Min-Ha, Patricia Hill Collins and a gendered reading of Frantz Fanon. Fellows and Razack explicate the operation of interlocking as follows, “this ‘interlocking’ effect means that the systems of oppression come into existence in and through one another so that class exploitation could not be accomplished without gender and racial hierarchies” (1998, p. 335). This theory of interlocking oppression illuminates the workings of race, gender and Northern status, facilitating an exploration of the complexity of Northern development worker identity. Razack recognizes the complexity of social relations and unfixedness of identity, while maintaining an unwavering interrogation of structures of
domination that she clearly names as capitalism, white supremacy\(^8\) and patriarchy, while acknowledging heterosexism and ableism.

Razack’s work contributes to the production of a language to “complicate the meaning of gender” and describes “hierarchical relations among women” (Razack, 1998, p. 11) through which she theorizes the simultaneity of systems of oppression and the ways in which these systems sustain one another. In our site, this complication becomes particularly relevant given the prevalence of white, middle class people participating in international development, most of whom are women (Heron, 1999, p. 6). This negotiation of gender and the contestation of its primacy in defining experiences in the world illuminates that while women may be oppressed, this does not preclude them from simultaneously occupying spaces of oppression and domination (Razack, 1998, p. 158). Mohanty, like Razack challenges this universalization of the category woman as it “assumes an ahistorical, universal unity between women based on a generalized notion of their subordination” (1991, p. 64). As Dei warns, “when a particular experience is universalized it is usually accomplished at the expense of making another experience invisible” (1996a, p. 38). This assumed commonness of oppression denies relations of power between women, precluding a more systematic analysis of the ways in which women are positioned differently and unequally with respect to race, class and geography. For example, it is necessary as Russo argues for white women to “understand how the conditions of our lives are connected to and made possible by the conditions of other women’s lives” (1991, p. 299). These theorists disrupt the pretence and claims of innocence in which women can retreat to a position of subordination as it obscures

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\(^8\) Following Razack, we employ the term white supremacy in our theoretical framework. Russo provides an elaboration of the significance of using the language of white supremacy. Following hooks, she argues that the term white supremacy rather than racism “correctly places the responsibility on white women and men, rather than focusing on people of colour simply as victims of an amorphous racism. ‘White supremacy’ as a concept forces us to look power directly in the face, and when we do that there is less room for denial, guilt, and paternalism in trying to change it...part of the problem is that many of us white feminists still do not see racism as our issue” (Russo, 1991, p. 299). To frame racism as an issue and responsibility for white people, we also use the term white supremacy in our theoretical framework.
privileges incurred through other social locations such as class, race, geography, sexuality and physical ability.

Razack's analysis is rooted in historically specific sites that have produced subjects in “different and shifting positions of power and privilege” (Razack, 1998, p. 12). While she insists there are no positions of innocence, Razack does not allow this argument to collapse into an undifferentiated oppression equally experienced by all. In this way, there remains a constant interrogation of individuals who exercise dominance as well as structures of domination that include capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy. This is in opposition to a liberal framework that emphasizes an analysis of individual attitudes and behaviours rather than locating these in structures of domination and oppression. Structures of oppression and racist domination can only be understood within a historical context that demands we trace and understand how legacies of colonial relations intrude into the present. Razack also argues that the recognition of ourselves “as simultaneously dominant and subordinate” in shifting relations of oppression and domination is not the “the most relevant when we are seeking to end specific hierarchies at specific sites” (1998, p. 161). Consequently, accountability for historical legacies and contemporary relations of oppression demand the tracing of identity and analysis of the reproduction of systems of domination (Razack, 1998, p. 14). This analytical investigation is particularly relevant for Northern development workers as many live and work in Southern countries with recent colonial histories and continued Northern presence.

Razack engages with the tension of recognizing complexities of identity without surrendering to an “ever-changing subject, who is not placed in social relations and history” (Bannerji, 1995, p. 36). In drawing attention to the relationship between self and structure, Dei warns against an “over-simplification of the notion of identity that narrowly dwells on the ‘individual self,’ and ignores the significant issues of how the inner self is connected to the outer self and to the larger structures of society. Identity can not be defined in isolation” (1996b, pp. 257-258). Articulating
the importance of postmodernist insights with respect to identity while maintaining a focus on questions of accountability and possibilities for change, Razack notes, “while I have relied on post-modern theories for understanding the construction of subjectivity, I tried to keep a modernist eye on domination” (1998, p. 161). Writing from an indigenous perspective, Tuhiwai Smith writes back to the widely accepted use of postmodern and postcolonial theories as a “convenient invention of Western intellectuals which reinscribes their power to define the world” (1999, p. 14). Challenging the notion that “the colonizers have left” (Sykes in Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 98), Tuhiwai Smith argues that the legacy of colonialism endures and with respect to indigenous peoples she writes:

Our colonial experience traps us in the project of modernity. There can be no ‘postmodern’ for us until we have settled some business of the modern. This does not mean that we do not understand or employ multiple discourses, or act in incredibly contradictory ways, or exercise power ourselves in multiple ways. It means that there is unfinished business, that we are still being colonized (and know it), and that we are still searching for justice (1999, p. 34).

The consciousness of the “‘post colonial’ as merely a theoretical space, one not grounded in contemporary realities of people” (Dei, 1996b, p. 251) anchors our research in a material context. For example, Roman locates her explorations of identity in a material context and her work provides an example of bringing together explorations of white identity in a material context. Confronting white racial privilege and the access it affords, Roman argues “while all whites do not benefit equally…it is wrong to suggest that possessive investment in whiteness does not positively advantage the economic and political power of whites across social classes and genders” (1997, p. 276).

In our work, we felt a similar need to negotiate and theorize identity in non-essentialized ways while not allowing the seductiveness of these ideas to provide a basis on which to deny the persistence of material and experienced domination or preclude the possibility of effective resistance and organization. For the purpose of organizing for social change, Razack recognizes
the importance of using “strategic essentialism” (Razack, 1998, p. 168). For example, in her foundational work, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, Collins argues that her deliberate decision to articulate an “overly coherent” black feminist thought, rather than to emphasize its very real “contradictions, frictions and inconsistencies” (2000, p. viii) is necessary in this historical moment in order to preserve the presence of black women subjects.

**Politicizing Experience: Consciousness-raising for the Dominant**

My emphasis is on the concept ‘social,’ which allows many or all to speak about the same problem or reality without saying the same thing...friends and enemies are constructed by the same ground rules. The social signifiers of an oppressive experience can be ‘shared’ by others who inhabit the same social relations of ruling but benefit from them...it [racism] is as familiar a set of practices and ideas to white people as to non-whites – to the doer and done unto. As such there is no reason as to why ‘racism’ is solely a ‘black’ experience, though there are different moments and entry points into it, since different aspects of the same social locations are visible at different intersections, from different social locations (Bannerji, 1995, pp. 84-85).

We are relying on Bannerji’s theorizing of the relationality between oppressor and oppressed to illuminate that while we all exist within the same “social topography” (Bannerji, 1995, p. 74), our different locations within it produce radically different experiences of the world, traceable, as Razack also argues, back to systems of capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy. We apply these insights as they illuminate the identity of Northern development workers in relation to each other and Southern people. How the social comes to have meaning is mediated by how identities are located within and negotiated in response to relations of power. Resisting the liberal impulse

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9 We understand all Northern development workers to be dominant given the power they exercise and privileges they incur through Northern status. However, Razack’s theory also allows us to consider how race differently informs the experiences and identity formation of white Northern development workers and Northern development workers of colour. In this work, we use the term Northern development worker of colour as a generalized category that does not systematically address how communities of colour are organized in relation to each other.
to isolate the individual from communities as well as social relations, Dei is adamant in situating self in social relations and elaborates the material basis of social oppression:

We must understand the material conditions for the persistence and reproduction of racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, ableism and other forms of social oppression...the roots of social oppression lie in material conditions in the access to property, privilege and power...all social relations are firmly embedded in material relations. All social relations have material consequences (1996a, pp. 57-58).

This ordering of identities, to produce hierarchical understandings of difference within the social topography, allows some to more easily access, enact and benefit from dominance. Bannerji implicates and makes visible the role of dominant people in sustaining social relations from which they unduly benefit, noting “what constitutes someone’s power is precisely another’s powerlessness” (Bannerji, 1995, p. 74). Bannerji’s demand is that people who oppress move from expressions of guilt, empathy and victimization to become accountable for that oppression. We identify as a practice of accountability, a sustained engagement of how one enables this social topography to exist as it does. Typically, moves to pre-empt accountability result in a collapsing of self and other, based in false identification with the oppressed without locating self as oppressor in constituting systems of domination. As Bannerji challenges, “why don’t they move from the experience of sharing our pain, to narrating the experience of inflicting it on us” (1995, p. 117)? Describing the victim posture to which women retreat in their unwillingness to interrogate their own complicity in subordinating other women, Fellows and Razack coin the term “race to innocence” (1998, p. 335).

Intervening in these often unreflective practices of narrating experiences, Razack like Bannerji draws attention to the “dominant group’s refusal to examine its own complicity in oppressing others” (Razack, 1998, p. 40), demanding an interrogation of self as dominant through a process of examining the story we tell of ourselves and how we construct stories to understand others. They argue that an investigation into this manufactured self reveals the “interest we protect through our knowing” (Razack, 1998, p. 10). Bannerji argues that we can all speak legitimately,
though differently, to experiences of domination and oppression, “indeed, there are many stories to tell” (1995, p. 85). Recognizing the many entry points into uncovering experiences of domination and oppression, the starting point of our work is the attention Razack and Bannerji draw to the role and practices of the dominant in these social relationships. This analysis of oppression and domination demonstrates the “struggle for justice is larger than any one group, individual or social movement...social justice is a collective problem that requires a collective solution” (Collins, 2000, p. xiii).

An analysis of interlocking oppression provides a basis for imagining and engaging in broad based social action that is not limited to one system. As Fellows and Razack argue, efforts to change only one system through which one is subordinated does nothing to alter the foundations which give rise to and sustain oppression. They provide the following example and theorization:

when a woman fails to pursue how she is implicated in other women’s lives and retreats to the position that the system that oppresses her the most is the only one worth fighting and that the other systems (systems in which she is positioned as dominant) are not of her concern, she will fail to undo her own subordination. Attempts to change one system while leaving the others intact leaves in place the structure of domination that is made up of interlocking hierarchies (Fellows and Razack, 1998, p. 336).

As Bannerji and Razack theorize, the collective solution Collins describes requires the participation of both oppressed and dominant people, differently engaged in struggles for social justice. For example in anti-racist efforts, liberal white people overwhelmingly locate their interventions in communities of colour rather than using their own experiences to challenge white privilege and dominance in white communities. Referencing this trend in research, Troyna and Carrington comment, “in both the U.K. and U.S.A. a common criticism of such research has been that white researchers have tended to direct their energies towards the study of black people rather than white racism” (1989, p. 208).

In addition to Bannerji and Razack, we are drawing on the insights of Dorothy Smith and Paulo Freire to illuminate processes of politicization through reflection on everyday experiences. They
argue that reflection is a mechanism to understand how systems of power are organized and converge to create a certain experience of the world. It is by connecting these everyday experiences to larger systems of social organization, that individuals are able to intervene in efforts to reconstitute their own reality. These theorists assert the importance of individual experiences as entry points to understand the organization of social relations of power. As Bannerji theorizes "a whole social organization is needed to create each unique experience" (1995, p. 74) and in this way, "what had seemed a private experience of oppression" (Smith, 1998, p. 154) or domination is in fact constituted by and rooted in a "larger generalized complex of social relations" (Smith, 1998, p. 156). The specific experience and local setting act as a starting point for understanding normalized properties of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and heterosexism and the ways in which these institutional relations interrupt and organize daily life in ways that are generalizable. Therefore, an engagement with personal experiences does not preclude us from seeing beyond the local and specific but does allow us "to produce social explanations...which have a wider resonance" (Mason, 1997, p. 6). Bannerji synthesizes the potential of experience as a catalyst for a more transformative political project:

I can directly express what happens to me. But my experience would only be the starting point of my politics. For a further politicization my experience must be recounted within a broader socio-historical and cultural framework that signals the larger social organization and forms which contain and shape our lives (1995, p. 83).

We are using Smith and Freire's processes of consciousness-raising for individuals from the North whose intention it is to participate in international development work. While they both develop their analysis for marginalized peoples, we apply their insights to demonstrate the urgency for dominant people to read their own realities and understand how they benefit from and reproduce relations of oppression. This is a necessary condition to expand our understanding of

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10 We are using Bannerji’s explication of the specific as "our selves and worlds express, embody, encompass and yet extend beyond individual experience, intention and location. Everything that is local, immediate and concrete is thus to be considered as 'specific' rather than 'particular'" (1995, p. 83).
what constitutes development work and effective international organization, recognizing that "regardless of how 'nice' or 'good' we may be, we are discursively produced to see and understand relations of power, both globally and at the micro-level, in ways that mask our own complicity and thus enable their operation" (Heron, 1999, p. 222). The expectation is that as Northern development workers, we will commit ourselves to investigate our own participation in domination with as much interest and curiosity as we demonstrate in exploring the realities and marginalization of the oppressed.

In her seminal work The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology, Smith explores the question "how is this world in which we act and suffer put together" (1998, p. 154)? She develops a sociology for the framework of women’s experiences that have not been addressed by traditional sociology, which in its claims to universality has excluded women from participating in knowledge production "as a conscious and often a cruel practice" (Smith, 1998, p. 18). Smith's analysis renders visible relations of power that are obscured and only "partially discoverable" (Smith, 1998, p. 154) through an examination of women's everyday lives. Invoking and naming personal experiences of oppression, Smith recognizes the significance of individual women’s experiences as entry points to understanding the organization of social relations of power. She articulates that women's everyday activities and social relations are structured and organized in an "immensely complex division of labour knitting local lives and local settings to national and international social, economic, and political processes" (Smith, 1998, p. 154) not immediately apparent within the scope of their everyday lives. In developing a sociological analysis that makes the work of women visible, Smith argues that the "varying material conditions under which their work is done do not appear. Their presence as actual subjects is suspended" (Smith, 1998, p. 164). Smith argues that this invisibility is carefully constructed and maintained by prevailing ideologies that govern social, political and economic relations.
While Smith’s sociology recognizes the “oppression they [women] share with others and of different oppressions rooted in the same matrix of relations” (Smith, 1987, p. 154), she acknowledges that she has “not yet understood fully the intersection of racial oppression with the gender organization of the relations of ruling” (Smith, 1998, p. 8). Though Smith centers women in ways that are enormously important and challenges the inclusion of women and women’s experiences on “terms decided by men” (Smith, 1998, p. 19), her inability to fully integrate an analysis of race into her feminist sociology reflects her white standpoint with respect to knowledge production. While Smith provides a methodology for a gendered and classed reading of the world, consistent with Razack's theory of interlocking oppression, we extend Smith’s analysis to include race. This ensures white women cannot retreat to positions of innocence that Bannerji names the “problem of the concealed standpoint” (1995, p. 114). This complication of class and gender illuminates the “invisible center,” otherwise concealed in Smith’s work (Bannerji, 1995, p. 114). We are applying Smith’s insights to make visible relations of power from the standpoint of the dominant. In as much as relations of power are obscured and labour practices rendered invisible, so too are the benefits dominant bodies incur through this erasure.

For example, exploring the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on deteriorating standards of living and labour conditions in Mexico, Bishop Jean Gagnon connects Northerners’ demand for and consumption of cheaper goods to exploitation of Southern labour, “the problem with free trade...is that it doesn’t share the wealth. So my car costs less because it is assembled in Mexico but people have to live the way they do here. I can’t accept that” (“Mexicans Pay Price,” 2001). It is through reflection and critical narration of experiences from privileged social locations, that relations of ruling\textsuperscript{11} are also uncovered and illuminated.

\textsuperscript{11} The concept of relations of ruling articulated by Smith “grasps power, organization, direction, and regulation as more pervasively structured than can be expressed in traditional concepts provided by discourses of power” (1998, p. 3). In this way, relations of ruling encompass structures of capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy.
Much in the same way that we have applied Smith’s theorizations to illuminate the oppressive practices of dominant people, we are extending Freire’s analysis of consciousness-raising to the dominant. As Freire argues in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, it is through reflection of one’s constructed existence and experience of the world that people through their own efforts, become conscientized. Freire, like Smith, understands this process of conscientization to be necessary for the oppressed through a dialogic encounter between the oppressed and those attempting to forge a “pedagogy with, not for, the oppressed” (Freire, 1997, p. 30). Freire has been taken to task for his lack of attention to the impact of oppression through gender and race, particularly in his earlier work. The oppositional logic Freire employs relies on the dualistic and binary creation of oppressor and oppressed as undifferentiated categories (Goetz, 1991, p. 143). Given complex experiences of the world, Freire’s pedagogy assumes the result of reading the world from individual experiences will lead to action to transform it in a particular way. Again, Freire demonstrates the implicit assumption of a common oppression leading to collective action. More than a theoretical consideration, these differences may result in very different readings of the world as there is not a singular experience of oppression (Weiler, 1991, p. 453).

**Formal Pedagogy**

Do you not think it time  
To re-read your Voltaire?  
For you to mind your own  
Gardens for a change?  
Not everything there is blooming  
Or smells good.  
Do you not think it time  
To start writing other stories  
And to leave us in peace  
To write our own (Narayan, 1988b, p. 106)?

While the previous section focused the possibilities of consciousness-raising through informal and introspective learning processes, the following is an exploration of this pedagogical project as it is planned and enacted in a formal learning context. We connect these pedagogical processes theoretically, revisiting politicization of experience and an analysis of interlocking oppression
introduced earlier. The theoretical insights of an interlocking analysis lead to a pedagogical approach that seeks to render visible and systematically investigate oppression and domination. While liberal approaches to education acknowledge power and the need for social change, with its focus on diversity and celebration of difference, transformative efforts to redress power imbalances in society are precluded. The focus of our investigation is to explore pedagogical possibilities in pre-departure training and we map implications for curriculum, role of educator, pedagogical strategies and learning environment for more transformative teaching and learning practices.

**Curriculum as Ideological**

What comes, we now have to ask, of having one’s comprehension of the world so directly tied to one’s conquest of it...we can not readily sort through and discard the colonially tainted understandings we carry, without devoting attention to how our view of the world has been shaped by imperialism’s educational projects (Willinsky, 1998, pp. 3-4).

As every curriculum represents an attempt to centre a certain understanding and vision of the world, our starting premise for understanding curriculum is that there are no ideologically neutral positions. In its broadest form, we are building on Freire’s positioning of education as inherently political. For Freire, education is political because of “both its content and form and its relationship to the larger economic and social structure” (Tadeu da Silva and McLaren, 1993, p. 39). He argues that the neutrality of education is a myth and all education, through curriculum, structured student - teacher relationships, methodology and the very silence around and exclusion of certain issues are all deliberate, reflecting powerful interests and the attempt of a dominant culture to reproduce itself. As Britzman argues, the “capacity to privilege particular accounts over others is based upon relations of power...every curriculum authorizes relations of power” (1991, p. 18). What comes to be represented and legitimized in any particular curriculum is the outcome of contestation over stories of the past, contemporary realities and visions of possible and desirable futures (Giroux and Simon in Britzman, 1991, p. 40). Relations of power naturalize
dominant ideologies in curriculum to the extent that ideological foundations are rendered invisible. This curriculum contributes to the production of knowledge that normalizes an "unequal distribution of material and social wealth, social inequalities, and institutionalized forms of oppression" (Britzman, 1991, p. 44) and presents social relationships as unalterable. It is against these naturalized understandings, deemed to be objective and universal, that other bodies of knowledge are designated political and particular. What is one particular reading of the world falsely masquerades as universal. For example, as educators we have observed that the designation of February as Black History month is often met with objections by dominant people who see it as biased in privileging the history of black people. They counter with the claim that there is no corresponding month to centre white history. These objections mask the normalization of the school curriculum that overwhelmingly represents and elevates the history, contributions and achievements of white Western civilization. Willinsky argues that this normalization occurred systematically through the colonial project and this imperial gaze continues to inform and organize understandings of self and other, here and there. He situates his project as an exploration of how "five centuries of studying, classifying, and ordering humanity within an imperial context gave rise to peculiar and powerful ideas of race, culture, and nation that were, in effect, conceptual instruments that the West used both to divide up and to educate the world" (Willinsky, 1998, pp. 2-3). Willinsky traces contemporary manifestations of imperialism as they are institutionalized in subject-matter curriculum within the formal school system in Canada, elaborating, "we are taught to discriminate in both the most innocent and fateful ways so that we can appreciate the differences between civilized and primitive, West and East, first and third worlds" (1998, p. 1). He draws attention to how dominant understandings capture and are embedded in the Western imagination. Investigating the question who has been "denied" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 16), Willinsky engages in a process of accounting for systemic exclusions within school based disciplines. We read Willinsky with the qualification Bannerji provides that no history is totalizing and "fortunately history is longer than colonization, than
Anno Domino, and textured with a host of contradictory social formations and forms of consciousness...history...is as much about ruptures as continuities” (Bannerji, 1995, pp. 28-29).

Following Willinsky, we understand the pedagogical value of investigating the relationship between conquest of the world and knowledge of the world. Our reading of Willinsky illuminates as problematic Northern constructions of the South and Southern people. While we recognize the existence of oppositional and indigenous knowledges that do not exist only or primarily in relation to this conquest, for Northern development workers the educational project is to illuminate how our understandings of the world are problematically classed, racialized and gendered. Dei charts the work that needs to be done to reassert marginalized histories as well as rethink dominant tales. As he argues, “we must not only reclaim marginalized histories, but also do new readings of dominant histories to restore and rewrite what was once excluded. This process will be arduous and painful, but politically and intellectually insurgent” (Dei, 1996a, p. 15).

Willinsky’s work demonstrates a commitment to engage in a reframing of this dominant history to understand how the imperial legacy has resulted in deeply lodged understandings of the world, codified through the educational project and normalized in Western knowledge systems as common sense. Suppressing a systematic tracing of historical and contemporary relations of power, common sense derives its resiliency from “authoritatively sanctioned and conventionally taken-for-granted ways of understanding, speaking, and acting” (Britzman, 1991, p. 17). If the process of assimilating knowledge as common sense is to be rendered visible, the often unasked but necessary pedagogical question becomes how dominant people come to know and invoke certain truths. The pedagogical imperative is one of locating the imperial residue in common sense. We argue that a critical investigation into taken-for-granted ways of knowing reveals the relationship between institutional and personal knowledge of dominant people. Recalling the insights of Razack, Bannerji, Smith and Freire, dominant people engaged in sustained self-
reflective practices are better able to connect their ways of thinking and being to systems of capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy. As Bannerji argues, these self-reflective practices are “not the end point, but the beginning of an exploration of the relationship between the personal and the social and therefore the political. And this connecting process, which is also a discovery, is the real pedagogic process” (1995, p. 55). As Willinsky demands, “we need to grow curious about what we have made of the world, beginning with a critical geography of our own map-colouring and -labeling days in school that did so much to define our place in the world” (1998, p. 20). This project of growing curious must be guided by a critical reading of the world with the intent to imagine and disrupt the world outside the legacy of common sense. McLaren and Tadeu da Silva argue that efforts to reclaim, record and recount stories that challenge the meta-story of history provide the basis to construct alternative visions and narratives not rooted in the politics of domination and oppression (1993, pp. 68-69). Education, despite the fact that it has been implicated in the imperial project, also contains the possibility to “transform consciousness” (hooks, 1994, p. 44). This is, as Morrison argues, “intellectual adventure, and close exploration...without the mandate for conquest” (1993, p. 3).

Common sense knowledge is organized in ways that also construct and permit dominant raced, classed, gendered and Northern identities from being visible. It is in relation to this invisible centre that others are easily identified and their differences named. Southern people, for example, are described as requiring the aid and assistance of the North, people of colour are clearly raced while gays, lesbians and bisexuals have sexual orientations or lifestyles. In these pronouncements, Northerners, white people and heterosexuals constitute the invisible norm against which other is judged and systematically denied access to social and economic resources. The legacy of what is understood to be common sense is so pervasively structured in ways that obscure not only dominant readings of the world but also processes of identity formation that rely on these very understandings.
**Role of Educator**

My teachers have always pushed me over the cliff (Chodron cited in hooks, 1994, p. 207).

Our starting premise for understanding the role of educator is that all educators enact a politics of race, class and gender through the knowledge they choose to privilege. The selection and delivery of every curriculum represents an attempt to centre a certain understanding and vision of the world. As Britzman argues, educators “possess the power to authorize discourse” (1991, p. 225). In the same way that curriculum challenging dominant ideologies is understood to be political, educators who attempt to put forward critical perspectives are labelled overly ideological or seen to be pushing their own agendas. The extent to which dominant bodies of knowledge are considered common sensical and apolitical is also reflected in educators’ “acceptance of ways of teaching and learning that reflect biases, particularly a white supremacist standpoint” (hooks, 1994, p. 37). While the risks of engaging in transformative educative practices are significant, we understand the choice not to teach in more critical ways or challenge dominant knowledge to be an exercise of privilege and “an act of complicity” (hooks, 1994, p. 66). hooks articulates the need to align an anti-oppression analysis with classroom practice, critiquing white male academics “who push critical pedagogy yet who do not alter their classroom practices, who assert race, class, and gender privilege without interrogating their conduct” (1994, p. 147). Educators, who are also positioned in different social locations in relation to each other and learners, do not uniformly experience these risks and responses.

We identify the challenge for educators as one of facilitating learning, in this case with Northern development workers, to explore “how history renders the world sensible, a history that seems above all to dictate the meaning of difference” (Willinsky, 1998, p. 247). As learners are powerful agenda setters, bringing with them insights into the workings of this history from different social locations, it becomes the task of educators to synthesize learners’ knowledge, engaging them in sustained efforts to illuminate these sensibilities and their workings through
identity. We draw again on the works of Smith and Freire to articulate what we understand to be the role of educators within our pedagogical project. While Smith and Freire theorize the role of expert/pedagogue with people they identify as oppressed, we extend their insights, as they are pedagogically relevant for the purpose of illuminating relations of power among dominant people in dominant sites. The challenge becomes one of naming the act and actors of domination rather than only its impact.

In applying both Smith and Freire to dominant people, the role of the educator is to rigorously engage dominant learners in educative processes of consciousness-raising. For these learners, this means uncovering and owning their own domination rather than entering this process to learn about and empower the oppressed. Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed argues it is through reflection of one’s existence in and experience of the world that people, through their own efforts, become conscientized. We apply Freire’s work on consciousness-raising to the dominant as it reveals their role in relations of oppression. He warns against the tendency to “name on behalf of others” (Freire, 1997, p. 70) that would only mean recreating forms of domination and oppressive, paternalistic relationships. The educator can initiate the process of unveiling the world (Freire, 1997, p. 150) but people must enter this process as subjects. In the same way, Smith cautions the sociologist to refrain from “substituting the analysis, the perspectives and views of subjects, for the investigation by the sociologist” (Smith, 1998, p. 161). While recognizing women as “expert practitioners of their everyday worlds” (Smith, 1998, p. 161), Smith, like Freire, privileges a space for the expert sociologist. In doing so, she argues that “we can only see so much without specialized investigation, and the latter should be the sociologist’s special business” (Smith, 1998, p. 161). In this way, Smith understands the process of making fully visible relations of ruling as necessarily dialogical and based in a critical reading of experiences of oppression, and as we focus, experiences of domination. According to Smith, the sociologist engages women in processes of illuminating common bases of oppression and
connects these experiences to hierarchies of power. She describes this process as "comparable to consciousness-raising" (Smith, 1998, p. 154). Freire similarly theorizes the dialogical encounter between subjects that seeks to facilitate people's efforts to read social relationships with the intent to transform them.

A commitment to the pedagogical project we articulate also demands that educators engage in sustained efforts to examine how they are located in relation to systems of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and North-South relations. It becomes the task of educators to engage in sustained efforts to illuminate for themselves, these systems and their workings through identity. Educators willing to work through the complexities of this project are better able to understand and anticipate complexities in the learning site while also facilitating this process for learners. In her article "Why Doesn't this Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy," Ellsworth seeks to dislodge the unreflective acceptance of the expert educator in consciousness-raising. Demonstrating her own process of self-reflexivity as a white, middle-class professor, Ellsworth argues that "I cannot unproblematically bring subjugated knowledges to light when I am not free of my own learned racism, fat oppression, classism, ableism or sexism" (1992, p. 99). In Smith and Freire's theorizing, there is a reliance on the expert sociologist or critical pedagogue whose identity is seldom interrogated. Smith, for example, argues it is the work of the expert sociologist to facilitate the process through which individual women make meaning of their own experiences in order to connect them to relations of ruling. However, this connection between the everyday and beyond assumes that this generic expert sociologist has full insight into how the everyday world is organized in ways that are problematic for all women. For example, we argue that within the totalizing category of woman, women of colour's experiences and everyday encounters with racism are not immediately or fully apparent to a white sociologist. If, however, this expert sociologist is critically politicized around her own position of domination and subordination, she is better able to facilitate critical learning for
women that illuminates not only the operation of systems of power but also the resulting hierarchies between women. So while women are oppressed in relation to patriarchy, they may incur benefits from capitalism and white supremacy that also require excavating in Smith’s consciousness-raising. While Freire acknowledges the importance of subjectivity in the process of liberation, like Smith he leaves uninterrogated the identity of those facilitating this dialogic process of reading and naming the world. As Razack argues, “there have been few critical analyses of, for example, white middle-class educators (primarily men) leading subordinate groups to which they do not belong into critical pedagogy” (1998, p. 44). Leaving the identity of the critical pedagogue uninterrogated produces an absence of located self that “does affect the quality of possible interventions: if race, class, and gender do not matter, then racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, and so on, are not recognized as fashioning oppressive spaces that require intervention” (Britzman, 1991, p. 35).

In working through these tensions, Ellsworth provides an example of how to engage in this ongoing process of interrogating identity, particularly from a position of dominance, while not retreating to guilt, inaction, or innocence. She writes, “I brought a social subjectivity that has been constructed in such a way that I have not and can never participate unproblematically in the collective process of self-definition, naming of oppression, and struggles for visibility in the face of marginalization engaged in by students whose class, race, gender, and other positions I do not share” nor can “I…interpret their experience to them” (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 101). Interactions in the context of the university classroom have challenged Ellsworth’s role as expert professor in creating a space for dialogue and safety across different social locations. The identities of her marginalized and variously politicized students in their everyday worlds demonstrate an access to and understanding of relations of power and privilege differently apparent in her own life as a white, middle class professor. Because Ellsworth identifies herself as dominant, she acknowledges that social relations are organized in ways that protect her dominance, bringing
with it the choice to see or acknowledge herself as dominant (McIntosh, 1995, pp. 266-267). While Ellsworth names purposeful investments people have in not seeing themselves or their practices as dominant, she demands accountability, recognizing “we choose our ignorances, just as we choose our challenges” (Boler, 1997, p. 269). Ellsworth concedes that she can not know the experiences of racism and other forms of oppression better than the students who live them and as a result, she must decenter and continually challenge her own professorial authority and practice. Recalling Bannerji’s insights, white people and people of colour are both intimately acquainted with white supremacy and its operation, though from different social locations. Ellsworth suggests a more productive way to think about encounters between the dominant, who wish to work in solidarity with the oppressed and those marginalized. She argues that in order to build and sustain relations of solidarity across different social locations, dominant individuals must acknowledge and challenge their own implications and investments in prevailing relations of power and privilege (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 100). It is from this position of dominance that Ellsworth locates her points of intervention.

**Rethinking Empathy and Storytelling**

Passive empathy satisfies only the most benign multicultural agenda (Boler, 1997, p. 255).

Educators committed to engaging learners in an analysis of systems of power and privilege often elicit and rely on emotional responses, primarily empathy, as a way to imagine experiences of oppression that one does not share. Implicit in this liberal practice is an understanding that through empathy, dominant people come to learn others across difference, creating an imagined identification with marginalized peoples. The educative intent is that in coming to identify with others, learners will be moved to act for social change on behalf of those less fortunate. Typically, empathy produces voyeuristic responses such as, “isn’t that terrible,” “what can we do,” “we have to do something,” “I feel so sorry for them,” “those poor children,” “I’m so lucky.” While these types of responses may be informed by good intentions, we agree with Narayan when she argues
“my starting premise about what it takes to work across differences…is that presence of good will on the part of the members of advantaged groups is not enough to overcome assumptions and attitudes born out of centuries of power and privilege” (1988a, pp. 34-35). Because our pedagogical project is framed as an illumination of social systems as well as tracing one’s self through them, empathy alone does not lead to “any shift in existing power relations” (Boler, 1997, p. 255). An exclusive reliance on empathetic responses sustains the delinking of stories of oppression from those systems authorizing these stories and in this way “suffering…is not referred beyond the individual to the social” (Boler, 1997, p. 261). Emotionally charged responses do not produce sustained and transformative political interventions but rather haphazard forays. Sutherland observes this tendency, particularly of white Northerners to engage in what they understand to be solidarity efforts without a meaningful political analysis:

In my experience, solidarity group members have usually been middle class white people…participation may be more rooted in the desire to help, in a ‘political tourist’ mentality, or in unpolicitized emotional connections than in experience informed by a coherent political or social analysis. For these reasons, solidarity groups may lack a collective consciousness (1994/95, p. 49).

While empathy can nurture a desire to alter oppressive experiences, it lacks a location of self, not as lucky and fortunate but dominant and privileged. Boler problematizes what she calls passive empathy as it “produces no action toward justice but situates the powerful Western eye/I as the judging subject never called upon to cast her gaze at her own reflection” (1997, p. 259). In the development enterprise, this absence of self, not situated in systems of power and privilege, results in an abdication of accountability for complicity in social and historical relations. Denial of implication in any of these systems permits learners, in this case Northern development workers, to construct themselves in “fantasy spaces” (Boler, 1997, p. 255) as liberators rather than oppressors. In this way, even when systems of capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy are acknowledged, they are emptied of people who benefit from and perpetrate classist, racist, and sexist practices. Typically, these moves to pre-empt accountability result in a collapsing of
self and other, based in false identification with the oppressed without locating self as oppressor in constituting and benefiting from systems of domination. In confronting the privileges whiteness confers, Roman provides an alternative to liberal responses to oppression, characterized by empathy and emotion, arguing that disinvestments in white privilege entail a “redistribution of material and social resources, power, and so forth” (1997, p. 275). In making explicit unreflective exercises of domination and unearned privilege, the educative intent is to engage Northern development workers in such sustained practices of self-reflexivity and accountability. As Boler contends, “these ‘others’ whose lives we imagine don’t want empathy, they want justice” (1997, p. 255).

Like Boler, Razack attempts to reconceptualize the often-used pedagogical strategy of sharing experiences through storytelling. She also demands an interrogation of the interpretive structures and spaces between the narration of experience and its reception and investments in hearing stories in ways that demonstrate the “dominant group’s refusal to examine its own complicity in oppressing others” (Razack, 1998, p. 40). In this denial of accountability and history, the role of the dominant listener is to offer an emotional response at best and a voyeuristic and consumptive act in its most repulsive form. Boler astutely describes this dominant habit, “let off the hook, we are free to move on to the next consumption” (1997, p. 261). In centering white supremacy Razack argues there is an expectation that people of colour will “tell our stories for your (white people’s) edification” (1998, p. 48). There is a perpetual postponement of one’s own responsibility in educating oneself as this demand is placed on those oppressed. Razack interrogates this call for stories of oppression in which the dominant listener remains intact, unshifted and in the imaginary space of innocence. Recognizing the pedagogical potential of storytelling and listening, Razack preserves a place for storytelling that disrupts the fashioning of dominant selves as innocent.
Learning Environment

We recognize the pedagogical project we advocate requires a rethinking of taken-for-granted understandings of what constitutes a “good” learning environment. This environment presumed to be safe, student-centred, participatory, affirming and harmonious, is the accepted model most liberal educators strive to emulate. hooks, a black woman educator, challenges dominant educators’ uncomplicated understandings of safety. Not relying exclusively on familiar indicators of safety, she makes clear that “many students, especially students of colour, may not feel at all ‘safe’ in what appears to be a neutral setting. It is the absence of a feeling of safety that often promotes prolonged silence or lack of student engagement” (hooks, 1994, p. 39). Educators are able to maintain a learning environment with little apparent conflict or tension as learners, particularly dominant learners, are not required to situate themselves in systems of power or be accountable for complicity in social and historical relations. As our pedagogical project demands interrogation of self in systems of power and privilege, we understand conflict and discomfort to provide pedagogical possibilities as they indicate engagement in learning processes. Reflecting on her own transformative teaching practices, hooks observes, “confronting one another across difference means that we must change the ideas about how we learn; rather than fearing conflict we have to find ways to use it as a catalyst for new thinking, new growth” (hooks, 1994, p. 113). As Britzman also argues, the “uncertain can open pedagogic opportunities” (Britzman, 1991, p. 228). Recognizing that these educational processes will elicit intense and predictable emotional responses, manifest as hysteria, hostility, anger, denial, silence, and/or withdrawal, the learning environment and learner participation need to be framed within certain ground rules that facilitate a working through rather than denial or suppression of difference. Because challenges to knowledge systems and sense of self can be profoundly unsettling, educators need to be skilled in negotiating emotional responses of learners while intervening in and complicating these responses. Recognizing the risks involved, this project requires an educator able to anticipate and
negotiate learner responses that emerge from “shifting paradigms” (hooks, 1994, p. 43). Insisting learners trace the origins of and investments in their emotional responses, Boler demands, we “must learn to question the genealogy of any particular emotional response: my scorn, my evaluation of others' behaviour as good or bad, my irritation – each provides a site for interrogation of...my investments in familiar cultural values” (1997, pp. 266-267). Creating an environment where learner’s understandings of the world and themselves are disrupted has implications for the relationship between educator and learner. Dominant learners often resist these interventions and educators need to be prepared for this lack of instantaneous affirmation. Tracing her own professorial journey, hooks confesses, “the presence of tension – and at times even conflict – often meant that students did not enjoy my classes or love me their, professor, as I secretly wanted them to do” (1994, p. 42). She elaborates “it took time and experience for me to understand that the rewards of engaged pedagogy might not emerge during a course” (hooks, 1994, p. 206).

Application of Theoretical Framework

An economic system can not be judged only by what it does for people, but also by what it does to people. An economic system can not have as a by-product the creation of a sub-race or the death of millions. And the worst of this situation is that anyone who calls attention to it is considered subversive. But subvert only means to turn a situation around and look at it from the other side. I respectfully submit to you that this situation has to be looked at from the other side (Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns cited in Rahnema, 1997c, p. 396)

The theorists we draw on provide an epistemological foundation for the relevance of personal experience as the basis for social transformation. In privileging personal experience and asserting its importance as a pedagogical tool for social change, these theorists move beyond cathartic and benign expressions of experience. According to Britzman, “the process whereby experience becomes meaningful requires that we situate ourselves in history...we are all situated by race, class and gender” (1991, pp. 232-233). This shift to a more critical engagement with experience
is marked by educators’ commitment to engage learners in a critical reading and reframing of reality from different social locations as a basis for intervening with and “acting upon that reality” (Freire, 1997, p. 34) for the purpose of social transformation. This relationship between reflection and action that Freire names praxis, provides a means to recognize the “politicization of memory...that remembering that serves to illuminate and transform the present” (hooks, 1990, p. 147). Articulating the relationship between personal experiences, political consciousness and synthesizing the insights of Smith, Mohanty argues that “if the everyday world is not transparent and its relation of rule, its organizations and institutional frameworks, work to obscure and make invisible inherent hierarchies of power (Smith 1987), it becomes imperative that we rethink, remember, and utilize our lived relations as a basis for knowledge” (1991, pp. 34-35). In our work, we are applying the process of conscientization to Northern development workers to challenge the ease with which Northerners presume a solidarity and affinity with oppressed peoples without interrogating how we are implicated in the disempowerment of others. We recognize it to be the responsibility of Northern development workers “not only to read, understand, and transform their own experiences but also to reconstitute their relationship with the wider society” (Giroux cited in Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. 7). This requires that we locate ourselves in social relations, to speak of how we perpetuate and benefit from systems of power and privilege in order to develop a politics, which takes seriously disinvestments of power.

In order to rethink Northern development worker experiences, practices and pre-departure training, we choose to privilege critical theorists attempting to illuminate the context in which international development is situated. Pedagogy infuses the application of our theoretical framework, both as it is relevant in the formal pre-departure training and as it applies to informal reflective processes. While the focus of our investigation is to explore pedagogical possibilities in pre-departure training, we recognize learning to be a continuous process that occurs prior to and during pre-departure training as well as while Northern development workers are in the South.
and upon their return. Formal training is an opportunity to frame and guide learning processes. In positioning our work for a Northern audience, we recognize but do not focus on Southern resistance struggles and ongoing movements to challenge continued exploitation of the South. While our work is informed by a central premise that people are not “simply erased by the violence” (Razack, 1998, p. 16), as Northern researchers of colour our responsibility is to trace relations of power as they are implicated in Northern development worker practices. The theoretical resources we draw on allow us to see the construction of development workers as a political endeavour in which relations of power are necessarily involved. This framework illuminates and allows us to begin tracing North-South relations and development practices at both a structural and individual level to interlocking systems of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and histories of colonialism.

**Application of a Structural Analysis**

When I give food to the poor, they call me a saint. When I ask why the poor have no food, they call me a communist. — Dom Helder Camara

Recognizing the complexity of the development context, we are relying on an interlocking analysis to make visible the ways in which systems of power operate simultaneously between North and South. While there are many points of entry to examine these relations of power, as Northern researchers the focus of our investigation is to illuminate Northern policies and practices that perpetuate underdevelopment in the South. Through the lens of Northern policies, the inevitability and naturalization of economic poverty in the South is disrupted and historicized.

In noting income ratios, Schuurman tracks the accelerated concentration of wealth and economic marginalization between rich and poor countries, not as a historical fact but a relatively recent development. Referencing Schuurman, Heron documents, “200 years ago income ratios between the richest and poorest countries were 1.5:1; in 1960, 20:1; in 1980, 46:1; and in 1989, 60:1” (Schuurman in Heron, 1999, p. 33). A structural analysis of the context in which development work is situated illuminates the continuity of Northern interests in dictating terms of development
in the South. In the context of African development, Dei synthesizes the relationality between North and South, writing back to “official discourses [that] explain African development problems as being self-imposed and due to internal political dynamics. A counter-challenge to this position draws attention to the continuing reproduction of African poverty in an intense era of Euro-American Hegemony” (Dei, 1996b, p. 251). Muchunguzi and Milne similarly contextualize and historicize North South relations, noting that the “division between rich and poor – North and South – has not developed in a vacuum. Historically, many of the processes which impede true development in the South are inexorably linked to processes occurring in the North” (1995, p. 5). These insights and analyses lead us to ask the initial questions: what is the origin of what we understand development work to be about, what interests do these understandings support and sustain and how can training be organized to support the emergence of a more critical North-South encounter?

**Linking Northern Development Workers Experiences to Structures**

The most frightening thing about imperialism, its long-term toxic effect, what secures it, what cements it, is the benevolent self-representation of the imperialist as saviour (Spivak cited in Razack, 2000, p. 39).

Linking a structural exploration to investigate experiences of Northern development workers in the South can reveal how micro-processes are shaped by larger “social matrices” (Smith, 1987, p. 154). As Smith argues in developing her sociology for women, these structures are not readily apparent within the scope of everyday life but only become visible through tracing “the organization of the immediate and local by social relations extending beyond it” (1987, p. 156). In the context of international development, the insights of the theorists we draw on make relevant locating and politicizing Northern development workers’ identities and experiences in relation to systems of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and histories of colonialism. It is Willinsky’s “call to history” that we invoke in training to reveal the ways in which “the past remains present in the way we tend to see the world” (1998, p. 244). In connecting micro and
macro processes, Northern development workers are more equipped with the analytical tools to systematically and critically read professional and personal encounters in the South. Consumed by the immediacy of experiences and appearances, Northern development workers often mis theorize understandings of themselves, their roles as Northern development workers and accounts of their time in the South in ways that are ahistorical and distorted. For example, as the Muchunguzi and Milne report illuminates, Northern development workers representing Northern NGOs mistakenly assume to be working in partnership with Southern NGOs and communities. In this report, Southern NGO personnel challenge this presumption and rhetoric of partnership as masking Northern interests and policies of increased interference (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995, p. 4). We understand training as an opportunity to provide Northern development workers with a critical framework through which they can analyse their professional and personal experiences in the South as well as challenge and trace existing stereotypes and presuppositions. The possibility of oppositional practices can only be imagined when Northern development workers begin locating their experiences in larger systems of power, rather than emphasizing individual intentions and motivations, as is often the case in the liberal model. In describing the complexity of opposition, Sutherland notes the ineffectiveness of individualizing oppositional practices. She argues:

Opposition is never simple. It occurs not only in resistance to specific localized power relations, but also within larger systems of power, and failure to recognize how they support each other, their mechanisms and enforcement and how my oppositional practice is positioned within these larger systems is not only foolishly myopic but potentially fatal (Sutherland, 1994/95, p. 42).

The questions illuminated through a structural reading of Northern development worker experiences include: do Northern development workers have a facility in connecting Northern economic policies with their experiences in Southern communities, how are their processes of integration related to colonial histories, how are their understandings of local capacity and resources racialized, how do women Northern development workers construct their relationships
with Southern women? While explorations of these questions may have their origins in seemingly independent systems, they provide entry points to understand more holistically the simultaneous operation of systems of power in the development context. The challenge for Northern development workers becomes to investigate “how embedded are we in the arrangements we describe” (Razack, 2000, p. 52)?

**Setting the Material Context**

The myth of globalization contributes to a proliferation of images and impressions in the North, creating the illusion of universal participation in a globalized economy and shared economic prosperity. “The transnational reach of Dallas and the sexual escapades of the British royal family or the Bosnian bloodbath, like the international proliferation of McDonalds, Benetton or Sheraton establishments, confirm the modern prejudice that we all live in ‘one world’ (Sachs, 1992)” (Esteva and Prakash, 1997, p. 279), making it exceedingly difficult to expose the myth of the global village. This “fantasy” (Kothari, 1997, p. 150) of the global village is juxtaposed against the reality of increasing disparities in wealth both between and within North and South. In material terms, the South continues to finance Northern economic development. In the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) figures from 1982-1990, total resource flows to developing countries totaled $927 billion. As George documents, “much of this inflow was not in the form of grants but was rather new debt, on which dividends or interest will naturally come due in the future” (1997, p. 209). In the same time period, developing countries remitted $1345 billion in debt service alone, including both interest and principal to creditor countries. The difference of $418 billion in favour of Northern states (George, 1997, pp. 209-210) leads to the question, whose economic interests are advanced through development aid? As Esteva and Prakash astutely observe, “far from being ‘globalized’,

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12 These resources include “all official bilateral and multilateral aid, grants by private charities, trade credits plus direct private investment and bank loans” (George, 1997, p. 209).
the real lives of most people on Earth are clearly marginalized from any ‘global’ way of life (1997, p. 285). To sustain these relations of exploitation, there is also a collusion of Southern elites, protecting and furthering Northern interests. The participation of Southern elites further legitimizes the illusion that all benefit from and are willing to participate in Northern dictated development models. These elites who Petras names the “imperial collaborators …backed by the banks and multinationals, they wield immense power…opening their country and peoples to savage exploitation in the name of free trade” (1997, pp. 187-188). As Sachs concludes “the best one can say is that development has created a global middle class of those with cars, bank accounts and career aspirations. It is made up of the majority in the North and small elites in the South and its size equals roughly that 8 percent of the world population which owns an automobile” (1996, p. 241).

Historicizing development and underdevelopment within a colonial context, and contemporarizing them in imperial relations (Heron, 1999, p. 220), we rely on critical theorists to explore implications for the ways in which development workers are prepared for participation in development projects in the South. We identify our project as one based in the “causal relationship between First World economic policies and Third World underdevelopment” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 165). As critical scholars argue, while there has been a “Northern conceptual delinking of development from colonialism” (Heron, 1999, p. 12), the development enterprise is predicated on intensifying relations of exploitation, institutionalized under colonialism. What remains uninterrupted are relations of economic exploitation in which Said

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13 While we are aware of complex relations between global elites in both North and South, our work focuses on the implication of the North and Northerners in these relations.
14 We are using Tuhiwai Smith’s understanding of colonialism and imperialism that recognizes the “two terms are interconnected and…that colonialism is but one expression of imperialism (1999, p. 22). We are using Linda Y. C. Lim’s understanding of imperialism as a “system of military, political, economic and cultural domination of the Third World by its former colonial masters…historically the outgrowth of capitalist development in the West. In the economic sphere, it is characterized by the exploitation of natural and human resources in the Third World by western capitalist enterprises” (1997, p. 217).
argues, “old divisions between colonizer and colonized have re-emerged in what is often referred to as the North-South relationship” (1993, p. 17). This delinking of colonialism from development masks that post-independence, Northern countries sought mechanisms to continue their domination of Southern countries in order to maintain access to natural resources, markets for consumer goods, cheap and abundant labour (Rahnema, 1997a, p. ix). As Tuhiwai Smith insightfully observes, even when the colonizers “have left formally, the institutions and legacy of colonialism have remained” (1999, p. 98). While noting the continuity of these relations, Rahnema and others illuminate the ways in which development has packaged itself as an “even more pernicious form of colonialism...now coming as a friend and a saviour, as a grave-digger of colonialism, wearing the mask of liberation... to help them ‘catch-up’ with their previous masters” (Rahnema, 1997b, pp. 118-119). These critical theorists locate development to be part of the ongoing imperial project, disguised in the language of “‘progress’, ‘modernization’, ‘development’, ‘growth’” and rationalized as “‘civilizing mission’, ‘economic efficiency’, ‘friendly advice’” (Shanin, 1997, p. 66). Implicit in these understandings is the structural dependence of developing countries as requiring the assistance of the more developed North in order to replicate a Northern model of development assumed to be universal, possible and desirable. Willinsky maps the North’s entitlement to universally define. As he argues, “this idea of ourselves as knowing others better than they know themselves has long been a source of Western identity and license” (Willinsky, 1998, p. 262). Firmly lodged in this discourse is also an understanding of progress and modernization recognizable only as industrialization and urbanization (Lele, 1996, p. 28). What this understanding of development lacks is the material relationality between North and South and the economic prosperity of the North that is predicated on the economic underdevelopment of the South. Now coined in the language of aid and assistance, knowledge/technology transfers, capacity building and participatory approaches, development paradigms and practices mystify material relations of exploitation in which the North and Northern development workers are implicated. Given this context, we understand the
role of facilitators to work with Northern development workers in deconstructing development
rhetoric and making clear economic connections between North and South and the ideology
underlying this exploitation.

Given the continuity of power imbalances and inequitable access to resources between
underdeveloped and developed countries, it is necessary for Northern development workers to
situate themselves as dominant in North-South relations. Recognizing the increasing
concentration of power and its exercise through abstract entities, Sutherland indicates the
difficulty in isolating actors to account for the power they wield. She observes this operation of
power, asking:

As power becomes ever more concentrated, yet at the same time exercised
across great distances, and more invested in remote and abstract entities
(the transnational corporations, the global economy, the World Bank) and
less in identifiable individuals, the victims are usually clear enough, but
who are the ‘perpetrators’ (Sutherland, 1994/95, p. 51)?

In responding to this question, Razack demonstrates that processes of accountability demand
consideration of “how I am implicated in the flow of ideas, labour and capital that marks the
financialization of the globe” (2000, p. 39). For Northern development workers, this requires
tracing the specific material benefits they incur through the structured underdevelopment of the
South, particularly as a result of processes of wealth extraction. These same processes also
secure lucrative employment and travel opportunities in international development. In his
reflections as a Northern development worker, Keough recognizes that international development
has its origins in a colonial legacy and refers to this as the “undeniable culpability in the
underdevelopment we work against” (1998, p. 194).

Making Race Salient

Common sense understandings of what constitutes good development practices circulate widely
in the North and are embedded in understandings that Southerners can and need to become more
like Northerners. This “anaesthetized consciousness, the one and only way of thinking”
(Ramonet, 1997, p. 181), has produced a “space in which only certain things could be said and even imagined” (Escobar, 1997, p. 85) in development discourse. Training provides a space in which facilitators can challenge Northern development workers to complicate their implicit assumptions about development work and underdevelopment in the South. The critical theorists we draw on make explicit connections between colonialism, capitalism and development, challenging Northern imaginings of development. They identify as problematic the foundational ideology of Northern superiority that informs international development policies and interventions “of the most powerful in our communities ‘designing futures’ for others” (Dei, 1996a, p. 18). An application of an interlocking analysis of oppression further illuminates how Northern development worker interventions in the South are also constituted through white supremacy, ubiquitous but rarely named in Northern development discourse. Following Essed, Dei demonstrates the changing language but continuity of racist practices apparent in “conventional discourses about ‘international development.’ African peoples, for example, may no longer be seen as biologically inferior. They may be seen as techno-culturally inadequate” (Dei, 1996a, p. 47). Cultural difference is a mechanism to pathologize and render deficient the difference of the other now named cultural rather than racial. It is in relation to this less civilized other that understandings of the dominant as civilized and advanced are sustained (Razack, 1995, p. 71). The theorists we rely on constantly call attention to structural systems and historical relations of oppression and domination in which the story of individual deficiency and group pathology are contested and deconstructed. We recast articulations of the North as developed, modern, civilized, knowledgeable and technologically sophisticated in relation to the South described as undeveloped, traditional, primitive, backward and lacking capacity, typically understood to be expressions of Northern superiority, as also racist. These racialized views of the South also regulate Northern perceptions of Southern women. Homogenous portrayals of Southern women as victims of patriarchal cultures, traditions and religious customs in relation to liberated, educated and professional Northern women obscure the marginalization of Southern
women through Northern economic policies while also presuming the liberation of Northern women. Identifying the inadequacy of focusing exclusively on patriarchy, Tuhiwai Smith addresses the interlocking effects of oppression. She observes, “moves to discuss patriarchy without addressing imperialism and racism are always reframed by indigenous women, and of course other minority women, as inadequate analyses...in the end indigenous men and women have to live together in a world in which both genders are under attack” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 154). The focus on patriarchy through which women are victims and oppressed primarily in relation to Southern men also distorts the interlocking impact of racism and patriarchy and their intensification through capitalism. As Razack argues, a focus on:

‘barbaric’ customs of non-Western cultures, for example, female genital mutilation...tak...
challenged is the racism and condescension of the Northern development community working to empower, educate and build capacity in Southern communities. While these development models appear to be responsive to and respectful of Southern knowledges, customs and visions, they continue to rely on Northern personnel, skills and technology to achieve Northern conceptions of development in and for the South. Sutherland isolates the self-interest of Northerners in continuing to secure for themselves, access to the "Third World."

Today, there are still hordes of Northern ‘experts,’ ‘advisors,’ and ‘researchers’ in the South...I suspect there are still relatively few willing to engage in a rigorous examination of their own major stake in the perpetuation of the colonial relations of power underpinning their ‘knowledge’ production, in spite of a considerable body of critique from ‘Third World’ intellectuals (1994/95, p. 45).

Recognizing the defensiveness and denial of Northern development workers when asked to confront their own material gains and investments through participation in international development, facilitators require skills in managing and using conflict to further learning in pre-departure training.

Dei synthesizes Northern development practices, noting how development continues to be directed by Northern interests and understandings. He names the racism prevalent in these practices in Africa:

‘development’ is conceptualized on their [African countries] behalf. Development is defined in relation to what White middle-class Westerners perceive African peoples lack and/or what they are expected to become. Local views, conceptions and initiatives about development are discarded because, in the political language of some international development agencies, local peoples have nothing to offer. This approach to development on the continent may not merely be Eurocentric and male-biased, it is also racist (Dei 1994a)” (Dei, 1996a, pp. 47-48)

Understanding race to be a “‘fundamental principle of social organization and identity formation’” (Omi and Winant cited in Dei, 1996a, p. 48), the theoretical resources we draw on allow us to explore race as it defines the experiences of Northern development workers in the South. Dei convincingly argues for the transformative potential of an integrated anti-racist
analysis as it compels a linking of material conditions to white power. He states, “anti-racism acknowledges the reality of racism in society and the potential for change. It moves beyond acknowledgement of the material conditions that structure societal inequality to question white power and privilege and its accompanying rationale for dominance” (Dei, 1996b, p. 254). Given the prevalence of white Northern development workers and how white supremacy informs international development, an interlocking analysis of oppression in training allows us to consider and theorize how Northern development workers are located in relation to Southern communities, predominately of colour. It also enables us to investigate processes of negotiating racial identities for white Northern development workers and Northern development workers of colour. This investigation, however, remains grounded in an exploration of whiteness that recognizes “there are enormous social, political and economic benefits that historically have accrued, and continue to accrue, to certain individuals in society due to the dominance of White (male) power” (Dei, 1996a, p. 28).

In her 1999 dissertation, Heron employs an analysis of interlocking oppression to respond to the undertheorization of race as well as class in Northern development theories. She argues African theorists, producing bodies of knowledge that elucidate the relationship between racism and colonialism are marginalized as a result of the “Northern conceptual delinking of development from colonialism” (Heron, 1999, p. 12). This produces a peripheralization of race in Northern development theories and critiques. Heron’s work illuminates the pervasiveness of race in both macro conceptualizations of development as well as Northern development worker practices in the South. We take up in more detail her discussion of identity constitution of white women Northern development workers and its relevance to our own investigation.

Addressing the peripheralization of race and class in Northern development theories, Heron investigates the micro-processes through which white Canadian women development workers constitute their identities and negotiate relations of power in the South (1999, p. 7). She allows us
to imagine how Northern development workers acting on behalf of the nation state, become accountable for historical and contemporary interventions in countries of the South. Problematizing her own position of dominance and privilege, Heron’s work is an interrogation of her own involvement in development initiatives over a ten-year period and extends to an exploration of the identities of white women Canadian development workers in sub-Saharan Africa. Involving seventeen other white women research participants, Heron critically evaluates the position of these white women in relation to predominantly people of colour with a recent history of colonization in which these white Northern women are implicated. At the same time, she also acknowledges the possibility that the performance of dominance can be disrupted and resisted. Heron concludes that the desire for development on the part of white women development workers is also a desire to know and save the other while simultaneously claiming “non-implication in systems of oppression” (Razack, 1998, p. 170). She argues that this is achieved through an investment “in not seeing our participation in domination” (Heron, 1999, p. 218). In an effort to story themselves as innocent, Canadian development workers rely on and sustain distorted and selective historical accounts of nation. Razack elaborates the fashioning of this Canadian identity in the following way:

In the Canadian context, the imperialist as saviour of Third World peoples is an important construct in nation building. Canadians define themselves as unimplicated in the genocide of Native peoples or the enslavement of African peoples, a position of innocence that is especially appealing because it enables Canadians to imagine themselves as distinct from Americans. Canadians also mark themselves as the peacekeepers of the world, as living in a country that welcomes immigrants and as having few imperialist pretensions (1998, p. 89).

In the final analysis, Heron argues white women development workers construct and preserve themselves within a fictionalized narrative of innocence that also corresponds to a Canadian story of non-implication in imperial relations.
Conclusion

In order to rethink Northern development worker experiences, practices and pre-departure training, we rely on critical theorists to illuminate the context in which international development is situated. Pedagogy infuses the application of our theoretical framework, both as it is relevant in formal pre-departure training and as it applies to informal reflective processes. The theorists we draw on provide an epistemological foundation for the relevance of personal experience as the basis for social transformation. This requires that we locate ourselves in social relations to speak of how we perpetuate and benefit from systems of power and privilege in order to develop politics and practices, which take seriously disinvestments of power. Drawing on an interlocking analysis of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and colonial histories, Northern development workers are equipped with the analytical resources to understand themselves and experiences in relation to these systems. The commitment to engage systematically and persistently in this work marks the distinction between liberal and critical approaches to social change.

The uniqueness of Heron’s work is in exploring the micro-processes of identity negotiation and connecting them back to historical and contemporary systems of power and privilege, drawing particular attention to race and class in the Northern development context. Our research similarly investigates how Northern development workers/facilitators understand their professional roles and the meaning they have made of their time in the South. Heron’s work also leads us to consider the implications of these reflections for the organization and facilitation of training programs for Northern development workers. As articulated in Chapter 1, this inquiry into training programs, the focus of the second thesis in this study, is an effort to understand how facilitators intervene to influence Northern development workers’ understandings of what constitutes the North-South encounter in the context of international development. What emerges from the critical perspectives of theorists is the demand for accountability, partly through a demystification of the development paradigm and self-reflexivity of interventions of Northern
development workers in the South. Heron’s demand to develop a “politics of accountability prior to any such engagement” (1999, p. 233) in the development enterprise, is a call to engage in rigorous training efforts through which good intentions, cultural mastery, racist assumptions and dehistoricized understandings of development are disrupted.
CHAPTER 4
TRAINING GOALS AND STRATEGIES

In this sense, education is critical and ethical. It means asking tough, often disruptive questions, and changing the way we live our lives (Martusewicz and Reynolds).

Chapter Introduction

In the following two chapters, we draw on participants’ explorations and understandings of the role of Northern development worker and development worker practices in the South as they inform the organization of and priorities for training. We direct the reader to the first thesis in this study, entitled Encounters with Northern Development Workers: Reflections from the “Field” as it documents in detail participants’ reflections of their experiences as development workers, providing the context for understanding their goals and strategies for training.

The theoretical resources we previously outline inform our processes of analyzing, organizing and interpreting participants’ approaches to training. While their narratives and observations demonstrate complexities and nuances, we were able to discern from them two broad categories, cross-cultural and critical, representing different approaches to culture, power and identity in training Northern development workers. These categories are not meant to homogenize or represent as uncomplicated participants’ reflections of their experiences as Northern development workers or their training practices as facilitators. However, this division represents our reading and analysis of participants’ approaches to training and theories of teaching and learning. While we recognize and document points of convergence, we understand cross-cultural and critical approaches to pre-departure training to reflect two distinct conceptual categories when assessed as a whole. We understand all participants’ conceptualizations and delivery of training to be equally ideological and political. While participants in the cross-cultural section often use the language of power and privilege, they concentrate their training efforts and strategies on preparing Northern development workers for cultural differences that they will encounter in the South, emphasizing cultural awareness, self-development and integration in Southern
communities. In the critical training section, participants elaborate the operation and impact of systems of power and privilege in international development. They articulate training goals and employ strategies to equip Northern development workers with critical skills and analyses to reframe their understanding of and participation in the South. Participants hope that by explicating and exploring systems of power and privilege and their identity implications, Northern development workers will be better able to trace the extent to which power informs their experiences in the North and South. Six of the fifteen participants reflect a cross-cultural approach while the remaining nine reflect a more critical approach to training Northern development workers. We did not assume there to be, nor was there a correlation between participants' race or gender and their conceptualizations of training. This chapter is divided into two main sections, cross-cultural and critical training. At the start of each section, we provide a brief synthesis of the main themes. We then elaborate participants' accounts of training Northern development workers, particularly as they illuminate issues of identity.

Cross-Cultural Training

Introduction

Participants training primarily within a cross-cultural framework argue that in order for Northern development workers to adapt to life and work successfully in the South, they must become aware of their habits of interpreting the world. This exploration of Northern development workers' values and assumptions then emerges as a central goal in organizing training. Participants also understand training as an opportunity to provide Northern development workers with the necessary skills, awareness and information to cope with and adapt to life and work in a Southern culture. Training goals are oriented to prepare Northern development workers for these experiences, providing them with tools and framework pieces to guide their learning and integration. To realize these training goals, participants emphasize pedagogical strategies that actively involve Northern development workers in the learning process. They attempt to orient
training strategies to be responsive to Northern development workers’ concerns and preoccupations while also providing them with relevant development and country specific information.

**Goals for Training**

**Self-Development and Cultural Awareness**

Most participants acknowledge that power intervenes to shape personal and professional encounters that Northern development workers have in Southern communities. What becomes evident is how participants’ reading of power, framed and negotiated in cultural terms, impacts the conceptualization of training. For some participants, the starting point for training is that all people, often unknowingly, employ a cultural lens influenced by national history and heritage that shapes a reading of the world. Participants argue that in order for Northern development workers to adapt to life and work successfully in the South, they must become aware of their interpretations of the world. Relying on their own experiences, participants elaborate that Northern development workers are typically unaware of the values and assumptions they routinely employ in the North. However in moving from North to South, these become apparent given cultural differences and the loss of familiarity that Northern development workers experience. A goal of training is to make visible Canadian norms, values and assumptions that shape development workers’ readings of the world and to prepare them for their initial disorientation in the South. In training, Kate prepares Northern development workers for the inevitability of these emotional responses, drawing attention to their own, often unacknowledged values and assumptions. She asks Northern development workers to consider:

_the known elements of our culture. What kind of things are typically Canadian, things we can see, know within our consciousness...you can see about 10% and about 90% is submerged. Those are values, assumptions and a whole lot you don’t see until you’re taken out of it - patterns of thought, feelings, experiences in life. At each level you have an emotional response when these shift, an emotional response. Going overseas is very different, taken out from what you know and placed in place foreign to you. It often feels like an affront, offence...this is exactly the kind of stuff_
that will happen when in a culture radically different from your own and this stuff will come up (Kate, p. 1).15

Participants argue that in order for Northern development workers to recognize for themselves the enactment of their cultural lens, they need to become self-aware and reflective. Participants organize training to encourage them to engage in self-reflective exercises that involve asking questions about cultural beliefs and practices that inform who they are as Canadians, their own motivations for participating in international development and expectations of life in the South. This illuminates the specificities of Northern development workers' cultural framework. Graham articulates this priority for training as “part of this goal of getting people to question themselves and to understand that they’re the filter in their world” (Graham 4 7, p. 11).16 Participants, therefore, organize training to explore with Northern development workers this shared lens as well as the specificities of their filter, also shaped by family, friends and sense of self. For example, in working with Northern development workers to develop a Canadian cultural profile, Kate notes their facility in identifying aspects of a national identity but also encourages them to complicate these understandings to account for the particulars within the shared profile. She directs them to think more about what diversity means in the Canadian context and how this might affect a common cultural lens. Kate recalls the tendency of Northern development workers to easily accept stereotypical aspects of Canada, such as hockey and cold winters, as framing their perception of a shared cultural profile. As a facilitator, she intervenes to encourage them to complicate their profile, particularly to consider diversity within Canada. Kate is cautious that

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15 Dialogue extracted from our observations of training is cited in italics. We coded observations by participant and include page numbers from each participant file. We have added commas, periods, dashes and question marks according to our interpretation of participants' speech pattern. Dashes represent pauses in speech and bolded words reflect participants' emphases while speaking. While we minimally edited participants' articulations, we have made every effort to preserve and convey their intended meaning.

16 In coding the data, we used NUDIST software. In this citation, 4 7 refers to the node or file number followed by the page number. In cases where we extracted quotes from the transcript, the page number of the transcript is followed by a T, for example Kate 2T. We have added commas, periods, dashes and question marks according to our interpretation of participants' speech pattern. Dashes represent pauses in speech and bolded words reflect participants' emphases while speaking. While we minimally edited participants' articulations, we have made every effort to preserve and convey their meaning.
while Northern development workers need to uncover their own cultural composition in order to effectively adapt in the South, these explorations tend to homogenize both Canadian and Southern cultures. They therefore require skillful debriefing to make apparent the complexities of cultural diversity. While participants are hopeful that training can initiate these processes of awareness raising and self-questioning, they acknowledge that reframing of values requires time and experience in the South.

In training, participants also prepare Northern development workers for the misreadings that result when Southern people employ a culturally specific lens through which to view them. They warn that these cultural interpretations, often invoked by both Northerners and Southerners can result in premature assumptions, conclusions and misunderstandings. In the same way that Northern development workers carry understandings of Southerners, Ron draws attention to Southern stereotypes of Northerners. As he comments, training needs to raise Northern development workers' awareness to “realize when they go overseas that there will be stereotypes of them” (Ron 4 3, p. 47). For example, some participants describe the difficulty in being received as experts by Southerners, though they themselves do not understand their professional contribution in this way. Kate reflects on her own perception of being received as an expert by the Southern community despite her own desire to work in more participatory ways. She comments, “whether or not you go in with that attitude sometimes [Southern] people can greet you in that way too and - can expect that as a Northern development worker too when you get to the community level” (Kate, p. 7T). This elevated status presents obstacles to effective integration in Southern communities, reinforcing hierarchical relationships that Northern development workers must be prepared to negotiate. Monica also shares her interpretation of how she and other Northern development workers are perceived by Southern community members. She describes the presence of white Canadian development workers as being linked with gender projects in the South. She shares this observation with Northern development
workers in training, "they [Southerners] see your white face and say oh gender and they get ready for this and they see [name of Canadian development organization] and they say gender" (Monica, p. 1).

In addition to raising cultural awareness, some participants go further to also include sessions on anti-discrimination and respect for differences that include race, gender and sexuality. Within these sessions, some participants also make efforts to challenge Northern development workers' stereotypes of Southern people and places. Ron notes the tendency of Northern development workers to position Southern people as helpless and requiring Northern intervention. He hopes that training can adjust some of these initial understandings of Southern people and their role as Northern development workers in the South. Ron explicates that Northern development workers “have this notion that they’re [Southerners are] helpless and...I guess from the point they arrive by the end of the training, [I hope] that they realize that what they originally thought about going overseas is maybe different and has changed” (Ron 4 3, p. 47). In their capacity as trainers, participants organize training to facilitate self-awareness and promote Northern development workers to behave in ways that are culturally sensitive and balanced.

**Personal and Professional Integration**

Beyond raising cultural and self-awareness, participants also understand training as an opportunity to provide Northern development workers with the necessary skills, awareness and information to cope with and adapt to life and work in a Southern culture. As Alannah argues, it is crucial to provide Northern development workers with the “skills that they need so that they are not overwhelmed by a different culture” (Alannah 4 3, p. 33). Relying on their own adaptation processes as Northern development workers in the South, participants organize training to prepare Northern development workers for the challenges of integrating in Southern communities and places of work. Graham reflects on his own experience of adaptation, recalling the isolation he felt living in a Southern culture for an extended period of time without contact with people from
his home culture. Describing these feelings of isolation as comparable to being in solitary confinement, Graham narrates his experience in the following way, "I've been in postings myself where I haven't talked to another person from my own culture for months and months and months. And I know what's it's like, you come out and you feel a bit weird, it's like having been in solitary confinement or having been put in isolation with all of these stimulus" (Graham, p. 7T). Participants encourage Northern development workers not to idealize processes of integration, communicating to them that their time in the South will be marked by high and low moments. They hope that in providing them with a guide to the stages of adaptation, Northern development workers will be better prepared to cope with periods of uncertainty, isolation, frustration and dislocation that often accompany living and working in the South. Participants emphasize the importance of developing coping strategies but also stress that making mistakes in personal and professional interactions is an inevitable part of the adaptation process. However, they encourage Northern development workers to maintain a positive outlook, suspend judgment of Southern people, be open to new ways of work and demonstrate willingness to take risks and experience a new culture. Participants promote the value of maintaining an optimistic perspective and welcoming body language despite barriers of language and cultural difference. In the following exchange in training, Graham affirms these overtures by Northern development workers as his own experience confirms their value:

SI: If you smile, it will solve many problems, smile and smile.17
G: So what you're saying is you can develop contact or communication without language. As a Thai person said to me, we Asians have heart contact (Graham, p. 3).

For participants, of importance is the recognition that Northern development workers resist imposing culturally specific truths to Southern practices and ways of life. Monica emphasizes that training needs to help Northern development workers move beyond the us and them that

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17 Where we reference Northern development workers comments in training, we use S followed by a number.
characterizes international development, to recognize that their work involves people, not projects. Participants stress the need to work with Southerners to improve their lives in ways that demonstrate a common humanity. In training, Monica points out that the language of development "leads us to believe that it is us and them. We need to internalize that we are all humans. It is about people because working with them to develop projects, not done to them. How can I as a development worker be a part of what people are doing to improve their lives" (Monica, p. 1)?

In addition to providing Northern development workers with an awareness of their cultural lens and how it operates across North and South, participants encourage Northern development workers to anticipate cross-cultural conflict. They advise Northern development workers that they will inevitably feel frustrated in a new cultural and work environment and use training to collectively explore coping strategies. In their capacity as trainers, participants also prioritize skill development in conflict negotiation and cross-cultural communication. This requires that Northern development workers rely on self-awareness, skills of observation, seeking clarification and dialogue as mechanisms to mediate conflict. Recognizing that conflict often results when people from different cultures interact, participants encourage Northern development workers to develop a tolerance for ambiguity that would allow them to refrain from judging right and wrong. Kate describes her attempts to incorporate into training "an intercultural awareness, sensitivity and way of communicating and idea that hmm not everybody thinks like you do [laughter] and not everybody addresses, will deal with conflict in the same way...so trying to capture that somehow" (Kate 4 3, p. 39). In training, Kate encourages Northern development workers to be tolerant and step away from situations that they may find intensely frustrating, particularly in professional contexts. She counsels Northern development workers to "know self and limits. If you're getting feelings of frustration, take it somewhere else, go home and write a letter home or
vent to someone or something else. Don’t allow it to influence you where you have to, want to maintain professionalism in work place” (Kate, p. 2). Participants recognize that processes of adaptation can be supported if in addition to raising self-awareness and providing tools for adaptation and conflict negotiation, Northern development workers also have access to relevant development and country specific information in training. This includes health and safety seminars, travel logistics and country profiles. As well, many participants facilitate sessions more specifically related to current development issues, including program planning, evaluation and approaches to community development. Monica identifies training as an initial opportunity to make Northern development workers aware of the larger political and economic context in which international development is located. Because training is short term, Monica is pragmatic in her approach and focuses attention on the impact of larger forces that determine the role of Northern development workers:

for me, we should be realistic about what training can achieve, what we're talking about is short term training delivered to development workers - I think the most we can do is - to make people aware - very acutely aware that there is this broader environment that surrounds us. It's very big, it involves a lot players, it has very dramatic impacts on those that we're trying to work with...so to understand, I think it's really important to bring people's attention and the fact that we need to understand what these big forces are (Monica 1 3, pp. 10-11).

Monica names globalization and the necessity to explore its impact on the practice of development and the lives of Southern people, particularly women. It is within this context that she organizes training to complicate Northern development workers’ romanticized understandings of participation. She provides them with realistic situations to negotiate institutional constraints, often a “cold shower on your big ideals” (Monica, p. 19T). Participants observe that without this larger context for understanding development work, Northern development workers are more likely to exhibit a lack of continuity between intellectual comprehension and emotional responses, making more difficult their processes of integration. For example, Monica describes Northern development workers as often lacking coherence
between their intellectual understandings of development and emotional responses to economic poverty in the South. In describing his own experiences, Graham also notes the challenges of processing a difficult experience in the South, recognizing the need to bring together intellectual and emotional responses. He reflects, “that's an intellectual understanding for me as an outsider, at an emotional level I still had to deal with the incident itself” (Graham 4 6, p. 21). Given the extent to which she understands international development to be value-based work, Monica articulates the need for training to synthesize self-development with relevant knowledge and expertise:

I think people need to develop themselves more, I would put more emphasis on self-development than before. Before I thought it was more in a sort of knowledge area, what you needed to know. I still think that you need to know lots of things but I think you need to develop yourself also as a person, to work on your own values because it's really value-based kind of work - the way I see it, I mean not everybody sees it this way but I think it's value-based work (Monica 4 3, p. 44).

While all participants express the importance of organizing training to reflect a balance between personal growth and development specific expertise, some do so primarily to provide Northern development workers with skills needed for long-term careers in international development. The focus of training then emphasizes current development issues, largely determined by the Northern donor community. As Alannah articulates, “the learning objectives are basically to provide development workers with an opportunity to get insight into the skills that a career in international development would require...that is one of the, that is the primary objective” (Alannah, p. 2T). In this case, training priorities are organized to provide Northern development workers with skills not only to be successful in current international development placements but also beyond.
Strategies for Training

Framework Pieces

Relying on their own adaptation processes in the South, participants present Northern development workers with framework pieces to prepare them for the challenges of professional and personal integration in the South. Participants provide these framework pieces as a tentative guide for Northern development workers to anticipate and negotiate the complexity of life and development work in the South. For example, participants use a graph to plot distinct phases, marked by predictable highs and lows that Northern development workers often experience while in the South. They note that the initial phase of being in the South is marked by great enthusiasm and openness to new experiences. Recognizing this initial euphoria cannot be sustained, participants elaborate the experiences of frustration and disillusionment that may follow. The desired goal is for Northern development workers to achieve an emotional equilibrium during their time in the South, illustrated by steady points on the graph that reflect a balance between the extreme highs and lows. Participants caution Northern development works to use this graph as an analogy and tool to anticipate processes of adaptation in the South. Kate describes these different stages of adaptation:

*don’t get too attached to each stage. It’s a tool, analogy to take away - part of knowing you’re in cultural shock is recognizing you’re in it...honeyymoon stage, positive attitude towards differences, pretty healthy, energetic, curious, fascinated. Start to feel certain frustrations...continual differences you’re trying to tolerate but don’t know what to do with, worn down, notice self making judgments...things get rough...lucky things don’t end there. Moments of I hate this place, hate it, hate it feels endless but it’s just a moment. It does end, it’s a state...start to level out and integrate, adapt, on ups and downs like at home (Kate, p. 3).*

Some participants extend this framework piece, having Northern development workers plot and share a prior experience of adapting to life in the South. Participants emphasize debriefing, allowing Northern development workers to collectively share and explore coping strategies to live and work effectively across cultures.
For other participants, framework pieces focus more explicitly on professional integration. They explore work related challenges that often result from parameters set by the international donor community, affecting Northern and Southern organizations. For example, Monica explicates the phases of the project cycle for Northern development workers to explore the difficulties in designing and implementing development projects in the South. She complicates Northern development workers' romanticizations of participatory development, highlighting how Northern funding and time constraints as well as already overburdened Southern communities intervene to challenge meaningful participatory efforts.

**Interactive Learning Strategies**

Interactive training strategies de-emphasize facilitator centred approaches, prioritizing small and large group learning. Participants understand these strategies as conducive to encouraging Northern development workers to learn from one another through discussions and group activities. As well, these activities encourage and build group cohesiveness, providing Northern development workers with a "common experience" (Graham 4 8, p. 22). Participants use interactive learning strategies to effectively prepare Northern development workers for the challenges that they will experience while living and working in the South. Relying on learning games, simulations, role-plays and case studies, participants organize training to engage Northern development workers in non-threatening ways while also illuminating the challenges of adapting to personal and professional life in the South. They emphasize these strategies as they extend Northern development workers' capacity to be self-aware and reflective around their identities, motivations and expectations of themselves and Southern communities. Grounded in Northern development workers' prior experiences and knowledge, these strategies are intended to illuminate Northern development workers' norms, values and assumptions in ways that participants understand to be crucial to their adaptation in the South. In using interactive learning methodologies in training, participants recreate and work through situations Northern
development workers are likely to encounter in the South. Recognizing the impossibility of preparing Northern development workers for every circumstance, some participants organize learning activities that emphasize processes of working across different cultures that Northern development workers can apply to various situations.

To synthesize pertinent issues of personal and professional adaptation, participants use simulations and role-plays in training. For example, Monica organizes Northern development workers in teams to simulate project development and implementation, emphasizing teamwork, self-development and self-reflection. She favours this strategy as it compels Northern development workers to invest themselves intellectually and emotionally in a learning experience. Monica elaborates her rationale and observations of Northern development workers in using this strategy:

they would have a project... to develop so I would have them work on it and then - reflect on it...it's a mix of role play - case studies, and self-reflection, they need to really think about - what can I do, what prevents me from - trusting people more, what are the things that maybe a bit of introspection...with the simulation people just really get into it and they forget that they're in a simulation and that's what you want to do...that's what you want them to achieve, and you want people to invest themselves personally into something so that -- it creates - there is a learning situation there for them (Monica 4 8, pp. 31-32).

Participants stress the need for all interactive activities to be followed up by in-depth debriefings, making explicit connections between activities and their relevance for Northern development workers. For example, Kate encourages Northern development workers to make links between interactive learning activities and their application in cross-cultural situations, asking, "how would it [name of interactive learning game] apply in cross-cultural contexts, what kinds of things here would apply? Body language, rules or values, different rules, different interpretations, assumptions you walk into and bring to new places, intonation, word choice" (Kate, p. 1)?
Some participants use interactive whole group activities to facilitate processes of exploring Northern development workers’ identities, attempting to make connections to social relations of power. For example, in the context of training for a cross-cultural exchange, Kate facilitates an activity designed to demonstrate the complexity of identity and the privileges incurred through different identity locations. As a facilitator, she asks the group specific questions pertaining to their race, gender and sexual orientation that learners answer by moving to different parts of the room that correspond to positions of privilege and penalty. This movement of bodies is designed to make apparent how learners are positioned and privileged relative to others in the group. Prioritizing the safety of learners, this activity remains confidential and their responses are not subject to questioning from the facilitator or peers. Kate reflects on the effectiveness of this particular strategy, especially when followed by in-depth debriefings, “it’s actually a very powerful game, it’s a very powerful experience for people. I’ve seen it work very well and have very fruitful debriefings about it…to get issues out on the table like that you know” (Kate 4 8, p. 27).

**Educational Materials**

Participants organize training to also include documentaries, current events, and relevant statistics. They use these educative materials to introduce new perspectives and challenge Northern development workers to rethink assumptions about the North and complicate their understandings of development work. For example, Ron presents a video that speaks to the persistence of racism in a North American context, followed by a group discussion. Given the explicitly anti-racist focus of this documentary, it provides Northern development workers with a starting point to collectively explore the relevance of anti-racism to their experiences in the North as well as in international development. Kate uses pertinent statistics throughout a session to challenge Northern development workers’ assumptions about North and South. For her, the potential of this information is to “get people thinking or opening, open another way, another
view or thought... that's a powerful example when you hear something like that so I like that kind of - injection throughout the session" (Kate, p. 16T). Monica introduces current readings and shares her professional resources and work experiences to highlight the possibilities and limitations that inhere in international development organizations. For example, she provides Northern development workers with readings and narrations of her experiences that juxtapose the World Bank rhetoric of participation with the reality of structural adjustment policies. While Graham also uses visual material to enhance learning, he recognizes its potential to redirect unproductive learning dynamics. For example, when he observes that Northern development workers are preoccupied with prior negative experiences in the South, he strategically uses visual materials to focus this energy in more productive ways, noting "I do believe we made the right decision on the second day to go with visual information acquire - calm down group" (Graham 48, p. 22). He also recognizes the potential of using visual materials to provide a context for discussing sensitive issues, particularly as they generate emotional responses conducive to learning.

**Conclusion**

In this section, participants articulate training goals that prioritize the successful personal and professional integration of Northern development workers in Southern communities. Within this model, the focus of training becomes to produce the ideal development worker who is able to acquire an understanding of and sensitivity to Southern cultures. In framing training goals and strategies in this way, participants emphasize negotiating cultural differences through Northern development workers' awareness of their own interpretive frameworks that are culturally informed. In invoking this common cultural framework, participants unproblematically assume something that is shared amongst all Canadian development workers. While there is an acknowledgement of Canadian multiculturalism and recognition that individuals may experience Canada differently, there remains in training, a dominant understanding of Canada that is not
disrupted. This presumption of a shared Canadian identity also obscures a meaningful investigation into how development workers are positioned hierarchically, in relation to one another in the North, and the relevance this holds for their experiences and integration in the South. When participants extend the inquiry in training to include systems of power, these explorations tend to be contained to specific sessions and the goal is to raise Northern development workers’ general awareness of power dynamics. Rarely do participants demand that Northern development workers see themselves as actors in systems of power and privilege or trace the benefits that they incur through their locations. For these participants, experience and emotion are used to clarify Northern development workers’ values and assumptions rather than illuminate the operation of and participation in systems of power. Participants’ emphasis on cross-cultural proficiency and overcoming individual and cultural differences displaces a systematic and comprehensive inquiry into inequitable power relations, their historical origins and the location of Northern development workers in these social relations of power.

**Critical Training**

**Introduction**

Participants in this section orient training within a longer term vision of preparing Northern development workers to be critically and actively engaged in struggles for social justice. Like those in the previous section, they also address issues of Northern development workers’ integration in Southern communities and appropriate behaviours and attitudes but do so within a framework of power and privilege. In developing training goals to prepare them for participation in international development, participants identify the urgency for Northern development workers to behave in appropriate ways while living and working in the South. They prioritize and stress the need for Northern development workers to recognize that systems of power operate in complex and interconnected ways. Participants organize training to centre and critically investigate, with Northern development workers, the global economic context in which
Given the undertheorization of race and its saliency in international development, many also prioritize an anti-racist analysis in preparing Northern development workers. Participants articulate training goals to equip them with critical skills and analyses to reframe their understanding of and participation in the South. They hope that by exploring systems of power and privilege and their identity implications, Northern development workers will be better able to trace the extent to which power informs their experiences in the North and South. While most participants challenge Northern development workers to consider both the operation of power and its implication for their identity locations, some go further in training to facilitate processes of Northern development worker accountability. They understand this to involve Northern development workers coming to see themselves as dominant actors who routinely exercise power in the North and South. Training strategies emerge from participants’ commitment to explore and problematize the development context and Northern development worker participation in international development. Participants attempt to orient training to be responsive to Northern development workers’ concerns and preoccupations, situating these concerns within a larger critical context. Using interactive learning strategies, participants encourage Northern development workers to apply complex ideas and explorations of power and privilege to development issues and practices.

**Goals for Training**

*Training through the Lens of Power and Privilege*

Participants situate their training goals as part of a larger effort to reframe international development to be more accountable for and responsive to power imbalances. They identify as a primary goal, the need for Northern development workers to connect exploitation globally and locally and reimagine international development work in this context. Participants’ visions of empowerment through development necessarily involve altering existing relations of power. Ann clarifies this pursuit of empowerment, noting "if development is empowerment then it is going to
shake positions of power” (Ann, p. 3). In organizing training to provide Northern development workers with critical analyses and skills, participants challenge them to reframe their participation and experiences in international development. Participants argue that training needs to be organized to reflect an understanding of development as struggle against oppression and exploitation rather than exclusively preparing Northern development workers for cross-cultural experiences. Matt synthesizes the goals of training in a cross-cultural model as emphasizing reflections about Northern development workers’ values and assumptions, effective cross-cultural communication and anticipation of problems that they may encounter in the South. He reflects that this prioritization of culture in training displaces issues of race and power or superficially addresses them in cultural terms. Matt articulates this central limitation in the following way:

A lot of the focus is on cross-cultural communication, cross-cultural getting culture on the map and getting people to reflect on their own culture before they go overseas... and trying to orient them to potential - problems that they might have - get them to reflect on them... but in that whole structure there’s really no place for race - you know when issues of race come up it’s all - it has tended to be in this form of cultural discussion and the power issues and the race issues and stuff they don’t really have a place in our training format (Matt, p. 5T).

In shifting the training focus from cross-cultural adaptation and experiences of Northern development workers to their impact in Southern communities, participants dislodge Northern centric understandings of their presence in the South. Training is therefore not organized to showcase the cultural experiences of Northern development workers but rather the political dimensions of participation in international development. In framing goals for training within a framework of power and privilege, Sandra, a white participant, organizes training to privilege Southern activists as experts, displacing the cultural experience of primarily white Northern development workers. She describes the reluctance of her colleagues in response to her efforts to redirect training, noting that:

this labor activist from India is a real radical shift... just bringing somebody in is a shift because that mediocre, mediocre little white girl who just came from back from, whatever Zimbabwe isn’t going to be able
to talk so then they're not the expert anymore. Her cultural experience, where does it go? It's not really worth anything, nobody's interested in it so I think part of what they were - guarding against was that, keeping that type of cultural experience (Sandra 15, p. 11).

Participants situate training within a longer-term vision of preparing Northern development workers to be critically and actively engaged in struggles for social justice with the hope that they will ground their efforts for change as long-term projects within their Northern communities. As Ann stresses to Northern development workers in training, participation in international development does not originate with work in the South. Rather, she expects them to demonstrate their commitment to social change through work in Northern communities in order to then have something meaningful to share with others organizing for social justice. She articulates, “we have to first of all change the situations in which we live if we want to be considered real, credible development workers or actors of change, you know so if we are not involved in our local communities here, we have not much to share to other people elsewhere” (Ann, p. 6T).

Participants’ goals for training reflect an analysis and consideration of power and privilege that they also demonstrate in narrating their own experiences as Northern development workers in the South. Many participants comment on the lengthy and challenging process of coming to recognize not only the structural operation of power in the South but also its concrete manifestations in their everyday experiences. Derek observes the ease with which Northern development workers are able to account for how they are oppressed by power while often remaining uninterested in how they exercise power, particularly in the South. In training, Derek attempts to move Northern development workers to an awareness of the complexity of power dynamics, arguing:

we're always better at critiquing how power negates us, how power oppresses us, how power exploits us and damages us and victimizes us then we are about how we exercise power, right – so that's just a given. People are going to be less aware of and sometimes interested in how they're going to exercise power when they go overseas (Derek, pp. 19-20T).
Recalling her own long-term participation in international development, Emily reflects on her difficulty in thinking through issues of power and privilege that pervade her time in the South. For her, training in the North is fundamental to preparing Northern development workers to recognize the extent to which power and privilege inform personal and professional experiences in the South. She articulates this priority in the following way, “I felt that the larger issues around power relationships needed to be addressed. That there were things that I wished that I had known before I went overseas and that I knew I was contending with the whole time I was there” (Emily 2 2, p. 12). Participants conceptualize training to facilitate Northern development workers’ explorations of how systems of power operate in international development work in order to better develop an analysis of and understand their personal and professional experiences in the South. As facilitators, they resist communicating a false sense of preparedness to Northern development workers, a tendency they observe in cross-culturally based training programs. Participants comment that these trainings are organized to provide Northern development workers with cross-cultural skills, leading them to believe that cursory information about the economics, history and culture of a country or region is sufficient to claim readiness for adaptation in Southern countries. It is with this preliminary information that Northern development workers often understand themselves to be prepared for living and working in the South. Participants describe the limitations of training approaches that imply this preparedness without a systematic investigation of systems of power and privilege.

**Holistic analysis of power and privilege.**

Participants organize training to further Northern development workers’ understandings that systems of power operate in complex ways in international development. They use the language of interlocking, intersecting, holistic, linked and connected in describing how systems of Northern status, race, capitalism and gender operate. Some participants add an awareness of heterosexism to their systemic analysis of power. Participants identify their fundamental goal for
training as providing Northern development workers with a holistic understanding of race, class, gender and Northern status in order to better understand the factors that converge and interplay in international development. Peter explicates what he identifies as the core systems in which Northern development workers require grounding:

having a holistic perspective with gender, race and class perspective, and that could help them a lot along the way...the power dynamics, the issues in international development work, we hold the purse strings, I mean, in the North so it’s good that people, development workers should know what they’re getting into, I mean there’s a lot of factors that interact and interplay (Peter, p. 2T).

In their approaches to training, participants attempt to integrate and reframe Northern development workers’ concerns, particularly as they relate to processes of integration within a framework of power and privilege. Participants articulate training goals to equip Northern development workers to trace their preoccupations and prior experiences in the South to these multiple systems. For example, they ask Northern development workers to explore capitalism, racism and colonialism in thinking about their life and work in the South. In his approach to training, Derek balances the concerns of Northern development workers in terms of their own issues, questions, fears or expectations with his own macro critique that he describes as a quasi-Marxist perspective on international development and its severe limitations. He expands this macro critique to also acknowledge the role of gender, race, class and sexual orientation in structuring the experiences of Northern development workers. It is within this macro context that Derek engages Northern development workers in discussions and reflections about their professional role in the South. He identifies his entry point to be the individual needs and support that Northern development workers require, making training responsive and relevant to them and the specific context in which they will be living and working. Derek explicates his goals for training in the following way, “those are the two priorities for me, a macro-political economy if you will of what it means to be going overseas in that context but also as an individual - what your role is” (Derek, pp. 6-7T).
Connecting systems of power to Northern development worker identity.

Recognizing the complex workings of systems of power and privilege, participants articulate an integrated analysis that seeks to account for the way these systems operate together in the world. In explicating his understanding of how power operates at both structural and individual levels, Peter argues, “oppressions work at all levels...beliefs or prevailing assumptions as well as systems, normal ways quote unquote, normal procedures and systems as well as individual acts or behaviours...it’s an issue of not only theory but also practice” (Peter, p. 4T). Participants organize training to provide an integrated analysis, challenging Northern development workers to locate themselves in multiple systems to recognize how their identities are constituted through race, class, gender and Northern status. Understanding that these systems interlock, Emily acknowledges the difficulty in having Northern development workers grasp this concept within the scope of training. However, she insists that training must be used to initiate or further these explorations with Northern development workers. Emily works with them to concretize and make apparent how these systems converge to position Northern development workers as dominant relative to the Southern people with whom they live and work. Emily articulates her training priority to raise awareness of and locate Northern development workers in systems of power and privilege:

...in terms of what I think is important I think that those are to me - those are the issues, trying to understand, getting people to understand how race - those are sort of like the big categories, right, race, class, gender and capitalism...and I do believe - that oppressions do interlock and it's a hard concept for people to get - in training, - it's really hard - but I feel like we have to open up some of the things...I just lay it out for them...and I say okay, you're here and other people are more or less here and not only are you here which gives you this kind of power relationship over - the people that you're working with...lay it out for them by the end of the training in a way that hopefully they can - keep in their minds (Emily 231, p. 16).

Participants highlight the need to begin these explorations in the North in order to recognize the continuity of privilege in the South. Extending their analysis of how power and privilege operate in the North, participants locate the privileges Northern development workers incur in their
everyday professional and personal interactions in the South. During training, Bill periodically interjects in discussions, advising Northern development workers to remain conscious of the power that they have despite their good intentions. He traces their power to Northern status, funding relations and implies class privilege, reminding, “you are from the West, urban bias, representing organizations with resources and money, university education...you can’t forget you have power even if you want to be genuine and well-intentioned” (Bill, p. 1). Sophia provides another example to demonstrate how Northern development workers need to be cognizant of who they are and their places of privilege and penalty. She facilitates training to account for the different identity locations of Northern development workers of colour and white Northern development workers. While all Northern development workers incur privilege through geography, Sophia stresses that training needs to account for the structural differences of race that hierarchically position Northern development workers in relation to one another and differently in relation to Southern people:

I think one of the biggest needs is...acknowledging issues of power and privilege so even if you are a black person going from Canada, you’re still in a position of privilege based on geography because you’re from the West but at the same time, racially it’s different than from a white person, right so trying to look at the complexities of some of that power and privilege issues structural differences, I think that’s really, really important (Sophia, p. 13T).

Some participants go on to challenge Northern development workers to consider not only the operation of power and its implication for their identity locations but to also see themselves as dominant actors who exercise power. As Derek puts it, the starting point of training is for all Northern development workers to implicate themselves and “realize you’re racist okay or sexist or homophobic or classist” (Derek 4 3, p. 19). Bill similarly identifies the need for Northern development workers to become aware of their attitudes of Northern superiority, racism and the biases and prejudices that inhere in their interactions with Southern people. As he argues, it is challenging for Northern development workers to acknowledge and dissect these attitudes and
responses, given the interplay of Northern status and race in international development. As Bill points out, “you walk into the village you carry that complexity with you so be aware of the complexity, be aware that sometimes you’re a racist, be aware that sometimes you think you’re superior, be aware that sometimes you think, you have biases and prejudices that are governed by stereotypes” (Bill 4 8, p. 8). He warns against the tendency to rationalize or deny these attitudes, arguing that an awareness of them is a precondition for minimizing them and becoming an effective Northern development worker. Other participants also observe this tendency of Northern development workers to understate an analysis of how they exercise power and are clear that in training, Northern development workers need to enter discussions in ways that account for their dominance. Given that international development is primarily composed of white women, some participants stress the need for white women Northern development workers to complicate their explorations of power and privilege. Derek, for example, demands that there be a more comprehensive accounting of the workings of power in ways that investigate both positions of domination and subordination. In referencing the tendency of many white women to understand issues of social justice primarily in relation to themselves and their own gender oppression, Derek prefaces his observations by clarifying his own position of dominance as a white man:

I have to be careful because – you know the problem is – is that when you start talking, when I start talking about power, right as a white male, I’m on very, very, shaky, shaky turf… the one thing that I can’t tolerate, I really really can’t tolerate it, is that I have no time for hypocrites. Don’t just tell me how power oppresses you if you’re not also willing to talk about how you exercise power. Like you can’t, you can’t have half the story (Derek 4 3, pp. 24-25)?

Participants recognize that because Northern development workers often story themselves as open-minded, responsible and committed to social justice, efforts to centre power, privilege and complicate understandings of Northern development worker identity are met with resistance. For these participants, the intended pedagogical outcome of training is for Northern development workers to become accountable for their exercises of power as a preliminary step for reimagining
their participation in international development. While they resist finalizing processes of accountability, participants understand the value of training to initiate or further Northern development workers’ sustained efforts to develop oppositional practices.

Challenging dominant attitudes and behaviours.

In developing training goals to prepare Northern development workers for participation in international development, participants identify the urgency for them to behave in appropriate ways while living and working in the South. In identifying this as a goal, they challenge Northern attitudes and behaviours that they collectively name as arrogant, superior, racist, dominating and imperialistic. From his observations of Northern development workers in the South, Derek comments that their attitudes and behaviours are often so problematic that they make little contribution while in the South. He expresses his hope for training in this way, “if people can go to different parts of the world less arrogant and all that stuff then maybe somebody like [name of Southern friend] is able to benefit from a Canadian this time where he didn’t for the last thirty times” (Derek 4 3, p. 21). Participants’ commitment to training Northern development workers within a critical framework is a reflection of what they articulate to be a deeper responsibility to Southern people and organizations. Emily is mindful of training with this consciousness and reflects that while training needs to be relevant to Northern development workers, ultimately, her primary obligation is to better prepare them in ways that are useful to Southern NGOs. Emily frames her priorities for training in the following way, “I mean - there is the issue of whether the development workers themselves find this to be useful - when they’re overseas… you know in the final analysis it really depends on whether it’s useful to you. Well that's true - but in the final, final, final, analysis to me what I care about, is it useful to the organizations they worked with” (Emily 4 3, p. 29)? Participants articulate that training priorities need to be framed from and by Southern perspectives. It is within a framework of power and privilege that they challenge Northern development workers to engage in self-
reflective practices to rethink their own motivations and investments for participating in international development. For most participants, the starting point for training is to facilitate an introductory activity that involves Northern development workers outlining their motivations for participating in international development. At critical stages in the training, participants refer back to these motivations to probe Northern development workers to think more deeply about and question their own investments. Angela organizes training to provide Northern development workers with an alternative perspective on their role in international development. She hopes that throughout training, they revisit the question of why they are going and what they expect, pushing them: to think beyond initial responses of wanting to help those less fortunate. Drawing on prior training experiences, Angela articulates her primary goal for training Northern development workers:

> you have those development workers who basically...said that means we shouldn't go then...I mean we want them to say that or to think that because then [sigh] - they'll have a different perspective on what it's all about. It's not this wonderful thing of going down and helping these poor people...they [Northern development workers] came because they wanted to get a pat on their shoulder, wonderful...they think this is really wonderful what they're doing - their family is saying wonderful thing you're doing, going down...they assume they're going to get the same wonderful thing [in training]...I think it's a reality check for folks to say is this what I really want to do? It's not as cozy as I first thought (Angela 4 3, pp. 7-8).

In training, participants centre the need to challenge Northern development workers’ stereotypes of Southern people and ways of life. Sandra recognizes, “there’s certain things people need to come away with if we’re not going to reinforce some of the superiority when they go into the South” (Sandra 4 3, p. 50). She also encourages them to consider the ways in which they will be seen in the South, using training as an opportunity to have Northern development workers trace and locate these perceptions and understandings in a historical context. Sandra conceptualizes training to work through “how they understand - how they're going to be seen, how they may see others and also look at some of the history, what's the history that leads up to that kind of
understanding” (Sandra 4 3, p. 50)? Sandra places this understanding of us and them that many Northern development workers carry in a historical context that continues to encourage and legitimize racialized attitudes of Northern superiority. Her hope is that training will contribute to an erosion of these attitudes and stereotypes, ideally through exposure to Southern people expressing diverse opinions related to international development. As a white woman, Sandra stresses the importance particularly “for white people I think to see people of colour who are very articulate and who are saying and speaking and seeing a variety of opinions as well”(Sandra 4 8, p. 33).

Salient Systems

Elaborating the material context.

Participants use training to centre and critically investigate, with Northern development workers, the global economic context in which international development is situated. They organize training to demonstrate the “hypocrisy of global politics” (Ann, p. 1), exploring the connections between economic growth in the North and underdevelopment in the South. In explicating the relationship between poverty and growth, participants draw Northern development workers’ attention to the enormous extractions of wealth from South to North. They also attempt to historicize economic exploitation, elaborating its continuity from colonialism to contemporary economic globalization. In training, Emily demands that Northern development workers consider the continuity of these economic relationships between North and South, asking “when colonization ended, did these economic relations end? I ask you, when colonization ended, did this end”(Emily, p. 14)? Participants encourage Northern development workers to engage in practices of critical literacy, recognizing that the “information we get is not neutral...it leaves out parts about how the Third World is impoverished from colonialism. This exploitation continues today in globalization”(Emily, p. 10). Making explicit this connection, Ann also uses training to complicate Northern development workers’ understandings of the causes of underdevelopment.
In urging Northern development workers to connect economic growth, predominately in the North with increasing poverty in the South, she provides them with Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) figures to demonstrate the extraction of money from South to North. Ann conveys to Northern development workers, her analysis that policies of Northern governments and international financial institutions have resulted in increasing concentrations of wealth and growing inequalities between countries. Her goal is that in facilitating these discussions in training, Northern development workers will understand their professional role to also include advocating against these extremely detrimental policies. As Ann argues:

if we do not do work for change and advocate for changes in Canadian laws, in Canada’s role in the IMF in the World Bank, in international financial institutions, which are putting more and more pressure on the developing world, it will be of very little use, marginal use really...just look at the figures, the figures will tell you all, OECD figures of how much resources are going from the North to the South in aid funds or you know, donor cooperation, or bilateral, multilateral, NGO you know is very little compared to the amounts that are being pulled out of the those countries to debt and other refinancing, you know, so the monies are getting out from the South to the North... the structural difficulties that exist and the inequities in the North and in the South are accentuating, they are accentuating (Ann, pp. 6-7T).

In describing these deteriorating material conditions in the North and South, participants communicate the impact of global economic policies in the form of debt repayment, structural adjustment and trade policies. Invoking an ecosystem metaphor, Derek also elaborates the complexity of systems of power and the need for Northern development workers to look beyond obvious realities they may perceive in the South. In training, he challenges them to move beyond rationalizations of economic poverty in the South to develop a more critical and interconnected analysis of capitalism and underdevelopment. Derek is critical of the delinking between development and capitalism, arguing “unless you’re able to have those discussions, you can’t ever talk about international development in a meaningful way...if you can’t talk about capitalism when you talk about development [laugh] what are you talking about” (Derek 1 3, p. 83)
4)? Emily also observes and challenges this tendency of Northern development workers to delink and assume that if Southern countries were to follow a Northern model of economic development, their poverty would be alleviated. Participants use training to problematize Northern development models that rely primarily on economic indicators of growth as the hallmark of Southern development. They are quick to point out to Northern development workers that this path of economic growth has not resulted in the promised “trickle down, as we have seen nothing trickles down” (Ann, p. 1). Emily redirects these rationalizations, drawing attention to the impact of capitalism on deteriorating economic conditions in the South and prosperity in the North and encourages Northern development workers to rethink their convictions that if:

they [Southerners] could become like us they wouldn’t have these problems. The reasons they have problems is because of the impact of capitalism...it is almost impossible in this part of the world, to find our way out of the box and implicit comparisons, show them how to be like us. This is working for us because we know that deteriorating economic conditions are enriching other parts of the world (Emily, p. 7).

Other participants also observe the inclination of Northern development workers to disconnect the operation of capitalism from its impact in the South. Like Emily and Derek, they understand this to be problematic as it obscures causes of underdevelopment that sustain the North-South divide.

In applying their analysis of the material context, participants also work with Northern development workers to complicate understandings of their role as development workers in the South. In training, participants attempt to disrupt a vision of development that requires the South to replicate a Northern path of progress in order to alleviate economic poverty. Training is also organized to interrupt Northern development workers’ efforts to help Southerners become more like Northerners. Participants stress to Northern development workers the need to be mindful of the global economic context in order to recognize the connection between this macro context and the micro economic processes operating at the community level and in their interactions with Southern people. Without this analysis of the impact of globalization in its many forms on
Southern work cultures, participants comment that Northern development workers easily come to incorrect evaluations of Southern people and work ethic, often commenting on the lack of regard for time that Southern people exhibit in social and professional circumstances. Participants observe the tendency of Northern development workers to invoke attitudes of superiority and arrogance when talking about or interacting with Southern colleagues, characterizing Southern people as lazy, inefficient, or romanticizing a more relaxed pace of life that rarely corresponds to Southern realities. The following exchange in training provides an additional example of the impact of globalization on the deteriorating infrastructure in Southern countries. In this example, Emily warns Northern development workers that an absence of this global economic analysis makes racialized explanations of life in the South appear legitimate:

S1: it is important to bring out... assumptions about how I see the world. Nicaragua is dirty but from a lack of water. These people are using pipes from one stream. It says nothing about the people. I'm not going to resort to racist explanations.
E: but if people don't understand why the infrastructure is deteriorating, they don't have an analysis of what is producing it. Of course there is a collusion of political elites but most people are suffering. Without a bigger analysis, it is easier to fall back to these explanations. When Northerners get together -this stuff is so pervasive that it is hard to be outside of it all the time (Emily, p. 10).

In training, participants challenge Northern development workers to move beyond these readily accessible explanations to critically connect their experiences to a material context

Because participants situate their own work within this North-South economic divide, they recognize the limitations of project-driven approaches to international development. Ann communicates to Northern development workers her understanding of development as a political process that extends beyond the project cycle, “development is not about projects in my view. The problem of development is that if minds are so narrow, we are part of the problem. Development is a political process, at the micro-level development has projects” (Ann, p. 2). In training, Ann encourages Northern development workers to resist focusing primarily on the project as it results in misdirected energy and resources. She asks Northern development workers
to maintain the connection between global and local while working on projects in the South, advising "when you’re involved in a small project, connect between global and local. Failure to do that results in emotional crap and wasted energy...whether in a small town or Bombay, it is important for me to make connection between local and global at all times, as best you can — what is the global context" (Ann, p. 2)? Derek elaborates the nature of this global context and the relationality of consumption and exploitation in the North and South and articulates his priority for training Northern development workers to be conscious of this connectivity.

Participants also make explicit to Northern development workers in training, the benefits they incur through participation in international development work, arguing that recognition of these material and personal gains are often obscured through the language of volunteerism and humanitarian work. Participants observe that in training, Northern development workers are reluctant to acknowledge these benefits as they often position their involvement in international development to be a demonstration of good will and commitment to social justice. In training, Emily highlights some of these material benefits, even for those Northern development workers earning a modest income, as they have access to a lifestyle that includes comfortable housing, frequent travel and imported luxuries. When Northern development workers in training attempt to distinguish themselves from [Northern International Development Agency] personnel, Emily reminds them of the benefits they incur while in the South and how these privileges separate them from Southern people:

E: you have a certain distance from reality given who you socialize with and where you live...development workers houses are not so extravagant, but they still make more money...they can go to duty free and buy nice bottles of wine, chocolates from [Southern Africa], and travel. They are forever going off on trips.
SI: how do local people perceive [Northern international development agency] people?
E: how would you expect them to perceive them? The question is how would they perceive you? The difference is less than you’d like to think it is. Beyond a certain point it’s all the same (Emily, p. 9).
Participants understand the need to facilitate discussions that illuminate for Northern development workers these benefits as well as the relationship between their professional experiences in the South and lucrative employment opportunities. In training, Derek persists in questioning Northern development workers to make apparent the material and professional benefits they incur through their participation in international development. The following exchange demonstrates the very long effort required to have Northern development workers acknowledge what they take home from their experiences in the South:

D: step into other shoes if we can, how do they [people in the South] perceive tourists?
S1: same as we do
S2: they may think we're going to make life better
D: now gone from tourist, beach to messiah, colonialist attitude, another side to colonialism. Why do countries strongly control work visas?
S3: so don't fill up jobs
D: what do tourists take home?
S4: souvenirs
S2: think how can I make money
D: yes, what do they take home?
S2: stereotypes
D: what do you take home?
S1: perceptions
S3: photos
S2: souvenirs
S3: money, left over spending
D: that's classic tourists. Now what about you, what are you taking home with you? When hosted by people? What are you taking home when in work situation? Not as classic tourist
S1: satisfaction/dissatisfaction
S2: more everyday life experience
S1: fulfillment
D: ok anything else? How about resume? It's a material benefit.
S3: more money
S1: employment
D: these are things that people know, they know...I work...with First Nations. People know why I go and what I take, they know what the benefit is for me, but they want to know what have I invested there...I don't personally feel that we ever make the balance. I've always exploited more than I give back, the best I can do with privilege and power I have in this dynamic is to give back as much as I can (Derek, p. 1).
Drawing attention to the saliency of race.

Given the undertheorization of race and its saliency in international development, many participants articulate training goals that centre race as a system of power and domination. They articulate these goals in response to a delinking of race from colonial histories and international development, identifying the need to prepare Northern development workers for highly racialized contexts in the South. Participants draw on their own experiences as Northern development workers to demonstrate processes of understanding and negotiating their own racial identities in the South. Her prolonged involvement in international development has led Emily to theorize that given the predominance of white women Northern development workers and the power associated with whiteness, the fact that “you’re white and from the North is more important than gender” (Emily, p. 7). In situating the presence and readings of white bodies in the South in histories of colonialism, participants compel Northern development workers to consider its ongoing legacy. It is in this context that Northern development workers are engaged in an analysis of appropriate roles and behaviours for white Northern development workers. Recognizing that many Northern development workers of colour will have to negotiate not only racial histories in the South but also the racism of the primarily white expatriate communities, participants also prepare Northern development workers of colour to negotiate how their bodies will be read.

In challenging the denial of race as a factor in development and its subsequent peripheralization in training, these participants use training as an opportunity to illuminate the power associated with race. They argue that race operates at structural, ideological and individual levels simultaneously and identify the relevance of a race analysis to explore appropriate attitudes and behaviours of Northern development workers in the South. Participants stress the need to organize training to challenge Northern development workers to locate themselves in a system of race and resist discussing it exclusively at a structural level. Matt argues that white Northern
development workers need to "really bring that issue home to themselves" as he observes their tendency to abstract racism as something "out there" (Matt, p. 11T). Participants reframe racism not as something that Northern development workers will experience in the South, but something that Northern development workers "perpetrate" (Matt 151, p. 3).

Participants observe that most Northern development workers do not have a facility with an anti-racist analysis. They therefore stress the need to provide Northern development workers with the concepts and language necessary to engage in critical discussions around race. Given prevalent understandings of racism as only overt and clearly identifiable acts, participants challenge Northern development workers to begin to see the racialized nature of everyday life in the North and South. In training, Sophia works to complicate Northern development workers' analysis of racism, challenging "why are we so comfortable with these explanations? Racism means calling someone a paki, therefore I'm not racist. This analysis complicates it a lot, situates it a lot deeper" (Sophia, p. 2). Participants emphasize the need to distinguish between prejudice, discrimination and racism and understand racism both in its individual and structural manifestations. In training, Emily challenges Northern development workers who attempt to equate their experiences of frustration in the South with the experiences of recently arrived immigrants in Canada. She draws their attention to how these experiences are different at both structural and individual levels, encouraging them to consider the forces leading to flows of bodies:

E: This is just venting. It's normal to vent...If we were all talking [Central African] walks in, conversation changes until leaves. So I ask you, is this something you have never encountered?
S1: isn't this the same as people who come here?
E: how are these positions different? Why would an Indian family be here versus a development worker there?
S1: I'm saying that because I've been told by immigrants in the winter ah this fucking country. If I could go back, I would. I've been told these things by people and I thought what do they say when they are alone. They say they fucking hate this country
E: but what about their day to day experiences, what are they like? Is it about their skills not being recognized, is it about their kids at school, on
Matt synthesizes these training outcomes that centre anti-racism, arguing that training needs to provide Northern development workers with a shared working language. From his own experiences as a facilitator, Matt observes that without these shared concepts, it is difficult to facilitate meaningful discussions about race, its impact and relevance in international development:

In order to have a discussion around issues of race, I think what was missing from our session was some language cause we use concepts and we use language and we don't often as a group define what that is and what that means for people. So prejudice, discrimination, racism, what are we talking about here... differences between racism perpetrated by individuals and a systemic racism - because the ultimate goal of the program is to raise awareness of development issues and the factors that are at play in the development process in different contexts right, so I think we need to raise awareness beyond the individual level (Matt 4 3, p. 3).

With this critical analysis, participants push Northern development workers to apply these insights to anticipate and understand the racialized nature of international development work. They organize training to raise awareness of the colonial and imperial contexts through which there is a continued presence of white Northerners in colonized countries of the South. Derek stresses the need for Northern development workers to “put self in a larger context. It's not just you in placement that day...there is a colonial context in each of these situations, imperial context continues today” (Derek, p. 3). Matt also highlights the need for Northern development workers to apply a historical race analysis to contextualize experiences in the South and organizes training to “try and get behind that a little bit and say here's some of the context that you might be walking into so when these individual experiences happen, you maybe have a better understanding of what's happening there”(Matt 4 3, p. 4).
In organizing training with an anti-racist analysis, participants reflect on efforts to move Northern development workers to see their routine participation in racist behaviours and attitudes. For Sandra, the project is one of deconstructing white Northern development workers arrogance and superiority. Given the legitimacy and persistence of these attitudes, she uses training as an attempt to "unravel that, I want to unravel that" (Sandra pp. 10-11T). In an effort to organize training in ways that disrupt practices of racism, Emily compels Northern development workers to reflect on the continuity of race as an organizing system in their lives in the North and South. She further illuminates that Northern development workers’ assumptions about the South are deeply informed by a system of race, originating in the North and intensified in the South. She challenges them to trace the origins of these racialized understandings and their many expressions in the South, connecting them to behaviours and attitudes of Northern superiority enacted by Northern development workers. Emily explicates these complex and interconnected ideas in the following way:

You know I felt that there's those issues that if people could have a chance to kind of - step back and look at some of the stuff from here and also if they could recognize especially for the white development workers, but also for people of colour going overseas right that the racism - in the development communities, the foreign development communities - that comes from here. People arrive knowing this. It all just makes sense to them there [laugh]...The problem is about what I already know to be true. The problem isn't - that it's hard to find legitimate other explanations that maybe the more racialized ones are really the legitimate ones and how can I find one that isn't so racialized. No, the problem is that - racialized explanations appear legitimate to me. - I have absorbed this from here [laugh] going there simply gives me the field where these explanations actually make more sense because that's where those explanations are attached to. So I felt - I really want to do something to kind of - disrupt some of this for people. - Get them to think about some of these issues before they go overseas - cause the arrogance that development workers exhibit in their places of work - has a lot to do with with - these kinds of racialized views of the world - and people of colour in this part of of the world pick this up too (Emily, pp. 31-32T).

Her analysis of the operation of race also allows her to recognize that Northern development workers of colour, while not exempt from displays of Northern superiority, will continue to encounter and negotiate the racism of a primarily white Northern development community.
Emily brings together her commitment to communicate this complexity to Northern development workers in training, synthesizing the extent to which race organizes Northern development workers’ experiences and everyday understandings of life both in North and South.

Some participants further challenge Northern development workers to move beyond an awareness of and facility in a critical anti-racist analysis to more transformative anti-racist practices. They describe these training practices as moving beyond convincing Northern development workers of the existence of racism and its reprehensibility. These participants organize training to resist focusing exclusively on the impact of racism, redirecting the efforts of white Northern development workers to an investigation of their role in enacting and benefiting from racism. Emily, a white participant, is critical of the ease with which white people are able to identify racism in others without locating it in themselves. Her priority in training is to move white Northern development workers to see themselves as racist. In her observations of other anti-racist workshops, she identifies the limitations of “spending all the time trying to convince white people that there is racism and oh its awful and it’s sort of like then everyone sort of says oh isn’t it terrible, oh I wouldn't want to be like that and to me that's not the point, right...I mean, yeah it is terrible but the point is that we are like that and I want to do something that moves people towards a recognition of that” (Emily 4 3, p. 32). While participants recognize this process to be difficult and destabilizing for some, they do not allow white Northern development workers to claim non-implication. In training, participants constantly redirect discussions and responses to challenge them to think more deeply about how racialized views inform their understandings of the world and themselves. Given the difficult but potentially transformative process that some Northern development workers’ experience in coming to see themselves as racist, Angela persists in this goal even when met by the resistance and defensiveness of Northern development workers. Not affirming their non-implication in racism, often through liberal behavior, such as association
with people of colour, she maintains the need for Northern development workers to rethink their assumptions about what constitutes racism and by extension who is racist. She argues:

I mean people - or white people don't want to talk about racism because they see racism as the blatant racism. They don't see the systemic stuff, they don't see all of that system. And I think - people don't want to - if they say something they don't want - to hear that it's racist especially if you have so many black friends. And you can't be racist because you have all these black friends, and they don't realize that it's not about having black friends...it's a matter of showing people that or exposing them to these things that they take for granted, that you know it's accepted, it's a norm...hopefully they'll get their, they'll get you know ah-ha, I didn't really think about it like that (Angela 4 3, p. 5).

Implicating herself in racist systems in which she participates and benefits, Emily, a white participant, also attempts to construct alternative practices of whiteness. However, she impresses to Northern development workers the ongoing commitment required to engage in sustained anti-racist analyses and practices as a white person. She compares this to a continual process of peeling the layers of an onion and warns against the desire to assume that the process of unlearning racism can ever be complete. Emily remains preoccupied that white Northern development workers will “think they've got it worked out and they're not like that - and they're not prepared to think about ways in which they might still be like that” (Emily 4 3, p. 28) and attempts to find ways to mitigate this closure in training.

In the process of attempting to disrupt racism, participants are also aware of the need to address the concerns and experiences of differently politicized Northern development workers of colour. While participants understand the need to centre anti-racism, they struggle to resist focusing primarily on the learning of white Northern development workers given their predominance in training. Emily's training practices reflect the recognition that the “development community is a white community overseas” (Emily 4 3, p. 30) with which Northern development workers of colour must contend. Given the complicated position of Northern development workers of colour in the South, participants elaborate the impact of racist behaviours and attitudes on Northern development workers of colour. Angela explicates this dynamic and its impact when she says,
“as a black, person of colour in a group of people that I’m supposed to be a part of with expats and having people talk about the culture as this and that...I have a different role and if I agree...why are they saying this? I’m Northern but I’m black and they’re talking about me” (Angela, p. 3). In preparing them for life and work in the South, participants point out the need for Northern development workers of colour to be aware of the racism in the expatriate community in the South. As Emily comments, “at least now you know what you’re getting into and whatever you might have thought, you may think that this is a racism free zone and now learned it is not you know [laugh] it’s really not”(Emily, p. 40T). Recognizing that many Northern development workers of colour will have to negotiate not only the racism of this primarily white expatriate community but also racial histories in the South, participants make efforts to prepare Northern development workers of colour to negotiate how their bodies will be read. They attempt to organize and balance training to realize dual processes in which white Northern development workers and Northern development workers of colour come to recognize and trace the impact of race in their lives. Acknowledging that not all Northern development workers of colour will be similarly politicized around race, participants stress that all need to recognize the impact of race in shaping their lives in the North and as they live and work in the South as development workers. They attempt to disrupt or pre-empt the collusion of Northern development workers of colour with white Northern development workers in racist attitudes and practices. Participants also recognize that for Northern development workers of colour, moving to a Southern context has different implications in terms of how they are perceived and consequently, the training process also needs to prepare them for these experiences.

**Reframing Understandings of Canada**

In training, participants challenge the dominant national narrative of Canada as a just, tolerant, humanitarian, innocent, prosperous, civilized and developed society. In reframing this national story that Emily names the “prevailing Canadian story. Canada is about meritocracy. Everyone
has a fair chance” (Emily, p. 13), participants attempt to document a history that accounts more accurately for Canada’s past and contemporary realities. They use training to explore with Northern development workers, oppressive relationships not only in Canada’s past but also in the way these relations continue to inform contemporary realities of exploitation. For participants, training is an opportunity to disrupt deeply embedded notions of Canada as multicultural and meritocratic, and therefore exempt from racism. Emily argues that while there are preliminary efforts to acknowledge Canadian policies of institutional racism against First Nations, she notes the unwillingness of Canadians to recognize the continued impact of these policies as well as state sanctioned oppression. She argues that this living history remains unacknowledged because it is so fundamentally troubling to the national narrative of innocence and would require Canada and Canadians to reconstruct their image at home and abroad. Given the brutality of this living history in relation to First Nations, Emily suggests to Northern development workers in training that:

in terms of Canada...we define racism as acts of discrimination. We see it and know it but we don’t do it because we’re nice - multicultural. Beginning to say with indigenous peoples, our history of institutional racism but not in the present and not as state sanctioned. Anti-racism workshops troubling to Canadian national story, so it disappears. Can’t deal with it or speak of it because it is about genocide and continues to be.... need truth commission at least as much as South Africa (Emily, p. 1)

Interrupting the storying of Canada as innocent, Derek also challenges Northern development workers to recognize and own Canada’s colonial past as their history. He draws attention to the history that has shaped the contemporary Canadian context, arguing that Canadians who imagine that they do not live in a country with a history of colonization, imperialism and racism, choose deliberately not to see this Canadian reality. As Derek articulates, “you know if these people think that because they live in Canada they don’t have a history of colonization, they don’t have a history of imperialism, they don’t have a history of racism - then they don’t have their eyes open” (Derek 1 12, p. 11). Matt similarly organizes training to raise Northern development workers’ awareness of systemic racism in Canada and engages them in a critical dialogue around issues of
race in the historic and contemporary context. He stresses the pedagogical value of this larger analysis in order that Northern development workers are able to contextualize their experiences in the South. Matt understands training to be a space to engage Northern development workers "to raise the level of awareness around systemic racism both in Canada and in the global context...talk about what some of those systemic issues have been, the historic context, the contemporary and give some people some grounding into at least some ideas of what they're going into" (Matt 4 3, p. 4). Participants argue that Northern development workers need to recognize their own contexts in order to locate themselves as beneficiaries of Canada's imperial history. Derek organizes training to get Northern development workers to "implicate themselves if they never have before in what happens here in Canada in terms of race or class" (Derek 4 3, p. 25).

In relation to a mythical Canada, participants observe that the South is often constructed as not "having anything of value to offer a place like Canada...so many Westerners are constructed as already knowing everything, as being the best place in the world" (Sandra 1 12, p. 44) in ways that reinforce Northern dominance and sustain the need for Northern exported models of development. Participants hope that in identifying current issues of poverty, homelessness, environmental degradation, violence against women, sexism, homophobia, racism and discrimination in Canada and locating these issues in systems of power and privilege, Northern development workers can begin to shift their understandings of Canada as a developed and civilized model for emulation. Participants observe the tendency of Northern development workers to deny the social problems that exist in Canada, promoting and celebrating instead its humanitarianism, diversity and standard of living. They organize training to help Northern development workers make links between underdevelopment in Canada and the South, emphasizing the need for Northern development workers to understand local, national and international manifestations of globalization. Stressing the need to start from the local, Ann
reminds Northern development workers "development starts where we are, we have Third World right here, people who have no housing, no food. Development has failed for people not only in the Third World but here at home" (Ann, p. 3). Angela similarly asks Northern development workers to consider underdevelopment in Canada, particularly in relation to the displacement of First Nations. Challenging them to extend their analysis of anti-racist development work, she notes, "as development workers we tend to think of development outside of country, but what about development here in Canada? The Natives, people who were displaced...I'm on Native land. We talk about race and inequality but here I am. Think about what it is we do overseas but what about here, what about here" (Angela, p. 1)? Participants are quick to warn Northern development workers that development work in Canada is riddled with similar complexities and power issues that require investigation.

Participants also see the role of a more critically informed Northern development worker in being able to connect economic growth in the North with underdevelopment in the South, making apparent the illusion of shared prosperity through globalization. Participants argue that comprehensive training programs for Northern development workers must centre power and privilege in ways that challenge the dominant story of Canadian participation in international development work as altruistic and benevolent. They organize training to explicate the relationship between poverty and growth, illuminating the enormous extractions of wealth from South to North. Participants disrupt and reframe Northern humanitarian interventions, highlighting Canadian policies of tying international development assistance to Canadian interests and business opportunities in the South. Sophia argues that training needs to be oriented to facilitate discussions about "how development work is very much tied up with Canadian business and Canadian opportunities in countries. It's not about doing good things in these countries and...I think people, they operate under that assumption" (Sophia, p. 14T). In training, Ann also challenges Northern development workers to look carefully at Northern policies and interventions
in the South, connecting them to Northern interests and domestic agendas. She names democratic reforms as a pretense for increased wealth extraction through legalized business transactions and a focus on relief efforts rather than more sustainable poverty alleviation as securing employment opportunities for Northerners:

*In the last ten years, great interest in assisting countries in transitions to democracy. Many donor countries pushed the rule of law, want to trade and establish legal framework to do business well and amass profits. But there is little money going to poverty alleviation, but instead to humanitarian assistance. Dumping grain, sending peacekeepers, dumping people, keeping unemployment numbers low. This is all attached to our own domestic agendas (Ann, p. 1).*

In drawing attention to the prevalence of oppression in Canada and Canada’s implication in exploiting the South, participants remain hopeful that Northern development workers will develop a more comprehensive analysis of exploitation globally. Using training to confront Canada’s brutal living history in relation to First Nations, Angela hopes that in addition to taking responsibility for this history, Northern development workers will be aware of and able to identify points of connection with issues of oppression and colonization in Southern countries. Derek uses training to identify the pervasiveness of economic exploitation, racism, sexual harassment and homophobia in Canada, hoping that an acknowledgement and awareness of these realities will also result in less arrogant Northern development worker practices in the South. He elaborates:

sexual harassment isn't going to just happen in Dar-es-Salaam or wherever right, Jakarta. Sexual harassment happens in Toronto every day right, homophobia happens in Toronto everyday - racism, all that kind of stuff, and economic exploitation happens here everyday and I think that if people can start acknowledging the shit in their own backyard, or in their own house then I think the chances are less that they're going to go overseas with this big chip on their shoulders like I come from the civilized world - we've got it all figured out - ...I think that if you can get a different message out there then we generally get then I think that you've got a chance of having people go overseas with a little bit less arrogance and if that's the case then I think they're - people will be much more aware of what's happening (Derek 4 3, pp. 19-20T).
Participants connect Canada’s imperial history to the participation and performance of Canadian development workers in international development. As Emily argues, Northern development workers enact racism and domination in the development context, worldviews firmly in place prior to their arrival in the South. She engages in a critical re-reading of Canadian history, considering its implications for Northern development workers in the South. It is in this reframed Canadian context that participants identify the responsibility of Northern development workers to challenge deliberately constructed myths of Canada circulating in the South that do not account for domestic social problems and exploitation. As Sophia articulates, training needs to be organized to prepare Northern development workers to assume a responsibility of “challenging ourselves to look at ourselves as Canadian. There are certain notions of Canadians, and Canada, and having a certain awareness of Canada. And many development workers perpetuate this myth of Canada by not accounting for social problems. Development workers are responsible for educating others abroad” (Sophia, p. 1). Northern development workers have an important, educative role to play while in the South, telling an alternative story that challenges the Canadian national narrative.

**Addressing Development Issues in Training**

There is some consistency in development issues and information that all participants identify as being relevant for the preparation of Northern development workers. For example, issues pertaining to medical and emergency information, housing, travel logistics, language training, in-country support and dietary concerns all need to be covered prior to departure. While both cross-cultural and critical frameworks take up travel logistics that include health and safety issues, the former is characterized by “this very alarmist kind of approach which has nothing to do with respect for local culture” (Sophia, p. 21T). Angela is critical of training that focuses primarily on preparing Northern development workers to survive harsh conditions in the South, often assuming this to be sufficient information to participate successfully in international
development. For her, health concerns are important but they do not dominate the training agenda. She explicates and problematizes how Northern development workers are often prepared for life in the South:

I think for too long development workers have been told – have been told that the only thing you have to be careful of is don’t drink this, wash your hands, make sure you wash your hands because you’re going to catch, you know don’t touch the tap because you’re going to get germs from the tap...I mean give me a break...for me it's about not just talking about catching malaria or to sleep under a net (Angela, pp. 15-16T).

Participants in this section also identify additional salient development issues for exploration with Northern development workers. These include participatory methods, community development, human rights, capacity building, project planning and evaluation. However, they locate and reframe these development practices and issues within a larger critical analysis rather than information delivery and skills acquisition of what is current in development. In training, for example, Ann draws attention to Southern capacity, disrupting the myth that Southerners are not organizing and working to ameliorate social and economic conditions that they have identified to be oppressive. During training, when a Northern development worker raises the issue of female genital mutilation (FGM), Ann stresses the need to assume and recognize that Southern leadership exists:

\[ A: \text{People are not objects of pain. What are they saying and what do they believe and what are they doing...groups can articulate their own concerns.} \]
\[ SI: \text{There is a fine line between cultural relativism and acting.} \]
\[ A: \text{When you get down there, it is not theoretical. There are enough groups working on enough issues. The myth is that no one in the subcontinent is working. The issue is to link up and break isolation...question of culture, can't overgeneralize (Ann, p. 3).} \]

In referencing the popularity of results based management with the Northern donor community, Peter also expands the discussion to consider the lack of and need for Southern input in evaluating development projects and Southern NGOs. He highlights the importance of the “South having a say in collaborative evaluation and so a say of the evaluation of partner
organizations in the South” (Peter, p. 2T). In illuminating how systems of power and privilege shape relationships between Northern development workers and Southern people, participants use training to challenge assumptions of partnership and solidarity. Applying these insights, Angela pushes Northern development workers to complicate their presumptions of solidarity, asking “that's the thing about solidarity, is it really solidarity...will it ever be you know that? Can we ever be on a level playing field? No. Cause it's always we have the money, the North has the money” (Angela, p. 12T).

Bill locates international development within a system of power based in Northern status, whiteness and class, and reframes training as an attempt to create more critically oriented educational programs for Northern development workers. Understanding training to often be mechanistic, Bill attempts to move away from procedural approaches to explore the complexity of development issues. For example, in training he encourages Northern development workers to consider how participatory approaches to development need to be considered through the lens of power and privilege, noting that "participation is closely aligned with who has power and access to power...power is an integral component of dialogue, decision making and it permeates participation as well” (Bill, p. 1). Bill stresses educational processes that emphasize discussion and debate in taking up these development issues, placing responsibility of reading and learning the technicalities of relevant development issues on Northern development workers. He synthesizes the educational project as follows, “I think we're preparing people to become development workers by giving them exposure to ideas and concepts which they can carry with them... nothing is clear, there are no certainties, things are also complex and you're complex so no guarantees” (Bill 4 3, p. 13).
Critical Training Strategies

Curriculum Approach to Power and Privilege

Recognizing the limitations of an activity driven approach to power and privilege, most participants develop a comprehensive framework for training, based in power and privilege, in which specific activities are situated. These curricula integrate issues of power and privilege, connecting them to broader development themes and social justice throughout training. Many go further to conceptualize a curriculum focused explicitly on issues of anti-oppression in the context of international development work. They centre an integrated anti-racist analysis to training, noting that while other training efforts may include sessions on anti-racism or anti-discrimination, these issues rarely infuse the training agenda. In contrast, this curriculum approach to training reflects a progression of ideas and corresponding activities of differing intensities through which Northern development workers are increasingly challenged to apply an analysis of power and privilege to the development context and their own participation in international development. Describing this approach, Angela reflects, “that's how the whole training is the first couple of, the first sessions are easy, nice, and then [name of activity] comes in and it like tickles you it's like what's going on, and then it just continues building momentum” (Angela 48, p. 6). Participants warn that using isolated activities that are not situated in a larger curriculum or individual activities out of their intended sequence in training diminishes their learning potential. Training within this framework of power and privilege, participants balance information delivery with discussions, debates and participatory activities. They provide Northern development workers with critical information with which to think through relevant issues in international development. Taken together, participants cover a broad range of issues that include Third World debt, human rights in development, approaches to community development, operation of systems of power and processes of integration. Participants organize training to involve Northern development workers in applying this context setting information to interactive discussions and activities.
Privileging Southern Perspectives and Resources

In the same way that participants understand critically oriented training to reflect a responsibility to Southern NGOs, they privilege Southern knowledge of development issues and accounts of Northern development workers in training. Participants training within an anti-oppression context rely on critical development literature, often written by Southern people, documentaries and sessions led by Southerners to decentre Northern dominated understandings of development. They provide Northern development workers with Southern accounts of the impact of debt and structural adjustment policies, displacement of Southern capacity and critiques of mainstream Northern development practices. Sophia situates training as an opportunity for Northern development workers to explore the impact of their presence in Southern organizations from Southern perspectives. She argues that rarely do Northern development workers consider the challenges or difficulties that they may pose during their time in the South. Highlighting the impact of Northern development worker presence and practices in the South, Sophia advocates for the need to:

hear a little bit more critically from people in these NGOs about the difficulties they face when they have Canadians working in their places, like we don’t, we don’t get to hear that enough or we hear it a little bit and it’s not so important so I think there needs to be more - being ready to listen to what they have to say in relation to some of these things (Sophia pp. 19-20T).

Drawing on their own processes of learning from Southern activists, some participants organize training to include Southerners and people of colour who have extensive experience living and working in the South. Participants often recognize and draw on the human and educational resources of community based activists and organizations. They hope that through these interactions, Northern development workers will be challenged to question and rethink their often misinformed perceptions of Southern people. Sandra’s commitment to having Southern people facilitate training sessions reflects her belief that it would be very difficult for Northern development workers to maintain their stereotypes if exposed to articulate Southerners, working
for social justice. She understands their presence to establish a dynamic potentially more conducive to transformative learning:

I think it sets up a really different, can set up a really different dynamic -... let's say I hadn't done the solidarity work and I hadn't had a lot exposure if you go into the women's movement and you see a lot of very powerful articulate women, you will not I don't think have the impression that well these people just can't organize themselves. They don't know what the hell like - I don't think it would be easy to maintain that type of a stereotype – or an image. And so I think, I hope also that maybe the orientation can contribute to that (Sandra 48, p. 36)

**Interactive Learning**

Participants use interactive learning strategies, including case studies, simulations and role-plays to synthesize and apply complex ideas and theoretical explorations of power and privilege to development practices. Participants rely on these methodologies to engage Northern development workers in discussions and analyses of different situations they may encounter in the South. They highlight that these strategies rely on Northern development workers prior experiences and knowledge, insisting “everybody shares their experiences because – that’s where your resources lie” (Derek 48, p. 13). While they recognize the value of using experience to further learning, participants are also cognizant of the need to connect experience to systems of power and privilege. They stress that these discussions and activities require in-depth debriefings, making explicit connections between activities and their relevance for more critically informed development practices. Bill emphasizes dialogue as necessary for meaningful learning to occur. He argues it is through dialogue that Northern development workers are able to overcome their problematic attitudes and become more effective development workers, noting that “if you can identify the limitations, if you can enter into a dialogue about limitations, then somehow you slay them, you slay these limitations and you become more and you become a better development worker if you’re not carrying into every village all of this baggage about – the poor” (Bill, p. 20T). In facilitating discussions, participants encourage Northern development workers to synthesize and apply concepts of participatory development, anti-racism,
globalization, and power and privilege introduced and explored in training. Participants intervene in discussions to pose key questions and redirect dialogue between Northern development workers, particularly as they relate to how issues of power and privilege are framed. Quite often, case study, simulation and role-play scenarios are based on an amalgamation of prior experiences of Northern development workers in the South. Participants recognize the value of this strategy as it allows Northern development workers to imagine the “real life experiences that development workers have faced. And you’re on your way to the South, you might face the same choices” (Angela, p. 1). Derek, for example, employs role-plays to imagine and work through difficult circumstances in which Northern development workers may find themselves while in the South. He believes that when Northern development workers’ bodies are actively engaged, this will contribute to learning that will endure beyond training. He elaborates his understanding of body memory as a theory of learning in training, “the memory of things that are spoken in those contexts, I find is quite short. I believe in body memory. I believe in going through physical motions and that deepens the emotion” (Derek, p. 28T). By attempting to depersonalize potentially sensitive issues, such as sexual harassment and homophobia, he attempts to prepare Northern development workers to anticipate and develop management strategies prior to their departure.

For the purpose of recognizing mistakes and everyday development practices as racist, Emily uses the case study as a mechanism to challenge Northern development workers to apply principles of anti-racism, extensively centred in training, to a specific situation in the South. Asking Northern development workers in training if the actions of the Northern development workers in the case study are racist, led to an animated discussion about what constitutes racism. Most Northern development workers were reluctant to understand the actions and attitudes depicted in the case study as racist, preferring instead to think of these as mistakes, experiences and misunderstandings that they themselves could imagine making. There was a feeling that the
word racism was being used prematurely and without sufficient proof. During training, we observed that these responses were reframed by both facilitators and Northern development workers who recognized the extent to which the actions of the Northern development workers in the case study were racist. While many Northern development workers remained defensive and unwilling to rethink their understandings, others indicated some inclination to challenge their own readings and consider alternative perspectives. Emily narrates the process of facilitating this case study, designed to illuminate the insidiousness of racism in Northern development workers’ interactions in the South:

And it’s just - it was awful when we actually - got this group cause they - there was a minority who - mixed race minority who understood there was racism, really fundamentally running throughout [case study]. There was a white majority who didn't get it -...then we got them to - share their analysis. Then the penny dropped. Then they were like oh my god. Cause they had all along been saying I could do this too, I could do this too so if [characters in case study] could do this and I could do this - well if they’re racist, I’m racist - so initially they’re not racist because I’m not racist. I would just be making mistakes, just like them (Emily 4 10 1, p. 11).

In training, Bill uses simulation as the “main integrative tool” (Bill 4 8, p. 9) to demonstrate the challenges of enacting ideals of participatory development. In facilitating this simulation with Northern development workers, Bill advises them to focus on the process of project development to appreciate the complexities of community interests and power dynamics. Other participants use simulations to illuminate the Canadian historical context from a critical perspective. In an effort to reframe dominant understandings of Canada’s relationship with First Nations, participants elaborate both the learning opportunities as well as the limitations of using simulations. In facilitating these simulations, participants are aware of the tendency of Northern development workers to intellectualize, claim prior knowledge of historical events and abstract themselves from these discussions. Directing debriefing requires a facility to bring this history into a present context as well as to make apparent its relevance to participation in international development.
Some participants use interactive whole group activities to facilitate processes of exploring Northern development workers’ identities, attempting to make connections to social relations of power and their continuity in the North and South. Northern development workers are asked to locate themselves in relation to a series of questions asked out loud to the group, pertaining to their race and gender in order to distinguish those who are dominant from non-dominant through different identity positions. Northern development workers respond by moving to different parts of the room that correspond to degrees of privilege and penalty. This movement of bodies is designed to make apparent how Northern development workers are positioned and privileged relative to others in the group. Facilitators ask Northern development workers to provide an explanation of how they understand their choice to locate themselves within a range of privilege and penalty. When for example, a white, male Northern development worker relates his experience of receiving poor service in a restaurant, in a neighborhood of predominately people of colour in the context of a discussion on racism, other Northern development workers and participants intervene to challenge how his experience is not comparable or interchangeable with those of people of colour. Participants attempt to connect the different responses and experiences of Northern development workers within a structural analysis of power and privilege. This interactive learning strategy is an attempt to illuminate how race and gender inform Northern development workers’ everyday experiences. Through the ongoing questions, answers and discussions, some Northern development workers are challenged to rethink their own experiences and identity locations in relation to other Northern development workers.

**Personalizing Power**

To varying degrees, participants attempt to move Northern development workers from theoretical explorations to personalize discussions of power. Some do this by visually representing Northern development workers’ positions of power and privilege in relation to other Northern development workers, Southern colleagues and community members. This strategy involves illustrating how
much money Northern development workers earn relative to Southern counterparts doing similar work and the access they have to a larger, often extravagant, donor and expatriate community. This strategy also recognizes that these positions are not static, acknowledging the increasing economic disparities that characterize the relationship between Northern development workers and Southerners.

Participants attempt to address the concerns of Northern development workers in relation to issues of personal and professional adaptation in the South within a framework of power and privilege. They attempt to disrupt Northern development workers' often misinformed explanations about life and work in the South. Participants elicit common preoccupations of adapting to life in the South such as standard of living, punctuality and work ethic and challenge Northern development workers to connect them to a critical analysis of material conditions, colonial histories, and capitalism rather than relying on cultural explanations. This strategy facilitates a reframing of dominant Northern understandings of Southern people as not punctual, lacking commitment, failing to meet deadlines, or equally problematic, romanticized notions of leisure that rarely correspond to Southern realities. Participants draw Northern development workers' attention to deteriorating economic conditions, resulting from structural adjustment policies and debt financing as integral to understanding organizational culture. Derek synthesizes this pedagogical effort as follows, "the issue oriented discussions are woven into both the macro understanding of the context and the individual level processes" (Derek 4 8, p. 10). Participants emphasize such pedagogical strategies as they critically equip Northern development workers with information and skills to negotiate the complexity of life and development work in the South while actively involving them in the learning process.

**Conclusion**

In organizing training, participants prioritize an account of how systems of power and privilege operate simultaneously and intersect in ways that make it difficult to extract or isolate their
workings and impact individually. Interviews and observations reveal participants’ ideological perspectives and their different implications for the organization and facilitation of training. Participants’ analysis of how the world is organized makes visible certain things as problematic while obscuring others. What participants illuminate and focus in training depends on the analytical frames that they employ. For example, participants in both the cross-cultural and critical training may identify similar issues that need to be discussed and explored with Northern development workers, such as relevant development issues, integration, values clarification, and appropriate attitudes and behaviours. However, we observe that participants’ own analysis of culture, power and identity structures the parameters and direction of discussions that unfold in training. This also informs how participants name inappropriate behaviours as either misunderstandings, mistakes, processes of adjustment, culture shock or as arrogant, dominating, racist, superior, neo-colonial and imperial. Given their vision of training that centers power and privilege, participants working within a critical framework articulate the limitations of training within a cross-cultural analysis as it does not reveal the complexity of how power intervenes in international development. In training, they demonstrate a facility in discussing with Northern development workers these complexities and connecting their relevance to international development. Often their goals and strategies focus primarily on raising Northern development workers’ awareness of the context in which international development is situated as well as the relationship between systems of power, identity and experience. While participants articulate harsh critiques of international development, for some, training goals and implementation do not consistently engage Northern development workers to challenge their own investments and interests in working in the South. Some participants go further to demand that Northern development workers engage in practices of accountability, locating experiences and themselves as dominant in systems of power and privilege. For these participants, it is necessary to focus training efforts in this way to produce more critically informed and engaged Northern development workers.
CHAPTER 5
THEORY OF TEACHING AND LEARNING

Chapter Introduction

In this chapter, we draw on participants’ narratives and our observations to explore understandings of teaching and learning that inform pedagogical choices and strategies in training Northern development workers as outlined in the previous chapter. These understandings are based in participants’ experiences and learning processes while living and working in the North and South, documented in detail in the first thesis in this study, *Encounters with Northern Development Workers: Reflections from the “Field”*. Following on the previous chapter that documents distinct understandings of training priorities, we maintain the grouping of participants to reflect different approaches to teaching and learning. In both the cross-cultural and critical sections, we explore the use of experience as a pedagogic tool, learning environment and the role of facilitator in guiding learning processes. Cross-cultural training is characterized by a reliance on experience and emotion, creating safe and participatory learning environments to raise Northern development workers’ awareness of relevant adaptation and development issues. As facilitators, these participants are particularly mindful of maintaining a productive learning environment and attempt to regulate and contain discussions around what they identify to be sensitive issues, such as race and gender. In the critical section, participants recognize learning processes to involve asking questions, making connections, tracing and seeing not only structural relationships across North - South but also the continuities of Northern development workers’ power and identity in the North and South. While these participants are aware of the need to support Northern development workers through challenging learning processes, they recognize conflict and discomfort to contain pedagogic possibilities.
Cross-Cultural Theory of Teaching and Learning

Introduction

In this section, we rely on participants’ narratives and our observations to explore theories of teaching and learning that are enacted in training Northern development workers. We begin this section by explicating interactive processes that characterize participants’ approaches to teaching and learning. Participants’ conceptualizations and organization of training reflect theoretical understandings of processes of adult learning. These understandings influence learning goals, content and pedagogical strategies, shaping what is possible or desirable in training. Most articulate an understanding of learning across cultures as a continuous process and situate training in this context. They recognize the educative potential of living and working in the South and attempt to prepare Northern development workers to realize the learning that occurs through cross-cultural experiences. Participants nurture and affirm Northern development workers’ desire to learn through cross-cultural experiences in the South. Training is oriented to prepare them for these experiences, providing Northern development workers with tools and framework pieces to guide them through their learning and adaptation while in the South. In training, many participants activate and rely on experience and emotion, recognizing their potential to support and enhance learning. They stress that for learning to occur, Northern development workers need to feel respected, safe and comfortable in training. We explore how this ideal learning environment informs participants’ facilitation of identity issues, particularly around race and gender.

Interactive Learning

Participants’ organization of training is informed by participatory theories of learning. They recognize learners to be knowledgeable and believe that learning best occurs when Northern development workers are meaningfully engaged in learning processes. Participatory theories of learning also require that Northern development workers have the space to shape learning in ways
that are relevant, meeting their own priorities and concerns. Participants recognize the need to modify the agenda depending on the salient experiences, issues and emotions that Northern development workers bring to training. In this way, they understand that training needs to be flexible and responsive to learners' priorities. Recognizing that these priorities are different for each group and there is no formula for learning, participants are prepared to redirect learning processes as necessary. This includes moving from whole to small group discussion, adjusting time allocated for specific activities and modifying strategies to account for group dynamics.

Graham articulates his efforts to balance his vision for training with Northern development workers' needs, "I would try not to just do what I think should be done, I would pay attention to what the participants need that's why on day one we had to stop the process and deal with where they were coming from. I do not believe any two groups need the same blueprint of learning" (Graham, p. 5T). Aware of the uniqueness of each group of Northern development workers, Monica also stresses the need to modify learning activities and approaches, noting "every time I do this training session, I create everything from scratch like I rarely reuse materials because - it doesn't work [laughter]" (Monica, p. 18T). Recognizing that Northern development workers have varied exposure to and analysis of development issues, participants adapt the level of information in response to the knowledge and experiences that Northern development workers bring to training. Alannah comments that international development brings individuals from diverse professional and knowledge backgrounds. It then becomes the task of the facilitator to design a program that takes into account these divergent starting points while also eliciting the specialized knowledges of Northern development workers. In planning training programs that are responsive to the experiences of Northern development workers, participants also rely on feedback and evaluation in designing future training programs. They stress the need to take into account facilitators’ approaches, styles and ability to motivate Northern development workers. Alannah elaborates these factors for consideration in selecting guest speakers for future training:
some of the sessions are more interesting to some people than they are to others - some of the speakers are more interesting like you know different styles. It's difficult to always monitor things like that and to know before hand that someone's going to be really boring and [laughter] sometimes they are and that's just a personal style, I guess but we do try to take that into account and based on their feedback - so in years past, some of the speakers haven't been that great so we try to ensure that in the following years they haven't been called back (Alannah 4 10, pp. 14-15).

Recognizing Northern development workers as knowledgeable as well as the need for learning to be interactive, participants attempt to create a dynamic in which roles of teacher and learner are more fluid than fixed. They organize learning to encourage dialogue between Northern development workers, not relying exclusively on lecture or information delivery. Participants recognize the potential of Northern development workers to learn from and challenge one another, encouraging them to share prior experiences of travel or work in the South. In this way, participants are cognizant of the learning that occurs informally and incorporate unstructured learning time into the training agenda. Acknowledging the resources that Northern development workers bring to training, they also provide them with opportunities to socialize and talk informally. This pedagogical approach values the learning that occurs between Northern development workers, de-emphasizing training that is primarily facilitator directed. Graham observes the potential of informal learning and association between Northern development workers, particularly from different cultures. In referring to a learner who was very preoccupied and reluctant to be engaged in training, Graham remarks on the pedagogical value of this learner’s informal interaction with another Northern development worker:

two of the participants... went to an art gallery last night...I think part of the informal learning is him opening up to other people and she's from another culture, speaks another language so just watching the relationship may be indicative of how the whole three or four days is opening him up (Graham 4 6, p. 20).
Learning Through Experience

In training Northern development workers, many participants activate and rely on personal experience, recognizing its potential to support and enhance learning. However, in order to move from experience to learning, participants argue that there must be an engagement with experience through reflection. They emphasize the time required to understand and synthesize prior professional and personal experiences, using training to engage Northern development workers in reflective practices. Some participants observe a tendency among Northern development workers to move quickly from experience to conclusions without adequate time for reflection. The danger in not reflecting sufficiently is that Northern development workers often produce partial and problematic explanations through a Northern cultural lens. Graham illustrates this habit in training, providing Northern development workers with the following example, "what normally happens is [we go from] experience to what stands out and apply that without thinking about why. I get robbed in Hanoi, I can’t trust Vietnamese, don’t go to Hanoi" (Graham, p. 4).

Participants understand this process to be particularly relevant for those Northern development workers who have prior work and travel experience in the South, as these easily arrived at conclusions become more fixed over time. They encourage Northern development workers to reflect on their past experiences in the South and their motivations in seeking further opportunities to experience life and the work in other Southern countries. During training, Graham engages Northern development workers to clarify their interest in working in the South, stressing the need to work through prior experiences in order to be present to new experiences and learning:

G: you said you want to experience Asia...sounds like you’re on a path
S1: hard to explain, cross between meditation and Taoism, Buddhism, intriguing to me, so it’s not about Asia and the Orient but it’s about what it represents
G: before the start of experiences you have to reflect on the last experience, before you make a quick change, what do you want learn here?
S2: I thought I’ve got to try Asia...experience another culture, country, have another experience.
In order to create a climate for sharing and reflecting on prior experiences, participants often relate their own experiences and insights as Northern development workers in the South. Participants also encourage Northern development workers to share experiences and reflections of prior travel in the South. The telling of these stories can illuminate valuable insights for both the narrator as well as Northern development workers who can extract from these stories, relevant insights.

Some participants comment specifically on the enriched learning that occurs when the representation of Northern development workers is varied. Welcoming these diverse experiences in training, participants express that as facilitators, they prefer the sharing and learning that results from Northern development workers of different cultures coming together. Kate’s experiences in training confirm this dynamic and she is enthusiastic about this learning through diversity, elaborating “that’s why they’re [name of NGO] so fantastic because there it’s so much more diverse... it was so rich...that was fantastic to have that kind of discussion happening” (Kate 4 10, p. 20). Graham also reflects on the potential to learn, particularly from those Northern development workers who are different and have distinct experiences from most of the group. He also argues that it requires a skilled facilitator to elicit these unusual contributions, commenting “I love it [diverse group] as a facilitator because...you can get people to talk about significant experiences that they've had that may well be very different from the rest of the group” (Graham 272, p. 3).

**Emotion as a Catalyst for Learning**

Participants conceptualize learning to involve both intellectual and emotional processes. They argue that for meaningful learning to occur, Northern development workers require environments to engage them intellectually and emotionally. Participants organize training to include experiential activities that generate emotional responses to clarify Northern development
workers' values, assumptions and facilitate learning across different experiences. Monica incorporates these activities, designed to simulate real situations in which learners feel invested in the outcome. For her, this ensures that Northern development workers are not detached from learning content and processes, while also exposing them to the parameters that shape their role in international development. She explicates this theory of learning and describes Northern development workers' responses as follows:

very difficult, emotionally, oh my god, this is tough ...that's another element with the simulation that people just really get into it and they forget that they're in a simulation and...that's what you want them to achieve, and you want people to invest themselves personally into something so that they -- it creates, there is a learning situation there for them...give them real situations, things that are happening that are real that are not exceptional situations but that they're going to meet very often...give them a dose of reality, an overview of what reality can be --- it's better than just talking" (Monica 4 6, pp. 32-33).

This commitment to participatory and experience based learning requires that participants design training programs to carefully integrate information delivery with opportunities to apply learning to real life situations. Graham synthesizes this balance as follows, "if you get too theoretical, just lose people...case study approach, intellectual level but put people in situations that they have to respond to emotively" (Graham, p. 4). For these activities to be pedagogically valuable, facilitators require the skills to debrief emotions and guide Northern development workers to reflect on their responses. Kate describes her approach in using interactive activities and debriefing in training, noting “often I would like to include some sort of activity that would - conjure up like that would be an emotional, not emotional as in drastically emotional but would have real feelings and a real experience that they could then debrief” (Kate 4 6, p. 28). The focus of debriefing then becomes to identify and share different emotional responses and reflections generated by these learning activities.

Recognizing the time required to work through issues related to professional and personal integration in the South, participants emphasize the need to organize training to adequately
prepare and support Northern development workers. They understand this preparation to involve both intellectual and emotional processes but argue that because training and educational processes typically emphasize analytical skill development, Northern development workers are not fully engaged emotionally in their work in the South. For Monica, this separation or lack of emotional investment is not possible in international development because “you can't do this just for intellectual reasons because - it has so many human implications” (Monica 410, p. 22). In her observations of Northern development workers, she recognizes the ease with which they learn intellectually and acquire information without developing the capacity to also process and respond to ideas at a human level. To lesson this dissonance, she understands her role as a facilitator to help Northern development workers align their emotional and intellectual responses to experiences and people in the South. For example, she prioritizes providing Northern development workers with information about the impact of economic globalization to contextualize their judgments of and responses to poverty in the South. Reflecting on his own process of learning through a challenging situation in the South, Graham stresses the need to bring together emotional and intellectual reasoning with a willingness to learn. He reflects that while he had an intellectual analysis of a situation, emotionally he was still not able to reconcile his own feelings and attitudes, describing the time required to align these understandings:

That's an intellectual understanding for me as an outsider, at an emotional level I still had to deal with the incident itself. So I need both forms of information, but I have to be ready to hear it and I wasn’t ready to hear it, I likely did hear it but filtered it out. People hear what they want to hear when they want to hear it and for me it was six months before I actually clicked, okay this is true (Graham 4 6, p. 21).

Learning Environment

Participants are aware that for learning to meaningfully occur, there needs to be a collective effort to develop an environment that is conducive to learning. They stress that Northern development workers need to feel respected, safe and comfortable in training. A commitment to this learning environment guides participants’ learning goals, content and pedagogical strategies in training
Northern development workers. The organization of training reflects understandings of adult learning, taking into consideration "that adults learn differently, when they want, what they want and only when they’re comfortable" (Graham, p. 4). It is of particular importance that as facilitators, participants provide opportunities for relationships of trust, comfort and respect to be formed amongst Northern development workers. Because training can be evocative of deeply personal experiences and issues, participants prioritize the emotional safety of Northern development workers in training. In reflecting on her role as a facilitator, Monica makes pedagogical choices depending on the time she has with learners. Emphasizing the safety of Northern development workers, she assesses the extent and depth of issues to be explored, elaborating her position in the following way:

I want to make sure that the people that I work with, I want to make sure they’re safe with me, they’re safe to learn with me. So if I don’t have enough time with them, I won’t take them in a path which is too far away - that will take too much time to learn from it and then you just leave people like this, you know what I mean (Monica 4 5, p. 17)?

For Kate, processes of establishing safety include allowing time for whole group discussions to establish expectations of group behaviour and interactions, identifying “what that group will do from then on. You know, establishing norms of behaviour or establishing things that we need in this group in order to maintain a safe and open environment for people” (Kate 4 8, p. 26).

Facilitating Race and Gender Issues\textsuperscript{18} in Training

In an effort to create and maintain an open and safe environment for learning, participants anticipate and attempt to pre-empt conflict and minimize resistance, particularly around identity issues that they identify as sensitive, such as gender and race. Understanding that conflict deters learning, participants hope that these and other issues can be addressed in ways that Northern development workers feel “challenged - and not cornered” (Graham 4 5, p. 11). Participants are

\textsuperscript{18} Training programs were organized to include gender issues in training that also included health and safety discussions, primarily for women Northern development workers. However, participants spoke in more detail to gender in development during interviews.
mindful that tension in training can prohibit meaningful engagement in learning processes, producing resistance on the part of Northern development workers. They recognize that resistance manifests itself through verbal articulations of uneasiness, anxiety and dismissal as well as silence, withdrawal, body language and other non-verbal cues. When presented with ideas or situations that Northern development workers find discomforting, participants observe their tendency to criticize the learning strategies or question the practicality of information presented. They often claim to be confused or dismiss ideas as being too theoretical and not relevant to their performance as Northern development workers in the South.

Participants set parameters on how difficult issues will be negotiated in the training context. For them, these translate into strategic efforts to discuss power in ways that are not confrontational, alienating or hostile. While some participants recognize the value of exploring differences between learners, they are aware of the reluctance of Northern development workers to meaningfully acknowledge difference, focusing instead on what they share in common. Kate, for example, narrates this typical response as one of “trying to play down our differences…it’s no we’re all the same and we’re all one big happy family” (Kate 4 10, p. 17). In these cases, she attempts to direct training activities to generate more meaningful discussions around difference, without isolating and confronting learners. As issues of difference are challenging to facilitate, Kate expresses her preference for co-facilitation as it allows her to process Northern development workers’ responses and develop constructive approaches to manage the learning dynamics. While she encourages conversations about difference in training, Kate prioritizes maintaining a safe learning environment, particularly for those who are visibly different or have identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual. She recalls that often during discussions around difference, it is the non-white learner who is isolated as different and needing the support of the larger group. Kate narrates this problematic dynamic, “I’ve had experiences where…there’s the guy who’s not white
in our group, now let’s all talk about how we can support you because you’re not like us you know, I don’t want to set up that kind of dynamic” (Kate 4 2 4, p. 3).

Other participants also describe their approach to facilitating training for Northern development workers, particularly around more sensitive issues. In reflecting on her own facilitation style, Monica characterizes herself as cautious in her approach to training, particularly in comparison to other more provocative facilitators. She prefers to allow Northern development workers to learn at their own pace and understands her role as one of providing them with appropriate tools and strategies to use at their own discretion. Monica expresses some reservation of her more careful approach to training, reflecting:

I’m very careful, I’m more on the careful side. I’ve seen trainers who take more risks than I do, I’m not, I don’t like to take lots of risks with people I work with, that’s really my style. I know other people who are very - much more provocative, or more, they take more risks, that’s not my - maybe I should but I like people to learn at their own pace and if they’re not ready to do any introspection, I’ll just give them the tools, and they can use it when, when they’re ready (Monica 4 10 3, p. 13).

In an effort to minimize conflict and resistance in gender training, Monica is careful to organize these sessions in ways that are not alienating or discomforting to men. In facilitating workshops focusing on gender in the context of international development, Monica identifies the shortage of men with a critical gender analysis as a “big constraint” (Monica, p. 17T) in training. As a woman facilitator, Monica is cognizant that if sessions become too confrontational, the potential for men to learn through engagement with this material is lost. She is careful to create balance in the learning environment, not presenting a militant perspective of gender as “it’s easy to tip the balance and then to present it in a way that women are always suffering and men are always villains to them. So if you cross that line then you’ve lost all the men in the room. They’re not interested in listening to you” (Monica 4 10, p. 22). She prioritizes a social analysis of gender to pre-empt men’s claims of exceptionality and defensiveness. While her approach to training recognizes that Northern development workers require a gender analysis to adequately prepare for
development work in the South, Monica maintains the intersection of gender with other social locations, including class, ethnicity and age. She observes that male Northern development workers demonstrate more resistance and defensiveness to discussions that isolate gender. She attributes this to feeling personally implicated in male privilege and concludes that while people are “ready to let go of a lot of things but not - they’re [men are] not ready to let go about gender” (Monica 4 10, p. 23). She uses her discretion and sensitivity in facilitating gender discussions, intervening when the dynamic becomes too personalized, describing this as inappropriate therapeutic sessions that need to be stopped and redirected.

While Monica establishes guidelines for raising and negotiating gender in training, Graham prefers to allow sensitive issues to emerge organically through concerns or experiences of particular Northern development workers. While Graham recognizes that he is “not a subject matter expert” (Graham 1 5 4, p. 4) when it comes to issues of gender and race, he does feel able to facilitate and address these complex issues, if raised by Northern development workers. He understands the relationship between Northern development workers and facilitators to be a human one in which differences of race and gender can be easily overcome. In dealing with these issues in training, Graham describes the ideal facilitator as one who is equipped with the appropriate skills and experiences to open up a dialogue. When asked if the identity of the facilitator is relevant in discussing issues of gender and race, Graham elaborates with the following response:

I would feel distinctly uncomfortable dealing with gender issues with only women in the room, it would matter that I was a male doing that. Not that I couldn’t do it effectively, or successfully, and I have done, but it makes a difference. It makes a difference if a person of colour is facilitating a race discussion...it makes a difference, and it’s a difference of perception as well as mainly reality. All of those situations can get dealt with in the first ten minutes to an hour of any session. Because the relationship between facilitator or whoever is delivering is a totally human one, you know you’re not dealing with a person of colour you’re dealing heart to heart or you know. But it does make a difference in terms of perception...the ideal is to have anybody facilitate any session with the right sets of skills and experience and open up the dialogue (Graham, pp. 14-15T).
Graham recognizes that if gender or race issues emerge in training, they can cause discomfort and need to be managed in ways that challenge, without diminishing, Northern development workers. He argues that the constructive exchange of ideas is possible only when a comfortable learning dynamic has been established. In recalling incidents when these issues have been raised by Northern development workers in ways that challenge other perspectives, Graham uses his discretion and perception of the group dynamic to manage these interventions. He notes that depending on the learning environment that has been established, it may be embarrassing but still possible for Northern development workers to engage comfortably in an exchange of ideas. For Graham, the key is that such encounters are “not diminishing, you know it's an exchange” (Graham 4 10, p. 15). If he determines that the group dynamic and learning environment cannot support this type of tension and stress or if Northern development workers are resistant to engage, he acknowledges he “would rather not engage in a discussion if I don’t feel the group is ready to receive it” (Graham, 4 5, p. 13). Like Monica, Graham is reluctant to challenge Northern development workers in ways that do not further learning. While Graham acknowledges that during training Northern development workers can demonstrate attitudes and behaviours that he understands to be racist or sexist, he is deliberate in choosing not to name them. In stressing the need to discuss and frame sensitive issues in ways that are not alienating, Graham is adamant that “with adults you cannot use these trigger words, racism, sexism or whatever, because they'll shut down, even if it's under the rubric of inter-cultural training” (Graham 4 8, p. 20). In choosing not to name the racist or sexist sentiments of Northern development workers explicitly, Graham believes that he is able to maintain equilibrium in the learning environment. He develops a strategy to deal more subtly with these comments, repeating back to Northern development workers their racist and sexist articulations. Understanding that Northern development workers are not always aware of their own racism and sexism when speaking, Graham’s hope is that in reflecting their words back to them, Northern development workers will come to see as
problematic, their own words and ideas. He elaborates his pedagogical choice in the following way:

Ah no, I'm - I'm afraid of that word [racist], I don't know what that word that really means...in a session like this, when I hear it the only thing I can do is try as neutrally as possible is to reflect back the words that I've heard used...and hope that in hearing those words that the person listens to themselves, because people don't often hear their own words, right. In a group, I have to make sure by doing that with an individual I don't diminish them in anyway (Graham 4 5, pp. 10-11).

The following exchange in training demonstrates Graham's use of this strategy of echoing back to Northern development workers their problematic conclusions of prior experiences in the South, in a way that is not diminishing:

SI: ...the whole Korean experience was an exercise in futility. What they do and they are famous for it, they just kill the Canadians, you get eaten alive at work.
G: still some unresolved stuff, unresolved personal issues, mistakes, feelings of distrust, fatigue, being taken for granted.
SI: fatigue...I lived above the school so I had no privacy, [small apartment], no heat, Korean winters can zap you because of dampness, I got very, very tired, I got very very sick.
G: so if I can just summarize, family issues, no privacy, inadequate accommodations, climate, heat, damp, broken promises
SI: always, always, always (Graham, p. 4)

Recognizing the naming of specific exercises of power to be counterproductive, Graham opts to discuss power more generally with Northern development workers in an effort to defuse conflict and tension. In referring to those identity issues that he understands to be sensitive or difficult, Graham is mindful that training Northern development workers, is after all a business, requiring paying clients that need to be pleased. It is counterproductive in this business model to challenge Northern development workers in ways that they might find too discomforting. In referencing these difficult issues, Graham argues, "you can not hit people over the head with a baseball bat you know this is a business, you know. Our training is a business, we need clients...we want to make it worthy paying for, and you don't do that by - clubbing people over the head when they come in, about themselves" (Graham, p. 9T).
As a facilitator, Ron is more explicit in naming and challenging racist, sexist or discriminatory remarks made by Northern development workers in training. In his approach to facilitating, Ron demonstrates a directness in asking questions and reframing discussions as necessary. During training, he demonstrates these interventions in challenging Northern development workers to different degrees on issues that include the role of technology in development and problematic perceptions of the South. In sessions where Ron is not the primary facilitator, he uses his discretion in attempting to redirect Northern development workers’ conversations to consider alternative perspectives. Reflecting on a group discussion about racism that was going in a direction he understood to be problematic, Ron describes feeling compelled to intervene:

I was more vocal [laughter]. Again, part of it sometimes - just either the direction the discussion was going to I found that example the racism one - I think a couple of times [laughter] not shocked but kind of surprised. I shouldn't be surprised any more but [laughter] they were saying that we're [Canadians are] nice racists kind of [laughter R and T] which I you know really threw me...yeah, my god, I have to say something [laughter] (Ron 4 7, p. 19).

During a session on anti-racism, Ron focuses Northern development workers’ responses to consider the insidiousness of racism in Canada. In the following exchange, he draws on his own experiences in questioning Northern development workers’ positioning of Canada as less racist relative to the United States. As a facilitator, Ron intervenes to redirect the discussion when Northern development workers are not addressing issues of racism in Canada that have been raised in the session:

S1: people see Canada as milder, gentler...it's almost a stereotype
S2: yeah not like with Americans, there you state first American, in Canada say race first, I'm Chinese. The Canadian way really bothers me, if you ask American they say American first, they are American.
S1: American propaganda
S3: Canada as nationalistic as Americans, Canada overseas, talk about how great we are and what a great place
S1: number one UN
S3: yes because last seven years, number one place to live
S1: own perception Canada number one more open better standard of living, more of an intelligence thing, not militarily
S3: ok we're just mentally superior

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R: let's get back to racism, gentler, is it gentler if I'm called it five times instead of twenty times
S4: subtler here, not so open, a lot not said
R: in work situation, called names, does it make a difference, is there a gentler racism (Ron, p. 1)?

**Conclusion**

Participants in this section understand learning to most effectively occur when Northern development workers are actively engaged in educational processes. Drawing on previous travel and professional experiences of Northern development workers, participants attempt to ensure that training is relevant, inclusive and participatory. In preparing them for learning across cultures, they stress the need for Northern development workers to bring together emotional and intellectual processes to interpret experiences in the South. Guiding participants' training efforts is a commitment to create an environment that they assume will be safe and comfortable for all Northern development workers to learn. Because participants frame training to be responsive to Northern development workers' needs and prioritize their emotional safety, a meaningful inclusion of issues of power and privilege is conditioned by these parameters. In cases where participants do not name or selectively name systems of power, rarely are they raised by Northern development workers in training. In not prioritizing or making explicit issues of power and privilege as agenda items in training, what becomes reinforced is the absence of these issues as relevant to the preparatory work and experiences of Northern development workers in the South. For those participants who name and introduce issues of power and privilege in training, there is a tendency to refer them to a specific session, for example, gender in development, anti-discrimination or anti-racism. In so doing, participants effectively regulate and contain discussions around what they identify to be sensitive issues rather than conceptualizing power and privilege as integral to training processes and international development. As facilitators, they are particularly mindful of maintaining a productive learning environment in which perceptible conflict is anticipated and minimized or pre-empted. As a result, there is an effort to avoid using...
the language of anti-oppression and instead, participants choose to not name, to talk more generally about power and privilege without naming specific systems or address a system without naming the specific actors of domination. This premium on safety and comfort precludes a critical analysis of international development as well as the role and identity of Northern development workers. In peripheralizing an exploration of how Northern status, race and gender intervene to shape their personal and professional experiences, participants do not systematically engage Northern development workers in efforts to politicize experience. In facilitating activities that elicit the experiences of Northern development workers. some participants demonstrate a greater curiosity in exploring the experiences of Northern development workers of colour in relation to race and racism. We observed that there was not an analogous investigation of how white Northern development workers’ experiences are also informed by a system of race. The sharing of experiences without a corresponding analytical investigation can lead to emotionally enriching exchanges but is not likely to result in the politicization of consciousness, as experiences are not connected to the operation of power and privilege.

Critical Theory of Teaching and Learning

Introduction

In this section, participants’ narratives and our observations of training reveal understandings of teaching and learning that inform pedagogical choices and strategies in training Northern development workers. Participants’ conceptualization and organization of training reflect their experiences as Northern development workers and processes of coming to problematize participation in international development. We begin this section with an explication of participants’ understandings that to more critically understand experiences in the South and Southern contexts, Northern development workers need to inquire into the organization of their own identities and experiences through the lens of power and privilege. It is with this evolving and localized analysis that Northern development workers are more equipped to discern the
complexities of power and privilege, tracing the manifestations and causes of inequity to national and international processes in which the North is implicated. Participants recognize that processes of learning involve asking questions, making connections, tracing and seeing not only structural relationships across North - South but also the continuities of Northern development workers’ power and privilege in the North and South. In engaging Northern development workers in explorations of how their identities are constituted by these systems, participants remain mindful of the impact of personalizing systems of power in training. This section also explores participants’ understandings of and approaches to negotiating conflict in training. While they are aware of the need to support Northern development workers through these challenging learning processes, they recognize conflict and discomfort to contain pedagogic possibilities. Conceptualizing learning as a continuous and evolving process, participants recognize the fluidity of moving between structural and individual power analyses in the North and South and across North - South. This fluidity is then reflected in training agendas that illuminate the connectivity between North and South, prioritizing an investigation of Northern contexts and their implication for development practices in the South.

**Illuminating Power and Privilege**

Recognizing the potential of education, participants conceptualize training to complicate Northern development workers’ understanding of development issues and relations of power. Derek speaks to the possibilities of this educational project, “that’s where my hope lies that the exploitation can start to be challenged... I think through connections, we can start doing that. I guess as an educationalist as well...not that education in and of itself changes anything but I do believe in the potential of education” (Derek 4 6, p. 15). Most participants articulate an understanding of learning as a continuous process and situate training in this context. As Ann states, “I think that training has to be understood as something long-term, as something that in fact, is life long” (Ann, p. 8T). In reflecting on her ongoing process of coming to understand
practices of development as problematic, Emily warns against the tendency to finalize learning, “you know it’s an evolving analysis. I don't think that you reach a point where now you know, I think now you might know some things that you didn't before but you have to assume that you've got some blind spots” (Emily 111, p. 4).

Recognizing that Northern development workers can best develop critical readings of their experiences when they are actively engaged, participants design programs and sessions to balance information delivery with interactive strategies designed to illuminate power and privilege. Given “we can't act on information we don't have” (Bill 46, p. 8), participants provide Northern development workers with relevant information in the form of facts, testimonials, historical summaries and lectures. Recognizing “traditional top down ways” (Ann, p. 8T) of training to be insufficient, participants diversify strategies to integrate concepts and consider their application to Northern development worker identity and international development.

**Begin From Where You Are**

Participants argue that in order for Northern development workers to understand more critically their experiences in the South and Southern contexts, they need to develop an analysis of relations of power as they inform their own lives and identities in a Northern context. They assert the importance of Northern development workers’ experiences as entry points to understand the organization of social relations of power, arguing that critical reflection has the potential to make visible how everyday experiences are situated within systems of power. Participants highlight the need to begin these explorations in the North in order to recognize the continuity of power and privilege in the South. In tracing the origin of her own activism, Ann advises that learning about and organizing for social change “should start from where we are... start from your own life situations and promote changes, ask for changes, organize” (Ann, p. 2T). Some participants allow for the possibility that Northern development workers who demonstrate some awareness around a particular issue of social justice in their own lives and context may be more able to
translate this awareness to a holistic analysis of issues of power and privilege. As Derek argues, “if people have shown some - inkling of that consciousness even if it’s only in one type of issue area, then I think there's the potential for that consciousness to emerge in other kind of issues, areas” (Derek 13, p. 4). It becomes the role of the facilitator to elicit prior knowledge and experiences that Northern development workers bring to training, guiding learning processes to connect and extend understandings of systems of oppression. If Northern development workers are able to acknowledge the prevalence of oppression in their own context, participants argue that they may be more open to learn from their experiences in the South, furthering a critical global analysis and sustained activism against exploitation.

Given participants’ understanding that learning about self in relation to power and privilege needs to originate in the North, they reframe the tendency of Northern development workers to postpone learning until they are in the South. The following exchange demonstrates how participants, in this case Emily, challenge Northern development workers to extend their analysis of social relations of power and where learning occurs. This intervention is often responded to with claims by Northern development workers that real learning happens in the South and through interactions with Southerners, with whom they perceive to share similarities. Emily insists that the intensity of experiences in the South often preclude Northern development workers from appreciating the complexity of the larger context:

\[E: \text{keep trying to uncover}\\S1: \text{consider some of the similarities. The common threads that person from the First World carries to developing world - use those similarities to my advantage.}\\E: \text{need to push analysis a bit more}\\S1: \text{real change happens to you when you experience it}\\E: \text{This is a chance to step back and look at the big picture. When you’re in the experience, it’s extremely intense (Emily, pp. 7-8).}\]

Participants understand an investigation of this larger context to more specifically involve learning from critical Southern and Northern perspectives about histories of colonialism, continuity of Northern presence and economic exploitation in the South, critical development
perspectives and Southern social movements prior to their participation in international development. Participants observe that the deferral of doing one’s homework places an additional responsibility on Southern people to educate and inform Northern development workers about Southern realities. Derek refers to this as exploitation of Southern wisdom and knowledge in which Northern development workers routinely participate. Participants are clear that the responsibility to educate oneself lies with Northern development workers and emphasize the need for them to work independently and rigorously to educate themselves in order to then more meaningfully participate in learning while in the South. In training, when Northern development workers articulate an expectation that Southerners will inform them about organizational culture and appropriate behaviour, Sophia reminds them of their privilege in participating in international development, advising them, “we have a responsibility. I place the onus on us because we have the privilege of going, staying two, five, ten years and returning. This is not the [Southern colleague’s] job” (Sophia, p. 3).

While Bill also uses training to exposes Northern development workers to the complexity of development issues and social relations, he understands learning about the operation of power and privilege to occur primarily through professional and personal experiences in the South. Bill maintains there is a limit to what training can achieve and conceptualizes training to prepare “people to become development workers by giving them exposure to ideas and concepts which they can carry with them but they won’t learn, they won’t be educated until their - fingernails are dirty - till they’re actually on the ground” (Bill 4 6, p. 6). Participants also observe the learning that can happen through work in the South if Northern development workers have invested the adequate preparatory effort. They comment on the potential for Northern development workers to translate that learning into meaningful participation in international development in the North, if they reflect on and synthesize their experiences in the South. Ann compares their time in the
South to a field visit and understands the contribution of Northern development workers as occurring primarily through work in Northern communities once they return. As she posits:

\[
\text{during the time that they have been on this field visit, as I would call, because they’re going visiting, you know this field visit, short term field visit...the synthesis they make when they get back home if they ever give themselves the time to do that, and and then they start implanting themselves in their own communities... it’s a very critical thing (Ann p. 10T).}
\]

**Unlearning Dominant Understandings of North and South**

Most participants recognize that dominant knowledge systems largely inform Northern development workers’ understandings of the South prior to their arrival and continue to inform their attitudes and behaviour while in the South. These dominant knowledge systems confirm to Northern development workers that Northern ways of organizing work and life are superior and worthy of replication. As participants argue, these ways of knowing produce dominant ways of being, often manifest in displays of Northern superiority and arrogance both in professional and personal interactions in the South. Participants, therefore, organize training to make explicit and encourage Northern development workers to trace how their own learning and interpretive frameworks are informed by dominant systems that include capitalism and racism. Given the insidiousness of racism and its delinking from development, many participants demonstrate sustained efforts to illuminate the relationship between race and the lens through which Northern development workers interpret the world. Training practices are informed by a theory of unlearning dominant interpretive frameworks, providing Northern development workers with a critical framework to read their experiences and identity locations in the North and South. Recognizing that they often interpret their experiences in ways that confirm their civility and superiority, Derek hopes that in providing another message, training can disrupt Northern development workers’ understandings and behaviours. He argues that if Northern development workers can learn to differently read their Northern context to acknowledge exploitation and oppression, they are more likely to rethink their rationalizations of poverty:
I think that if people can start acknowledging the shit in their own backyard, or in their own house then I think the chances are less that they're going to go overseas with this big chip on their shoulders like I come from the civilized world - we've got it all figured out - you know and the people who are begging on our streets are only there because they're lazy...I think that if you can get a different message out there then we generally get then I think that you've got a chance of having people go overseas with a little bit less arrogance and if that's the case then I think people will be much more aware of what's happening (Derek, p. 111).

For participants, the implication for their role as facilitators is to encourage Northern development workers to trace their own understandings as problematic and partial and broaden their sense of what constitutes relevant pre-departure training. Participants recognize that social relations are organized in ways that protect Northern development workers' dominance, bringing with it the choice to engage in learning processes to see self as dominant. Because challenges to knowledge systems and sense of self can be profoundly unsettling, participants are cognizant of the need to be skilled in negotiating Northern development worker responses and resistance.

Recognizing that Northern development workers have knowledge about the North and South, that often reflect dominant knowledge systems, participants focus their efforts to challenge them to ask questions about the origins of these understandings and consider, "why are we so comfortable with these explanations" (Sophia, p. 2) and their assumed legitimacy. Emily warns Northern development workers that if they do not investigate their own habits of interpreting the world, they are likely to carry with them and enact attitudes of Northern superiority and racism. She compels Northern development workers to consider why they are going and if their presence in the South is justifiable:

Walking into context when you overseas, what are you walking into?...this is not a training to reaffirm that that. Going to challenge you, and get you to think, ask questions. Should I be here? Is there any justification in the world for me to be here? I have noble motivations for coming...taking it back to Canada to see what it is we are all coming from because we take it with us, those understandings we have here. They go with us and if we don't unpack them we stand to repeat the mistakes that led Southern NGOs to say we don't want you. We don't think it has to be that way, but to pause and think ...this is what is marking us (Emily pp. 2-3).
In focusing training efforts within an anti-oppression framework, participants understand the extent to which these dominant frameworks influence knowledge systems and understandings of self, for both dominant and marginalized. In the context of international development, participants do not assume that Northern development workers of colour are exempt from the influence of racially informed dominant interpretive frameworks. In their capacity as Northern development workers and facilitators, participants observe the proficiency with which some Northern development workers of colour also internalize the script of Northern superiority and racism. Participants draw attention to the relevance of anti-racism work for Northern development workers of colour at different stages in developing a critical race analysis. Emily challenges the idea that:

people of colour don't need to hear all this, they already know it – and all I could say is that has not been our experience. We never make the assumption that - by virtue of the body [laugh] that you can guarantee there's a certain kind of knowledge. There's a greater likelihood - but it's not a guarantee. Often - there's a tremendous investment in not knowing (Emily 272, p. 1).

While anti-racism training is necessary and relevant for both white Northern development workers and Northern development workers of colour, participants are aware that these learning processes are distinct. In their role as facilitators, participants are cognizant of the need to balance and attend to these dual processes. For example, in mixed race training where anti-racism is centred, participants are aware of the increased risk for Northern development workers and facilitators of colour. Given the urgency in engaging white Northern development workers in explorations of whiteness, participants also recognize the need to support Northern development workers of colour through these processes. As important, is the responsibility participants articulate to Northern development workers of colour in training, not only to challenge but to support them as they encounter racism in training and explore their own role as Northern development workers of colour in the South. Some organize training to provide Northern development workers with racially separate spaces to discuss and process ideas. Angela frames
the need for these distinct learning spaces in the following way, "that session is for people to - basically we're hoping that people will feel comfortable enough to be open enough to talk about different things...we feel strongly that people do need a space like so that's the reason why we break you up into those two groups...I really feel that folks really open up there" (Angela 4 8, pp. 5-6). Participants are conscious of not placing the burden of educating white Northern development workers about race and racism on Northern development workers of colour. They struggle with the predicament of using the experiences of Northern development workers of colour in ways that do not displace the responsibility of white Northern development workers to investigate the operation of race from their dominant social location.

**Connecting North and South**

With an analysis of power and privilege and its operation in the North, participants argue that Northern development workers are better able to extend this analysis to explore manifestations and causes of inequity, connecting them to larger international processes at operation in both North and South. Relying on their own experiences, participants are aware that complexities and relations of power, not readily apparent, shape their time in the South as Northern development workers. They therefore engage Northern development workers in learning processes to discern these complexities, tracing them to relations of power in which the North is implicated. Observing the tendency of Northern development workers to disassociate international processes from their accounts of the South, participants demonstrate a facility in complicating their responses. For example, Ann consistently reframes Northern development workers' analysis of global issues to consider the implication of Northern states in perpetuating injustice and exploitation internationally. The following exchange from training reflects this effort:

SI: skeptical that states can be held accountable, NGOs are there to fill gaps.  
A: states are very concerned about image internationally, tied to international community, aid from international financial institutions  
SI: there are notable exceptions to it  
A: pariah, rogue states are increasing
SI: it's a big concern, what is the impetus governments have to behave better?
A: part of the problem is rogue states, but also hypocrisy of global politics playing out. This starts at home, start from where we are. How to influence government that are playing less and less of a role, less space as TNC’s [transnational corporations], WTO [World Trade Organization] take on governance issues and rules, losing governance ability on behalf of citizens...trade takes a front seat, human rights and development takes a back seat and then shove in peacekeepers...start with accountability for state actor (Ann, p. 1).

Participants recognize the value of using experience to further learning but are also cognizant of the need to connect experience to systems of power and privilege. They elaborate the saliency of Northern development workers locating their accounts of and experiences in the South in a larger context. In training, Derek urges Northern development workers to “put self in a larger context, not just you in placement that day...is colonial context in each of these situations, imperial context continues today” (Derek, p. 3). Participants understand that learning occurs when Northern development workers are able to make connections between their identity and experiences and the operation of systems of power. It becomes the role of the facilitator to explore with Northern development workers the continuity of privileges that they incur in their everyday professional and personal interactions in the South. When Northern development workers attempt to position their participation and efforts for social justice and solidarity as something that they will experience in the South, Emily responds that “what we live here is not all that different, not all that different from what we will live there”(Emily, p. 6). Participants organize learning to make apparent and facilitate Northern development workers’ efforts to understand this relationality between North and South. Putting connectivity between Northern and Southern people in a material context, Derek stresses “the level of consumption that you have has an impact, the stuff you are buying is made by people under these conditions - that's the kind of consciousness that I'm talking about” (Derek 13, p. 4). Participants communicate and demonstrate from their own experiences, that these learning processes are ongoing and cannot be finalized. They do not conceptualize learning to happen in ways that are compartmentalized but
recognize the fluidity of moving between structural and individual power analyses in the North and South and across North - South. This fluidity is then reflected in training agendas that illuminate the connectivity between North and South, prioritizing an investigation of Northern contexts and their implications for development practices in the South.

**Learning Environment**

*Understanding conflict and emotion.*

Because participants recognize that Northern development workers rarely name capitalism, race, colonialism or Northern status as issues for investigation in training, they argue that it is problematic to develop a pre-departure orientation only in response to Northern development workers’ identified needs as it produces an absence of these substantive issues. While Derek confirms the rarity with which Northern development workers identify more critical issues for discussion during training, Bill elaborates their priorities and common preoccupations. He notes their emphasis on health and logistical concerns, “they’re interested in what they’re always interested in. Do I need a Japanese encephalitis shot, where will I live, what happens if ever there’s trouble, what’s my job going to be? A lot of health concerns, a lot of high anxiety preparation” (Bill, p. 5T).

Given participants’ goals of training and how they understand learning to occur, they anticipate conflict and discomfort, recognizing these to contain pedagogic possibilities. Rather than attempting to defuse it, most direct conflict to challenge Northern development workers to develop a systemic analysis of power and privilege. For some participants, conflict is beneficial to learning as long as it produces an exchange of ideas, opinions or illuminates structures. In describing the international development community and his own facilitation style, Bill comments “we promote -- convention -- and it works, this little comfortable club. And this is what's conventional. And I'm conventional [T or g laughter] so [laughter] so I'm not an activist trainer” (Bill 2 5, p. 4). Bill negotiates Northern development workers’ resistance by attempting
to illuminate the complexity of development issues and social relationships without confronting or alienating people. He understands conflict loses its pedagogic value and becomes counterproductive when personalized. Bill prefers to allow Northern development workers to learn at their own pace and understands his role as one of providing them with exposure to ideas and information. He also articulates the responsibility of Northern development workers to take risks to further their own learning. As Bill puts it, "I think that people have to be prepared to take some risks and I'm not interested in confronting people or challenging people" (Bill 4 6, p. 8). To avoid anxiety and confrontation between Northern development workers, Bill uses training as an opportunity to "let some ideas flow, let's not put pressure on people - this is a big change right" (Bill 4 5, p. 5). The following debriefing from training demonstrates Bill's approach to facilitating dialogue with minimal confrontation as well as his support of Northern development workers in different stages of assimilating new ideas and information. In this activity, when Northern development workers are asked to define along racial lines, Bill discusses with them the shift in learning environment, particularly the anger, frustration and denial of many:

\[ S1: \text{at the end it was worth it but the process was rough on how we got there, exercises tough to do and confusing, people divided along racial lines, and see people on racial, ethnic ground, hard for us to do that} \]

\[ S2: \text{hard because as a group, we think alike. So ethnicity wasn't really a factor, all Canadian, brought up Canadian. Parents of different background but we all think so much alike, not enough distinction to get what he is getting at} \]

\[ B: \text{so it was a bit forced?...when there was a perception of tension in the room, it was a strategic decision, better to depersonalize, safer because if not enough time to finish it up, leave people unhappy, frustrated, hurt. When open those issues, need to be prepared as a facilitator to do right kind of debriefing} \text{(Bill, pp. 2-3).} \]

In her capacity as facilitator, Sandra also struggles to negotiate conflict while still challenging Northern development workers in ways that enhance learning. While she acknowledges that learning can happen through intense discussions, she understands a focus on structural issues to be more productive and prefers to avoid intensely personalized exchanges, "it's not terrible to have a heated discussion, but if there's a way to get people to think about the structural issues
rather than people's identities clashing, I think that's a lot more constructive" (Sandra, p. 19T). When discussing potentially divisive issues, Bill similarly advises facilitators to depersonalize and safe interactions through case studies and exercise discretion in knowing when to "back away" (Bill 4 5, p. 6). These participants also establish ground rules in order to collectively mediate conflict in training and recognize that not all conflictual circumstances can be easily defused. For example, Sandra acknowledges the need to challenge explicitly racist or sexist remarks made by Northern development workers in training. For Bill and Sandra, conflict at ideological and depersonalized levels best enhances the potential for learning.

While other participants do not deny the need to support Northern development workers through difficult learning processes, they resist the impulse to pre-empt conflict or contain discussions in ways that are comfortable. These participants appreciate the need to provide information and present the complexity of power relations but also understand their role as facilitators to involve challenging Northern development workers to personalize power. In communicating to Northern development workers the orientation of training, Angela situates training in a context of international development that is riddled with harsh issues, "I said this would be different from other trainings. Development is not easy and you're dealing with harsh issues and it becomes personal. People going to work with people. If you leave here and you've been challenged, I'll feel good" (Angela, p. 2). Participants note the intensification of conflict and discomfort when training that centers anti-oppression moves beyond convincing Northern development workers that systems of power and privilege exist to a recognition of how they are located to benefit from and enact these systems. In organizing training to actively involve Northern development workers in exploring issues of power and privilege, participants recognize that conflict produces varied emotional responses. They challenge Northern development workers to move past their initial emotional responses, often of anger, defensiveness and guilt. In asking not only "how do you feel" but also "why do you feel that way"(Angela, p. 3), participants hope Northern
development workers will come to connect their identities and trace emotional responses to systems of power and privilege. Participants recognize profoundly unsettling experiences as a catalyst for significant learning. For Angela, this tension is a precondition for white Northern development workers to accept responsibility for historical and continuing oppression. As she articulates, “I think [sigh] in order for people for white folks to understand, they have to become uncomfortable - because only when they become uncomfortable - have they started to realize their part” (Angela 4 5, p. 3). Derek observes the enormous learning that happens for Northern development workers who are “really willing to take that really bumpy painful ride then these orientation sessions - have helped overseas and I've see a humungous difference in people when they come back, absolutely” (Derek 4 6, p. 16). In reflecting on her own process of learning through these difficult stages, Sophia recalls “well at first I guess I began with a very defensive position and then I think over time it took me to a place” (Sophia, p. 25T). Sandra highlights the need to investigate the connection between emotions and their social construction:

I think it's important to look at people’s feelings but if you don't also look at structural, historical, like my feelings are historically and I think socially constructed in large part - that's a lot where it comes from so if you only look at feelings and you don't go past that then - I don't think you can make very much difference (Sandra 4 5, p. 18).

Recognizing the pedagogic value of conflict and emotion, participants compel Northern development workers to question and trace the origin of their emotional responses. They do not see as valuable emotions that do not lead to more responsible development practices. Ann warns Northern development workers of the futility of exclusively emotional involvement in development. She Advises them to “solve their own existential problem in a corner... need rigour in development work. Feel, touch, patronage is irrelevant” (Ann, p. 2)

**Working with conflict.**

While participants recognize the discretion required to skillfully facilitate conflict and emotion in often unpredictable learning environments, they locate learning to happen most profoundly
through these types of engagements. In facilitating activities and discussions that focus structural issues of power and privilege, participants observe a variety of verbal and non-verbal responses, ranging from hostility, denial, silence, withdrawal, frustration and dismissal to guilt, acknowledgement and engagement. Participants recognize that emotional responses and discomfort are intensified when discussions move beyond a structural analysis to trace the operation of systems to experiences and identities of Northern development workers. They comment that Northern development workers often question the usefulness and relevance of these discussions to international development. In training sessions we attended, we observed that Northern development workers typically expressed feelings of discomfort, anger and dismissal. This tension manifests itself in the following expressions, "I'm anxious to get positive" "I don't understand how this is supposed to make me a better development worker" "international development has to be positive" "none of this is useful - it's making me defensive" "I resent being made to feel like I'm not empathetic. I am and that's why I'm in development" "I don't feel comfortable" "I wanted to gain more specific cross-cultural skills" "style rubbed me the wrong way" "this isn' practically grounded – applications aren't there" "hard time – discomforting" "I'm getting down" (compiled from observations). Though rare, a few Northern development workers spoke of learning through their own discomfort and initial resistance. Through the course of training, we observed and participants commented that some Northern development workers became more lodged in their resistance while others demonstrated a willingness to stay engaged. Participants anticipate these responses, noting their predictability but do not allow Northern development workers to redirect learning away from moments of recognition. Drawing on her own experiences as a Northern development worker in the South, Emily continues to engage Northern development workers, challenging them to push their analysis despite their discomfort. During a difficult session when Northern development workers are expressing a great deal of resistance, Emily does not allow them to rush to easy resolutions or circumvent training goals:
In training, participants comment that they routinely negotiate the frustrations of Northern development workers and their desire for a more familiar and comfortable learning experience to which they are accustomed. During a debriefing session at the end of the day, Sophia responds to this resistance, indicating that anxiety is an expected and necessary part of learning. She reflects the value and uniqueness of pre-departure training that centres power and privilege, recognizing that this was an orientation from which she could have benefitted:

S: and this is the only piece of critical reflection you'll get. This ends tomorrow, and you get to go back to comfortable positions...because nobody else pushes us and challenges us to do that
S1: I wanted to gain more specific cross-cultural skills
S: this is nothing new, what you're saying is quite normal. This training has got its specific role. I wish I'd had this...sorry it's feeling like a downer but reality and you don't get this anywhere else.
S1: can I excuse myself (Sophia, p. 2)?

Derek, aware that discussions can evoke agitation and distress is careful to read Northern development workers’ responses as an indicator of how far to proceed in challenging them to think critically. He describes his role and commitment in working with Northern development workers to process challenging issues but is clear that if met with sustained resignation about the futility of change or belligerence, he is not able to shift these attitudes during training. In setting these parameters, Derek differentiates Northern development workers' responses, distinguishing between those who are struggling to understand connections between individual and global exploitation and those who are intent on pursuing professional opportunities or cultural adventures in the South. He concedes:

I don't think we can fundamentally change somebody who doesn’t want to even talk about these things and doesn't want to hear about these things and who's very clear on what their agenda is which is getting a job or whatever or having an overseas exotic experience or something like that and bring them into this mode of consciousness. I don't think, I don't believe that's possible (Derek 47, p. 4).
In training, participants deliberately attempt to move discussions that centre power beyond expressions of denial, sympathy or guilt on the part of Northern development workers. In describing their role in facilitating processes of connecting identity and experience to systems of power, participants note the tendency of Northern development workers to resist seeing how they are located in and their experiences mediated by these systems. Participants’ efforts are directed to move Northern development workers to reflect on how they benefit from, participate in and sustain relations of power. Emily clarifies the purpose of engaging Northern development workers in explorations that move past expressions of sympathy and guilt to more meaningful responses. As she states to Northern development workers in training, “I wasn’t looking for a declaration of guilt...looking for how people respond and sign that people opened up...as a facilitator I expect more and as a facilitator I pushed (Emily, p. 5). Participants negotiate resistance by challenging Northern development workers, through persistent and guided questioning, exploring relations of power between individuals in training and facilitating in-depth debriefings, compelling them to recognize their own frameworks and emotional responses as partial and problematic.

The following example illustrates how Northern development workers are challenged to reflect on how they are located in a system of race and positioned differently relative to other Northern development workers. In drawing on their training experiences, participants note the consistency of white Northern development worker resistance when compelled to engage critically in explorations of whiteness and power. In this case, a black female Northern development worker recounts in training her experience of being monitored in stores by security personnel. A white male Northern development worker who previously had dreads and dressed grunge, relates a similar encounter, understanding these experiences to be comparable. Emily recalls the exchange between these Northern development workers in which she intervenes to clarify their different locations:
She [black Northern development worker] said to him [white Northern development worker] but don’t you recognize that - there’s something you can do - that means -- you won’t have this experience. Does this happen to you now? He says no because of the way I’m dressed and so on she says but do you see that - I can’t do that. He said, yes. He was standing there. [laughter]...I said, did you hear what she said...you are not positioned the same way that she is...he was very upset (Emily 4 7, pp. 7-8).

Often in such exchanges, participants note the tendency of dominant Northern development workers to claim that they no longer feel safe or comfortable to learn. In situations where their privilege is threatened, participants attempt to reframe these claims by drawing attention to how power operates in ways to routinely secure safety for dominant bodies. With an analysis of power and privilege, Emily reframes the impact of this dynamic to consider the safety of the female Northern development worker of colour, asking “what about her I mean like and what she feels [laughter]” (Emily 4 10 1, p. 11)? Debriefing provides spaces for Northern development workers to engage in guided dialogue with one another, clarifying contradictory emotional responses and ideological positions. Participants understand the tension and discomfort that often results to be an indicator that Northern development workers are being challenged to think beyond existing, dominant frameworks.

To support both white Northern development workers and Northern development workers of colour in these learning processes, participants are cognizant of the need to carefully consider the type of facilitation required for training. This critical orientation to training Northern development workers demands that participants demonstrate a facility in discussing development issues within an anti-oppression framework as well as the ability to guide this type of learning for Northern development workers. Assuming this to be a prerequisite for this type of work, some participants advocate for the need to carefully consider representation of facilitators in training, noting the benefits of working in a multi-racial team. From their training experiences, participants who centre race observe the intense resistance of Northern development workers to see development practices as racialized and their experiences in the North and South as informed
by a system of race. They argue that given the orientation of training, the strategic presence of a white facilitator and facilitator of colour often predisposes Northern development workers to engage with difficult issues and hear messages that are unsettling. Sophia observes the resistance to engage with these issues, illuminating the benefits of a multi-racial, multi-gendered facilitation team:

it's just easier for men to to grab some of these issues and it's easier for white people to handle some of these issues when it's coming from white people, cause otherwise you immediately get, and it's all a question of strategy, because otherwise you know you're a black person and you're talking about anti-racism, well obviously it's your issue, and you're biased and you have a conflict of interest, you know what I mean, like you get, people are looking for the smallest thing to dismiss you...so I think a multi-racial, multi-gendered team is a good idea (Sophia, p. 22T).

In referencing prior experiences in anti-racism training with primarily white, middle to upper class individuals with liberal tendencies, Derek notes the frequency with which they dismiss facilitators of colour as furthering their own agenda and special interests. As Derek argues, it is extremely difficult for Canadian educators of colour to raise issues of race, even when diplomatic and incremental in their approach. He has observed “they'd still be dismissed and still be rejected and and I thought this is fuckin bizarre, you would never treat a white professor this way” (Derek 4 8, p. 14). He understands his role as a white facilitator in this dynamic to use his power to take a more aggressive position that allows him to speak directly to racism and hold people accountable for their behaviours and attitudes:

what I have found is that and what we usually do when I co-facilitate is that - the person that I'm co-facilitating with from racial minority background will start...my again, my experience has been that often times there are - the stereotypes are still at play and the person of racial minority background if they lead off discussions of race, it’s their own agenda, it’s their own baggage, right - so - what I do is I tend to be and it [laugh] actually works well for me because it’s part of who I am anyway - I tend not to be very diplomatic and I tend to be straight forward and to the point and at times a bit abrasive (Derek 4 8, p. 14).

Participants assert that race differently influences the relationship that Northern development workers have with white facilitators and facilitators of colour. They note that race impacts the
ways in which Northern development workers perceive and interact with facilitators of colour with strong anti-racist analysis, observing "the way people see them, or talk to them interact, the resistance they face... I think it can be painful and it might be too much sometimes" (Peter, p. 9T). Angela communicates her awareness that Northern development workers often have low expectations, do not respect or ignore her as a black facilitator. Speaking to how Northern development workers perceive her and the routine negotiations of racism in her personal and professional life, Angela narrates the reality of facilitating anti-oppression training:

They [development workers] come in and see you there as a black person and they don't expect much from you as a facilitator. They don't expect much from me and I know that, I totally know that... I realize who basically is ignoring me or doesn't, doesn't respect what I'm doing and I deal with that because you know in my life I - I have to deal with that on a daily basis (Angela 4 10, p. 4).

In training with predominantly white Northern development workers, there is an additional burden of proof for facilitators of colour to convince a primarily white audience of the insidiousness of racism in Canada and its relevance in international development. Often, this requires recounting painful experiences of racism and negotiating racist and defensive responses of white Northern development workers in training. Angela describes the hope that in narrating her own painful experiences with racism, white Northern development workers will feel compelled to trace their responsibility as perpetrators in her stories. Her intent is that Northern development workers will connect her experiences to a system of race in which they are located as dominant rather than focusing on guilt or apologetic responses. She comments that despite her efforts, often white Northern development workers "don't get it - they they don't get it. - It's hard" (Angela 4 10, p. 4). Angela narrates the emotional impact of facilitating an anti-racist analysis in training and the resistance of white Northern development workers:

that's the hard part about this, because you have to give your - you have to open up your life, expose yourself right and that's the hard part about it and [sigh] I told you that I cried the last session, and I told myself never again am I going to do that - and trying not to do that, but I don't want to say never again, I'm going to try and rein it in but I think if I continue to do things like this it might happen again, and -- that's the thing about it I
mean, it is sad but - there are times when you basically have to open
yourself up in order for somebody else to see and luckily for me the last
time it produced results right. A result I mean that guy in the end, so it
wasn't in vain and I'm not looking for an apology or anything - I'm just
saying that this is it, and don't tell me that this is not my reality (Angela 2
7 2, pp. 1-2).

Both white participants and participants of colour use their own experiences as a platform from
which to educate Northern development workers about a system of race. They draw on their own
experiences as Northern development workers to demonstrate processes of understanding and
negotiating their own racial identities in the North and South. Given that white people and people
of colour experience race differently, each facilitator offers insights to illuminate and account for
both the impact of racism and its enactment. When white participants understand themselves to
be raced and locate themselves in a system of white privilege, it creates the conditions for more
critically informed discussions and analysis to emerge in training. White participants who
articulate this consciousness, understand it to be their responsibility to narrate their experiences
from a position of dominance. Participants of colour draw on their experiences to make visible
the operation and routine negotiation of race. Emily states the distinct experiences from which
white facilitators and facilitators of colour train, locating her responsibility as a white person to
"educate from my own experiences, speaking from my understanding of how we, as white
people, perpetuate dominance" (Emily 4 7 1, p. 9). Not only do predictable reactions from white
Northern development workers often demand intervention from a white facilitator, participants
are aware that resistance from Northern development workers of colour also needs to be
negotiated primarily by a facilitator of colour. Emily describes these distinct roles in training:

the question of roles has to do with taking on participants when they say
outrageous things, or don't get what the point of the discussion is, or start
to hijack discussion away from points of realization. Sometimes I feel that
calling participants on issues can be more effectively done by a person of
colour, because the participants who usually need to be called tend to be
white - and if they are people of colour then it almost always needs another
person of colour to challenge them. At other times though, I feel that a
white person is needed to take on a white person (Emily 4 7 1, p. 9).

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Challenging understandings of racism as only blatant and easily identifiable acts, participants use training to demonstrate the pervasiveness of racism as it informs everyday life in the most unassuming ways for white people. This strategic use of a white facilitator and facilitator of colour prevents the designation of race as an issue primarily for and about people of colour.

**Theorizing Northern development worker responses.**

Participants comment that most Northern development workers come to training with the expectation that preparatory efforts will focus on processes of cross-cultural adaptation, country profiles and an overview of development issues. Northern development workers also anticipate that their choice to participate in international development work will be unproblematically affirmed. It is these expectations that result in Northern development workers’ resistance when training is organized to challenge rather than congratulate. Sophia clarifies the responsibility of Northern development workers to look critically at how they will exercise power in the South, commenting “as soon as you leave, you’ll hear constant reasons why you should go. The focus here is different. This training is asking you to look critically at power and domination...when you leave this room, you’ll get a pat on the back” (Sophia, p. 3).

Participants do not find the resistance and discomfort of Northern development workers to be surprising given the lack of critical attention to and discussion about these systems in mainstream educational processes. Derek accounts for the discomfort in discussing power given that these issues are rarely discussed in daily life. He suggests that in order to become comfortable discussing power, it needs to be integrated into ways of thinking and routine conversations. Matt also traces Northern development workers’ resistance, particularly around race, to a larger cultural vacuum. He notes their tendency to focus on what they will experience rather than the racism they will enact while living and working in the South:

> you know race issues are very sensitive and we can talk about gender and we can talk about poverty but race is not something that we talk very easily amongst even amongst friends and stuff necessarily and I think this
group is maybe a bit of a microcosm of what's out there. They did not as a group of twenty smart, reflective, people really bring that issue home to themselves and to the group so it became a discussion of what's out there and how am I going to feel and react and what are some strategies around that...when they were asked to bring - their issues to the table, they were shy or for whatever reason we don't know but they didn't come up...I think there's something going on in there that I think maybe explains the vacuum a little bit because I think that's just a larger cultural vacuum (Matt 4:10, p. 1).

In accounting for the unwillingness or reluctance of Northern development workers to raise issues of power and privilege in training, participants also consider the risks for those interested in initiating discussions of oppression in relation to international development. Derek elaborates the limitations of waiting for these conversations to emerge organically, placing the responsibility to initiate these discussions with the facilitator:

like I would love to have people participants talking about – the colonization process, the neo-colonial process, the imperialist process these kinds of things, relating racism – here to overseas and that stuff but those topics are almost never raised by the participants...you’ve been selected for this placement. Here you are with two people who’ve been brought in by this predominantly white institution. Are you, are you going to jeopardize your placement, are you going to rock that boat, are you going to speak and jeopardize the support you get once you travel by raising these kinds of issues? I [laugh] doubt it – so all we can do in facilitating is to try and drive the points home as much as we can (Derek p. 23T).

Some participants also locate the resistance of Northern development workers in response to being positioned as dominant. Participants understand this absence and resistance to recognizing their own places of privilege to indicate an investment in not seeing how Northern development workers benefit from systems of oppression. Understanding themselves to be hard working and well intentioned people who have consciously chosen to engage in struggles for justice, Northern development workers react intensely to what they perceive to be attacks on their moral character. Derek comments on the difficult process through which Northern development workers become aware of their own power and privilege, “I think for a lot of people it must, it’s very painful to go from where you see yourself as a sort of liberation struggler and that stuff to all of a sudden
having somebody say well you have power relative to, in relation to even other people in this room” (Derek 211, p. 8). Rather than acknowledging their power, participants observe that some Northern development workers attempt to compensate for difference by claiming equality and sameness of a Canadian identity. When centring anti-racism in training, participants connect the intense resistance of white Northern development workers to an unwillingness to implicate themselves in a system of white privilege and Northern superiority. Bill locates white Northern development workers’ exercises of racism within a structure that is organized to confer power on them and observes their tendency to deny racial differences, relying on what is common or shared. In recalling a particular activity that focuses these issues, Bill reflects:

I think people are - they believe it that they do have a concept that we can be equals but in when it comes to practice and when push comes to shove, you hide behind privilege - power, racist - superiority...yesterday, a very uncomfortable session because he [name of sessional facilitator] put the [Northern development workers of colour] in one group and the Canadians in the other group and they are upset about that. Why should they be upset about that?...- the way that we transcend [difference] is that it doesn't exist because we're all Canadian. We're all equal. We all have the same lives it's not a question of skin colour. It's not true. Who has power? The North, essentially white (Bill 410, p. 7).

While participants speak to the potential to learn through sustained reflective practices, they stress the time, commitment and ability to sit with discomfort required to process challenging information and synthesize experiences. Reflecting on her own experiences, Sophia elaborates the struggle and ongoing effort to develop an analysis of the impact of her presence as a Northern development worker of colour in the South, “I think it took some time to synthesize everything and realize like you know where all these things were coming from, and a lot of reflection later on I think then I understood things but I think at the moment it was hard for me to understand – I was like really struggling with it” (Sophia, p. 4T). Participants urge Northern development workers to work through initial emotional responses of anger or denial and persevere to realize the potential of reading their experiences through a critical lens. As Bill recognizes:
it takes time - pedagogically to work that through. That's getting you
know for me, gender, ethnicity, those are the issues that are really down in
here and this is where we hide stuff and when somebody starts to scratch
away at those issues, and they begin to flare up and then you protect
yourself and then you get pissed off, you get angry because its happening
to you (Bill 4 6, p. 8).

Evaluations of training sessions that prioritize anti-oppression often reflect these same emotional
impulses. Participants are not surprised when some Northern development workers respond
negatively given the long process that challenging dominant knowledge systems requires. They
note the predictability of responses that include guilt, anger and dismissal and do not rely
exclusively on initial feedback of Northern development workers as a complete indicator of
learning. They are more interested in the learning that may not be readily apparent during a short
training program. In fact, some participants comment on the mid and long-term feedback of
Northern development workers, often indicating the relevance of anti-oppression training to their
experiences in the South. As Sophia synthesizes:

often the feedback we get from some of these development workers from
the [training] thing is that I had anti-racism shoved down my throat and I
found it useless… I mean – it’s really hard because there’s so much guilt
and denial at play that I don’t know, I don’t know how you account for
those kinds of things. I think sometimes you need to just say well okay
that’s what you think fine, call us in six months, let’s see if you feel the
same way six months from now. Because we have seen some people
complain that way but a year later actually say you know oh that [training]
was really useful for me – so again going back to that thing of needing
time to process and reflect and synthesize and going with the hope that this
is going to have a positive impact on you. Believe me you know, just hang
on (cup tapping), it’ll work, it’ll work right (Sophia, p. 14T).

Supporting Learners

In order to build relationships through which Northern development workers can be challenged,
participants strongly recognize the need for them to work closely with a core set of facilitators.
Participants consider the difficulty in building relationships with Northern development workers,
particularly when training involves many facilitators. They stress the role of the primary
facilitator to develop a rapport with Northern development workers in ways that allow them to be
challenged. In training led by many facilitators, participants argue that the primary facilitator, present for all sessions, needs to play an active role in synthesizing and explicitly making connections between themes and ideas as well as negotiating conflict in the learning environment. This primary facilitator also plays an important role in updating session facilitators on prior discussions, “this is what we’ve done thus far. We’d hoped to also get to this but we haven’t so if you want to speak to this as well and so that’s what I see as really key” (Sandra 4 7, p. 21).

Participants, aware of the need to support Northern development workers through learning processes, organize training to provide them with many opportunities to dialogue and build relationships with one another as well as facilitators. They also anticipate that Northern development workers will exhibit different facilities in processing issues of power and privilege, depending on prior learning and experiences. For example, Sandra recognizes the need for facilitators to be versed in an anti-oppression analysis in order to respond to questions and gaps in Northern development workers’ understandings. She elaborates her own role as follows “help people out - you know what is anti-racism, what is X then to also have enough of an understanding of those issues to be able to help if they get stuck or they don’t understand what this is about” (Sandra 4 7, pp. 21-22). Participants recognize the need to facilitate training in strategic ways that enable them to both support and challenge Northern development workers. In this process, it is crucial for participants to establish and keep open the channels of dialogue, allowing Northern development workers to work with discomfort. Emily articulates the need to work patiently with Northern development workers to explore the complexity and operation of power and privilege in international development, “I believe one must work patiently and intensively with people to begin to effect anti-racist anti-oppression change, and I believe this kind of change is absolutely necessary if there is to be any hope of the development enterprise becoming less imperialistic” (Emily 4 16, p. 6).
Participants recognize breaks and meals as spaces where significant learning can occur through informal interactions. As well, these spaces provide participants with opportunities to support Northern development workers, particularly those having difficulty processing new concepts and ideas. Angela synthesizes these considerations:

the fact that you were with the group the entire time, I think that was very different. Yeah and we want that, that's something that we decided that this has to happen. We want people to be in a group, but together, we don't want them to, one person stays here there everywhere, we want to have a common ground so that people having different issues they can talk to each other, talk it out because we know that it's challenging a lot of people's perception. I mean it's new for a lot of people so being in one place and having the same facilities for the full training that's something that yes is essential for this training so it wasn't like a by product, it's a part of it...in a number of the other sessions, after we had stopped...people are sitting down and talking about different things that came up and discussions continue after...we want to have that open space for all of those discussions (Angela, p. 22T).

Given the orientation of training in critically addressing issues of power and privilege, participants also recognize the need to extend support to Northern development workers beyond training. For this reason, Derek concludes training by providing Northern development workers with contact information, offering to meet and provide them with “some references of stuff to read on exploitation and technology” (Derek 47, p. 5). Peter also reflects on his responsibility to be aware of and refer the additional learning needs of Northern development workers to appropriate NGO personnel. He comments, “anything that has been flagged by us, with regard to some development workers needing further support with some issues, then the organization will address those areas where they need support or on the material that we have covered or talking through some issue” (Peter, p. 7T).

**Conclusion**

For participants in this section, the challenge in training is to facilitate learning processes that make apparent structures of power and concretize their operation. For most participants, training is organized to support and challenge Northern development workers to read their own realities to
recognize how they are located in systems of power and privilege. Participants assert the importance of individual experiences as entry points to understand the organization of social relations of power. It is through reflection and critical narration of experience from different social locations that Northern development workers' identities are illuminated, in relation to each other and Southern people. Participants organize training to guide Northern development workers’ analysis of the relationality between North and South, investigating Northern implication in Southern underdevelopment. In their interviews and during training, participants communicate their own evolving investigation into these systems, their workings through identity and the relevance of these explorations to international development. Participants willing to work through the complexities of this project for themselves are often better able to understand and anticipate complexities and conflict in the learning environment. Recognizing the risks involved, this project requires a facilitator able to negotiate Northern development workers’ responses that emerge when their interpretations of the world and themselves are disrupted. As many participants articulate a pedagogical project that demands location of self in systems of power and privilege, they understand conflict and discomfort to provide pedagogic possibilities as they indicate an engagement of Northern development workers in learning processes. We observe that some participants maintain a learning environment with little apparent conflict or discomfort as Northern development workers are not consistently challenged to situate themselves in systems of power and privilege. Given that most participants challenge taken for granted understandings of what constitutes a good learning environment, we recognize the institutional support required for them to negotiate the risks and challenges of facilitating anti-oppression training. These risks and responses are not uniformly experienced by participants, who are positioned in different social locations in relation to each other and Northern development workers. Given the orientation of training, participants articulate the need to be cognizant that training evaluations may reflect the discomfort that Northern development workers experience during training and they are prepared for this lack of instantaneous affirmation.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

What makes the cultural differences approach so inadequate in various pedagogical moments is not so much that it is wrong, for people in reality are diverse and do have culturally specific practices that must be taken into account, but that its emphasis on cultural diversity too often descends, in a multicultural spiral, to a superficial reading of differences that makes power relations invisible and keeps dominant cultural norms in place (Razack, 1998, p. 9).

A philosophy of praxis...must be a criticism of 'common sense,'...‘everyone’ is a philosopher and that it is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone’s individual life, but of renovating and making ‘critical’ an already existing activity (Gramsci in Britzman, 1991, p. 55).

Introduction

Interviews and observations reveal participants’ ideological perspectives and their different implications for the organization and facilitation of training. Their analyses of how the world is organized make visible certain things as problematic while obscuring others. What participants illuminate and focus in training depends on the analytical frames that they employ. We observe that participants’ understandings of culture, power and identity structure the parameters and orientation of pre-departure training. While we recognize and document points of convergence, particularly with respect to training strategies, we understand cross-cultural and critical approaches to pre-departure training to reflect two distinct conceptual categories when assessed as a whole. These frameworks of training reflect distinct content and processes that place very different demands and responsibilities on Northern development workers and facilitators.

An organizing premise in this research is that politics inhere in all conceptualizations of Northern development worker and training practices. We have tried to trace and name participants’ articulations to categories reflecting distinct approaches to training Northern development workers and recognize that within each category, participants’ narratives demonstrate nuances and complexities. However, we also recognize the urgency to name, particularly those ideas and practices of training that are normalized to the extent that they often escape recognition and
investigation. Naming also allows us to imagine alternative ways of teaching and learning. Processes of reflection are ongoing and all participants, through their narratives, demonstrate their capacity to reflect on their experiences and roles as Northern development workers and facilitators with varying degrees of criticality. We are also cognizant that just as our understandings of the development context and our participation in it have been challenged through this work, participants’ analyses of their development work and training experiences are not fixed. We offer a synthesis of our theoretical framework in order to relate participants’ insights to salient theoretical points. We then consider the relevance of these insights for training practices and future areas of study.

Recalling the Theoretical Framework

While the previous thesis in this study focuses the possibilities of consciousness-raising through informal and introspective learning processes, this thesis is an exploration of this pedagogical project as it is planned and enacted in a formal learning context. We connect these pedagogical processes theoretically, relying on politicization of experience and an analysis of interlocking oppression. The theoretical insights of an interlocking analysis lead to a pedagogical approach that seeks to render visible and systematically investigate relations of oppression and domination. While liberal approaches to education acknowledge power and the need for social change, with its focus on diversity and celebration of difference, transformative efforts to redress power imbalances are precluded. The theoretical resources we draw on allow us to see the organization of pre-departure training for Northern development workers as a political endeavour in which relations of power are necessarily involved. The selection and delivery of every curriculum represents an attempt to centre a certain understanding and vision of international development and the role of Northern development worker. Our starting premise is that all participants enact a politics of race, class and gender through the knowledge they choose to privilege. We understand the role of facilitator to rigorously engage dominant learners in educative processes of
consciousness-raising. For Northern development workers, this means uncovering and owning their own domination rather than entering this process to learn about and empower the oppressed. A commitment to the pedagogical project we articulate demands that participants also engage in sustained efforts to politicize experience, examining how they are located in relation to systems of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and North-South relations. It becomes the task of participants to engage in sustained efforts to illuminate for themselves, these systems and their workings through identity. Participants willing to work through the complexities of this project are better able to understand and anticipate complexities in the learning site while also facilitating this process for learners. The focus of our investigation is to explore pedagogical possibilities in pre-departure training and we map the implications for curriculum, role of facilitator, pedagogical strategies and learning environment for more transformative teaching and learning practices.

Making the Connections

Cross-cultural Training

Participants' conceptualization and organization of training reflect their experiences as Northern development workers and their professional role in the South. While most participants in the cross-cultural section reference power in training, these explorations tend to be contained to specific sessions and the goal is to raise Northern development workers' general awareness of power dynamics. Participants focus their efforts and strategies on preparing Northern development workers for cultural differences that they will encounter in the South, emphasizing cultural awareness, self-development and integration in Southern communities. Participants training primarily within a cross-cultural framework argue that in order for Northern development workers to adapt to life and work successfully in the South, they must become aware of their own habits of interpreting the world. This exploration of Northern development workers' values and assumptions emerges as a central goal in organizing training. In invoking this common cultural framework, participants unproblematically assume shared norms and values amongst all
Canadian development workers. While there is an acknowledgement of Canadian multiculturalism and recognition that individuals may experience Canada differently, there remains in training, a dominant understanding of Canada and Canadian that is not disrupted. This presumption of a shared Canadian identity also obscures a meaningful investigation into how development workers are positioned hierarchically, in relation to one another in the North, and the relevance this holds for their experiences and integration in the South. In facilitating training to elicit the experiences of Northern development workers, some participants demonstrate a greater curiosity in exploring the experiences of Northern development workers of colour in relation to race and racism. We observed that there was not an analogous investigation of how white Northern development workers’ experiences are also informed by a system of race.

Within a cross-cultural framework, training is organized to produce the ideal development worker who is able to acquire an understanding of and sensitivity to Southern cultures. In framing training goals and strategies in this way, participants emphasize negotiating cultural differences through Northern development workers’ awareness of their own interpretive frameworks that are culturally informed. For these participants, experience is used to clarify Northern development workers’ values and assumptions rather than illuminate the operation of and participation in systems of power. The sharing of experiences by participants and Northern development workers without a corresponding analytical investigation can lead to emotionally enriching exchanges but is not likely to result in the politicization of consciousness, as experiences are not connected to the operation of power and privilege. Rarely do participants demand that Northern development workers see themselves as actors in systems of power and privilege or trace the benefits that they incur through their locations. Their emphasis on cross-cultural proficiency and overcoming individual and cultural differences displaces a systematic and comprehensive inquiry into inequitable power relations, their historical origins and the location of Northern development workers in these social relations of power.
Guiding participants’ training efforts is a commitment to create an environment that they assume will be safe and comfortable for all Northern development workers to learn. This environment presumed to be safe, student-centred, participatory, affirming and harmonious, is the accepted model most liberal educators strive to emulate. We observe that participants are able to maintain a learning environment with little apparent conflict or tension as Northern development workers are not required to situate themselves in systems of power or be accountable for complicity in social and historical relations. Because participants frame training to be responsive to Northern development workers’ needs and prioritize their emotional safety, a meaningful inclusion of issues of power and privilege is conditioned by these parameters. In cases where participants do not name or selectively name systems of power, rarely are they raised by Northern development workers in training. In not prioritizing or making explicit issues of power and privilege as agenda items in training, what becomes reinforced is the absence of these issues as relevant to the preparatory work and experiences of Northern development workers in the South. For those participants who name and introduce issues of power and privilege in training, there is a tendency to refer them to a specific session, for example, gender in development, anti-discrimination or anti-racism. In so doing, participants effectively regulate and contain discussions around what they identify to be sensitive issues rather than conceptualizing power and privilege as integral to training processes and international development. Participants are particularly mindful of maintaining a productive learning environment in which perceptible conflict is anticipated and minimized or pre-empted. As a result, there is an effort to avoid using the language of anti-oppression and instead, participants choose to not name, to talk more generally about power and privilege without naming specific systems or address a system without naming the specific actors of domination. This premium on safety and comfort precludes a critical analysis of international development as well as the role and identity of Northern development workers. In peripheralizing an exploration of how Northern status, race and gender intervene to shape their
personal and professional experiences, participants do not systematically engage Northern development workers in efforts to politicize experience. In the development enterprise, this absence of self, not situated in systems of power and privilege, results in an abdication of accountability for complicity in social and historical relations. Typically, these moves to preempt accountability result in a collapsing of self and other, based in false identification with the oppressed without locating self as oppressor in constituting and benefiting from systems of domination.

**Critical Training**

Participants’ conceptualization and organization of training reflect their experiences as Northern development workers and processes of coming to problematize participation in international development. Participants argue that to more critically understand experiences in the South and Southern contexts, Northern development workers need to inquire into the organization of their own identities and experiences through the lens of power and privilege. They prioritize and stress the need for Northern development workers to recognize that systems of power operate in complex and interconnected ways. It is with this evolving and localized analysis that Northern development workers are more equipped to discern the complexities of power and privilege, tracing the manifestations and causes of inequity to national and international processes in which the North is implicated. Given the undertheorization of race and its saliency in international development, most participants also prioritize an anti-racist analysis in preparing Northern development workers.

While most participants challenge Northern development workers to consider both the operation of power and its implication for their identity locations, some go further in training to facilitate processes of Northern development worker accountability. They understand this to involve Northern development workers coming to see themselves as dominant actors who routinely exercise power in the North and South. Participants assert the importance of individual
experiences as entry points to understand the organization of social relations of power. It is through reflection and critical narration of experience from different social locations that Northern development workers' identities are illuminated, in relation to each other and Southern people. Participants challenge the ease with which Northern development workers presume a solidarity and affinity with Southern people without interrogating how they are implicated in the disempowerment of others. While participants articulate harsh critiques of international development, for some, training goals and implementation do not consistently engage Northern development workers to challenge their own investments and interests in working in the South.

In engaging Northern development workers in explorations of how their identities are constituted by these systems, participants remain mindful of the impact of personalizing systems of power in training. While they are aware of the need to support Northern development workers through these challenging learning processes, they recognize conflict and discomfort to contain pedagogic possibilities. Conceptualizing learning as a continuous and evolving process, participants recognize the fluidity of moving between structural and individual power analyses in the North and South and across North - South. This fluidity is then reflected in training agendas that illuminate the connectivity between North and South, prioritizing an investigation of Northern contexts and their implication for development practices in the South. Given that most participants challenge taken for granted understandings of what constitutes a good learning environment, we recognize the institutional support required for them to negotiate the risks and challenges of facilitating anti-oppression training. These risks and responses are not uniformly experienced by participants, who are positioned in different social locations in relation to each other and Northern development workers. Given the orientation of training, participants articulate the need to be cognizant that training evaluations may reflect the discomfort that Northern development workers experience during training and they are prepared for this lack of instantaneous affirmation. Recognizing the risks involved, this project requires the commitment

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of facilitators as well as organizational support to negotiate Northern development workers’ responses that emerge when their interpretations of the world and themselves are disrupted.

**Final Thoughts**

The insights of this thesis reflect the urgency to develop pre-departure training that supports NGO efforts to engage Northern development workers in a critical examination of the international development context. We understand this commitment to include organizing training for Northern development workers through the lens of power and privilege to investigate Northern implication in Southern underdevelopment, race and racism in the Northern development worker community and a critical mapping of Northern development worker identity. More specifically, this requires proficiency in facilitating explorations that focus Southern debt, structural adjustment policies, continuity and history of Northern presence in the South and providing conceptual frameworks that illustrate the operation of power at both structural and individual levels and its relevance to Northern development worker identity. Given this orientation of training, NGO staff needs to be cognizant that initial training evaluations may reflect the discomfort and tension that Northern development workers may experience during training. We understand that these learning processes are continuous and require support at all stages, from pre-departure training to in-country support and debriefing. The risks of training with an explicitly anti-oppression approach make necessary institutional support in all forms, including training for staff, organizational practices and policies that reflect a commitment to anti-oppression.
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Dear Madam/Sir,

Our names are Tabish Surani and gulzar raisa charania and we are graduate students at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. We are interested in participating in overseas development initiatives and are presently conducting a research project entitled Activism and Accountability: The Everyday Challenge for Northern Development Workers which will provide the basis for our individual M.A. theses. Our work includes an exploration of the challenges involved in the organization and implementation of training programs for future development workers.

We are contacting your organization to request your participation in our research project. We are looking for 6 individuals, 2 from your organization who have participated in overseas development work for a minimum of 2 years and have been involved in training development workers with a Canadian non-governmental organization in the past 5 years. We are interested in working with trainers who identify an analysis of identity issues as a priority. If trainers meet these criteria, we invite them to contact Tabish by email or mail and provide us with a brief explanation of their interest in this research project and training experiences. Should more than 2 participants from your organization express an interest, we will select those 2 who best meet the criteria for eligibility.

Your organization’s participation would include:

1. interviews with 2 trainers of development workers (90-120 minutes each)
2. access to relevant training materials (training manuals, orientation packages, reading lists etc.)
3. access to training sites (20-40 minutes)
4. 2 non-intrusive, non-evaluative observations of training programs (60-90 minutes each)

Your organization’s participation will provide valuable insights, reflecting trainer experiences of training programs that will be of interest to organizations and individuals intending to participate in future development work.

We have no intention of evaluating organizations, training programs or development workers. Rather, we are interested in exploring the complexities involved in training development workers. We recognise that in asking trainers to comment on training materials as they relate to issues of identity, some evaluative data may emerge implicitly. While this is not the focus or intent of our research, all participants will be aware of this potential in the cover letter and will have the opportunity to assess whether they wish to participate in this study. Should you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw from the project at any time, in which case we will destroy all previously collected data.
All data will remain confidential and no individual person or institution will be identified. Only the researchers, Tabish Surani, gulzar raisa charania and our supervisor, Dr. J. Cummins, will have access to the data. This study will not involve invasion of personal privacy and the guarantee of anonymity will ensure the protection of participants from the effects of direct evaluative interpretations. If participants refer to other individuals in the research process, names and identifying characteristics of these other individuals will also be changed to protect their anonymity. The data will be securely stored in locked files for 5 years after which point, it will be shredded in a way that does not compromise anonymity.

The thesis will be housed in the OISE/UT thesis collection in the R.W.B. Jackson Library. If your organization would like a copy of the report, you can indicate this in the informed consent letter. After the completion of our study, we would also be happy to present our findings to interested members of your organization.

If your organization is willing to participate, please fill out the enclosed consent form and place it in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided. If possible, please share your decision with Tabish by email so we can begin making arrangements for interviews. Please do not hesitate to contact Tabish at any time should you have questions, concerns or would like clarifications.

We thank-you for taking the time to consider our request and hope your organization will agree to participate in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Tabish Surani and gulzar raisa charania
APPENDIX A
INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY

Covering Letter and Request for Facilitator Consent

Student Researchers
Tabish Surani
[Address and Contact Information]
gulzar raisa charania

Faculty Supervisor
Dr. J. Cummins
[Contact Information]

Dear Madam/Sir,

Our names are Tabish Surani and gulzar raisa charania and we are graduate students at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. We are interested in participating in overseas development initiatives and are presently conducting a research project entitled Activism and Accountability: The Everyday Challenge for Northern Development Workers which will provide the basis for our individual M.A. theses. Our work includes an exploration of the challenges involved in the organization and implementation of training programs for future development workers.

We are looking for 6 individuals who have participated in overseas development work for a minimum of 2 years and have been involved in training development workers with a Canadian non-governmental organization in the past 5 years. We are interested in working with trainers who identify an analysis of identity issues as a priority. If you meet these criteria, we invite you to contact Tabish by email or mail and provide us with a brief explanation of your interest in this research project and your training experiences. Should more than 6 participants express an interest, we will select those 6 who best meet the criteria for eligibility. We invite you to take part in an interview that will last 90-120 minutes and will be conducted at a time and place most convenient for you. With your permission, we will audio-tape the interview to ensure accuracy. We will ask you to talk with us about:

1. your understanding of development and the role of development workers in overseas placements
2. reflections on your training experiences with development workers
3. strategies for future training programs

Additionally, we ask that you share with us your teaching logs, reflections, lesson plans and if you are currently involved in conducting training programs, we would be interested in observing in a non-intrusive manner. Your participation will provide valuable insights, reflecting trainer experiences of training programs that will be of interest to organizations and individuals intending to participate in future development work.

We have no intention of evaluating organizations, training programs or development workers. Rather, we are interested in exploring the complexities involved in training development workers and how these complexities are negotiated by trainers. We recognise that in asking you to comment on training materials as they relate to issues of identity, some evaluative data may emerge implicitly. While this is not the focus or intent of our research, it is important for you to be aware of this potential in order to assess whether you wish to participate in this study. Should
you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw from the project at any time, in which case we will destroy all previously collected data.

All data will remain confidential and no individual person or institution will be identified. Only the researchers, Tabish Surani, gulzar raisa charania and our supervisor, Dr. J. Cummins, will have access to the data. This study will not involve invasion of personal privacy and the guarantee of anonymity will ensure the protection of participants from the effects of direct evaluative interpretations. If you refer to other individuals in the research process, names and identifying characteristics of these other individuals will also be changed to protect their anonymity. The data will be securely stored in locked files for 5 years after which point, it will be shredded in a way that does not compromise anonymity. The thesis will be housed in the OISE/UT thesis collection in the R.W.B. Jackson Library. If you would like a copy of the report, you can indicate this in the informed consent letter.

We will contact all individuals who indicate an interest in participating in our study by phone or email. However, given the scope of our study, we will choose the 6 trainers who best meet our criteria for eligibility and will arrange to meet with each of you briefly. At this time, we will ask you to fill out the informed consent and we will schedule an interview. At this preliminary meeting, we will ask you to fill out the informed consent, bring any documents related to your training program (teaching logs, lesson plans etc.) and we will schedule an interview. We will reimburse you for the cost of parking, transportation (to a maximum of $10) or childcare (to a maximum of $24) that result from participation in our study. Please do not hesitate to contact either Tabish at any time should you have any questions or concerns.

We thank-you for taking the time to consider our request and hope you will agree to participate in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Tabish Surani and gulzar raisa charania
APPENDIX A
INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY
Covering Letter and Request for Consent from Participants in Training Programs

Student Researchers  Tabish Surani
gulzar raisa charania
[Address and Contact Information]

Faculty Supervisor  Dr. J. Cummins
[Contact Information]

Dear Madam/Sir,

Our names are Tabish Surani and gulzar raisa charania and we are graduate students at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. We are providing you with this letter as an explanation of our presence in 2 of the training sessions. We are interested in participating in overseas development initiatives and are presently conducting a research project entitled Activism and Accountability: The Everyday Challenge for Northern Development Workers which will provide the basis for our individual M.A. theses.

Our work includes an exploration of the challenges involved in the organization and implementation of training programs for future development workers. With the permission of (name of organization) and trainers, we are conducting 1 interview with each trainer and document analysis of training materials. As well, we are observing training programs and working specifically with trainers who are addressing issues of identity with Northern development workers.

These observations will not be invasive and we will not interact with students, trainers or disrupt the activities of the training program. All data collected will remain confidential and you will not be identified in the field notes or final study. Only the researchers, Tabish Surani, gulzar raisa charania and our supervisor, Dr. J. Cummins, will have access to the data. The intention of our presence in these training sessions is not to evaluate your participation in this training program. As well, we have no intention of evaluating organizations, trainers, or training programs.

If you are interested in finding out more about our study, we will be providing (name of organization) with a copy of the report.

Should you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact us by phone or email.

Sincerely,

Tabish Surani and gulzar raisa charania
APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Development Work Experience

1. What prompted your initial involvement in development work?

2. What were you hoping to accomplish personally and professionally?

3. What did you feel that you had to offer communities in the South?

4. Can you briefly describe the kinds of development work in which you have participated?

5. How did you understand these experiences in the South?

6. How did you understand your relationship with the people in the country in which you were working?

7. Was it what you expected it to be? How/why or why not?

8. How did you understand the work that you were doing initially and how did that understanding change over time? Why?

9. How did you understand the presence of Northern development workers in the South?

10. Why did you stay?

11. As a result of your overseas development work and reflections about those experiences, how have you come to understand relations between Northern and Southern countries?

Training Context

1. How did your participation as a development worker inform or influence how you identified priorities as a trainer?

2. How would you describe the representation at the training program? Was this similar or different from your experience as an overseas development worker? How did you understand/make sense of who was present and who was not?

3. How do priorities in training shift depending on group composition?

4. Have you encountered contradictions between what you thought you should be doing as a trainer and the expectations your employer/colleagues had of you? If so, how did you negotiate this tension?

5. What is your understanding of the relationship between trainers and students?

6. What pedagogical strategies do you use during the training program?
7. Is this a type of training that is co-facilitated? Why/why not? How do you understand your role in that facilitation process?

8. How did your pedagogical strategies encourage Northern development workers to think about their identity?

9. What is your perception of how the training program is received by Northern development workers?

10. What were some of the tensions and complexities that you experienced or observed during the training program? How did you understand, think about and manage these tensions?

11. In the training context, what conditions need to be in place for participants to engage in a critical analysis of the role of development worker?

12. What were some of the limitations of the training program that you facilitated?

13. What do you identify as the possibilities of enhancing existing training programs?

14. Have you continued to participate directly in overseas development work? If so, in what capacities and why? If not, why?
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Towards the Rebuilding of Community: The Transformative Possibilities of Women’s Testimonies in Post Apartheid South Africa

by

Jessica Lara Ticktin

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

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I wish to thank my parents for their love and support and for their unwavering faith in my abilities. Thank you to my sisters, Leah, Miriam and Tamara for their friendship, advice and encouragement, especially to Leah for taking the time to read a draft of my thesis and giving me great feedback.

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation for my extended family in Cape Town for their hospitality and generosity, especially David and Shirley, each of whom have a special place in my heart.

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Testimony and Historical Memory seminar series which gave me the opportunity to work through some important questions and issues in my thesis. It also kick-started me into thesis-writing-mode and I am grateful for that!

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I want to especially thank Jodi and Hillaire for their loyal and nourishing friendship - thank you both for believing I could do this when I did not think it possible. Thank you Adam for always being there and giving me the gift of laughter.

I want to thank two people who have lived this with me: Scott, for his love, support, editing and endless encouragement and for putting up with all my antics; and my sister Tamara for being my ‘land to light on’.

I am indebted most of all to the women of Ikamva Labantu, who have enriched my life and opened their hearts and homes to me. Thank you Cheryl for trusting me enough to share your memories with me, you are a brave and strong woman. Thank you to Avril for your positive energy, your spirit and eagerness to talk to me. Thank you Nobuntu for opening up to a young, white, foreign girl and teaching me much about ‘ubuntu’. Thank you Helen for your vision, your tireless energy, your generosity of spirit and for all the meals you fed me! Thank you Pumla for opening up to me in hard times. Thank you Tutu, for your love most of all, your incredible strength and for treating me like family; I truly am your Canadian daughter and I carry your love with me like a flag. I love you all.
Towards the Rebuilding of Community: The Transformative Possibilities of Women’s Testimonies in Post Apartheid South Africa

by Jessica Lara Ticktin

Master of Arts, 2001

Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

Abstract

This thesis explores the pedagogical and social importance of testimony as a practice of remembrance and its transformative possibilities, both individually and collectively through presenting a case study of one particular community of women in South Africa, in the process of remembering their lives during and after the apartheid regime. I examine how through these acts of speaking both privately and publicly, they and in turn, engage in the concept of ‘remembrance learning’, a learning from, and not just a learning about the past. This thesis argues that testimony, oral or written, can be more than just a mining for facts, but a resource for a critical pedagogy where learning and remembering are intertwined. The emphasis of this thesis is on the possibility for transformation in both the speaker and the listener of testimony and how this process can be used as a tool for social change.
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Chapter One

Introduction

The Site

Driving along the highway from Cape Town International Airport into the city is an appropriate yet almost overwhelming introduction into the economic, topographic and cultural contrasts within Cape Town and indeed, South Africa. On either side of the highway stretching as far as the eye can see are townships where the black\(^1\) and coloured population have been forced to live for the past 25 years. Although it’s been 7 years since the country’s first democratic elections in 1994, the majority of the population continue to live in squalor and destitution, most have one room shacks, roofs of corrugated metal or iron and no indoor toilets. Long ditches are filled with polluted water and garbage. Children play on the banks of the ditches along the highway. Hundreds of unemployed adults mill about the streets, some hawking goods or playing cards, others burning garbage. Government houses have been built, but most of them are poorly constructed and too small to house large families. Thousands more wait for their houses to be built.

As you enter the city, the scene and feel change. A thriving cosmopolitan centre with European architecture replaces the destitution. The city is dramatically flanked by the impressive flat topped Table Mountain. Driving through Cape Town, one begins to see the difference in the wealth of the landscape, the green space and infrastructure. Nestling above the city on the slopes of the mountain are large houses, paved streets, brightly coloured bougainvilleas climbing over huge walls and fences.

\(^1\) It is important to note that the terms ‘black’, ‘coloured’ and ‘white’ are not neutral, descriptive terms but have political connotations. I use these terms in my thesis as South Africans continue to identify and refer to each other in this way.
White people in expensive cars drive by, while black gardeners, domestic workers and construction crews walk hurriedly to catch the taxis - the black informal transport system - across to the outskirts of the city to their homes.

This visual image of Cape Town will most likely be familiar even to those who have not visited South Africa, so commonly has it been described by journalists and the media over 50 years of apartheid. Unfortunately, it is a stereotypical picture which still has currency in the year 2001; the racial segregation and huge inequality in the distribution of wealth and power across racial/class lines remains largely unchanged. What is changing however, is the way people are now confronting South Africa's 50 year history of apartheid. What South Africans are remembering both publicly and privately is something altogether new.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has had a large impact on public memory although it has not been the only determining factor in creating a culture of remembrance or 'telling' in the new South Africa, rather this 'culture of telling' came out of a complex web of historical, political and social factors starting as far back as the late 1960's with the beginning of the 'people's history' movement. As a result of years of suppression and censure along with the recent media saturation of the proceedings of the TRC, this 'culture of telling' has freed everyone - white, black and coloured - to have something to say about the past. What is unclear, however, is the impact. What effect does the process have on the nation as a whole? How are communities coping?

My research takes up where the TRC left off and attempts to address some of its limitations by looking at alternative settings and practices of remembrance using testimony, but on a much smaller scale; where the relationships between speaker and listener are more closely knit. The questions which

\[ \text{2See Chapter Two for more background.} \]
concern me in this thesis are: what is the relationship between remembering the past and the rebuilding of community, in particular in a post-conflict society? Is there a way to begin this process through the use of testimonies?

It is my aim in this thesis to explore the pedagogical and social importance of testimony as an alternative practice of remembrance and to consider its transformative possibilities, both individually and collectively. I will address these concerns by presenting a case study of one particular community of women in the process of remembering their lives during and after the apartheid regime. I will examine how in these acts of speaking both personally (to me) and publicly (to an audience of community members), they and (in turn I) engage in what Claudia Eppert has defined as ‘remembrance learning’: "a practice of questioning ourselves, our identities, our relationships to past and present others" (2000, 216-17). This notion of remembrance-learning denotes a learning from, and not just a learning about the past; that is to say, testimony, oral or written, can be more than just a mining for facts, but a resource for a critical pedagogy where learning and remembering are intertwined. The emphasis of this thesis is on the possibility for transformation in both the speaker and the listener of testimony and how this process can be used as a tool for social change.

I have organized the thesis into five Chapters. The first Chapter will introduce the current situation in South Africa - post apartheid, post-TRC - and detail some of the questions and concerns that have informed and prompted my research into this area. I include my methodology at the end of this Chapter as well as a brief description of the women I interviewed.

In Chapter Two, I explore South African historiography and the role traditional and oral

In Chapter Two, I explore South African historiography and the role traditional and oral

\[ \text{3When I use the term "post conflict" it refers to the previous apartheid regime of enforced segregation and state sanctioned violence. However, it is important to note that there is still an "economic apartheid" that exists which contributes to clashes between different racial groups and is a cause of violent crime within major cities.} \]
historians have played in shaping public memory in South Africa. I also locate my work within the larger context of women’s activism and oral narratives in South Africa and elsewhere. In Chapter Three, I look at the process of remembrance- learning with an analysis of the women’s testimonies while at the same time examining my own role as researcher and listener - how I engage and respond to their stories. This reflective aspect is an important and necessary contribution to the study; as a researcher and listener, my own ‘unsettling’ and transformation is part of the findings of this study. In Chapter Four I explore the impact the process of testimony as a public performance might have on the community as a whole, and how it allows people to cross certain racial and/or cultural boundaries, which is especially critical in the South African context. In the final chapter, I discuss the broader implications of my findings in Chapters Three and Four and situate my work more broadly within the context of public remembrance in South Africa. To conclude, I suggest further areas of research for the future.

As I am working in the wake of the TRC, it is important that the reader is familiar with its conception and some of the main issues involved in its process, which I will briefly outline in the next section.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

When the African National Congress was elected to power in 1994 with Nelson Mandela as leader, the new parliament passed the National Unity and Reconciliation Act. With this Act, in a bold and unprecedented move, the government along with Archbishop Desmond Tutu created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help facilitate a “truth recovery process”. It differed from any other truth commission in the world, in two significant ways: 1) amnesty was considered on an individual basis and could be granted in exchange for full disclosure of the truth, 2) hearings of testimonies were
open to the public. Anyone could come into the hall where the hearings were being conducted and participate in the proceedings. For those who didn’t have that opportunity, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and other local radio stations broadcast excerpts of the testimonies each day for the entire length of the commission. As a result of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, thousands of testimonies were heard throughout the country over the course of 3 years.

The case of Dirk Coetzee, former head of Vlakplaas, the government’s secret death squad, represents the complexity and problems encountered when engaging in practices of remembrance; do we remember to preserve the past, do we remember in order to prevent forgetting or do we remember as a way of forgetting?

In her book, Long Shadows: Truth, Lies and Memory, journalist Erna Paris interviews Dirk Coetzee, in his rented home in a wealthy Afrikaner suburb of Johannesburg. Coetzee applied for amnesty after blowing the whistle on the highly secretive inner workings of Vlakplaas, making public the details of how they tortured, mutilated and burned their black victims who were targeted as guerillas. Paris asks him about his amnesty hearing and Coetzee says, “I told the truth because I believe we can only bury the past if we know what it is we’re burying.” (p.264)

An apt yet ironic metaphor for a man such as Coetzee who “buried” the bodies of hundreds of men he did not know. Now, as their bones are literally being exhumed and their ghastly fates being brought to light, he offers the nation his gruesome details as “truth” in exchange not only for a proper “burial” of the past, but for his own freedom and exoneration from punishment for past deeds.

As South African poet and scholar Ingrid De Kok points out, this idea of the ‘clean break’ then turns into the apparently ethical consideration of ‘forgive and forget’ and ‘life must go on’. “It expresses the terror that if we take one glimpse backwards, we may be dragged back into the apartheid
underworld.” However, this language is not limited to people in positions like Coetzee. It is also present in the TRC’s imperative to have the story - often called by commissioners ‘this chapter in our history - closed. (De Kok, 1998)

TRC Commissioner Yasmin Sooka states,

“One might be forgiven for asking the question, what have the beneficiaries of apartheid contributed to those who have lost? Privilege always has a price - oppression of others. All the advocates of “let’s get on with our lives, we need to forget the past and move on” are those who can continue with their lives, they go to court, obtain permission to close off their streets and have boom controlled systems to keep black people out of their suburbs. They have something to go on with”

Notions of truth and memory get blurred and conflated as victims and perpetrators have different reasons and agendas for remembering the past and telling the “truth”. For many perpetrators telling the truth was a way of expelling their own demons, like Coetzee, to be set ‘free’ of the past in order to move on. It was not as much about reconciliation as it was about a kind of exorcism of ghosts - about personal redemption. Most victims and families of victims on the other hand wanted to hear the truth as a form of justice; a way of remembering, honouring and not forgetting those who were killed in the struggle. And for many, the burning question was, why?

For Dirk Coetzee the Truth Commission isn’t about why, it is simply about what happened. Truth Commissions engage in what Hannah Arendt called “brute truth”. It’s not about all the interpretations, all the why’s and how’s, it’s about getting the basic facts of what happened, all the while allowing people to debate the meaning of those facts. Harvard law professor, Martha Minow points out that, fundamentally, it is about preventing denial and secrecy. Acknowledgment is a dimension that follows from that, so that not only is there some official place where facts have been accumulated, there’s also then an official act that acknowledges the receipt of those facts. (1999, lecture)
It was impossible that the TRC would or could produce the full ‘truth’ of apartheid in all its detail, for all time. It had specific goals: to uncover the truth and hear the stories of regular South Africans who were victimized under apartheid. The TRC set out to achieve its goals with the amount of time and money allotted to it. It was not an easy task and was overwhelmed with the volume of requests of people wanting to tell their stories.

Unfinished Business

Now that the TRC is over, there is still much ‘unfinished business’ dealing with reparations, memorials and public access to the data. There is also an increasing chasm in attitudes that has developed since the TRC has closed its offices, mostly between whites and blacks. The onslaught of testimonies of trauma can often have the reverse effect than is intended; rather than promoting a spirit of reconciliation, recent studies have shown that since the beginning of the TRC 6 years ago, racial tensions have risen resulting in increased polarization between whites and blacks as each group struggles to “get on with their lives” in different ways.

A survey conducted by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation last year (2000) revealed a large discrepancy between black and white South Africans in valuing the process of the TRC. While 77% of blacks felt the TRC was important in building a united South African nation, only 29% of whites agreed. White South Africans appear to be negative about the TRC and only 50% felt it was their responsibility as a citizen to contribute to the process of national reconciliation, while almost 80% of
Ingrid De Kok, asks the question, “can structures such as the TRC contain the psychic and cultural processes involved when far-reaching social change is under way? Might they not unwittingly encourage cultural and social amnesia? Or in (Mahmood) Mamdini’s distinction might they not continue the process of privileging beneficiaries of the past social system by foregrounding the acts of a limited group of perpetrators only?” (De Kok, 1998, 59) This is an important question and one which continues to be debated and discussed throughout the country, by both all members of South African society. “It is in the multiplicity of partial versions and experiences, composed and recomposed within sight of each other, that truth ‘as a thing of this world’, in Foucault’s phrase, will emerge. In this mobile current individuals and communities will make and remake their meanings.” (De Kok, 1998, 61)

At a talk she gave at the John F. Kennedy School of Government in 1999, on her book, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness, Martha Minow responded to a question from an audience member about the final report of the TRC on victim’s testimonies. Apparently, the thousands of stories the commission received were put into only four categories. The question put forth was how personal are these stories if they can be categorized like this? Minow responds:

“These formal documents are hardly the point. The formal documents give an edge to ongoing processes. Processes themselves include not only the formal processes, but also dinner time conversations, the communications where intimate details can be revealed, and more appropriately than in any formal place. So the point I would make about contributing to a national narrative in some material sense – there’s not going to be a document, there’s going to be the national narrative – is that there will be a project of building a national narrative with the memory these events encoded in them. And that will require countless conversations by countless people about the particularities. So I think that’s a better way to imagine the individual stories being acknowledged and heard” (Seminar, 1999)

What Minow and De Kok are gesturing towards is a less formal process of remembering that
occurs in communities between families and friends, one by which the actual accuracy and facts of a story are less important than the act of speaking and listening to each other. A re-membering of their lives on their own terms, as co-authors in their own history making. While this is a critical component in the healing process of a nation, it is necessary to point out that not all such informal or ‘dinner time’ conversations are conducive to “remembering well”⁴. Research in other areas of remembrance work such as Holocaust Studies have shown that institutional forums and organized memory-spaces or events can help initiate a healing and transformative process, which is often difficult to achieve within a strictly informal setting.

Testimony as a Discursive Practice: Participating in the ‘Other’

For the most part, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission used testimony as a way of hearing the facts described by people who had experienced or committed violence during apartheid. The TRC’s use of testimonial accounts was heard in much the same way a court of law uses a witness to testify - “to make a serious declaration to substantiate a fact, to bear witness or give evidence” (Webster’s Dictionary, 1988). Even the set up that the TRC used in each town was like a small court with a panel of TRC commissioners seated beside each other like a jury, and Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu like a judge at the centre. Although the TRC insisted that the proceedings were not intended to resemble a court room and attempted to make the set up as un-intimidating for the speakers as possible,

⁴I refer here to Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert’s notion of a remembering “that humbles any design to master the past and requires a serious reflexivity rooted in a recognition that the historical character of one’s partial and mediated remembrance is contingent and thus can always be otherwise” (Between Hope and Despair, 2000).
the purpose and function of the TRC process was very similar to a trial in its attempt to seek the truth and find out what happened.

In this thesis, I argue that testimony can be more than a declaration of facts, but rather a performance that has the power to transform those who speak it and those who hear it. Testimony is more than a narrativization of the past, the act of telling someone that something happened is in itself a performative speech act.

“What the testimony does not offer is, however, a completed statement, a totalizable account of those events. In the testimony, language is in process and in trial, it does not possess itself as a conclusion, as the constatation of a verdict or the self-transparency of knowledge. Testimony is, in other words, a discursive practice, as opposed to a pure theory. To testify - to vow to tell, to promise and produce one’s own speech as material evidence for truth - is to accomplish a speech act, rather than to simply formulate a statement.” (Felman, 17, 1992)

Holocaust scholar James Young states that the importance of testimony lies in the telling, and not then, as a substitute or supplement to historical events. As a discursive practice, testimonies offer a way for the listener to relate to the speaker, thus allowing a way for both of them to enter into a space where a dialogue can take place. For example, Italian oral historian Luisa Passerini writes that in the era of equality and cosmopolitanism memories can help us to find ways, ‘to participate in the other, to share his/her being other’. She writes,

“For us, (oral historians) the task is to participate in different memories, to share differences not in any way in an attempt to demonstrate their universality but rather to insist on the diversity and plurality of memory. Engaging in this task, inventing ways of facing up to this challenge, will be the contribution that oral historians along with those concerned with the processes of remembering can make, in order to detach human memory from all forms of totalitarianism, in politics as well as culture, and to help play its part in the forming of a democratic consciousness” (Passerini, p.18)

The emphasis on ‘diversity and plurality of memory” is one of the ways testimony in my project,
differs from that of the TRC. The transformative possibilities of testimony lie in the grey areas where there are not only facts to be found, but the details of a moment or a feeling that can disrupt, unsettle or even surprise a listener. More than simply a confession, less than a declaration and somewhere in between storytelling, oral history and narrativization, the testimonies in this case study are meant to open things up; to expand and question, rather than to seek facts or find conclusions.

Methodology

In 1998, I spent four months in South Africa working as a program developer for a non-profit, community-based organization in Cape Town called Ikamva Labantu, “The Future of Our Nation”. It is an incredibly dynamic organization that was founded by several women over 30 years ago and continues to be mostly woman-run today. In 1992 it became an umbrella organization for several organizations implementing a variety of projects in the townships around Cape Town. Ikamva Labantu now manages six programmes in over 1000 community-based projects and provides social services including daycare, youth education and sport, access to medical and legal services, skills training for the unemployed and disabled, rehabilitation and shelters for the homeless as well as seniors-for seniors programmes and AIDS education and awareness. In 1998 the organization was selected by the Mandela government as the lead partner in a pilot project to test and set up a new funding policy for social services in South Africa. In short, the organization is a major force in the reconstruction process.

While working with Ikamva Labantu, an American colleague and I were asked to record the oral histories of several of the founding members. Helen Lieberman, the Executive Director, wanted us to
record and document the stories of the women working with the organization as a way of testifying, or bearing witness to, the events they had resisted and survived. These women formed an alliance based on their social and political activism even though they came from different racial, and religious backgrounds, which I briefly detail at the end of this chapter. Helen was afraid they and their communities might forget the risks they had taken and how much they had accomplished in thirty years working together and also that their model of crossing racial boundaries might be forgotten in an atmosphere of rising racial tensions.

I was deeply moved by the stories of the women from Ikamva Labantu; their lives and struggles and the relationships the women had forged with each other across racial, religious and class lines. As I listened to them, I was confronted with the question, ‘are these stories important for other people outside this organization, beyond these individuals?’ With permission, we let the women read each other’s stories once they had been transcribed and new dialogues started to happen between them. I realized that this kind of informal practice of remembrance had more potential than just relating facts and dates of the past. The process was having an impact on how these women were relating to each other in the present.

This lead me to think about what would happen if the structure was set up for people to “remember well”? And what would that mean, what kind of structures would have to be in place for that to happen? Beyond just recounting events, is there the possibility of a transformative experience not only in the telling, but maybe more importantly in the listening? In my mind, I explored the possibilities of a community event, something akin to the TRC in having people tell their stories, in a less formal, but still structured way. It would have to be organized in a public place or cultural setting, and what would happen within that space would not be intended to uncover facts as much as it would attempt to create a space for dialogues and questioning and self-reflection. Such an event would provide
the participants with a place where they could feel safe, it would not be about victim facing perpetrator, but rather people facing each other. Friends, colleagues and family would be there.

For 2 years after my return from South Africa I kept in touch with the women from Ikamva Labantu and became increasingly engrossed in the larger question of the meaning these stories had for the building of the New South Africa, and, more specifically, the pedagogical significance of how these stories could transform a group of women within a particular post-conflict community. I began my master’s degree at OISE with the intention of learning more about the field of historical memory and testimony and last year, with the help of a grant from CIDA, I returned to Cape Town for 5 months.

Ikamva Labantu has expanded in the last 5 years and has many staff members now. I decided to focus on 6 women who had been involved with each other for over 20 years and who had been instrumental in building up what became the organization in 1992. These six women are all sector heads of different programs within Ikamva Labantu and have known each other through various community activist work over the past 30 years. These women were among hundreds of thousands of mainly black South African women who, from the mid 1970’s onwards placed human need above unjust laws and struggled for the community in areas such as greater access to housing for the poor and displaced. In Chapter Two I will discuss the importance of gender and women’s roles during apartheid. When I returned in 2000, I was able to continue the relationships with the women and they expressed their desire to work with me on the project of recording their testimonies.

The idea of speaking about the past was not a foreign idea to these women, but it was new for them to be asked to speak for themselves about their own lives. They had spent the past few years listening to the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission over the airwaves and on the television, but had never had the chance to express their own feelings of victimization, anger and /or
My two objectives in returning to Cape Town for 5 months of research were to interview the women one-on-one to create a public archive, and then to put together an event at the Cultural History Museum where these women would speak their stories to a public that included affiliates of their organization, family members and friends. The interviews were approximately 1-1 1/2 hours in length and were recorded on a digital recorder. I had a series of 12 questions which I asked them:

1) Why did you become an activist?
2) Were you and your family ever relocated?
3) Can you tell me about Crossroads in the 1970's? Were you part of the resistance?
4) What was Cape Town like before District Six was demolished?
5) How did you become involved with Ikamva Labantu?
6) Could you give concrete examples of things you have done, actions you have taken to fight the system of apartheid?
7) What were the living conditions like in the Cape Flats in the 1970's and 80's?
8) Can you describe what kinds of relationships you had, if any, with white/black people?
9) What role did your husband and/or the men in your community play during apartheid?
10) How do you conceive of your work today, in post apartheid South Africa?
11) How do the people in your community perceive your work today?
12) After 6 years, in what ways have the conditions of the new democratic culture in South Africa evolved, or not?

These questions were intended to help the women begin to speak about the past and to ease them into their testimonies. They were free to talk about things beyond the scope of the questions. The testimonies were recorded on a Sony mini-disc (audio digital recorder) over the period of two months. In some cases I did two sets of interviews if the interviewee was unhappy with the first one, or if more information was required. The interviews were conducted at the women’s convenience, at their location of choice.

The interviews were later transcribed onto the computer and printed. Each woman was free to read them. Each woman was also asked to write a statement/testimonial to present at the community
event I organized. These written testimonials were to be read at the event, in front of each other and the audience. Part of the visual portion of the event consisted of photos of the women taken by a local photographer which were then added to an excerpt of each women’s testimony and placed on display panels. There was also memorabilia from their apartheid struggle days exhibited with the posters.

These posters were interspersed with a series of twelve large laminated posters from the Mayibuye Centre (an archive of apartheid resistance) on South African women’s role in the national struggle, a series entitled “You’ve Struck a Rock”. The purpose of interspersing the two sets of posters was to highlight the local women’s contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle and community building and to place these in the context of the national women’s struggle, thus putting them alongside publicly recognized activists. This was done to encourage them and to value their own contribution as equally important to community life and national history.

I then returned again in March 2001, to do follow up interviews with the women and to find out how their lives had been affected by the event at the Cultural History Museum and through the one-on-one interviews I conducted with them. The follow up questions I posed were:

1) How has the interview process affected or made an impact on you over the past 3 years?
2) How did you feel while you were telling your story at the Cultural History Museum?
3) What happened in the weeks/months afterwards? Were your relationships with the other women affected in any way?
4) What feelings came up for you as you listened to the stories of your colleagues?
5) How has this process affected your life as a whole - in terms of both family and work?

This thesis draws on research from the 3 different sets of interviews with these 6 women, beginning in 1998 and ending in 2001.
Description of the Women of Ikamva Labantu

It is important that the reader have some information about each woman and her circumstances in order to understand and engage with the testimonies that will follow in the next 3 chapters. While the 6 women whom I interviewed were linked together because of their work, their personal and private lives differ greatly. I have attempted to highlight some of these differences in the brief descriptions I provide below.

The women of Ikamva Labantu wanted their real names attached to the stories they told me, however, they did not have the opportunity to read my analysis of their testimonies before the completion of this thesis and may disagree with my views. It is also important to note that any description or account of these women is only partial and in no way represents the complexity of their lives or their full personalities.

1) Helen Lieberman, Executive Director

Helen is a Jewish woman in her early sixties. She is a speech therapist by profession, but chose not to pursue her career; instead she spent the past 30 years as a social activist working in the townships. Helen is the founder of Ikamva Labantu, but is the only unpaid worker. She has a supportive husband, Michael, who bears the financial burden of their lifestyle so she can concentrate on her work. Helen is keenly aware of her privilege and the stark contrasts between the two worlds she has been straddling for the past 30 years. At the end of the day, Helen says, “I come back to this” gesturing to her plush, spacious apartment with a view of the ocean. She has been dubbed the “Mother Teresa of Africa” by the white newspapers and by her own Jewish community. She has three grown children and two grandchildren.
2) Pumla Tyalibongo, Sector head for the Educare Centres “Ithemba Labantwana”

Pumla is a woman in her early forties lives who lives in a house in the coloured township of Montana, although she is a Xhosa speaking African. She wanted her children to have what she never did, which is a room of their own in a ‘real’ house (not a shack) she could own herself, but she is still trying to pay it off. She is raising 4 children and is going through a divorce. Her husband is unemployed and will not support or tolerate her community work as he wants her home “waiting on him.” He is angry and jealous of her and feels emasculated by her commitment to her work and not to him. It has been a physically and emotionally abusive relationship which has left her depleted and unable to fully function at work. She is clearly struggling.

3) Nobuntu Nkanyuza: Sector head for the Shelter and Havens Program

Nobuntu, a Xhosa speaking African woman and a born-again Christian in her early sixties lives in a small house in the black township of Langa. She is twice-divorced, with two grown children. Nobuntu lives on her own but helps takes care of her grandchildren. She has led a relatively privileged life for a black woman, and has been able to travel outside of South Africa for various educational and church-related activities to the United States and Switzerland. She has volunteered in her own communities for years, wanting to give something back. She has run her own daycare, opened shelters for the homeless and run a soup kitchen among many other things.

4) Cheryl Gordon: Sector head for Disabled Children and Adults.

Cheryl, a coloured woman in her late forties lives in a house in Plumstead, a well-to-do white area with her husband Graeme, and their two teenagers. Cheryl and her family were forcibly removed from their
home in the 1970's near the District Six area. She is looking after her elderly parents and her adult disabled brother, all of whom live with her. Cheryl got involved through her church, helping to find housing for the displaced and homeless. She is educated and has a happy, stable marriage.

5) Avril Hoepner: Sector head of the Development Programs for the Blind
Avril, a white Christian woman also in her late forties, lives in Kenilworth, an affluent white area. She and her husband, Lawrence have four children, one of whom is now married. Avril became politically involved with the ANC women’s league in the 1970's and through her husband, who was a teacher and very involved in the struggle. They have emotional and financial security now, although they went through some rough times in the 1980's.

6) Tutu Gcememe: Sector head for the Seniors Program
Tutu lives in a small house beside a squatter camp in Langa with her husband. Her three children are grown and one of them is in jail. She takes care of her mother-in-law, her late sister’s two teenage children, and her stepmother. She struggles financially and is active as a volunteer in her church and community. Tutu got involved teaching literacy in her community and then worked for the Red Cross for years before joining Ikamva Labantu.
Chapter Two

"History chokes on the little bones of meaning" (Anne Michaels, Skin Divers p.43)

Introduction

The context out of which my work emerges lies within the rich fields of education, oral history and social justice movements and thus some background on how these areas fed my project is necessary. This chapter is divided into four different sections as follows: 1) I explore South African historiography and the role traditional and oral historians have played in shaping public memory in South Africa, 2) I locate my work within the larger context of women’s activism in Cape Town and explore the role gender played in the struggle against apartheid, 3) I discuss the use of testimony in two South African works of literature which informed my own research and approach as a white foreign researcher and 4) I provide excerpts of testimonies I recorded from Helen and Cheryl.

South African historiography

More than twenty years ago, oral history projects started up in South Africa and elsewhere, both within institutional settings and in grassroots projects, attempting to record the lives and testimonies of oppressed people. In the 1980's and early 1990's, along with the extensive work that was (and continues to be) done with Holocaust survivors’ testimonies, there emerged a genre of ‘testimonios’ from Latin America; the recording of subaltern women’s stories in their own voices, for example, that
of Rigoberta Menchu from Guatemala, or the stories of The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, from Argentina. These widely published works increased the interest and importance of rural and uneducated women's stories and their need to be recorded; as ethnographies, as accounts of terrible injustices wrought by corrupt governments, and as oral histories to be passed on to future generations.

These stories, along with the trend in popular culture of the 'confessional narrative' within talk shows and mass market books over the past ten to fifteen years has helped shape the field of public memory, the use of testimony and the way in which people's stories are taken up for various uses, politically or socially.

In the 1960's and 70's a new field of history emerged, in South Africa and elsewhere in the academy out of a context in which documents and records left by the literate, almost exclusively dominant racial and ethnic groups (as well as being male, middle-upper class) were privileged to the exclusion of those sources that helped scholars understand the lives and struggles of subaltern peoples. Oral historians began to collect and substantiate such sources and struggled considerably to have their work accepted as being legitimate as other forms of historical knowledge.

The production of history - oral or photographic - is an exercise in power. Not only do those in positions of power have the greatest opportunity to control this form of knowledge production, they also shape the history to further entrench their dominant positions. The telling of history cannot be isolated from the context of power from which it emerges. While no history can be free of bias, omission or interpretation, it can however be told in ways that either perpetuate hierarchies of inequality or challenge them.

In her book Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (1995) Anne McClintock writes that the representation of history, including oral history is itself a contested historical
event. In South Africa's written history, many popular myths were codified in order to justify Afrikaner's claims that they were as African as the Zulu or Xhosa people and had merely settled areas where no indigenous people had lived. Over the past decade or so, an increasing number of people have pointed to oral history as a way of challenging the bias of written histories. In South Africa and elsewhere, hope emerged that oral history would offer the delirious promise of what Walter Benjamin dubbed "brushing history against the grain" (p.310). It promised to restore the vivid, ordinary lives of those people who built railroads, raised children, and served the colonials. Dubbed as the "new history", a "history from below" or the "people's history", oral history opened up domestic power relations, family histories and informal social groupings into public history.

"Oral history is not simply a new technique for recovering the past in its purity. Rather, it invites a new theory of the representation of history. Not only is history produced as much by miners, prostitutes, mothers and farmworkers as by the heroes of history-writing, but the recording of history is both the outcome of struggle and the locus of struggle itself" (McClintock 1995, 310)

In South Africa the emergence of an oral or “new history” came in response to the fast growing extraparliamentary activism of the independent trade unions and community organizations that were mobilized through the 1970's and 1980's over major issues such as rent, transport, housing and education. McClintock defines the new history as having taken at least three directions. The first having been empirically-based, politically radical academic histories which have explored such topics as the rise and fall of the African peasantry, the making of the black proletariat, the different histories of Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, and so on. These histories were written by white academics for a specialized academic readership. Second, histories such as those produced by the Labour History Groups, which consist of illustrated booklets in English, Zulu and Xhosa. Booklets such as Learn and Teach were written for a
popular mass readership by intellectuals or community activists committed to putting their training and expertise at the service of the communities. Finally, there are histories produced by nonacademics, workers and students for worker publications and community broadsheets, such as *Fosatu Worker News* and *Izwilase Township*, as well as popular comic-book representations of history, which attempt to put the writing and reading of history into the hands of the communities themselves. (McClintock, 309)

In their chapter in the book *Negotiating the Past: the making of memory in South Africa* (1998) Minkley and Rassool offer a critical reading of that school of historiography known as ‘history from below’ and suggest that the complexities of memory have been glossed over. They argue that authentic ‘voices from below’ became those of nationalist leaders. More importantly though, social history came to be mobilized in support of building a national movement on the basis of the dominant resistance politics of the 1950’s. “Individual memory, sourced through ‘resistance voices’, recollected ‘the memory of a people’ and implied an unstated collective memory of resistance.”(92) According to Minkley and Rassool, in the 1980’s social history within South Africa was divided into two compatible resistance narratives. One was academic, based on culturalist notions of class and consciousness. The other was popular, located within the cultural politics of nationalism. Both narratives drew on the notion of community as a metaphor for everyday experience, as the place for locating divergent strands of political consciousness. (Rassool,93)

In the 1990’s, however, oral history as the ‘democratic practice’ of social and popular history in South Africa came under increasing strain and it is important to acknowledge the critique of oral history here. The mythology of ‘history as a national struggle’ and the partisan ‘ventriloquisms’ of people’s history began to be questioned. (Rousseau,1994 82-119). No longer did oral history by virtue of its radical entry into South African public history mean the shift in power, it often came to mean
replacing one set of master narratives with another, rather than opening up the complexities of the past with multiple narratives.

Minkley and Rassool, discuss the essentializing of the past through the simple dichotomy between apartheid and resistance. In their work they note the previous unwillingness of social historians to engage in issues of power: embedded in the conversational narratives, and the tendency of these historians to impose themselves and their 'radical' methods on 'ordinary people'. They write, "There is a growing realization that in even more complex ways than has previously been the rule in new social history, apartheid did not always produce resistance, and that resistance was not always occasioned by apartheid." (94). In the past few years a number of recent studies have begun to explore and re-examine experience and unravel constructions of resistance at the core of South Africa historiography.

The point is that there is no indication that oral historians are any less prone to privileging a few master narratives than traditional historians or any more able to evoke multiple versions of the past.

As Patricia Davison writes, "If public memory is to be more than a dominant mythology, new ways of evoking multiple memories will have to be found. For political reasons, new versions of the past may become the official version and claim authenticity, but former structures and mechanisms remain unchanged"(1999,146-153).

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5 Some examples are, Bozoli with Nkotsoe (1991), Moodie with Ndatshe (1994), and Nasson (1991). Bozoli with Nkotshe, for example point to the more complex and less coherent forms of identity and agency collected through peasant testimonies among various women of Phokeng. (Minkley,Rassool 1998, 95).

6 For more on the topic of how power relations remain at the centre of critical debates on museum practice see Patricia Davison’s chapter “Museums and the reshaping of memory” in Nutall and Coetzee’s Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa (1999).
What about processes? Minkley and Rassool note that the most surprising aspect of the recent work is the continued limited engagement with form, structure and social processes of memory. Isabel Hofmeyr argues that while much work has been drawn from oral historical information, this scholarship continues to mine testimony for its facts without paying much attention to the forms of interpretation and intellectual traditions that inform these ‘facts’. (Hofmeyr 1994, 181). Hofmeyr’s concern is that oral history can collapse into historical realist narratives and becomes a source, not a complex of historical narratives whose form is not fixed. Simply preserving and collecting human memories is a “mode of historical taxidermy” reproducing events in the past as fixed and static. Empiricism denotes the idea of history as a pure and recoverable set of events, a notion that can only be upheld by depoliticizing the dynamics of power that underlie the activities of history-making. (McClintock, p311) While traditional historians, oral historians and recently ethnohistorians (historians of Native/Indigenous peoples) have engaged in much debate and discussion since Hofmeyr’s piece was published, acknowledging the complexities of their work, still not enough attention has been devoted to the forms of interpretations and social processes that inform the recorded memories.

Approaches to the Representation of Testimony and the Struggle for Power

Despite the various critiques and concerns associated with the field of oral history, there are important contributions that have been made and continue to be made through the representation of oral histories and testimonies in South Africa.

In this section I discuss two widely acclaimed South African books which deal with testimony
in very different ways but are both critical in their negotiation of power relations between whites and ‘blacks’ in the area of recorded/written oral histories produced for the public. Both of these works have informed my own research, and my approach to my own role as a foreign white researcher collecting and recording oral testimonies of South African women.

The reins of historical power in South African history have largely remained in the hands of academics, mostly white and mostly working in white-run institutions such as museums and publishing houses. Representations of the ‘other’ through literature and transcribed oral histories have had an impact on the South African psyche, but in the past have entered into the mass market only because of their depoliticized nature. Stories of women’s lives for example were not considered political since they dealt with the domestic and family realm. One example is the famous book Poppie Nongena (1980) by the popular Afrikaans writer Elsa Joubert. This book was a part of the ‘history from below’ movement but was disregarded due to its gendered origins and the way it was marketed and received. In 1978 Joubert published Die Swerfiare van Poppie Nongena based on the oral history of a black woman who was given the pseudonym of “Poppie Nongena”. Joubert had been looking for a new topic for her next book when a black woman came to her doorstep the day after the Soweto Uprising in 1976. The two agreed that Joubert would transcribe and edit Nongena’s story and, should the book sell, Nongena and Joubert would divide the profits. They met three times a week to record the stories. Nothing like it had been published before in South Africa, and it became an overnight sensation.

Published in English in 1980, The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena challenged literary conventions as well as political authority. A black woman’s story entered the white male dominated establishment of publishing, and two women collaborated across race and class lines, while calling into
question Western notions of the individual author (McClintock, 308). A book that deals with deeply theoretical, political and cultural issues was paradoxically hailed as an "apolitical" book, a work of "literature" by an Afrikaans woman about Afrikaans speaking 'blacks'. Because it was regarded as a domestic story, written in the language of the dominant group and the sole listed author was a white Afrikaans woman, the book was safely embraced by the Afrikaaner society (McClintock, 309).

While it is a collaborative work, written and edited and re-written collectively, there is no evidence on the front cover, on the copyright page, nor in the prefatory note that Nongena is an agent in her own history. Joubert writes:

"This novel is based on the actual life story of a black woman living in South Africa today. Only her name, Poppie Rachel Nongena, born Matati, is invented. The facts were related to me not only by Poppie herself, but by members of her immediate family." (Preface)

Nongena's role in the book is reduced to the passive "relating" of facts, rather than one of co-authorship. While Joubert leaves herself out of the narrative to make it an authentic rendering of the story, her name is the only one on the cover, and as McClintock points out, it is marketed as a "novel". The book is written in the first person and the "I" represents Nongena, yet Joubert's role in editing, structuring and ordering the narrative is left unmentioned. What might have happened if Nongena was officially listed as co-author? How much does the author authorize the text?

A white person who attempts to represent the oral history of a marginalized individual or group requires more than just transcribing and editing and trying to "mirror reality". McClintock states: "The collection and preservation of human memory is less a technique for increased historical accuracy, than it is a new, contested technology for historical power" (p.310)

Nongena was "fictional" due to the political climate. She had every reason to keep her identity hidden and this prevented her from being able to do interviews and promote her story as something
which belonged to her. However, Joubert had the responsibility of presenting the story not as a novel written by her, but as a co-authored work that was collaborative in every way up until the end. If she had written an introduction explaining her relationship to apartheid and how this woman had ended up coming to see her, then the book may not have been received like an apolitical “novel”.

Despite the “novel” status, Joubert enabled Poppie Nongena’s story to be brought into the public realm and white South Africans suddenly had access into the life of a poor, black woman from the townships. However, in the erasure of Nongena’s creative authority and the resulting whitewashing of its politics, Nongena becomes a ‘witness’ of otherness and her agency as a history-maker is denied.

Twenty years after the publication of *The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena* Antjie Krog, a critically acclaimed South African poet and journalist came out with the book *Country of my Skull: Guilt, Sorrow and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa*. Krog won the most prestigious South African literary award for her book which documents her experience covering the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The transcripts of victims testimonies are placed at the heart of the book, and she tells her story of coming to terms with her own complicity in the legacy of apartheid, alongside and simultaneous to them.

Krog’s book, *Country of my Skull* is radically different in style, genre and content than Joubert’s book but Krog is able to do something Joubert was not able to do. Krog openly discuss issues of power in her book and tries to cope with her own complicity in the system of apartheid as a member of the Afrikaner culture, the creators of apartheid. The book exposes its own crafted nature and does not purport to be an oral history, autobiography, or reportage. It mixes genres and writing styles - it is part fiction, part fact, and she does not hide behind the guise of the official (H)istory. Yet, the book is engrossing in
the way Krog constantly positions herself in relation to both the victims and perpetrators of apartheid.

Krog dedicates the book to “Every victim with an Afrikaner surname on her lips” and the book is both a chronicle of the Commission and a working through of her role as a member of a culture of oppressors. As the title suggests, this is a telling of one woman’s journey through the history of her country. She can only speak from her position as a white Afrikaans woman, and how the victim’s stories have shifted her own sense of self and her relationships to others.

I look to this book as a good example of how stories of the “other” can be represented by those in positions of power and privilege in transformative ways. Krog breaks the colonizing hold on the other by taking responsibility for her own role, and by not trying to tell their story for them. More than that, the book also documents the kind of ‘remembrance learning’ I have gestured towards; as Krog listens to testimony after testimony her own position and frames of understanding shift and break apart in the act of listening. She questions her own identity, her relationship and responsibility to ‘past and present others’.

However, Krog does edit, select and structure the testimonies she includes in the book, and for this she is criticized for appropriating the victim’s stories for her own gain. She is also criticized by South African critics for fictionalizing the book. At one point in the book she alludes to an affair between herself and a black colleague, which actually did not happen. However, the intensity of the relationships between those who were involved in the TRC were extremely intense and the kind of emotional bonding that occurred could have easily become sexual. Although it may not have actually happened, she believed it would add to the truth of the experience. She writes about the idea of truth, “I have never bedded that word in a poem. I prefer the word “lie”. The moment the lie raises its head, I smell blood. Because it is there ... where the truth is closest.”(50)
Krog draws out and complicates the notion of truth, by including poetry, diary entries, thoughts, observations as well as testimonies and facts; in this process she comes closer to exposing the partiality of any truth. Acknowledging the constructed nature of ‘the past’ and leaves the door to the future open “while holding the keys to the past, so that one does not lose sight of that history even as one seeks to move beyond the attitudes associated with that history” (Willinsky, 207).

I would argue that without the testimonies of black victims of apartheid in the book, South African history is segregated once again. Whites should not speak for blacks and vice versa but the move towards a more inclusive history that seeks to represent the power relations between them is desired and necessary for the creation of a new public memory.

I recognize the difficulty of collaboration between white women and indigenous women and that it is important to move beyond simply recounting the histories of another group, as Joubert’s book does, to a place where the position of power shifts in relation to that group. The project then can become not just an educational one, but a transformative one for both myself and the women whose stories I record. Oral histories and testimonies must be about more than consuming the stories of others: we must find a way to remap our own taken-for-granted positions in the world.

Addressing Gender: Why Women? Women’s Role in Cape Town’s Resistance Movement

In South Africa when male political prisoners languished on Robben Island or other prisons around the country, their wives, daughters and sisters took on the struggle. Conflict blurs and sometimes destroys the boundaries between household and communal space, so that gender roles become reversed (Krog, 2000). Women were not forced out of their traditional roles as child rearers, but instead
took on both jobs of breadwinner and child rearer. They fought for basic rights for their children to have access to education and health care and for themselves for the right to work without pass books.

In 1978 following the destruction of squatter camps Unibel, Modderdam and Werkgemt, Crossroads was the only major surviving African squatter camp in Cape Town. The determination of its residents and the actions of the Crossroads support group throughout most of 1978 resulted in the community winning a “reprieve” from a state caught in its own contradictions. At the forefront of the struggle were the women of Crossroads.

Unlike the Men’s Committee of Crossroads which tended to have membership along fairly strict geographical lines, the Women’s Committee of Crossroads drew its members from all sections of the community. During this early period the women tended to concentrate on educational issues, developing links with outside liberal organizations, some of which, with their assistance, ran projects in the community. As time went on those women either unemployed or employed in the informal sector and therefore more in touch with day to day problems, slowly developed into a much more powerful force within Crossroads than either of the Men’s Committees. When the community once again found itself faced with the threat of removal in 1978, it was not surprising that it was the women of Crossroads who took the lead in the resistance.

In 1980 the new townships of Khayelitsha and New Crossroads were constructed and efforts were begun to move people from Crossroads into them. Violence increased in the early 1980's and in 1986 P.W Botha declared a state of emergency and the whole city of Cape Town was declared a “coloured control was most forcibly felt by African women in the form of influx control and the pass laws. These pass books were initially created to control the flow of migrant male workers into the city. Stepped up influx control and the threat of passes shook African women into a keener awareness of their oppression, as ‘blacks’ and as women, and launched a decade of militant and sustained protest amongst them. (Walker, 1982 124)
preference area” with no blacks allowed. In the height of violence, Crossroads was burnt down and all the residents were displaced.

In the survival struggles of the 1960’s against a state which intervened at every level of African women’s lives and against men who seemingly colluded in this process, some women began to develop a consciousness of their differential oppression. African women were at the forefront of the struggle, fighting for basic rights for their children - food, health care and education. Most women engaged in an all out war against the system clandestinely, not all participated through political organizations like the PAC or the ANC.

For the women participating in protests around the country, the starting points were not necessarily the big national questions of the day but rather the desire to keep these issues from interfering in their everyday lives. As many of these protests (such as the anti-pass law protests in the 1950’s) demonstrate, politics continually intrudes on the ‘private’ sphere. South African sociologist Debby Bonin provides examples of this citing the legislation that required women to carry passes, noting how this made them available for body-searches by police. Contravening this legislation could result in women being unexpectedly detained thus leaving children alone and vulnerable. Also legislation making beer-brewing illegal deprived women of incomes. Bonin also notes the random police detentions of children and shooting in the street threatened the safety of the home and family. (2000, 302)

Traditionally women have been at the centre of the family and the home as the primary caregivers and nurturers and it has been no different in South Africa. It is through women’s stories that much can be learned. For example, learning how women coped with domestic power relations and managed familial responsibilities is crucial in understanding how apartheid, with its forced segregation and
oppression, affected the daily lives of people, and shaped them. This is why a book like *Poppie Nongena* was an important contribution as it revealed the conditions and nature of oppression, specifically that of African women. McClintock writes,

"Oral narratives such as Nongena’s are thus of great importance in expressing, in however oblique or mediated a form, some insight into the myriad hidden experiences of women. At the same time, such narratives offer deep-reaching challenges to a number of Western theories about the formation of selfhood, narrative authority and social identity." (313)

Differences in Narrative Structure: Western notions challenged

Women in South Africa have been marginalized once again in the reconstruction period as male heroes such as Nelson Mandela create a hierarchy of importance in the public memory. Women’s voices and stories represent an important segment of the whole community’s past. It is with these concerns that in 1998 in Cape Town, my colleague Jacqueline Jaffe, a professor of humanities at New York University, and I, approached the project initiated by the Executive Director, Helen Lieberman to interview the women from Ikamva Labantu.

Jacqueline and I, saw our roles as outsiders who could approach the task of recording oral histories of these women with some sense of objectivity. We tried to order and “make sense” of the narratives by chronologizing them and adding in the omniscient third person. Yet when I asked my black colleagues questions that I thought were straightforward such as, “how do you see your own role in the organization in the New South Africa?” I received responses in the form of anecdotes and stories that started in the middle and ended somewhere in the beginning. I was encountering a new form of narrative that sought to express a perception of the world on different terms than I did. The black South African
women were telling me what mattered to them, which was not necessarily addressed in my questions. How they saw their own role in the organization, for example was not as important as were the roles that were available to them, along with the structures and social systems that determined their place in the organization.

The narrative structure of the women's oral testimonies were anything but chronological or conventional. The answers were not often straightforward. Jacqueline and I soon found our Western understanding of narrative structure challenged profoundly. Notions of identity and self were also challenged. For example, when I would use the pronoun "you" the women would often answer with "we". Implicit in our questions was the Western notion of the individual, the "hero" persona where one person acts on his/her own outside of the community. Perhaps this can be understood as a strategy for community survival for women as they experienced the daily difficulties in negotiating their lives. (McClintock 1995,314)

Staying together and working collectively was the only way African women could mobilize change and improve their lives. For example, when black children were being killed in road accidents because their mothers were working as domestics in the city and their fathers were not around for any number of reasons (work, jail, participation in guerilla warfare) it was the women who had to get together and volunteer to look after each other's children. The working mothers would pay what little they could to the women caring for the children and soon creches (daycares) were started and became a source of income and a source of help to all the women. Strengthening community was a strategy for survival and thus identity shifts from being defined as individual, to a 'self' in relation to others. In many ways these women were driven into political and social action in order to maintain basic human rights through what Temma Kaplan defines as a 'female consciousness':
...certain women, emphasizing roles they accept as wives and mothers, also demand the freedom to act as they think their obligations entail. Women in many societies and historical periods learn from youth that they will be responsible as mothers for providing food, clothing, housing and health care for their families. When toxic pollution or expulsion from their homes threatens their communities, certain women will take action according to female consciousness, confronting authorities to preserve life. Far from being a biological trait, female consciousness develops from cultural experiences of helping families and communities survive” (Kaplan, 1997,7).

The Accidental Activists

In Ireland the term “accidental activism” is used to describe women who previously did not see themselves as in any way political, but became advocates and agents for social change (Krog, 2000). In 1998, in our one-on-one interviews, the first question I asked the women was “how did you become an activist?” The answers were more than interesting stories, for they indicated how both black and white women negotiated their gender roles in an oppressive system such as apartheid. They made choices to take action against a government that denied basic human rights to the majority of the population like access to clean water, housing and health care. In listening to the answers to this question, women’s lives are brought into focus in their specificity of the historical circumstances “that are not simply “there”, not simply “given” but the result of choices made by those committed to mass systemic violence and its attendant justification” (Simon et al, 1998) While Simon et al are referring to the Holocaust, the implementation of apartheid by South Africa’s Nationalist government created a society based on the principles of white supremacy and black subordination; these beliefs then determined the lives of people according to their race and dictated what kind of opportunities they could pursue and ultimately what kind of lives they could lead. What was available to them was strictly a result of a system based on inequality and an imposed moral code on what was right and what was wrong.
Women who acted out against this system in the large part were ordinary women, housewives, mothers, many uneducated with children and husbands to care for, just as women in other parts of the world, like the Mothers of Plaza del Mayo in Argentina, or the market women of the French Revolution were. What their stories of coming to activism can tell us about their particular reality in a certain time and place is one important contribution to history. Another important contribution is the impact such a telling can have on the women ("the speakers") as they authorize their own stories and claim their places in South African history. In the next two sections I have included excerpts from Cheryl’s and Helen’s testimonies taken from interviews in 1998, as examples of how telling their stories altered their own perception of their role as social/political activists.

Cheryl’s Story

Cheryl, as I described at the end of Chapter One, is a coloured woman in her late forties who heads the sector for disabled children and adults. Cheryl had come to the interview (July 2000) very distraught. As soon as she sat down, she began to weep. She said she slept terribly the previous night and she just could not face the past, there were too many places she did not want to go. She said she became angry at Helen (the executive director and the one who spear-headed this project) for allowing this to happen, for wanting to document their lives. She said, “I work here, dammit, but you can’t have my soul too. This is personal, and I won’t talk about it.” She said she had too much anger still, too much pain to bring up to the surface. She did not want to have to live with that and open everything all over again. I told her she did not have to do this at all, it was completely voluntary, but that maybe she needed to talk about it. It was clear she was struggling between wanting to unburden her heart and yet terrified she
might not be able to cope with the emotional aftermath of letting her memories out.

Cheryl said she trusted us (Jacqueline and me) implicitly, it was just that she did not want to go into personal stories, although it was hard to divorce personal stories from work-related stories. The work these women do is inextricably bound to their personal lives and in fact that is at the heart of the narratives - the very personal things that drove all of them into action. Cheryl told us snippets as we were talking about what she didn’t want to talk about. She started telling us what she couldn’t say, what was too much to bear. Perhaps there was reluctance about having it recorded, having other people hear her shame. Cheryl has many stories that seem to speak of her own angst and guilt at being in between both worlds; at wanting to be white, yet hating whites. At passing for white and getting certain white privileges, while her own siblings couldn’t and then hating herself for doing that.

This is an excerpt of Cheryl’s testimony, taken from an interview in 1998. This incident occurred in the 1970's.

"I was classified as coloured but my boyfriend, (now my husband) was white, so we lived with the fear that someone, a neighbour, a friend, a family member, would tell the police and we would be arrested for violating the Immoralities Act. I remember one day when I knew I had to do something... I don't know what came over me, but I had to act... do something. I was dressed up in my best silk dress and high heels, stockings, and a hat and make-up. I had been for a job interview, and I was sitting in a café, reading the paper about this member of parliament ... a representative of the ruling Nationalist Party who was supposed to be more liberal about some aspects of apartheid. So, I rang up his secretary, and I used my best Afrikaans, my best accent, to ask for an appointment. I told her the matter was confidential and private and urgent. I got my appointment and in the middle of the afternoon. I went into the parliament building, which was a violation of the Separate Areas Act, and met the member. He was having tea, but the secretary, no doubt impressed by my best Afrikaans, told me I could go on into the members lounge. "Join me for tea and tell me what I can do for you?" he said, and so I, a woman classified as coloured, found myself having tea in the members lounge with a man whose party had voted for the Race Classification Act. And at the end, I was able to tell him that he had participated in this teatime meeting because he had NOT been able to tell either by looking or by listening to me that I was coloured; "So, what sense does that make?" I said."
This is an incredible story of Cheryl's courage and sense of justice and yet after deeper discussion in subsequent interviews with her, I found there to be a sense self loathing in Cheryl. This self loathing and sense of shame are not only as a result of a reign of hate sanctioned by the state that was imposed on her psyche at a young age, but more importantly for all that she felt she did not do to prevent others from suffering the same way. Her reluctance to speak, she told me when I went back on a subsequent visit, was because "I did not do enough". This brings up the question, in that particular space and time, what is enough? As long as the injustice and murder and oppression continue, whatever actions one person takes will never seem like "enough" because people continue to suffer and die. This signals the extent to which apartheid stunted her growth emotionally. She did not feel like a valuable human being on two counts, 1) because she was dehumanized by a racial classification system and 2) because she did not do enough to oppose such a system. Cheryl's feelings around speaking or "telling" her story are a result of the very system that brought this upon her in the first place.

Three years later and six months after the last set of interviews and the public event, I talked to Cheryl again. She told me that the impact of telling her stories was subtle on a daily basis, but have played a big part of her healing process. She knew that it was important to talk about the past even though she hadn't wanted to. She felt a weight had been lifted off her and her confidence had risen. Cheryl said she realized how strong she was. A certain sense of acceptance of herself had occurred. "Life goes on," she said to me, "but things are better now".
Helen’s Story

In an article last year (2000) entitled “Mothers of a New Nation” Antjie Krog explored the impact of apartheid on women. She writes “How does one reconstruct a society after conflict? How does one cut a community loose from the destruction of the past? Is it possible to rebuild a post war society when those who should weave together the social and moral fabric are themselves maimed? (Krog, Mail & Guardian, August 4-10, 2000). Helen Lieberman, the 60 year old Jewish executive director of Ikamva Labantu is one woman who definitely believes it is possible to rebuild South African society and she has been trying to do that with every ounce of energy she possesses.

Part of Helen’s intention when she approached Jacqueline and me about recording the testimonies of the women at Ikamva Labantu was to contribute to a healing process that began when apartheid ended, but which still has a long way to go, individually and collectively. The women were initially shocked that anyone would want to hear the stories of what they considered to be very ‘ordinary’ lives. They all said, “we just did what we had to do”. However, once they started speaking and remembering, some of them said, “I had forgotten about that incident” or “I cannot believe I had the guts to do that” or “I was crazy back then.” These comments are significant because they reveal the schism in how these women perceive themselves. They are regular mothers and wives and yet they are social activists as well. They did not see the two roles as harmonious or even possible roles for themselves to inhabit. Yet they helped feed, clothe and find shelter for thousands of people over the years and improved the quality of life. In terms of women’s lives they saw ‘real’ stories of activism as stories from national leaders like Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, Annie Silinga among others. The more they spoke, the more they realized what they had to say. In an interview in July 2000, Helen talked about what brought her into her activism.
although once again she says,

"I don't think I became an activist. It's only now that I look back, that it could be termed as activism. To me there was no... it wasn't political, and activism is political. So, to me it was just looking at human need, looking at survival. It was the injustice and the anger and the affront to humanity..."

(Taken from an interview in 1998)

"After University -I did very well at University, because I loved it. It was like eating cake, I couldn't stop learning - I became a speech therapist. I worked at a city hospital and I worked a lot with the black section-the hospital was divided black and white and you couldn't take the equipment from one section to the other--otherwise you would contaminate the whites. The white children weren't even allowed to touch what the 'blacks' had touched!! Dirty, you see? What I was seeing, what I was learning was just in the hospital, but when I saw the pain and the horror on the faces of my black patients, I began to question. A lot of confusion started, and I began to work very hard with my patients. But, nobody came on time, nobody followed through on instructions, so I worked harder but my patients were worse than anyone else's. One day, a young woman came in with this baby (I found out later that this baby was the result of a rape) it had a cleft palate and many other things wrong and I worked with this baby to try and get it to swallow. The fear on the face of the mother was just extraordinary!! Anyway, I went home-it was Yom Kippur so I couldn't come back as I often did to check on my patients -- and what I saw sometimes..let me tell you! I was in this racialist, white anti-black world -- I rushed in on Monday morning. The baby had been discharged. So, half way through the day I couldn't bear it any longer--it wasn't the baby, I was thinking about the mother, a girl younger than me, and the pain on the face. I found this black nurse, she looked just like Tutu, and I asked her if she knew where the baby had gone to. "How dare you ask me that?" she said, "I can't take you into the township" "I'll get into trouble, I'll be on the police list. Why are you putting me in danger like this?" Please, please help me, I said. "Well I'm not driving into the township with you." she said "The way you're acting, you may be a police informer". Right, so, finally she agrees to come with me not into the township but to the police check point and we get into the car and up until this time I have been saying--they never come on time, they never do what they're told, and da,da,yeh,yeh... Now, I hear about how long it takes her to get to work she starts to tell me how she has to leave home at 4.00am to be in work at 6. She has to go via Mowbray and this place and that place and take 3 bus routes and there are white buses and black buses and what it costs. I cant believe that after she has explained to me about the buses and the type of transport system and the practicalities of it and the logistics and the obstacles, that I have been judgmental about people coming late, that I have seen people fatigued and exhausted and thought they are lazy, stupid, animalistic etc. And not following instructions? It never occurred to me that they were Xhosa speaking, that as they didn't understand or they couldn't follow the
words, how could they? Anyway we got to the township, she got out and went through the bushes. There were no police—they must have been changing the police then and then I met her inside. She walked ahead of me, I drove and she walked in front. We came to a shack, a little shack, in a compound of a few shacks, and I opened the door and there must have been over 100 people living in this little area. Anyway, when the mother saw me, she nearly died. She got so scared. The baby was nearly dead, it was rolled up in a rug on the floor. I put the baby in the car and drove back to the hospital. I got into trouble on that level too. "How dare I, who was I to demand this care?" and "Where was the mother?" She was too scared to come back with me, was where."

Helen was moved into her activism by human need—a visceral reaction to the suffering in front of her. She saw the young woman as a mother, and as a mother herself she made a connection. The significance of this testimony is not so much in its description of the hospital’s policy of segregation or the living conditions in the townships, nor in the baby or mother’s condition, rather it lies in what it tells us of the indifference and cruelty of the system of apartheid, that a doctor—who by definition someone who protects and saves human life—in the hospital would question the need to save the life of another human being based on its race. The question Helen says she was faced with “how dare I, who was I to demand this care?” stops the listener/reader, forcing one to ask “how could this have happened?”

Simon states that to evoke through testimony the memory of an injustice that has initiated a traumatic legacy of death and misery is to be caught in a potential disruption to one’s understanding of the human possibility inherent in configuration of our present social order; a disruption that may frighten us insofar, as participants in that social order, it “bears witness to our historical disfiguration” (Felman 1992,73-4) The power of a testimony such as this one has the potential to disrupt our understanding or concept of a natural social order and therein lies the potential for learning not just about, but from the historical realities of the past and how it might change our actions/understanding of the present.

In the next chapter I will further discuss the notion of remembrance-learning through examples of the women’s testimonies and my own response in attending to the testimonies.
Chapter Three

"If the Greeks invented tragedy, the Romans invented the epistle, and the Renaissance the sonnet, our generation invented a new literature, that of testimony" (Elie Wiesel, 1977,9)

Introduction

In his chapter “The Touch of the Past: The Pedagogical Significance of a Transactional Sphere of Public Memory”, from the recent book Revolutionary Pedagogies: Cultural Politics, Education and the Discourse of Theory (2001), Roger Simon asks the question, “What might it mean to live our lives as if the lives of others truly mattered?” This question is one that runs through the heart of my thesis and which has challenged me throughout my project in South Africa. Simon writes, “One aspect of such a prospect would be our ability to take the stories of others seriously” (3) What might this mean?

Simon’s work here is informed by Walter Benjamin’s ideas on “counsel” as “less an answer to a question than a proposal concerning the continuation of a story which is just unfolding” For Benjamin, writes Simon, one would first have to be able to tell this unfolding story. “On such terms for the lives of others to truly matter - beyond what they demand in the way of an immediate practical solidarity - they must be encountered as counsel, stories that actually might shift our own unfolding stories, particularly in ways that might be unanticipated and not easily accepted.” (Simon,4)

I utilize this notion of a sphere of public memory as a transactional space for mobilizing practices of remembrance-learning in which one’s stories, and I would add necessarily one’s life, might be shifted by the stories of others. In this chapter, I examine the process of remembrance-learning within an analysis of the women’s testimonies while at the same time examining my role as researcher and listener; how I engage and respond to their stories.
Doubly Positioned

Invested in South Africa through my own personal history and subsequently through my relationship with the women of Ikamva Labantu, I am positioned very specifically as a listener. When I first met them, the women asked me why I was in South Africa and why their stories mattered to me. I told them about my family history - that my father was born and raised in Cape Town and most of my relatives still lived there - and that I wanted to participate in the rebuilding of community.

They liked the fact that I was from Canada because that provided a safe distance; they felt I was removed from the ingrained segregational attitudes they had all grown accustomed to in South Africa. Furthermore, the fact that I was not reluctant to travel into the townships to meet some of them, crossing certain and continued ‘taboo’ boundaries for white people, also helped create trust. This granted me a certain level of respect from the black women. Because my family was South African, all of the women said it made me “one of them” which in turn allowed them to trust me because the country was “in my blood”.

Therefore I was doubly positioned as a listener: an insider by blood and an outsider by birth. This position was not completely unproblematic for them, nor without frustration for me. For instance they often wanted to speak to me “off the record” not to be documented by a researcher because I was not really an outsider and therefore they did not see me as a professional, rather like a friend or even a daughter. There were also many times when I knew they chose to omit certain incidents or to whitewash

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8It is important to note that I was socialized with my own set of cultural and racial biases in Canada, which I carry with me as a researcher and I do not mean to suggest I listened to their stories with complete objectivity. It is my intention in this thesis to point out how through listening to others I am confronted with my positioning, my own sense of “here” which then affects how and what I hear and what questions arise from my listening.
the organizational politics when I asked certain questions.

Despite these dynamics what they did tell me was varied and rich and allowed all of us to explore the meanings in the testimonies and reflect on our responses to them.

Attending to Testimony

As I stated in Chapter 2, there is a tendency among more traditional oral historians to see oral testimony as a clear representation of past experience⁹. Spoken comments are often taken at face value and not probed into for other possible meanings, be it through looking more closely at the nuances of language or being more sensitive to hearing gaps in the narrative, or even listening for the details that seem insignificant and taking them seriously. “Sometimes a tidbit of mundane information, quickly attached to the expression of something more profound or thoughtful, distracts us into following that cue instead.” (Mouton 1999,49) Testimony unravels meanings rather than tying them up neatly and containing them. Shoshanna Felman argues that testimony is a discursive practice and not a totalizable account of historical events. She talks about testifying as ‘accomplishing a speech act’ and I would argue then, that as a discursive practice and as a “speech act” testimony has the power to transform both the speaker and the listener in its performance.

The next three excerpts of testimonies provide examples of this ‘performance’ and my analysis of the transformation that occurred in both the women and myself. These excerpts are taken from the one-on-one interviews I conducted with the women. The first excerpt is from Helen Lieberman, the

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⁹See Rassool and Minkley’s discussion of Van Onselen’s work on Kas Maine in Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa (ed.Nuttall, 1998)
Executive Director of Ikamva Labantu, in July 2000, and as I listened to Helen what struck me was not so much what she said in this story as much as how she told it and how she seemed to feel about it.

Helen’s testimony:

"I was very involved in Crossroads in the seventies. Oh, I need a week to tell you about the life and all that went on, the hardship and the lack of transport and the police intervention and the strange people that would arrive, that were there as government spies which were picked up very soon. I remember outside Crossroads, on the border of Crossroads, near KTC the building of a school, I built a daycare centre and it wasn’t really much of a building, but we did it ourselves you know, we dug the foundation - myself and the mamas, a couple of the fathers. We would do it ourselves physically. A young man arrived on the scene, he was just amazing and he started helping us build and he had double the energy and double the ability and when the whole thing was finished we all had a party and I didn’t know that this young guy had probably been recruited and he had gone to one or two meetings which could have been of a political nature, so he was already spotted by those people who were out to find anyone with a political involvement but the night after we had the party I got this terrible phone call and screams - he had been tied in his shack and petrol poured all over him and had been burned to death. And that was a sign and when I went back and forth screaming and shouting at the police station they pulled me in one day, they sort of put me before the commander, and I said, ‘when are you going to investigate, who did this, why was this done?!’----- and he said, ‘listen lady, you’re a criminal to me and we’ve got a file on you this thick and if you don’t keep quiet, the same will happen to you’.

That was one of my first indications of the Third Force. And that was about just the beginning of the 80’s. That was the beginning of the Crossroad and the burnings and it was there with the tanks coming after us and one of the people that was with me in that time was Maggie Burqua - tanks descending and Maggie saying “Now what are we going to do about this, Helen?” The tanks and the guns pointing at us... “Shut up Maggie! Just don’t say a word!” And Maggie is saying “I can’t keep quiet, I can’t keep quiet!” These were machine guns!!"

Helen started laughing as she told me the end of this story. She repeated it over again, “Now what are we going to do about this, Helen?” Then she threw her hands up in the air and imitated Maggie’s voice, mock fear on her face before she let her hands fall and collapsed into laughter again. I listened
to this story and did not know how to react, I began to laugh with her because her laughter was so infectious but quickly felt uncomfortable laughing at the subject matter. I wondered if her laughter was a shield for feeling too much, if maybe she was just on the verge of crying but then as I watched her, I realized that there was joy in her body as she told this. She seemed lost in memory for a moment as she shook her head and her shoulders heaved with mirth again. “You should have seen us!!” she exclaimed, laughing again and wiping tears from her eyes.

Helen has mentioned time and again how closely she worked with the ‘mamas’ during this time and how they would crowd into her kitchen at 5am making food for the day to distribute to children, or the hours she spent with youth in the townships, building structures like schools or community centres. I think back to conversations we have had when she has told me that she feels so lucky to have lead the life she has and how enriched her life has been because of her work with people in the townships. Could this be a time she misses? She says softly at one point, “...now I have lost touch with hundreds of people that I used to be working with on a daily basis”.

It is not so strange that she would feel a nostalgia for that period of time, with the intensity, camaraderie and emotional bonding that occurred during those struggle years. It is also easier to talk now; to remember these events with the knowledge that victory was won and apartheid was dismantled. Yet as a researcher, I felt there was more than simple nostalgia in the way Helen told her story. I believed there was some value in how she felt about the story, in her expression and emotion in the telling; that it signaled something meaningful.

It is significant to note what stories Helen chooses to tell and what kinds of stories she leaves out as these stories lend insight into how she feels about herself and her role in the present and the future of
South African society. For example, Helen is the only one who does not tell me any stories about her family or personal life; instead she restricts her stories to descriptions and anecdotes from her working life.

Helen has many stories to tell and many reasons for telling them. In the telling and remembering, she is able to create meaning and a sense of coherence or order in her life, and in so doing is able to reaffirm her identity as a valuable member of the resistance movement. As a white woman who was once at the centre of the resistance movement in the townships, who risked her life over and over again to work with the black community, Helen is now, 30 years later, on the periphery of not only those black communities but also her own organization. Helen has dedicated her life to social welfare and many of the people she worked with and helped out are now shunning her and betraying her.

In post-apartheid South Africa, most black people see Helen as just another white woman, a beneficiary of apartheid who leads a privileged life. In South Africa an economic apartheid still exists but outside South Africa, Helen can access international funding more easily than black people. These two factors tend to be at once a source of resentment and a source of help.

At the same time, Helen’s work during the apartheid era distanced her from sources of traditional support and community, i.e. her own Jewish community. Helen does not belong in the Jewish community\(^\text{10}\), she has never embraced the lifestyle or the material culture many white-Jewish or otherwise-South Africans adhere to. Instead, she claims that Ikamva Labantu is her community and is where she belongs. However at the end of the day Helen does not easily fit in anywhere and she knows

\(^{10}\)Although there is a history of South African Jewish activism in unions and the labour movement and a few prominent members of the African National Congress (ANC), the majority of Jews in South Africa were not involved in anti-apartheid work. Helen told me that when she started going into the townships to help, she lost many friends in her community who did not support what she was doing.
that. There are many more stories like this one, all evidence of Helen’s active role in the resistance and her role as helper and provider. Telling stories like these gesture toward her need to reaffirm her identity and place in South Africa. During this interview, Helen speaks for a while and the suddenly stops. The future is uncertain and she becomes reflective. She says,

"...I, at the end of the day, not that it really matters, I would love to know their feelings about someone like me. Sometimes they must resent {me}. There must be something. I had a phone call just last night from one of the mamas who I've always felt is not happy with me, and she phoned me because she is in desperation about something - two people have died of AIDS and left young babies with her to care for.

I think they all had reserve about meeting me. They all confronted me you know. I had my moment with all of them. They tested. They wanted to know what I was doing there, I mean Tutu was wonderful. She wanted to know what I expected out of all this, and I thought she was mad! I said, 'what do you mean expect?' and she said 'don't expect a thing, we owe you nothing.' And then she saved my life, a little later."[1]

Telling this story allowed her reflect on where she is now, wondering what her black colleagues truly feel about her. She has deep respect for the women she worked with but because of the power difference and the psychological affects of apartheid it has not always been easy for them to tell her how they feel about her. Pumla told me at one point, "It took me ten years before I was able to ask Helen for what I wanted because I was always afraid she could take away what she gave me". Helen is slowly extricating herself from the organization but it is a painful process for her and for her co-workers.

Talking about the past has allowed her to feel good about what she has accomplished, but to also begin to see her role as more complex and fraught with problems now as she tries to reconfigure her new place.

[1]In the mid 1980's, Tutu received information that Helen was on a hit list, among other white and black activists, to be killed by the Third Force, i.e. the secret police. Tutu then told Helen about this, and risked her own life by hiding Helen for several days in her house.
Avril's Testimony

As a white woman, Avril, like Helen has to renegotiate her role in the new South Africa but she is in a different position than Helen and has her own project to work on. She received funding for seven of the blind women from the program she runs (Western Cape Blind Association) to be trained as massage therapists. She has a specific place within the organization and is a paid employee, unlike Helen who has always been a volunteer.

Avril’s activism is directly linked to her husband’s involvement as a teacher in a coloured school.

She was an ordinary housewife and mother to four children when her husband was detained, leading her into a world outside her home where she confronted the reality of apartheid.

This excerpt, like Helen’s, is a fairly straightforward rendering of one particular day, but it reveals something more than the incident itself would suggest and points to the dangerous tightrope of negotiating gender roles and identity under apartheid.

Avril:

"...when Lawrence was released, a group of activists were in those days UDF members (United Democratic Front) we all moved - they started a group called FAFAD (friends of the families of detainees) where parents could come and children could come and share and light candles and - we met at the Church up opposite Caledon square Buitekant - that Church. There was a very nice minister there who was an interdenominational guy so he wasn’t specific about which denomination you should join and he opened up the Church and we fasted and we were all in this Church for - I think it was a long time.

I took my kids, we slept over there and we fasted, I mean I didn’t fast, I was breast feeding and I had to worry about the children. I fasted for a couple of days, but Lawrence fasted for along time and he got very very thin and I was actually quite concerned about his health.

What was significant about that and where I started really - the thing that touched me as a woman was a group of Langa women came through and today I see them so often, sticking out in the crowds. I know exactly who they are. A lot of them have died, unfortunately. They came to fast at the Church as well. They came in support. Once the news got out, there were services every night and the church was packed with people. The children would come up and light candles for their fathers and it was a very sensitive, emotional time."
"...But that day I wanted to work with the black communities and the women. That was a very powerful moment for me. And you know when finally, we broke our fast I went home and I stayed the night at home and I made little purses - ANC colours for the women and bow ties for the men so that everyone could leave there with something once we broke our fast. And you know while I was doing it, sewing and sewing, because I knew I had to get it all done, there was a knock on the door and it was the security police, standing there. "Where is Lawrence?" He asked and I said "I don't know, he goes reading you know" You see now I'm getting clever, you learn to be very skillful with these guys! And he stood very lazily against the door and I thought, 'Oh my goodness if he walked in to the lounge now...' in those days if you had anything to do with the ANC - the colours or anything that was it, you've had it... you were in trouble. And I had all this material laid out all over the table, I was busy sewing in the lounge and I had the music on!! I just knew that if he had walked in there I would have been taken away with my bow ties and purses.

So, I managed to say to him, "You know, sometimes Lawrence goes off to read a book and he can walk and walk and walk and that's where he's gone. I don't know when he's going to get home, or what time, but that's where he is" and I managed to get rid of him.

Then I had to carry this bag with the purses, I had to sit on the train and I knew that if anybody had to stop me now I am going to be in a fix. That night, I wish you could have seen the faces when I pulled out the purses - it was just marvelous! And the guys all had their bow ties on and we got photographs of it somewhere...."

The image of a housewife hunched over her sewing machine in the kitchen on a week night, while her children are sleeping peacefully in their beds, is one which I consider a relatively normal domestic scene. However the seemingly kind and innocent gesture of making decorative gifts of bow ties and purses for her 'friends' also marks her as an enemy of the state who is engaging in clandestine political activity. Which one is the truth? Both these meanings are equally real and 'true'. Avril is at once innocent and guilty, aware and unaware of what she is doing, and both an ordinary housewife and a political activist.

That Avril's actions are at once incongruent with my own understanding of the world forces a disruption of my own time, my taken for granted position in the world is shattered as this "disjunctive continuity" (Simon, 1998,17) brings my attention to how a similar object or action in my time is differently interpreted in an other's time "This is a practice which, in attempting to hear the details of
testimony, returns me to the “details” of my life, implicating my experience in the attending to the experience of the other” (Simon et al., 1998, 23).

Such memories and such a telling as Avril’s reveal oral history’s potential to ‘unmask something beyond the immediate, ordinary conventional explanation of events something more raw and vital, unruly and disruptive of the usual narrative’ (Mouton, 1999, 42).

During her testimony, Avril was very excited telling me about how she became involved in the struggle and what kinds of meetings took place. She talked about how it felt when she would spend less and less time at home doing traditional women’s work, and how this changed the gender dynamics between her and her husband. As she spoke, it was like a flood gate had opened and she had so much to say, so much she wanted to tell. I saw her a few days after our interview and she told me how she went home and had a long discussion with her husband about those days and speaking about the past was helping them heal.

It became clear that talking about the past was important for Avril’s self confidence and for her to see how the actions she took in the past allowed her to control her own life and make her own decisions. When I was in Cape Town in March 2001, I asked Avril if the interview process over the past few years had any effect on her, she answered: “I do think it helped [us] to move [on], and to say ‘yes this happened’ and now we can’t do anything to change that, but we can change our futures, and I think that’s very important.”
Learning through Crisis

These two short excerpts from Helen and Avril's testimonies illustrate how these women negotiated their lives and identities then and now. Providing more than just information or facts, these stories enable an unfolding story to emerge. But the process by which these stories were told to me, a foreign researcher, also creates another story, the story of my position as researcher, both with them and the other women of Ikamva Labantu.

Part of this other story is that attending to these testimonies can elicit emotional reactions and responses that are surprising and possibly distressing for the listener. As I heard testimony after testimony I found myself feeling more and more disconnected from the women, rather than connected to them. The closer I got into their lives and their pasts, the farther away I felt. According to Simon (et al, 2000)

"The historical remembrance we are most interested in takes its form as communicative acts that re-cite and re-site what one is learning - not only about what happened to others at/in a different space/time but also (and key in regard to the social memory of mass violence) what one is learning of and within the disturbances and disruptions inherent in comprehending these events.” (Simon, Rosenberg, Eppert, 2000, 3)

My attempts to better understand my disconnectness brought me back to Antjie Krog's book Country of My Skull. After she has attended the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings everyday for four months as a journalist for the SABC, Krog experiences a crisis within. After hearing about a bomb explosion during one session she collapses into laughter and decides to take two weeks leave. She writes:

"I walk into my home one evening. My family are excitedly watching cricket on television. They seem like a happy close-knit group. I stand in the dark kitchen for a long time. Everything has become disconnected and unfamiliar. I realize that I don’t know where the light switch is. I can talk about nothing but the Truth Commission. Yet I don’t talk about it at all."(63)
This kind of crisis, directly associated with listening to difficult testimony is what Shoshana Felman describes in her students’ response to her class on testimony. She states that it is a turning away from the world; feeling deprived of their bonding to and with the world. Her students become obsessed and talk to everyone around them - friends, roommates, family- about the class. Yet they feel apart from everyone, even from their classmates who are going through the same thing. Krog describes a similar experience after months of listening to testimonies at the Truth Commission. She feels uprooted, disoriented and at a loss. The stories, the pain, the words and images stay with her and haunt her. She even develops a trauma-related skin rash. I too, after two months of listening to the testimonies of these 6 women found myself feeling disconnected from the women as well as from my everyday life.

What Felman claims she experienced with her class, and thus with her testimony as a witness to the transformations her students underwent, is the validity of a “generic pedagogical event” and thus a generic lesson.

“I have learned from that class that teaching in itself, teaching as such, takes place precisely only through a crisis: if teaching does not hit upon some crisis, if it does not encounter either the vulnerability or the explosiveness of an (explicit or implicit) critical and unpredictable dimension, it has perhaps not truly taught...” (Felman 1992, 55).

Felman speaks of the performative as well as cognitive aspect of teaching insofar as it strives to produce and enable change. These women were my teachers, and I, the more I listened the more questions I had about my own place, my own perceptions and understanding of what it meant to be a South African, a woman, an activist.

Keeping a journal during my 5 months of research in South Africa helped me record my reactions, questions and responses to the testimonies I heard.
What happens as I listen? At the end of the week I feel totally shattered. I am brutalized by the stories. Yet, it’s not the events in the stories themselves. They don’t always shock me on a conscious level, mostly I think because I have read much about what went on. Perhaps it’s the cumulative effect of hearing so many testimonies continuously for weeks on end. I can’t get over the years of suffering and struggle these people endured, and perhaps I feel the enormous gap between my world, my idea of normal life and their daily lives for the past 30 years. What would their lives be like if South Africa had not been torn apart by apartheid? What kinds of marriages and family lives would they have? Would Helen be more like Michael and their Jewish friends? Would she ‘fit in’? Would Avril be the perfect housewife? Would she have accepted things as they were? Would Pumla be happy and fulfilled in her marriage? Would she be a devoted wife to her husband? Would Cheryl have the same sense of justice? Would any of them? Are these testimonies supposed to bring me closer to the women? I do feel closer to them as human beings because we shared personal memories and emotion, but are they supposed to make me feel numb and confused as well? I don’t know how to respond. Perhaps this is the beginning of my responsibility? Questioning things?

Then after several more weeks of listening, I write in my research journal again (July 10, 2000):

How am I listening? My mind wanders, I imagine what they are saying. I hear them and realize I can’t imagine. I realize I have logistical questions running through my mind, like “what does Helen mean when she says we built a school? I try to picture her digging with a huge shovel. “where did she get the materials, who gave them to her, how did she get into and out of the townships with this stuff? what kinds of lies did she tell her husband, her children?” When Avril says she sewed banners for the ANC and went to meetings all over the place while her husband was active too, I think, “Who took care of her kids? What did she tell her friends?” When Pumla says her mother was widowed and left with 11 children to care for and she decided to volunteer her time and set up a day care of kids, I think, “What did they eat? How is it possible to do the things they did? I picture people going to the store to buy bread, but then that image breaks down when I realize the store is not the store I know. It is a little shack with a few things, it leaks and water seeps in and it’s totally informal. One day it may be there the next day it could be torn down, or blown over or flooded. The person selling the food may have been shot, or there may be no bread that day.

What do I make of these questions? Why are they important?
These questions perhaps signal the value behind oral narratives and testimony. The role of such self-questioning is articulated by Simon who writes, "it is crucial to stress that such questions are emotional interrogatives on the part of the listener, marks that the testimony heard is breaking the well-ordered frame which regulates our everyday sense of how human relationships take place (2001, 17).

In a subsequent interview with Helen, I asked her further questions of how she did certain things such as building a school, and she told me very matter-of-factly, "I just did it". She told me she bought most of the materials, her husband provided others and she just figured out what they needed. The answers did not provide me with any sort of relief or further understanding. Instead, I was more frustrated. I wanted to know more, to get to some 'truth' of her experience. A complete story perhaps. This made me see that wanting a whole story was impossible. It was still insufficient for my understanding. In fact my need to understand was the point. I wanted something complete because otherwise there was nothing to contain her story. It seeped into the present and left things unfixed, unordered in my world.

Simon states that to engage in a responsible listening, one must pose to ourselves questions about our questions, interrogating why the information and explanations we seek are important and necessary to us (2001, 19). As I mentioned above, I wanted to learn more about how Helen built schools and what it meant for her to sneak past the police and to even get papers to become a minister so she could officially be in the townships. I wanted to learn more about activism in South Africa, but as Simon points out, simply acquiring more information will never suffice "if one is to respond to the force of a testimonial address, a force which, if acknowledged, puts ourselves into question" (22) Bringing together
what Simon calls the “doubled moments” of attentiveness to testimony, one informational, the other reflective, there is a practice of binding together remembering and learning. He writes,

“If such a practice is brought to a sphere of public memory, learning in such a space could be more than knowledge acquisition and remembering more than the retrieval, recollection or recall of something past but now forgotten.” (24)

Nobuntu’s Story

Not all important memories are those highlighted in a narrative: some of the deepest truths may be hidden in a soft aside, a detail quickly passed over. (Mouton 199958) I refer here to research done by Michell Mouton and Helena Pohlandt-McCormick who conducted a comparative study on oral histories of Nazi survivors and apartheid victims (History Workshop Journal, Autumn 1999). They write that despite the narrator’s active part in telling and remembering their life histories, what they found then seemed to go beyond the narrative’s conventional story, beyond what the narrator thought she was telling them, and beyond the questions set by our research agendas” (43). In other words, while I had asked Nobuntu to tell me about how she got involved in the struggle, what she thought she was telling me and what I thought was the value of the story turned out to be completely different.

I think the kinds of questions that are raised after listening and reflecting on her story are powerful pedagogical questions that gesture towards a learning from the past that is a critical recognition or discovery that unsettles the very terms on which our understanding of ourselves and our world is based. (Simon, 2001, 17).
Nobuntu:

"Well, I think there are two things really that made me an activist and work for the community. One was that I could see how people were suffering in the community. It was coming clear to me that the suffering I was experiencing was the suffering that my mother experienced. That made me very very angry because my mother kept on saying, 'I worked hard, I worked hard' and then until I saw how the other people were working hard and I thought 'no, I mustn't just sit down and look at this' but at the same time I was married for the second time to a very wonderful man. He was just doing everything I wanted him to do for me, and I was not even working. I was a housewife who was getting everything that I wanted, so I thought I wanted to share what I was getting, with my community because most of the people were not having that. That is what caused me to think, okay one of the things I am going to do is something for the community and I am giving back what I am getting. Because in a way I was like a privileged African, I was privileged, so I thought, let me share it.

At the same time, the communities were going down, you must understand that it was also now, 1985, you could see things were really going down because people were losing jobs. It was the sanctions, there was no food in the houses. You know being a woman who has got everything, I kept on sharing with people when they told me their stories. This was another thing, I was taking a risk because my husband was not like me, he was totally individual. He never really expanded his sort of looking, and I had to steal food here to give somebody do this to do this. He felt that we were so comfortable that we mustn't worry. He could hardly tell our neighbours, he was driving cars - I would say when we were passing somebody 'that is our neighbour, how could you do this?' and he would say 'I didn't see him' and I always thought, 'you saw the man but because you didn't want to give anybody a lift' and this was bothering me because I was saying to myself, 'I know where I come from and I know where these people are at' so that is what made me to think, okay I am going to be an activist."

When I heard this story I could not help but ask myself, "why didn't he just offer his neighbours a lift?" What is he afraid of? Is he just stingy? Could Nobuntu, a woman with a huge heart, love a man who is inherently selfish? Nobuntu says it was a time of sanctions and food was scarce for people in her community. Why would he not want her to help others? This feels like a foolish question, but one which I insist on asking myself. She does not say he is not a nice man, she just says to him "you didn't want to give anybody a lift".

Why am I asking such a question? Is this really about her husband's character? This question gestures towards my own perception of what it is to be "African" and forces me to re-evaluate my
assumptions and why I would ask such a question. Nobuntu's husband's attitude is one which I have come to associate and even expect from someone in the West, where the majority of people are removed from an environment of real poverty and there exists a level of indifference when confronted with it. In the West, we live within a capitalist society where the individual is placed above the collective. Generally, in this system people tend to look out for themselves and work for their own individual gain. My perception of Africa differs in that I have understood it as place where community and the collective good is placed above the individual. I see Africa as defining the self in relation to other, as opposed to the West's notion of the self developed in isolation. While some may see this as a sweeping and/or homogenizing description, it is my own understanding gleaned through the media and popular culture from a series of images and historical texts of Africa.

My knowledge of oppression in South Africa is also taken from the media and historical texts, rather than through a first hand account. I, like many people in the West, who were at a great distance from the situation, saw South Africa in terms of those who were either for apartheid or against it when actually apartheid did not always produce resistance and resistance was not always occasioned by apartheid. As Rassool and Minkley argue, in essentializing the past, a dichotomy is created between apartheid and resistance and this can belie the many truths of reality and daily choices people had to make in negotiating their lives under apartheid (2000,94).

While this story does not refer to the notion of resistance directly, it hints at the idea of African solidarity and the idea that all Africans automatically joined together to help each other or fight the system. Simon writes “It is the possibility of a critical, transformative learning that offers the listeners the chance to redeem their obscene questions.” A critical learning begins when we view such questions as symptomatic of the difficult knowledge (Britzman, 1998) contained in the testimony of in this case
Nobuntu, a knowledge placed on its (non-African) listener and which requires a degree of self-reflexivity in order to be responsive and responsible to that claim (Simon, 2001,19).

My own assumptions and perceptions of African culture are shattered by this story, no matter how minor a part it may play in what she was trying to tell me. The nature of this ‘shattering’ begins within Nobuntu’s response to her ex-husband’s behaviour, the way she felt shame because of his ‘selfishness’. Including his actions in the story served as a way of expressing Nobuntu’s anger and frustration at what was happening around her to people like her husband. She could not just sit and watch apartheid slowly tear apart her community. My pre conceived notions of what it meant to be ‘African’ were not discarded as much as opened up and expanded over the course of the next few weeks as I listened to Tutu’s and Pumla’s testimonies, with these questions in my mind. I began to see a pattern and understand similar behaviour as that of Nobuntu’s ex-husband, not only in the African men, but in both men and women in the townships. What the women were telling me allowed me to link these anecdotes to larger systems of oppression. Rather than seeing someone like Nobuntu’s ex-husband as an anomaly, these stories and anecdotes lead me to think about the societal issues that could be influencing and fostering this kind of behaviour.

In one of Tutu’s stories she talked about the lack of resources in the townships, not only material but social as well - people you could count on or look to for support. A person’s or family’s financial gain or status in the community would often produce fierce resentment, envy and suspicion in the other members. She told me that the level of poverty among people in the townships was combined with a general atmosphere of mistrust that permeated through almost every relationship as people were forced (by torture or through fear of starvation/torture/death) to spy on and betray each other. Tutu explained to me what happened to her when she started trying to teach literacy on a volunteer basis (no one would
give them funding) to the people in her community.

"...There was a problem because people wouldn’t believe you are doing that voluntarily. They would think we are getting monies from somewhere. For example, I started a sewing group because I found that not everybody was concerned about reading and writing, but they just want something to earn. We didn’t have anything from nowhere that we could start these programs. We’d be motivating each other that if somebody got a machine they bring it in, or those who are able to contribute to buy materials, or we can get remnants somewhere and bring it to the group and sew.

....So because of the mistrust also you find that a person says 'no, Tutu is lying. She is getting something somewhere. Why would we work for her?' And they would take the things maybe we have worked up to sell, and find that they sold it and took the money. Or maybe those who are bringing machines people will say, 'why are you using your own machines? We are supposed to be getting machines because she is earning money for what she is doing'”.

Tutu, along with Nobuntu and Pumla told me similar stories, some as they tried to help people in their communities and were met with mistrust, or others where members of their own families would turn on them. There are many forces at work in the brief stories of Nobuntu’s and Tutu’s. Their stories open up the door to discussions about systems of oppression and the development of a material culture, issues of trust and the abuse of power within disadvantaged communities. This is significant of how testimony can be a learning from and not just a learning about. Attending to this testimony opens up larger questions about ideology, myth, and the psychological implications of colonialism as well as notions of how Africa gets taken up in the West and looked at through an anachronistic lens.\textsuperscript{12}

Testimonies such as these can bring some of these issues to light and allow people in the West, like me, to begin to see the complex relationships between political and social systems and the impact on human behaviour. While much of the infrastructure of apartheid has been dismantled, it will take many more years for the psychological damage to heal, and for patterns of behaviour to change. The need for

\textsuperscript{12}For further reading on these issues see work by Franz Fanon such as \textit{Wretched of the Earth} and Edward Said’s work on Orientalism.
reparations and redistribution of wealth are critical not only for issues of physical health but for the psychological and social development of communities within the townships.

Oral history is an essentially creative, often subjective dialogue within a particular historical context. Moments such as the one I experienced as described above, and moments of disruption that Mouton and McCormick call ‘boundary crossings’ are, they state, but one in a range of ways in which the interview reveals itself as a process of the conscious and unconscious (re) construction of a story in the remembering of a historical event. “Interviews are shaped by the interaction of social and political conditions, the relationship between historian and narrator, and the individual experience of remembering” (44)

Actively attending to what Simon has called the “transactive claims of such testimonies” includes more than simple comprehension or the registering of a few shocking facts of evidence of a historical injustice. Simon contends that

“such listening requires an attentiveness to the questions one feels such accounts solicit, that is, an attentiveness to one’s compulsion to pose difficult, and at times, unanswerable questions, which nonetheless impulsively press for responses that seemingly (from within one’s own entanglement of history and epistemology) promise help in deciphering what is to be heard in a testimonial account. What is sought in such questions typically is not attached to something within the text but rather to something missing from the text.” (2001, 17)

Conclusion

Taking the stories of others seriously is a difficult task and one which requires a commitment to recording my questions, to questioning those questions and constantly being aware of how disruptive moments in the testimonies or in the speaker’s feelings about the memories might be shifting my own
story. These examples provide the beginning of what it means to open up the past in a way that can reconfigure the present, not only for myself, the listener in this case, but for the speaker as well.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the event I organized at the Cultural History Museum where the women spoke publicly, by taking three examples or moments of ‘boundary crossings’ that occur between the women and the audience.
Chapter Four

"Is testimony, therefore, a simple medium of historical transmission, or is it, in obscure ways, the unsuspected medium of a healing?" (Shoshanna Felman, 1992, 20)

Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I explored testimony as a practice of remembrance that has transformative possibilities for the speaker as well as for the listener. Through telling their testimonies to me, in a private space, the women had the opportunity to speak about their lives and to reflect on that process, and I, as a researcher had a chance to explore my own responses in attending to their stories. This chapter explores what impact this process might have on a community as a whole by looking at how testimony, as a performative act, might allow people to cross certain racial or cultural boundaries.

In thinking about how South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission initiated a process whereby ordinary people were given the chance to talk about the past publicly, I began to wonder what the women of Ikamva Labantu would want to say in a public forum, if given the opportunity. Up to this point, the women had been speaking to me alone, or to myself and my colleague Jacqueline. Their responses to the interview process had been positive and while painful memories arose at times, they felt that it was an important process for them as individuals and repeatedly expressed that it was important for the rebuilding of community as well. Thus, the idea for an informal community event where they would speak publicly, was born. The event was held at the Cultural History Museum, (formerly called the Slave Lodge) on August 21, 2000.
Throughout the interview process, I had asked the women to bring me photographs, mementoes, banners, placards, clothes - any objects that linked them to the past and to the lives they had lead. These objects would serve as memory- aids to help the women remember events in the past and also were to be displayed at the museum. Avril brought an ANC Women’s League banner, photographs of herself and other activists, clothes she used to wear with ANC colours, buttons with slogans on them and family pictures from the 1980’s. Cheryl came to me one day with a large bundle of papers in an envelope and said, “here, you can look through these”. I took them home and began to leaf through copies of her ID and her mother and father’s photos. What captured my attention was a letter Cheryl had written to the Land Claims Commissioner a couple of years ago. It was a poignant letter about how her family had been forcibly removed from their home in Claremont due to the Group Areas Act, where the city was divided up into “Whites Only” areas and “Coloured Only” areas. She told me that writing the letter had been cathartic for her and regardless of whether anything came of it, the act of writing it allowed her to let go of some of her anger and begin the healing process. I asked Cheryl if she would be willing to read it at the event and she agreed.

After reading the letter and speaking to Cheryl about it, I came up with the idea that I would ask all the women to write something - a statement or testimonial that they would feel comfortable reading to a public audience made up of friends, colleagues and family members. Because it was a public event and a rare opportunity for them to speak out, I figured they would want to have something prepared before hand. Writing down their stories or feelings would be different kind of testimony, one that I hoped would perhaps allow them to explore feelings, stories or events that were not discussed during the one on one interview process.
Cultural History Museum in Cape Town, on August 21, 2000

The room was large with a long mahogany desk at the front. Framed above it was a painting of Table Mountain dating around 1700, from the early days of colonial rule. A podium stood to the far left and along the two side walls were portraits of the colonial masters. It was a cold, old-world room, with thick curtains blocking the windows which overlooked the courtyard. This building used to be the old Slave Lodge - in which the fate of slaves brought over from Malaysia and China, Mozambique and Angola was decided. The remains of bones are still being dug up in its courtyards, below its pretty cobblestones and brickwork. Now the bones are archeological relics for students at the university to examine and sift through.

At first it seemed like a terrible room to hold such an event, but the more the women and I thought about it, we realized it was precisely a room such as this one, a room that represented the old South Africa, that needed to hear the voices of these women. It was the perfect space to unleash the ghosts of the past and create new histories, adding to the continually unfolding story of South African public memory.

I had borrowed twelve posters from the Mayibuye Centre ("let it return") which is a pioneer project with the University of the Western Cape that focuses on all aspects of apartheid resistance, social life and culture in South Africa. The centre puts together exhibitions on different aspects of apartheid resistance. I used their series entitled, "You’ve Struck a Rock" documenting the national women’s struggle. These posters were laminated photographs of the apartheid era’s rallies and actions, with large,
colourful captions and slogans. The posters were in chronological order, starting in the 1940's and moving right up to the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994.

I had made about 8 posters of my own, on a smaller scale. The idea was that these posters would fit in between each one of the larger series, and together they would tell a different story, or perhaps add another level to the 'dominant' story of women's role in anti-apartheid work. The result of the two sets of posters was a juxtaposition of national and local; rural with urban, political activist with social activist.

A local photographer, Gina, came in one day at a staff meeting and took pictures of each woman. There were two more posters, one with articles, drawings and other family photographs that Avril had given me. These posters were important for creating a commemoration/celebration of these women's lives, since they were not only about the community work they did, but about the things they sacrificed, the people they loved. This event was about community life and how women's resistance stemmed directly from family life and the domestic realm.

As I was organizing the presentation I began to feel uneasy with my role as coordinator. I wanted to be a technician, or a stage hand, the one who sets up the props and paints the scene. I wanted the women to be the creators; the actors who tell the stories that need to be told and bring the play to life. I had rented the room at the museum and started working on a visual and textual display of their lives - texts which they had given me permission to use and photographs they had agreed would be publically displayed.

As I made the posters, I felt as though I was just reproducing the same power dynamics that deny marginalized groups autonomy and the right to control their own representation. I did not want them to
feel I was taking control of their representation, so I approached the women and asked them if they could put a visual and/or textual display together of their own lives.

The truth was they had more important things to do. The reality of daily work and having households to manage, children to look after and responsibilities to deal with did not allow the women the time or energy to put this together. In terms of collaboration, it became clear to me that being collaborators was also about division of labour and taking into account the priorities of the people involved. As a fully-funded researcher, I had devoted all my time to this project, whereas the women were just trying to live their lives.

I took a step back and realized that although they saw the relevance and significance of such an event and were excited about it, it was not the number one priority in their lives. They were willing to show up, speak and give up an afternoon to this, but as Cheryl told me, “life goes on”. There are things to attend to. My job was not to tell their stories for them, but to provide a space, a time, and the wherewithal for the women to talk about their lives and what mattered to them.

The Event: Telling Stories Publicly

“We tell stories not to die of life” (Antjie Krog, Country of My Skull)

People began filing into the room about half an hour before the event. There was a feeling of anticipation from everyone. No one, including myself, knew what to expect from the event. It was the first of its kind for everyone involved.

Cheryl entered the room and came up to me and said she was nervous and not sure she wanted to do it. Avril came in bouncing and smiling with her youngest son and her husband in tow. Nobuntu
entered, then Pumla with her friends, and Tutu and Helen came last, looking anxious. Friends and family filled the room and I counted 30 people in total.

The event started with me introducing the first speaker, Rolf Wolfsinkle, a professor at University of Cape Town (UCT) of Holocaust studies and the Third Reich. He read a short speech about oral history and the importance of first-person narratives in the field of history. Next came my colleague, Jacqueline Jaffe. She read a short lecture on slave narratives, particularly women’s narratives, explaining why she thought these narratives were important both to the canon and to the day’s event, alluding to the museum’s origins as a slave lodge. I read last, a paper I wrote about this research project. In the paper I spoke about my own investment in South Africa and the past three months of work with the women.

After my paper, it was time for the six women to come to the front of the room so that each could read her written testimony. As they got up from their seats and walked to the front of the room, Pumla started them in a song, a Xhosa prayer. At this point they began to walk together, hand in hand. They put together a united front - three Xhosa speaking African women, one white Jewish woman, one coloured woman and one white Christian woman. Together they sang, strong voices, hands locked together and walked to the front of the room.

Boundary Crossings

I have selected three moments I call “boundary crossings”, which I define as a transformative moment when a person overcomes a barrier that was constructed due to the socio-political context of
the apartheid system. These moments are not exclusive to crossing racial barriers but can be emotional, social and political as well. The transformation occurs when the person, either speaker or listener, moves towards taking responsibility for their actions, (or inaction) and is able to make a shift in thinking about their own position in relation to others. This process of transformation comes from being ‘unsettled’ in listening to someone else’s story or from the telling of one’s own story.

Engaging in practices of remembrance such as these are not as much about the recording of new public memory as they are about providing the space, literally and figuratively, for people in a post-conflict community to come together and take things into account. Such a place would allow people, whether they are victims or bystanders, to engage in a dialogue, even if that dialogue occurs within oneself after one has listened to the testimony of another. An event such as this illustrates how people’s lives and stories might truly matter to others.

To reiterate Simon’s claim that

“On such terms for the lives of others to truly matter - beyond what they demand in the way of an immediate practical solidarity - they must be encountered as counsel, stories that actually might shift our own unfolding stories, particularly in ways that might be unanticipated and not easily accepted.” (Simon,4)

The first example I provide is an interaction between Helen and Lila which illustrates Emmanuel Levinas’ notion that the real structure of learning proceeds not from the self, but from one’s encounters with the alterity of a unique other (1969, 73).
“I did not do enough”: Lila\textsuperscript{13} and Helen’s story

Lila is a white Jewish woman in her early sixties who has lived almost all her life in Cape Town. She is divorced and lives on her own. She has recently received her license to be a tour guide in the Cape area and is in the process of setting up her own business.

I invited Lila, a friend of mine, to the Cultural History Museum because she was interested in the work I was doing. She wanted to come to the event and see what it was all about. Lila had always maintained that it was too hard for her to do anything to fight apartheid. She told me many times how she and her ex-husband had taken big risks by hiring as many black and coloured people to work in his factory as they did, and they promoted them even though it was not common to have coloured or black office workers. Lila maintained that she could not speak out against apartheid in a public way because as a mother of three, a wife, and a daughter, she could not risk going to jail or leaving her children motherless. Especially being a Jew, she told me, it was even more difficult and dangerous to stand out or go against the state when the Holocaust was not so long ago and Jews were not welcome in South Africa. “That was just the way it was” she said. “Apartheid was a terrible system and I never thought it was right, but there was nothing I could do”. Helen and Lila are roughly the same age and grew up in similar environments. They are both mothers of three children, both had a middle class lifestyle and were part of the Jewish community. Helen was the last woman to speak at the event.

Helen had prepared a written testimonial like I asked all the women to prepare for this day but when she got up to speak, she decided not to read what she had written. Instead, she told a story

\textsuperscript{13}Lila is a pseudonym
about when she was a speech therapist working at a hospital in Cape Town. Helen had become increasingly aware of the situation in the townships. After doing a follow up on a child with a cleft palate she came face to face with the stark differences between black and white health care and, horrified, became determined to fight the injustices of apartheid. One day a man with an elderly mother who was recovering from a stroke needed Helen’s help. Helen agreed to work with his mother and for 3 months worked with the woman until eventually she could speak again.

When the elderly mother recovered, the man admitted to not being able to pay Helen the full amount. She knew he was an official in a government office which supplied passes to blacks for work. By this time Helen had been already making her own way into the townships and was taking action to help the people, by raising money to build schools and community centres.

Helen told the man it was okay if he could not give her money, instead she asked him for a pass for her maid and he said, “sure, no problem”. Several weeks later, Helen went back and threatened him by saying, “what you did was illegal and I can go to the police and tell them what you did, so if you want to keep your job, give me 100 more passes and the template for the passes.”

Her blackmail scheme worked and Helen soon was clandestinely operating her own printing press in the garage of her house. She printed thousands of passes for ‘blacks’ to come and go in and out of the city.¹⁴

Lila heard this story and although she had known of Helen for years, she had never met her personally and was shocked by this story. Lila came up to me afterwards and said, “I don’t know how

¹⁴Helen could tell this story since no one from her family was there. Otherwise, it would have been in direct clash with the self, the woman and mother she presented to her husband and children. But it was perfect for the audience of her work related friends and colleagues and once again it is a story that reaffirms her place in South African society and her role as activist. She needed to tell this story because she wanted her colleagues to remember who she was, and continues to be.
she was able to do that. I don’t know why she took those risks and I did not. She was fearless. But I know now and I can say now that I didn’t do enough. I was scared. I didn’t want to.” Lila told me she was now willing to confront that in herself and do what she could to make up for what she did not do during apartheid.

Lila’s previously tightly held belief that she ‘could not do anything’ was thrown into question. If Helen saw the same injustice and did something, why couldn’t Lila? The power of Helen’s story forces Lila into asking herself, How could this be so? How could this have happened? How could I have let this happen?

Because Lila identity is connected to Helen’s through her Jewishness and motherhood, Lila listened to Helen’s testimony with a certain set of assumptions already in place, ready to hear Helen’s testimony on terms she understood. It is precisely because Lila (consciously or unconsciously) expects to hear something familiar from Helen that she is shocked by what she does hear. Helen’s testimony makes a claim on Lila. Simon talks about the transactive claim testimony places on the listener. He writes, “Testimony is always directed toward another, attempting to place the one who receives it under the obligation of response to an embodied singular experience not recognizable as one’s own.” (Simon, 2001, 9)

Lila starts listening as someone who identifies with Helen but quickly finds herself at a loss, unable to find that common ground between them, even though they are so closely linked as white South Africans, as Jews, as mothers and as wives. Helen’s experience is not recognizable as Lila’s own, and therefore she is confronted with something radically new to her.
I draw on Claudia Eppert’s understanding of Emmanuel Levinas here and how she uses Levinas’s theory of ethics to inform her notion of remembrance-learning. Levinas shows the real structure of learning to proceed not from the self but from one’s encounters with the alterity of a unique other. The other thus becomes the teacher who teaches a responsive/responsible relation with him or her. (Eppert 2000, 222) Because we are continually subjected to this alterity that exceeds the resources of consciousness, “learning thus is always incumbent upon an encounter of surprise.” Levinas deploys the phrase “traumatism of astonishment” to describe more specifically, the learning of responsibility in the encounter with another. Lila encounters surprise when listening to Helen’s story and the learning is astonishing because it is the experience of something radically foreign. (Levinas, 1969, 73).

It might seem strange that Lila could be so shocked when she is a citizen of South Africa and was not distanced from this history in time or space. However, her astonishment speaks to the historical reality that regular white people, like Lila, were deliberately shielded from knowing about such actions that people like Helen conducted, by the state, it’s media and even by people like Helen who could not afford to disclose this kind of information. Lila’s shock or astonishment grows out of what Helen did, but is more about what she, herself, did not do.

It is not easy for Lila to accept her role as a bystander, it has taken her over 50 years to be able to take responsibility and account for what she did not do, for what she might have done, and now, what she can do. It is also significant to note that Helen spoke last and Lila had been listening to 5 other testimonies before she heard Helen’s story. It is possible there was a cumulative effect or impact on Lila as she listened to white, coloured and black women speak about their experiences under apartheid. There was no defining ‘theme’ in the testimonies they told (for example, black victimhood, or attacks on white privilege). Rather the event was a forum for an array of South African women’s experiences as activists,
as mothers and wives, daughters and workers. As she listened, Lila could think about her own place among them, or where she stood in relation to them.

The next boundary crossing concerns Avril’s awareness of her place in relation to Tutu.

“Call me your sister”: Tutu and Avril

Tutu, a woman of few words, often comes across as aloof and hardworking. Once a person gets to know her however, she is a wonderfully sensitive and caring person. It takes Tutu time to trust someone. This day at the museum Tutu told a story no one had heard before. It was about her childhood and how she was given up by her birth mother and left to a distant relative to be raised in the Transkei (a rural area in Eastern Cape). When she got older Tutu wanted to continue her education, but her ‘granny’ could not afford it so she went to look for her birth mother in the city of Cape Town. However, her last name was different from her mother’s, and as a black person she could not stay in the city without a pass, so Tutu was constantly harassed by the police. The police did not believe Tutu had a mother in Cape Town and thought she was just trying to scheme her way in to the city. They would pick her up and throw her into jail time after time. Tutu would wait for days in government offices trying to get a pass, so she could get to see her mother and go to school. Finally, after months and months of this Tutu decided to lie. She told the officials she had no family and eventually managed to change her last name.

Tutu explained this is why she likes to be called by her nickname, “Tutu”. It is what her ‘granny’ used to call her and not an official name given to her. She also said it was living through the experiences like the one she described from her childhood that made her want to spend her life helping other people.
who had been discarded or neglected.

Avril listened to Tutu’s story and said she had no idea this was the “kind of baggage” Tutu was carrying around. Below is a quote from Avril when I interviewed her upon my return in March of this year 2001:

“Tutu... really, when I listened to what she had to say, I thought ‘how much haven’t you carried all these years?’ That the next day I went to her and said, I thought about it, and I said, ‘Tutu, I know you haven’t got a sister, but please I want to be your sister, so when ever you need a sister, you call me your sister.’ And of course that broke through to her completely and now when I see her, I get this smile and in the past she just used to say ‘hello’ very sort of like... (aloof) and now I understand why she has such a low self image. I mean, she is a brilliant, wonderful woman and it’s all that deep baggage she had.... and for me that was absolutely extraordinary.”

What happened to Avril as she listened to Tutu? They have worked together for a number of years and although they have been united in their fight against apartheid, they have belonged to different cultural and racial groups: Avril to a white Christian community, and Tutu to a black Xhosa/Christian community. They worked together but lived separately and faced vastly different personal struggles. Tutu does not often talk about her past, and rarely speaks of her personal problems to anyone. Hearing her open up and expose a vulnerability touched Avril. Avril began to see their relationship differently and this new awareness pushed Avril to make a move towards Tutu.

Since that day, Avril and Tutu continued to work in the same environment but a barrier has been broken down between them. Today Avril knows it is she who must work to bridge the gap between herself and Tutu. She no longer attributes the ‘coldness’ from Tutu as a character flaw or as a personal
grudge towards Avril, instead, sees Tutu as a woman who has suffered immeasurably, and in very specific ways because of apartheid. Despite her activist work, Avril realizes she still has considerable privilege as a white woman. In asking to be ‘her sister’ Avril is telling Tutu that she has some understanding of what a heavy load she has been carrying, and accepts responsibility as her friend and fellow South African to carry this ‘baggage’ as well. In other words, Avril has made a move to share Tutu’s load and offers to play a part in Tutu’s healing process.

While Avril knows she cannot ‘belong’ in Tutu’s world, she can however begin to understand more about how she exists “in relation to her”. Simon writes that the practice of a transactive public memory evokes a persistent sense - not of belonging - but of being in relation to, of being claimed in relation to the experience of others. It is “a connection that may be other to one’s identificatory investments.(7)

Avril has often spoken of her spiritual connection to black women and how she feels ‘at home’ with them. At one time in her life, what seemed almost unbearably hard to do is now somewhat easier. Avril regularly crosses over from her white suburban world over into the black townships and feels comfortable in her roles in these disparate worlds. The ease with which Avril interacts with the black community can gloss over the reality of the psychological, emotional and economic devastation on non-white South Africans, like Tutu, and how it affects their daily choices, attitudes and behaviours. This testimony made Avril aware of the danger of letting that distance seem close, and allowed her to see there was work to be done on her side. Being Tutu’s ‘sister’ must be about existing in relation to her, negotiating those differences together – not letting the distance get too great, but not losing sight of it either.
“It made things easier for me”: Nobuntu and the Boyds

Before the day at the museum, Nobuntu told me she had written her testimonial and, although she wanted to read it, she said she did not think she would be able to because it was too difficult. She said,

“my anger is still there when I think about this incident. I wish I had time to tell these people how I felt. I also want to say with my present job I am very happy and my white colleagues are so open to criticism and I can share with them stories like this one. If one day I can meet my ex-madam and master I will be very happy because I have now grown enough confidence to tell them what I think of them.”

It was a story about Nobuntu’s experience as a domestic worker and her treatment by the family she worked for. I told Nobuntu she did not have to read the testimonial and what ever she felt comfortable saying was fine. After three of her colleagues had spoken, Nobuntu knew she had to tell this story to everyone in the room. She gathered her courage and left her papers on the table and spoke from her heart.

Nobuntu told her story about working for a white family as a domestic worker many years ago when, as the oldest child in her own family, her mother needed the extra income to look after her younger siblings. Nobuntu cleaned the house and looked after the couple’s two children. The dishes her employers let her use to eat on were cracked and old and kept separate from everything else. She had to eat her meals outside on the patio or standing up in the kitchen on cold and rainy days. The white couple treated her like a stranger, never asking how she felt, even though they entrusted their children to her care. She was having trouble financially as she was supporting her mother’s family as well as her own
young children. Nobuntu decided one day to ask to borrow money from her employers. She said,

"My master called me into the kitchen, he said to me, 'listen, I don't want to give blacks money because they are not honest and I don't trust them. If we give you this fifty Rand you will have to pay it all back by month’s end'. I was so shocked by the way he spoke to me and I was angry as well because I did not know any dishonest black. But I was also thinking that I needed the money and how was I going to pay the fifty Rand and go home with ten rand only at the end of the month’"

Nobuntu went home that day and cried for hours, full of anger and humiliation. Nobuntu’s mother did not think her daughter’s frustration was valid. She told Nobuntu ‘you must just work hard’. Instead, Nobuntu decided she could not work for those people one more day at the cost of her own dignity, so she quit her job. She did not work for 6 months after that experience because she was so angry.

After telling her story to her community and colleagues, Nobuntu felt differently. I went back to Cape Town in March 2001 to do follow-up interviews and I asked Nobuntu how that day at the museum had affected her. She told me for a long time she had been looking up this white couple’s names in the phone book, wanting to call them and confront them. This is what she told me:

“I think when you did the interviews with us we were individuals and when you called us all, I think we had a chance to hear about what baggage the people were carrying and it also was very nice because at the Cultural Museum it was not only Ikamva Labantu, there were people listening... where do we come from and why are we like this. And to speak about the Boyds, it made things easy for me. I really was looking for them in the phone book. I really wanted to go and visit but since that day I thought, ‘okay, it's done and I have proved that I can do things you know, without being oppressed’. So I think to me it made a lot of sense also to expose what our other colleagues were suffering, because seeing a white women, how did you know they had any baggage, like Avril or Cheryl? You didn’t know. It healed me, and I had an understanding that I musn't take it as if only the ‘blacks’ were oppressed in this country... we all have to work on something because we all come from different
backgrounds ...but I mustn’t put my situation before other’s situation. It’s the same. The situation is changing - we all need to touch hands and hug each other because we have all had problems.”

In this case, Nobuntu was able to overcome an emotional barrier that was set in place through this incident with the Boyds. She carried anger around with her towards white people, but was directed specifically at this couple. She thought that if she could just tell them how horrible they were, and let them know what she has made of herself now, then she could perhaps move on with her life and feel vindicated. Yet, it was her public testimony in front of both white and black South Africans that allowed her to let go of her anger and see herself in a new light in the context of other tellings in the event.

She felt validated in front of the audience; people listened to her, her story was acknowledged, but more than that, she had the confidence and strength to face the Boyds. She realized that this meant that she did not have to face them anymore because she had overcome what they had done to her.

What allowed the experience of telling this story to be a transformative one? Nobuntu says “at the Cultural Museum it was not only Ikamva Labantu, there were people listening, where do we come from and why are we like this” Dori Laub talks about the need for an “addressable” other when engaging in testimony. Testimony cannot exist without someone to hear it. Laub writes, “

“The listener, therefore, has to be at the same time a witness to the trauma witness and a witness to himself. It is only in this way, through his simultaneous awareness of the continuous flow of those inner hazards both in the trauma witness and in himself, that he can become the enabler of the testimony - the one who triggers its initiation, as well as the guardian of its process and of its momentum” (58).

The audience was key for Nobuntu’s boundary crossing moment and having people who she knew
and others she did not know as well be there to listen to what she had to say ‘triggered’ the testimony and enabled it to come forth from her.

Nobuntu took responsibility for her own healing. She was able to see how she, as a black woman, was affected by apartheid, but that everyone - black, white and coloured - was affected albeit in different ways. It was not helping her to hold onto her suffering or place her suffering above another’s. Even if black women did suffer more than any other group, holding onto that anger was destroying her own happiness. Through public testimony, Nobuntu begun the process of accepting that the road to reconciliation starts within herself. Having said this, she needed others to hear, acknowledge and accept what had happened to her, as a black woman as well as she needed to hear from others.

The Limits of Transformation: Pumla’s Story

For other black women, like Pumla, who have a harder time acknowledging what happened to her people, the event and process of testifying was altogether something different than for Nobuntu or Tutu for example. Pumla spent her schooling in the Eastern Cape, in the rural and nominally independent region then known as the Transkei. Protected from much of the violence and segregation in Cape Town, Pumla came back after her graduation to help out her mother and siblings. Younger than the other women at Ikamva Labantu by several years, Pumla came into community work through her mother’s activism as her mother needed help running the creche. Her demeanor and approach is more like the younger generation of blacks who did not feel the sting of apartheid as acutely as the older
generation. She brings a greater sense of entitlement, a stronger voice and an aggressive stance when it comes to her work in community development.

Pumla made herself the least available to me during the project and was less forthcoming than the others. I felt some resentment from her and she kept me at a distance. I believe this was largely due to my 'whiteness' and the fact that I could offer her nothing of material or financial value with this project. After our one-on-one interview in July 2000, Pumla proceeded to tell me all her financial woes and how much money she needed to put her children through school. She asked me if I could help her myself, or link her up with a sponsor in Canada who could provide her with some support. When I told her unfortunately I could not do that, she retreated. During this project, however, Pumla was going through a very difficult divorce and had a lot of stress trying to deal with the loan payments on her house and supporting her four children on her own, all of which no doubt contributed to her lack of enthusiasm to participate in this study.

During our private interview, Pumla spoke to me about developing her confidence speaking to white people. I asked her how she felt about Helen back in the eighties, when a white woman helping people in the townships was a rare and strange sight. This is what she said:

"I was so concerned asking myself 'why is this woman helping us? it's not only my preschool, there are more than 20 preschools that she is helping? Where is she getting all these toys?' Nevertheless the explanation at the meeting was that she is able to get things from the Jewish community\(^\text{13}\) and then those are the things she is sharing with us. We were even scared to ask her more and more questions 'why are these people only interested to give to you? Not straight to us? We were scared because we were under the impression that if we ask even Helen more questions, Helen might leave us, thinking we are now 'clever'. We told ourselves, most especially

\(^{13}\)Helen was involved with The Union of Jewish Women who would collect toys and clothes from the community and donate it to the needy. They were not affiliated with any political organization.
me, that ‘okay, let me lie low until I get to know this lady more and more.’ It took me more than ten years to be free enough and ask her everything. More than ten years! Although now we were very close friends working together, because as the chairperson of the organization (Ithemba Labantwana) she had to phone me every morning to try and give me the program for the day; to tell me who must we go and see, what time, where. This is what was happening and by Helen doing that, phoning me every morning... the relationship... she was now very close to me. And honestly, I was scared to ask her even for, when they (Ikanwa Labantu) started to give me salary it was as little as... I don’t know what to say.... for more than five years the salary was the same. I was not even in the position to ask for an increase because I was scared if you ask for more, you are going to lose even what you are getting. I mean, the situation was like that. On the other hand, I kept on attending workshops and big meetings on ECD (Early Childhood Development) and local meetings within our areas. I could now hear when people talk ‘you mustn’t be scared of the white man, you must talk, you must ask them, you must tell them if you don’t like something.’ I started, but very shy and very slowly to do those things, but today, I am telling you, I cannot take any nonsense from them. If they tell me this, I will always answer back. And I was not doing that before. The way I can challenge them now.... I mean today, really I can go anywhere. I am in the position of wanting to go out.... I’m really now ready to go anywhere if one asked me come and address - even if it’s thousands of people. I am not shy now to stand up and address those meetings. The way I have developed since 1988 when I joined this field, I can stand up now and say anything. I am not scared at all anymore... I am not scared.”

Because Pumla had told me this, I knew she would be comfortable speaking at the event. The first time I heard her speak, I noted her skills as an orator and this made me all the more interested to hear her speak from a more personal place than she usually does. I include this excerpt from her interview because I believe Pumla’s sentiments here can help explain her behaviour at the Cultural History Museum.

The day at the Cultural History Museum arrived and Pumla looked nonplused. She used this event to tell a story that made people laugh. The idea that testimony is a performance would mean that it has the power to entertain, as much as it does to transform or educate. Certain testimonies can be transformative as they entertain and educate, while others are delivered with different intentions. For
example, it was quite telling that the people who did most of the laughing at Pumla’s story were among her own group of friends (black women).

Pumla spoke of the time she worked in Truworths, a large retail department store in Cape Town. Pumla was hired as a sales person and worked there for number of years under a supervisor. Her story was about how good a worker she was; how many hours she worked and the excellent evaluations she received, but she never got promoted. Her supervisor, a white woman, would tell Pumla every few months how wonderful she was and that she was an exemplary employee and promise to promote her. Pumla told the story like a master story teller, setting up the scene and imitating the supervisor, emphasizing her superficiality and patronizing manner. Although this was a story that was all too familiar to her black friends, it was to them that she seemed to be speaking. It was an insider story, meant for black women who could laugh at the white woman for all that she represented to them - perhaps pathetic and fearful. It was a story that did not dwell on her being a victim as much as it accentuated where she is, and who she is now. This story seemed to be an extension of Pumla’s interview with me, a testament to her feelings of not being “scared” anymore; of being her own boss and in control of her life which includes choosing what, if any, stories she wants to tell on her own terms.

On the surface, the point of her testimony, like Nobuntu’s was that no matter how good she was, Pumla would never be promoted, get more money or be treated with respect because she was black but what she was really saying went deeper, as I mentioned above. How is this story different from Nobuntu’s? Again, as I discussed in Chapter Three, the way in which Helen told her story when she and her friend Maggie were held at gunpoint, the feeling, delivery and even the attitude in which the story was told said more than the story itself. Pumla was not looking for reconciliation or even to let go of her anger. Her manner was relaxed and defiant. This was not a serious event by her estimation.
Pumla was the only one out of the six women who did not write the testimonial beforehand (which I asked the women to write two months previously). Instead, Pumla decided on the spot what she was going to say. I believe that the lack of effort she put into thinking about this and cooperating with me (although she could have opted out of the study at any time) was her way of maintaining a sense of power.

It is not my intention to belittle her story or to imply there is nothing of value in hearing the content of the story. It is necessary that Pumla tell such stories, as they are a part of her history and need to be heard, acknowledged and incorporated into South African public memory. What I mean to suggest is that Pumla came to the event with nothing invested, nothing to lose or gain. While she does maintain a sense of solidarity with the other women and in fact was the one (as she often is at meetings) to lead them in song to the front of the room, the fact that she did not invest herself in it is perhaps indicative of her continued level of mistrust of white people, and maybe an unwillingness to give anything of herself to a white person like me, if they are not willing to give her something “real” in return.

Pumla’s response, or lack thereof, to me and this project provided some valuable insight into the problems and limitations of such an event. Not everyone came with the same agenda; some like Cheryl and Avril came with high expectations and had invested much time and emotion into the project. Others like Tutu and Helen were committed to the idea of rebuilding their community and strengthening their relationships with each other. Nobuntu, being a born-again Christian, embraced the notion of forgiveness and reconciliation as preached by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and therefore used this opportunity to let go of some anger. But Pumla, a woman struggling with a bitter and unsupportive husband and the prospect of raising four children on her own while working full time just to put food on the table and
keep her house, possibly has more reason than anyone to see this exercise in memory-work and community building as perhaps futile and useless to her.

The importance of an organized public space for memory work is clearly articulated here in the transformative moments I described in this Chapter, but also the limitations of testimony within such an environment of inequality and continued economic disparity. While this event had the possibility of altering perceptions and challenging some people in new ways, for others like Pumla the past is perhaps better off being replaced by the future.

Creating Space for Social Transformation

The difference of what was said to me privately and what was said publicly tells me that such spaces are critical for social transformation. As I mentioned in Chapter One, informal settings such as dinner-time discussions or even much of the one-on-one interview process often cannot provide the necessary dynamics for social transformation. I want to stress the importance of creating institutional spaces with cultural legitimacy for such ‘tellings’ to take place. These stagings allow crucial forms of memory work to happen where people can continue to negotiate and renegotiate the meanings of their stories and histories with each other in a way that can shift their relationships and foster social change.

As it turned out, almost all the women discarded what I asked them to write and told stories they wanted to tell. Like the ever-optimistic and spirited woman that she is, Helen had written a speech as if the event were a pep rally, designed to celebrate Ikamva Labantu. She thought that is what I wanted and what people would want to hear. But after listening to her colleagues she knew that what she had written was not what she really wanted to say. The event went from being something created and controlled by
me to something the women laid claim to; an event they shaped and authorized themselves. These were stories I had not heard, and they expressed themselves in ways they had not done with me. This lead me to see the constructed nature of the interview process; that my questioning was limited and therefore limiting for them and what they were able to say. I learned more about the women's lives and about my own position - how I can enable as well as disable certain stories from being told because of my age, race, class, education, nationality, religion, etc.

But beyond my own limited questioning is the real and profound impact of the TRC over the past few years which has given people not only the right, but the ability to speak about the past (without fear), as well as the audience's capacity and willingness to hear what needs to be said. This event at the Cultural History Museum allowed me to see the value of organized cultural practices of remembrance, and how the character, setting and relationships of the people involved created the space; an institutional vehicle for transformation to occur.

Conclusion

Being supported by each other, the women were inspired by listening to what each one had to say, and this allowed something transformative to happen. The women transformed and re-authorized the space, letting each story unfold into the next one. The value of such a space is in its possibilities: anything can happen, good or bad. It is the dynamics in the room that ultimately determine what gets told. The relationship and level of comfort between the speakers and the audience is critical, but also between each speaker. These dynamics that emerge freely or spontaneously, dictate what can be said and what cannot be said, and allows access for certain stories to be told, and to be heard. With hands clasped
together, singing a Xhosa song as they approached the stage, the tone was set for the women to operate as a unit, fully supportive of each other and united in their mission for that day.

While some might view this as an overly romantic description or event itself, such emotion between South Africans illustrates the kind of socialization that occurred during the struggle years and gestures towards possible - and hopeful - forms of being together. The need for certain social practices and institutions such as the one described in this chapter, becomes evident and critical when thinking about how South Africans are to sustain their relationships with one another in ways that promote a growing together, rather than a growing apart as the old fabric of struggle wears away in the weaving of a New South African society.
Chapter Five

Findings

"It will not do to forget a past that is not past" (John Willinsky, Learning to Divide the World)

"because of you
this country no longer lies
between us but within
it breathes becalmed
after being wounded
in its wondrous throat
in the cradle of my skull
it sings, it ignites
my tongue, my inner ear, the cavity of heart
shudders toward the outline
new in soft intimate clicks and gutturals
of my soul the retina learns to expand
daily because by a thousand stories
I was scorched
a new skin.

I am changed forever. I want to say:
    forgive me
    forgive me
    forgive me
You whom I have wronged, please
take me
with you.

(Antjie Krog, Country of My Skull, 1998)
In this thesis I have attempted to show the pedagogical and social importance of testimony as a practice of remembrance with transformative possibilities, both individually and collectively. To conclude, I will discuss the broader implications of my findings and situate my work within the current context of public remembrance and the debates surrounding it in South Africa. Finally, I will suggest further areas of research for the future.

Memory and Healing

Memory is always as much about the present as it is about the past, in that it relates to the redefining roles and reconstituting place, space and even survival. What and how people remember is linked to the social and political atmosphere of the time and serves a purpose in shaping how people might envision the future. Envisioning a future requires hope, and hope comes from healing. What constitutes healing, however, remains an open question in South African discourse. There is no consistent notion of what it means to heal and such a concept is fraught with ambiguities. South African scholar Sarah Nuttall problematizes any simple notion of healing when she writes, “is any version of healing a kind of closure, somehow problematically holistic and harmonistic?” Nuttall states that the integration of the past into the present may be one stage in the process of healing, or in the making of memory, and notes that healing can be an opening up, not a closing down, “… to heal, and to remember, is also to find the freedom to ask more questions, to let the unspeakable, both then and now, filter in, to disturb, to open out consciousness.” (Nuttall, 1998,85)

‘Opening out consciousness’ is to expand the parameters of one’s mind and to begin to shift
the existing paradigms. To disturb is to astonish, unsettle and to let filter in what is new. Black and white South Africans have long lived with deeply entrenched attitudes and beliefs towards each other, making it a challenging and even daunting task to begin to bridge the divide and find ways for them to co-exist harmoniously, with respect and without violence. In South Africa, political leaders and scholars alike have devoted much time and energy to practices of remembrance. Since the end of apartheid, the nation’s quest to remember started with the TRC and moved to community-specific commemorations and exhibits and finally to grass roots projects where people have been creating their own ways of remembering and re-composing their histories.

Sarah Nuttall writes that the public rehearsal of memory, either through testifying at the TRC or writing one’s autobiography, is a “palpable, messy activity which has as much to do with a struggle with grief, to fill in the silence, or to offer something symbolically to the dead, as it does with the choreographing of a political and social script” (1998, 75-6)

Although most South Africans would agree that it is important to deal with the past, there are widely differing opinions on how that should be done. Some, like the family of Steven Biko 16 strongly opposed the process of the TRC and instead chose to take the commission itself to the Constitutional Court. Others like Cynthia Ngewu, the mother of Christopher Piet, one of the Guguletu Seven 17 said, “This thing called reconciliation... If I am understanding it correctly... if it means this perpetrator, this man who has killed Christopher Piet, if it means he becomes human again, this man, so that I, so that all

16 Steve Biko was the leader of the Black Consciousness movement and the South African’s Students’ Organization in the late 1960’s and 1970’s, Biko died on September 12, 1977, while in police custody in Pretoria.

17 Guguletu Seven were seven young men, suspected of being members of Umkhontu we Sizwe (MK), who in 1976 were killed in the Cape Town township of Guguletu by apartheid security operatives linked to Vlakplaas.
of us, get our humanity back... then I agree, then I support it all” (Krog, 1998). Then there is P.W. Botha, former president of South Africa from 1984 - 1989, who refused to participate in the TRC, saying, “I will not appear before the Truth Commission. I don’t perform in circuses” and “I won’t allow myself to be threatened. The Truth Commission is tearing Afrikaners apart” (Krog, 1998).

These are three major South African examples which speak to the complex notion of what it means to remember, of the importance of memory and memory’s relationship to reconciliation and healing. These examples, among many others, demonstrate the TRC’s limited scope in its power to heal and transform the nation. Rebuilding a post conflict society is a slow, difficult process. While the TRC has been a first step in the movement towards social change and has been a valuable structure for many South Africans, it has left others at best indifferent, and at worst, violently opposed to reconciliation. It is not surprising, therefore, that alternative forms and processes of remembrance are being produced throughout the country, either in continuation of, or in contestation to, the structure and process of the TRC.

Public Histor(ies) and the Creation of the New Post Apartheid Nation

South African historian Ciraj Rassool writes that the domain of heritage and public history requires serious examination, “for it is here that attempts are being made to fashion the categories and images of the post-apartheid nation. It is also this domain of historical production that important contests are unfolding over the South African past.” (Rassool, 2000, 1)
Dominant discursive forms such as the ‘miracle’ of the new South Africa and the demise of apartheid through the ‘wisdom’ of heroic leaders and especially the ‘special magic’ of Nelson Mandela are being contested through other forms of commemoration and cultural projects. The present official view that South Africa is a society of ‘many cultures’ with a history of great lives of the ‘resistance and reconciliation’ has been emerging and taking shape in almost every sphere of construction and public culture in South Africa, from television histories and cultural projects of newspapers to the TRC and claims for land, from museums (new and old) and legacy projects to new monuments and cultural tourism. (Rassool, 2000,1)

While much of these constructions have happened ‘from above’ as part of the engineering of a new nation, and while many presentations have “accorded with new identifiable discursive frameworks for the new nation, many projects have, to varying degrees sought to challenge or chip away at the dominant constructions” (Ibid) These include the District Six Museum, Cell Stories at Robben Island Museum, and many other exhibitions, designs, poster campaigns, choreography and theatre, visual art, etc.

There is concern that projects such as the Robben Island Museum and its concentration on the national symbolic role of the island may distract the public from remembering individual activists, both on and off the island. The employment of ex-prisoners as tour guides around the island may help to ground visitors’ experiences on the island in the personal suffering and heroism of individual prisoners. South African Historian Harriet Deacon claims that the island’s story has to be related “very concretely to South Africa’ history, to ensure that visitors are encouraged to think deeply enough about their own parts in the dissonant symphony of apartheid and their role in the country’s future” (1998, 179). It is a project such as this that promotes many voices and multiple memories that can respond to Mahmood
Mamdini’s claim that the TRC’s privileging of one group of white perpetrators enables bystanders and beneficiaries of apartheid to resist taking responsibility for their action or inaction. Making room for multiple stories/histories to be told is a critical component in creating a public memory where those who were not ‘centre stage’ can be implicated, and see themselves nonetheless as actors and agents (even passive ones) in the history of their country. Deacon writes “there is always a danger that the celebration of victory might exclude the individual memories of those who fell by the wayside during the anti-apartheid struggle as well as those who were always on the other side” (1998, 179).

Ingrid De Kok writes that smaller, various artistic initiatives emerging out of different places in the country from unexpected links between institutions, individuals, and communities involve a responsibility for public education or re-education” (1998, 63). The notion of ‘re-education’ might mean developing and learning new ways for people to listen to each other. Due to deeply entrenched attitudes based on the racial constructs created during apartheid, South Africans bring pre conceived notions and assumptions to their interactions with each other. If white South Africans are to own up to their role as bystanders and if black and coloured South Africans are to move on and build their lives based on a system of equality and democracy, perhaps examining how people listen to each other can play a critical role as South Africans begin to build new relationships.

Questions of Remembrance and Pedagogy

There is much emphasis on the process of remembrance in South Africa, as the focus is on what people have to say/remember, how they are saying it and why they are saying it. But what about responses? What about listening? How are South Africans to begin to listen to one another? Much of the current discussion and contestation is over new national memory and the re-creation of South
African identity, but what about the pedagogical implications? Such questions are missing from the debates surrounding memory work and remembrance. My work has sought to address these questions and contribute to the debate with this case study.

In their “Witness as Study: The Difficult Inheritance of Testimony” paper (Simon et al, 1998) write that while considerable attention has been given to the various ‘uses of the past’ and conceptions of time (and space) implicit in practices of remembrance, little concern has been given to the notions of teaching and learning inherent in the presumptions and organization of different forms of remembrance. “Indeed, the centrality of questions of pedagogy to notions of remembrance is often missed, eviscerating discussions of how and why public memory matters” (2). They point out that history and memorialization are the two dominant modes through which questions of the purpose and practice of remembrance are most frequently addressed. In the paper the authors further elucidate their argument by differentiating between a learning about and a learning from, concepts I explored in Chapter One. Learning about, a “telling again” is first and foremost a reminder and a warning of what threatens to be forgotten or has already been forgotten, whereas a learning from ‘the past’ is a critical recognition or discovery that unsettles the very terms on which our understanding of ourselves and our world is based (Simon et al 1998, 4). The combination of these two forms of learning create the concept of ‘remembrance-learning’ which has been employed in this thesis to mean a practice of questioning ourselves, our identities, and our relationship to past and present others (Eppert, 2000, 216-17).

As Rassool and Minkley note, most recent work on oral history continues to have limited engagement with form, structure and social processes of memory. My assertion has been that these social processes are critical to examine, especially as a researcher who is involved in interpretation and knowledge production. Recording my own questions as I listened to the women’s testimonies was a
necessary part of studying the process of transformation and of studying responses to testimony. The process of remembrance-learning which I engaged in sheds light on how a researcher can influence or unwittingly impose her own biases or perceptions onto the text; in this case, how my own position as a white, foreign woman may have disavowed certain stories. As I have suggested, the questions I posed to myself as I listened to the women's testimonies signal the value behind oral narratives. The questions I listed in my research journal in Chapter Three provide the beginning of what it means to open up the past in a way that can reconfigure the present.

The Task of Testimony

The performance of testimony has much to offer the field of public history in its emphasis on multiple versions of the past, in its emphasis on process and in its attempt to open up and engage people in the meaning and motives of memory. Testimony as performed at the Cultural History Museum with the women of Ikamva Labantu, is not simply about seeking a truth of the past. Rather, as Sarah Nuttall writes, it might be “To see that one had not located the truth about the past, but only an ongoing narrative of self - to see the subjectivity of the versions of the past one has offered to oneself”. Testimony can be about filling in the divide between simple divisions or binaries such as black/white, apartheid/resistance

"perhaps which have been able to hold the weight of one’s sorrow, to guard against a void of meaning and understanding which one most fears - can be newly painful, in its allowance of the disjuncture that (Walter) Benjamin wanted us, perhaps too insistently, to see. But it can highlight in a newly self-conscious way the complexity of memory’s meanings and motives." (Nuttall, 1998, 85)

Indeed there is meaning and purpose in fostering the notion of forgiveness and trying to create a unified country with the future, not the past, as its focus. However, as I described in Chapter One, the TRC left
much unfinished business in the nation-building process of South Africa. People are not ready to move onwards when the past still shadows their lives. While material signs and symbols of apartheid have been dismantled, old divides and attitudes have remained intact. To begin to rebuild community requires a host of remembrance practices; official, institutional, cultural and informal, all which must seek to address ways in which people might overcome social and cultural barriers.

Ingrid De Kok contends that there is a strong impulse in the country to ‘forgive and forget’ in order to contribute to the notion of ‘settlement’ and nation-building. Cultural institutions and artists face an especially challenging task, of permitting contradictory voices to be heard as testimony or in interpretation, not in order to ‘resolve’ the turbulence, but to recompose it. (De Kok, 1998,61). Such re-composing is the task of testimony as I have posited it in this thesis.

Australian scholar Jared Stark writes that the task of testimony

"might then entail an encounter not simply with a closed off past or a static, fossilized archive, but rather with a continuing history of testimony, a history that emerges and speaks to us from the interstices between various ways a single event might be told, between various modes of memorialization and between various modes of response. To assume a place in this history, then, might also be to allow the story to teach us how to listen to it, to teach us how to inhabit a moment without a predetermined future." (History & Memory, fall 1999, 37-59)

Contributions, Contestations and Findings

Along with other endeavors which seek to address a re-education and attempt the re-building of community, my research project has addressed such problems by providing a space with cultural legitimacy for a wider range of people to both speak, and to hear the stories of others. In order for
people’s lives to matter to each other it is necessary to establish how people exist in relation to each other. The women of Ikamva Labantu have lived and worked together for many years, but the way they have related and spoken to each other is entrenched in the grammar of apartheid resistance. While these ways of being together worked well during the struggle years, in post apartheid they need to find new ways of relating as their identities and roles shift. As Helen came to terms with her marginalization she needed to hear what her colleagues had to say about her as much as she needed them to hear what she had to say about them. There were and still are boundaries to be crossed. Tutu and Avril managed to cross one during the event at the Cultural History Museum. Avril made a move to share Tutu’s pain and offered to play a part in Tutu’s healing process. Once again, while Avril knew she could not ‘belong’ in Tutu’s world, she could however begin to understand more about how she existed “in relation to her”. Establishing such a connection, like Lila’s connection to Helen and thus to her black neighbours goes beyond Lila and Avril’s own set of identifications to a place where they both begin to understand an experience, a story, a life on terms other than their own.

In Chapter Four, Lila’s response to hearing Helen’s testimony allowed her to implicate herself as a bystander and shifted her sense of identity as a non-actor in apartheid history to a that of ‘passive’ actor. Although Lila had heard testimonies from the TRC, and although she knew of people like Helen, the structure of the event at the Cultural History Museum and its performance of testimony engaged Lila in a dialogue with herself. Such testimonial performances are about asking questions first of ourselves, and then of others. Eventually, this performance can lead to broader interrogation and reflection of how our actions affect others and how our histories are connected.

Testimony of course, does not have to be oral. It can come in written form, through autobiographies such as Nelson Mandela’s, transcripts of testimonies from the TRC, or memoirs of
political prisoners and those in exile. Written testimony can offer a learning about history and can open up different forms of remembrance such as that included in Antjie Krog’s book *Country of My Skull* where she weaves her story of complicity as an Afrikaner, with the stories of the black victims of apartheid. Krog is transformed in the listening, and it is this kind of transformation that I argue is possible through the performance of testimony. Transformation is as possible with written testimony as it is with oral testimony, but there are perhaps certain necessary conditions that might allow for testimony’s educative effects. I posit three such conditions as being: 1) one must feel addressed by the testimony, 2) one must have the opportunity to exercise the capacity to respond to such an address, and 3) be in a situation with institutional/cultural support for maintaining this potential openness to rethinking and reconstituting roles and relationships. While these are somewhat abstract notions, they gesture towards to possible interventions (to a society constituted on racial politics) that can be in place to allow for the responsibility, or a summoning of a response to testimony.

When applying the practice of testimony in a practical way as my project attempted to do, there were some limitations and problems which are important to note. The limits of such performances of testimony are that for some, like Pumla, protective walls remain often for valid reasons. For others, the stories that are told like that of Pumla’s, do not necessarily open up dialogue, but shut it down. The logistics can also limit such a process; someone must organize the event and find space for it and, as such, that person may very well have a large impact on the nature of the whole process. Being a white, foreign woman, my role was certainly problematic in that certain stories were told to me and others omitted. Often, I was met with resistance from some and not taken seriously by others. Had it been run by a local black woman, what would have happened? Would a local white person be trusted? Would someone do this without getting paid? Where would the money come from? Can it be reproduced in
other areas, with other organizations? These are interesting and important questions to consider for a future project. I believe this type of process can be reproduced in other parts of South Africa, but it would require financial, political and social support, especially in the form of more cooperation from municipalities and non profit organizations such as the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

It is also necessary to point out that this study is not long term, and although it has covered a period of three years, its findings and claims cannot be conclusive. I would like to state that my work seeks to address and reconstruct the hegemony of racial constructs as the sole basis of constituting relationships and find alternatives for people to reconstitute such relationships. This kind of social change does not happen overnight, but through such small scale grass roots projects and through moments such as the ones I have described in this thesis - moments of insight and unsettling.

Suggestions for Further Research

When conducting research for this thesis, I found very little information on the pedagogical implications of practices of remembrance. I would suggest that more research should be done in this area, not only in South Africa, but elsewhere, especially post conflict communities.

Since my focus is on South Africa, some suggestions would be to look at the idea of creating more memory spaces, like the District Six Museum with opportunities for the performance of testimony and specifically an emphasis on the process of listening and responding to such testimonies. More engagement with form, structure and the social processes of memory are necessary in this area. Studying the effects of memory activities on participants is an important area of research for learning what brings
people together and allows for certain boundary crossings to occur. What also must be included in such research is to examine the process and note the subjectivity of those who initiate and coordinate memory spaces, as well as those who ask the questions and design practices of remembrance.

Another suggested area of research in the field of oral history and testimony is how new technology can be used to help represent people's lives. Multimedia exhibits such as the Cell Stories Exhibition at the Robben Island Museum (ongoing), the Langa Histories (One City, Many Cultures Festival in Cape Town, 2000) and the Digging Deeper exhibit (District Six Museum, 2000) all used some form of new sound technology or digital recordings, photographs, objects/mementoes and text to create a full sensory experience of the past. Along with asking how the new technology might affect or change our understanding of the past is the question, how does such technology effect people's ability to respond in real and significant ways? How might these types of representations be used to promote social change and not just become merely aesthetic or technological endeavors for their own sake? These multimedia exhibits attempt to represent multiple versions of the past in new ways and to examine the implications of these projects on people's relationships with each other is crucial in how they might teach us about, and encourage, new forms of listening.

Conclusion

Martha Minow writes that the task following mass atrocity is to talk of learning to remember, but also to live. "And if the form of memory is one that prevents people from going on with their lives, that's not constructive. At the same time, failing to remember is not going on with your life, and so that's the challenge." (1999)
In this thesis I have argued that memory-spaces need to be created and used so multiple memories and voices can be spoken and heard, debated and wrestled with. It is through these memory spaces that the lives of people can begin to matter to each other in new and profound ways. Post conflict communities must find ways to define memory-spaces in all areas of public education - in schools, in media, in art practice, in Internet-based exchanges - where stories of speaking and hearing, remembering and learning are “exchanged, examined, and understood as the grounds for a critical pedagogical practice of remembrance” (Simon, 2001, 26).

It is critical to find new ways of creating dialogue between black and white South Africans as the country stumbles through the wreckage of the past. There must be spaces for all South Africans to continue to make and remake meanings from events and memories from apartheid, as they reconfigure and renegotiate their relationships with each other.
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UMI
GREEK & THE INTERNET

THE AFFECTS OF ELECTRONIC MAIL EXCHANGE ON THE GREEK LANGUAGE

by

Antonios Valassakis

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
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Thesis title: “Greek & the Internet: The affects of electronic mail exchange on the Greek language”
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University: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT)

Abstract

The Greek language seems to be one of the minor languages on the Internet. The fact that Greek is not always recognized by computers, because of its alphabet characters, has led Greek-speaking Internet users to create another script, a hybrid language called “Greeklish”, which is a transliteration of the Greek language in Latin characters. However, this kind of script has started an immense argument between academic circles in Greece, who believe that it could be a threat to the historical Greek language. In this exploratory study I present the results of a survey conducted on the Internet, and I try to analyze further the growing phenomenon of “Greeklish”, as it is today.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Lynn Davie for helping me throughout the whole research with his experience. His contributions and remarks were very helpful.

Also, I would like to thank the Greek Youth Society of Wiesbaden Germany and their magazine “Dyo Opseis”, from where I found resources for this study. With their help I met online with Dr. Jannis Androutsopoulos, from the University of Heidelberg, who I would like to thank for his help and support.

Further, I would like to thank all the participants to the online questionnaire of this research, who helped me with their comments.

Finally, I would like to thank my beloved parents in Greece, who were very supportive in every way, and helped me with spirit to carry out this study.
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Chapter 1

1.1.

Research background

This study interprets the experience described by adults engaged in *Electronic mail exchange and Chat rooms*, and their effects upon their language (Greek) and typing skills. The Internet, the “Information superhighway”, has taken a high profile in the media and has become more accessible at the community level. The implications are that Internet users will continue to increase and many will choose to learn how to use the Internet independently, outside of formal educational opportunities (Taylor, 1987).

Electronic mail, also known as “email” has become the easiest, fastest, most cost-effective way for communication today. One of the latest activities on the Internet seems to be “chatting”. Hundreds of chat lines and rooms are active on the Internet, in many shapes and forms – Java- or Client-based – with several topics. Some of the chat lines require online registration, while the majority are free, web-based chat-rooms.

1.2.

Purpose and objectives of study

The purpose of this study is to try to show the effects of electronic mail exchange and online chatting on Greek language and typing skills. From my perspective as a native
of Greece and as a teacher, I can sense a change, and perhaps a sort of “catastrophic result” on the Greek language used on the Internet. My study focuses on the ways people use the Greek language on the Internet. Relationships between Greek usage and the type of interactivity (how close the person you are writing to is), time-loss factor (especially in chat sessions), and the participants’ already existing skills. Facts like Greek language written in Latin characters, improper use of language (incorrect spelling, acronyms, etc.) will be analyzed here. This study stems from my personal experience with electronic mail and chat rooms, where I could get in touch with all that is happening in the cyber-world between Internet users.

One of the main objectives of this study is to give readers a sense of what is going on in today’s cyber-world; not in terms of cutting-edge technology and its affections on human relationships, but in terms of the very first element of human nature, that is being modified in order to fit the needs of the rapid technological change: Language. However, this study should not be categorized as “techno-phobic”. I am not here to scare anyone about technology and computers. On the contrary, I myself use technology as a means of communication as well. This paper only serves to inform people, especially Greeks and Greek educators of the linguistic changes yet to come, not to surprise them.
1.3.

Resources

Research involved collection of information from articles about the Internet, as well as other sources concerning electronic mail and chat rooms found on the Web. Focus was centered on e-mail and chat line language, while books and articles about Greek language in general were not excluded. However, I must note that finding resources for the current topic of Latin-Greek was extremely difficult. "Greeklish", Greek script transliterated in Latin characters, as we will present in the next chapters, is a phenomenon that was born during the early 20th century. Nonetheless, Greeklish on the Internet is a growing phenomenon of the late 90s, and people have just started analyzing it. Hence, there is not a huge bibliography on the subject, other than academic and newspaper articles and online web pages that are mostly written in Greek, for which I will provide the translation.
Chapter 2

2.1. Short history of the Greek language (Development-Evaluation)

"Whatever the Greeks take from the barbarians,
they improve it greatly at the end."

This saying refers not only to crafts and letters and to the other activities
of ancient Greeks but also to their language. Though it is true that the
Greek language was brought into Greece by northern Greek tribes, it is
equally true that they shaped, enriched and developed that language
mainly in Greece, so that Cicero believed that the Greek language was
worthy of being spoken even by the gods. It is not too much to say that the
history of the Greek language is also mainly a production of the Greek
mind, of the Greek imagination and of the Greek soul in general."

(Tsirpanlis, 1970).

Greek is a member of Indo-European family of languages distinct in having the longest
history of all European languages. It was used in Crete, during the Minoic period (14th
century BC), whereas the earliest Greek writings are the Linear B tablets from the
Mycenaean palaces of Crete and the mainland of Greece, which date back to the 13th
century BC. Because written literature emerged quite late in the time scale of the
development of the Greek language, the poems of Homer are the earliest works of Greek literature (7th-6th century BC). After the invasion of Doric speaking Greeks from the North-West (12th century BC) mainland Greeks established colonies in Italy and on the Asia Minor coast. With the help of mercantilism and trade, the new Greek alphabet soon developed a number of local variations: A West Greek version (with a Doric branch), used in Italy and Sicily, was the predecessor of the Roman alphabet; the East Ionic alphabet on the mainland, which became the standard form by the end of the 5th century BC; in Athens it became Attic-Ionic, with some differences; and the Aeolic, spoken from Smyrna to Hellespont (with Doric elements). By the end of the 4th century BC, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, Greek was beginning to be accepted as a common language, the *Koiné* (based on the Attic dialect), in the whole eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran. By the 3rd century BC Greek was the official language of the eastern Mediterranean (translation of the Old Testament in Greek), whereas, by the end of the 1st century BC, during the rule of Romans, official documents were written in Latin as well as Greek. After the Christianization of the Greek nation, the Emperor of Rome Constantine transferred the capital of the Roman Empire east (4th century AD), and though Latin was used for official purposes, Greek became the official language of the Byzantine Empire (6th century AD). The written language was a mixture of the Attic and the Biblical *Koiné* Greek, while the oral language borrowed words from other nations, such as the Venetians and Turks. After the invasion of Turks in 1453 the development of Greek shows few structural or grammatical changes. However, during that period, there was much activity in the form of poetry and literature. Poems and songs, written in dialects spoken in the mainland, as well as in Crete, Cyprus, Pontos, are still known
today. In the 19th century, after the Greek Revolution in 1821, and the final liberation of Greece, there was little concern about the language, with the result that no uniform language was established throughout the new nation. The big issue of this century has been "the Language Question": what sort of speech the Greek people today should use. Late in the 19th century, Greek scholars and writers concerned themselves with a systematization of the popular tongue for purposes of education and communication. The leaders of this widespread movement were known as Demotikists, because the vernacular language is called Demotike. Opposed to the Demotikists were the purists, the advocates of a purified Greek (Katharevousa). These scholars aimed primarily at reawakening the Greek people to a consciousness of their ancient cultural heritage. The purists disregarded the widespread use of the written and spoken vernacular, espousing an elegant, scholarly, artificial language based on Ancient Greek and remote from the speech of everyday life. The Demotike was first introduced in schools in 1917, while in the period of 1933 and 1937 all textbooks written in Demotike were recalled. In 1941 Demotike was reintroduced with a new formal grammar definition. Between 1967 and 1974, under the military dictatorship, Katharevousa was used but in 1976 the Greek Government decided that the teaching at all levels of education should be solely in Demotike.

*Above all, Greek is a language distinguished by an extraordinarily rich vocabulary and supple syntax. It is still spoken today on the Greek peninsula and the islands of the Aegean, that is, in areas where groups of Greek-speaking Indo-Europeans first established themselves about 1000 BC (Britannica Encyclopedia).*
2.2.

History of the Latin-alphabeted Greek language

There are documents from the Byzantine period written in Latin characters. Further, during the Middle Ages in Crete and Cyprus, folk songs were written in Latin characters. Later, from the early 19th century, many Greek books were printed in Smyrna with Latin characters. (...) In Smyrna there was an attempt to publish a Greek newspaper written in Latin characters. The Levantines of Smyrna, who were all speaking Greek, but were experiencing problems learning our difficult spelling, were always using Latin characters in order to write in Greek. Later, they were followed by the people from Chios and other foreign merchants, who were writing their letters and telegrams in Greek, but using Latin characters. This “franco-chiotiki”¹ language was even used by Greeks for their mail exchange with Greeks living in Smyrna, London, and elsewhere. This kind of script survived years later and we can very often find it in telegrams of Greeks living abroad. (Karthaios, 1934)

About 70 years later this “franco-chiotiki” is present in the Modern Greek language. From the early 90s Greeks living in Greece and abroad are using it to communicate through the Internet; they write personal email, they publish

¹ From “franco”, which means French, here representing Latin in general, and “chiotiki”, which means from the island of Chios
announcements, they contribute in list servers, or even in student archives with jokes. Even today, where Greek characters have established their presence in web sites and electronic mail, the use of Latin characters is often necessary for technical reasons, since sender and recipient may not have the same system that will support Greek language, either in Greece or, even more, between Greece and foreign countries.

The use of Latin-Greek alphabet is based on a clear way of thinking about the language. Language is not just a means of thinking and communication, but also a symbol of social identity. We do not just use the language, but also we connect it with our social and political standards. The written form of it is the connection between the past and the present, and it is based on the historical spelling of the language, which cannot be learned "naturally", by everyday use and communication, but through some norms and rules. However, language changes along with the society that uses it. As J. Androutsopoulos writes:

"As years go by, the vocal form of a language is getting distant from the written form of it, until the point where the historical orthography is not any more in accordance with the modern pronunciation of the language. So, the Greek language is full of letters (η, i, v, ei, oi...) which, until 25 years ago, where symbols carrying centuries of history, but now are not in accordance with the modern vocal language. The reason they are still

---

2 All these letters and diphthongs are intentionally placed here, as they all sound as "i". 
used is not practical, but clearly etymological (orthography defines the background of the words), historical (writing of the words has remained the same for centuries), and mostly symbolic (the unchanged spelling symbolizes the historical continuity of the national Greek community).” (Androutsopoulos, 1999)

One of the main arguments concerning the matter of the use of Latin-Greek alphabet (Greeklish or Greenglish) is that it can destroy the natural Greek language. Academics who were concerned about keeping and using the Latin-Greek alphabet argued that using the ordinary Greek alphabet is somehow old-fashioned and extremely difficult for those learning the language. Further, they argued that the national identity of a community could not be destroyed by an orthographic change and should not be based on historical orthography. One of the great experts in the Greek language of the 20th century, Nikos Hatzidakis, replying to the question “Are we going to loose a part of our national spirit, if we adopt the Latin alphabet?” wrote:

“I think the answer is very easy. Do we loose our national spirit when, like today, we learn music written in the international music alphabet? Do we loose our national spirit when we count using the international numerical code? Finally, do we loose our national spirit when we dress like Europeans? (Hatzidakis, 1931)
The Latin-Greek alphabet today is a supplementary system of script, which is used under certain circumstances and by certain social groups; students, academics, scientists, people of the media and technology field. Its use is technically effective, since, with a little practice, everyone can write and read them. Further, Latin-Greek orthography does not prevent creative use of the Greek language (see next chapter). According to the wide range and the constant use of the Latin-alphabeted Greek by the academic community it is concluded that the Greek language has found just another helping tool. However, this tool does not have rules that could refer to a language. There are certain un-established writing methods that a few people in the cyber world know and even fewer use, since these methods are not taught and learned anywhere. The transcription of a Greek word in “Greeklish” is not based on some certain criteria, since there is no specific norm that can represent a “grammatical rule”. Because of that, Greek Internet users improvise with their keyboard, in order to find the more effective solution; the one that will express the Greek alphabet at the very best, either visually (orthographic) or phonetically (Lalios, 2000). As a result, the word around Greek e-mail users around the world is that “everyone writes however he/she likes and everyone uses his/her own method”.

Because of the chaotic situation around Greeklish and the unofficial transliteration of the Greek words on the Internet, certain web sites have been developed in order to help Internet users that experience problems re-writing their e-mail messages in Greeklish, or reading their imported messages in Greeklish. These web sites offer a simple converter, that automatically transforms the Greek script into Greeklish, or vise versa. However, after testing these converters, I found specific problems that cause even more chaotic
results. I will refer to them in the next chapter, where we analyze the Greeklish Internet language.

Finally, during the last three years, a new means of communication seems to have become a basic part of Greeks' lives; cellular telephone devices. One of the main features of the cutting-edge technology cellular phones is the SMS (Short Messaging System), and it seems that it is used even more frequently than the voice transmission service of the telephone itself. The SMS provides the user with the ability to contact other cellular phone users with text messages, using his/her own cellular phone, faster and cost-efficiently. Being myself a user of the SMS technology I realized that the use of Greeklish is present here as well. Even though the majority of the cellular phones used in Greece include Greek as an option in their language settings, most users write in Greeklish when they send an SMS message to another cellular phone, especially when the recipient lives in another country. Obviously, the reason is still the case of the recipient not having a device that supports the Greek language. Once again, the fear of not being understood turns people to the use of the easiest and simplest means of communication, in our case Greeklish.
Chapter 3

3.1.

Greeklish or Greenglish

There are various names that have been given from time to time to this new tool of the Greek language; “Franco-chiotika”, “Franco-levantinika”, “Greeklish”, “Greenglish”, “Latin-Greek”, or “Greek-Latin”. In order for us to express the best meaning of what this new tool looks like and what it stands for, we have to pay attention to what its name represents. The words “Greenglish” and “Greeklish” are the ones most often used in the cyber world.

According to grammatical rules, the word “Greenglish”, which is formed by the first three letters of the word “Greek” and the ending “English”, sounds like a different type or dialect of the English language. Further, this word does not sound good when pronounced, because the sound of “green” distracts the listener from the very essence of the meaning of the word, which refers to Greek and not the green colour. On the other hand, the word “Greeklish” does sound like a different type or dialect of the Greek language, even though the ending “-ish” somehow underestimates the first part of the word that it refers to, and sounds like “sort of Greek”. The cluster “Latin-Greek” seems to be the most effective way to express the full meaning and usefulness of this language.

Nevertheless, in order for us to refer to this new electronic type of the Greek written language, I shall use the word “Greeklish”, which was and still is the name of the language that is used by Greeks living abroad.
3.2. Greeklish – An analysis

The writing of Greek with the use of Latin characters is widely spread around the Greek-speaking Internet users of the world within their communication systems. A main feature of “Latin-Greek” is spelling variation, whereby several Greek characters are transliterated with more than one Latin equivalents (Androutsopoulos, 1999). There are two ways of writing and spelling Greeklish; the phonetic transliteration, based on the sound of the Greek words, and the orthographic (visual) transliteration, based on the correct spelling of the words. But before I carry on with the description of these two ways, let us focus on the keyboard and software problems that the users experience, because of the non-Latin shaped Greek alphabet.

3.2.1. Keyboard & Software problems

Since the first computer was imported to Greece, Greeks always experienced problems writing in Greek. DOS programming, non user-friendly Word programs, were always obstacles to their Greek expression. However, as Nikos Xydakis (2001) writes, within the computer and Internet environment the Greek language was established very soon, from the “Greek” Macintosh period (late 80s), while PCs with Windows 95 and 98 are fully supporting the Greek language only during the last five years. Consequently,
whoever talks about computers that do not “speak” Greek, is not up to date and wrongly refers to computers of a previous era.

Even if cutting-edge technology computers have managed to incorporate the Greek language into their software, by developing Greek Word programs and interfaces for the Greek market, the Information Superhighway, the Internet remains a barrier to the free expression of the language between Greek-speaking users, especially those living abroad. The standard computer keyboard contains 26 keys with the English letters, from which 12 keys have a letter not belonging to the Greek alphabet. In the Greek market these letters have been substituted with the Greek letters that do not belong in the English alphabet (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W/ζ</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>R/P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>U/Θ</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>P/Π</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q/;</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>S/Σ</td>
<td>D/Δ</td>
<td>F/Φ</td>
<td>G/Γ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>J/Ξ</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>C/Ψ</td>
<td>V/Ω</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Greek alphabet contains 24 letters, two less than the English one. The letters Q and W have been substituted by the Greek question mark “;” and the small “ζ” (capital Σ). All the other letters of the keyboard exist in the Greek alphabet as well and they are not substituted. Of course, the English letters remain on the keys with the addition of the slash (/) and the Greek letter.
This substitution happens only with the keyboards in the Greek market. For Greeks living abroad and writing in Greek the English keyboard, without the substitutions, is often difficult to work with, even if their computer supports Greek, because they have to “guess” where the Greek letter is. Surprisingly, some of them put small stickers on the keys, defining where the Greek letters are on the English keyboard.3 Further, for most Greeks living abroad, the computers, and especially their e-mail clients do not support Greek, unless the user installs the proper software by him/herself. Consequently, if a Greek-speaking user living abroad receives an e-mail written in Greek from someone living in Greece, he/she may not be able to view it properly, or even at all, because his/her e-mail client does not support Greek fonts. This is why most Greek Internet users all over the world use Greeklish for their e-mail needs.

3.2.2.

Greeklish – Phonetic transliteration

This type of transliteration is the one used in most of the “easy-to-use” Greek-English dictionaries for tourists traveling to Greece for vacations, as well as in street signs in all the major cities and islands of Greece, for tourist orientation. Using phonetic transliteration one does not pay attention to the correct spelling of the word, as long as it “sounds like it” and the other party can comprehend it. This is why the name of the capital of Greece, Athens, was never written like that in the city’s signs, but as “Athina”, which is the phonetic transliteration of the Greek “Αθήνα”, for tourists to communicate with locals.

3 From a comment of a participant to the Online Questionnaire (see next chapter).
In the Internet environment the process remains the same, and in order to demonstrate it I will use the same example as above. In the word “Aθίνα” the Internet user can see two letters that may cause difficulty to the other party reading it; the consonant “θ” and the vowel “η”. In the case of the vowel the sender is using the English letter “i”, which has the same sound as the Greek “η”. On the other hand, for the letter “θ” the sender is using the English cluster “th” which again sounds like the Greek letter. However, both of these alterations do not match with the Greek word, in terms of correct spelling. This can be seen more clearly in the word “διεθνής” (eng. address). Here we have the diphthong “ευ” (sounds like “ef”), two different vowels that sound like “ι” (“υ” and “η”), and the same consonant “θ”. The phonetic transliteration of this word would be “diefthinsi”, where we can see that the two different Greek vowels were substituted by the same English one that sounds like them. There is no focus on spelling rules, as long as it is phonetically correct.

The most frequent examples of phonetic transliteration of Greek letters and diphthongs can be seen in Table 2.
Table 2: “Phonetic Transliteration”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek letter/diphthong</th>
<th>sounds like</th>
<th>Phonetic transliteration in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ι, η, υ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ει, οι</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αι</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ου</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ω, ο</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ξ</td>
<td>ks</td>
<td>ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ψ</td>
<td>ps</td>
<td>ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ευ</td>
<td>ef / ev</td>
<td>ef / ev</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one can see, there is no exception to the “rule” for every letter and diphthong. For instance, the verb “πειναω” (eng. I am hungry) would be transliterated in “pinao”, without any spelling check. I will refer to the “phonetic transliteration” in the next chapter as PT.

3.2.3.

Greeklish – Orthographic (Visual) transliteration

On the other side of the Latin transliteration of the Greek language is the orthographic, the visual transliteration of the Greek words. It is the type of writing Greek words in Latin characters the same way they would be written in Greek characters, using the correct spelling. The only element that is absent here is the intonation, which cannot be found in the Latin alphabet.

In the case of orthographic transliteration the Internet user that sends the message is focused on the correct spelling of the words, in order for them to look like the original
ones, written in Greek characters. To do something like that one has to think of all the possible and effective ways to use the English keyboard and present the Greek letters and words, as closer to the originals. Drawing from the example used in the previous section I will make an orthographic transliteration. As I showed before the word “Αθήνα” has two letters (“Θ” and “Η”) that do not exist in the Latin alphabet. In order for us to replace those letters we have to use Latin substitutes that can look like them. The most common solution is to replace the letter “Θ” with the number “8” and the letter “Η” with the letter “h”, but without the intonation, which cannot be placed in the Latin alphabet. In the case of “h” the letter is used for two reasons; first because it looks like the Greek letter, and second because it is placed in the same position on the keyboard for both users (see Table 1). For the same second reason the Greek letter “ν” is not replaced by the Latin letter “v”, as expected, but the Latin letter “n” remains the same, because it is placed in the same position. The word “Αθήνα” will be now written in Greeklish as “Α8hna”. For a Greek-speaking user this kind of transliteration looks almost exactly like the Greek word, whereas the type “Athina” has no similarity with the proper spelled word.

The examples of “διευθυντή” and “πεινάω” are more interesting. For the first word we would have to use the Latin letter “u” in the place of “υ”, the number “8” in the place of “Θ”, and the letter “h” in the place of “Η”. The word would be then transliterated into “dieu8unsh”, without intonation. For the second word another substitution takes place; the Greek letter “ω” is replaced by the Latin “w”, which looks like the former. However, there is no substitution for the letter “π”, which is replaced by the letter “p”, for the same reason mentioned above. Thus, the most common Greeklish version of the word would be “peinaw”.

The most frequent examples of orthographic transliteration of Greek letters and diphthongs can be seen in Table 3.

### Table 3: “Orthographic Transliteration”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek letter/diphthong</th>
<th>Orthographic transliteration in English</th>
<th>Greek letter/diphthong</th>
<th>Orthographic transliteration in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ι</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>υ</td>
<td>u / y</td>
<td>ω</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ξ</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αι</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ει</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ευ</td>
<td>eu / ey</td>
<td>ου</td>
<td>ou / oy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The visual transliteration is a mixture of Greek orthographic rules and visual contact with the keyboard. We seldom find the Greek letters “υ” and “χ” replaced by the Latin letters “v” and “ch”, because these letters have the exact same place on both English and English/Greek keyboards. On the other hand, for the Greek letter “υ” there seems to be a confusion amongst the sample of Greeklish users researched for this paper, between the visual transliteration “u” and the key placed on the Greek/English keyboard, which is “y” and refers to the same letter. This is why a double transliteration of the diphthongs “ευ” and “ου”, as “eu/ey” and “ou/oy” are commonplace.

In Tables 4 and 5 below we can see the differences between Phonetic Transliteration (PT) and Orthographic Transliteration (OT).
Table 4: “Differences between PT & OT”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>OT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Αθήνα</td>
<td>Athina</td>
<td>A8hna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διεθνείση</td>
<td>diethinsi</td>
<td>dieu8unsh / diey8ynsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πεινάω</td>
<td>pinao</td>
<td>peinaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ξύλο</td>
<td>ksiolo</td>
<td>3ulo / 3ylo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: “Differences between PT & OT”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek letter/diphthong</th>
<th>Phonetic Transliteration</th>
<th>Orthographic Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u / y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ει</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>οι</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αι</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ω</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ξ</td>
<td>ks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ευ</td>
<td>ef / ev</td>
<td>eu / ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ου</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ou / oy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.

Greek/Greeklish Converters on the Web

For those Greek-speaking users who cannot compromise with the un-official rules and norms of Greeklish, or are not even able to write in Greeklish because they do not know how or want to, Greek software developers have designed programs that can help with this situation; free web-based converters that can transliterate scripts written in
Greek or de-transliterate scripts written in Greeklish. Using these converters a user does not have to think of anything else but to write his/her message in Greek characters and then copy and paste it on the converter for transliteration.

After testing some of these web-based converters I concluded that they are not based on one of the transliteration types mentioned above, but use elements of both, mixing them, whenever needed. For instance, the Greek/Greeklish converter of the WebStar Internet Services' web site⁴ will use the phonetic transliteration of the letter “ξ” (ks) and the orthographic transliteration of the letter “υ” (u), in order to form the word “ξύλο” (eng. wood) as “ksulo”. As a conclusion, we must realize that there are apparently no specific norms that form one type of Greeklish script, in order for a user to express and write what he/she thinks and be understood. The main focus is on the meaning. However, in certain occasions, even that might be misunderstood.

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Chapter 4

4.1.

The Research

As mentioned in Chapter 1 the main objective of this study is focused on the effects of the electronic mail exchange via the Internet on the Greek language. It is common knowledge that the use of Greeklish, a new script form of Greek transliterated in Latin characters, is a growing phenomenon around Greek-speaking Internet users, who use e-mail. In the previous chapter I discussed about the a-typical norms that exist, in order to "create" Greeklish script. However, as mentioned before, there is no certain rule that one can be based on for the transliteration into Greeklish. In this chapter I will present the results derived from an online questionnaire that was sent to Greek-speaking users, living in Greece and Canada. Using these results I will try to do an analysis in more depth about the background and the reasons that make Internet users use Greeklish, and in what way.

4.1.1.

Research Methodology

The research was carried out simply: an online (web-based) questionnaire was forwarded to twenty persons through electronic mail. This questionnaire included
questions concerning their academic background, as well as their computing and typing skills, Internet experience that includes browsing, electronic mail skills, and chat performance. Special focus was placed on their grammar and spelling skills, especially when the participants were asked to write with Latin characters. Replies were requested within one week. A copy of the questionnaire has been included in the appendix of this paper.

This was an exploratory study, with twenty volunteers answering an online questionnaire. Data collected by the online questionnaire were analyzed descriptively (descriptive analysis). This research will provide further feedback on the growing phenomenon of improper use of the Greek language, since engagement in electronic mail exchange and chat room is so common between Greek speaking users.

4.1.2.

Participants

The participants for this research were Greek-speaking Internet users, conveniently selected from Toronto, Canada and Athens, Greece, who voluntarily completed and submitted the online questionnaire. These participants had at least one experience with e-mail and chat rooms, thus they fit in this research. The sample size was 20 participants; 10 females (7 Greek-Canadians, 3 Greeks) and 10 males (4 Greek-Canadians, 6 Greeks).
4.1.3. 

Recruitment

The participants were sent an email by the researcher, explaining why they were selected for this research. The email also provided information about the research and included the URL (Uniform Resource Locator, hyperlink for the web page) for the Informed Consent Form, which directly sent them to the online questionnaire for submission. A copy of the e-mail sent to the participants has been included in the appendix of this paper.

All the participants were randomly selected from the mailing list of the researcher. At least half of them were Greek-Canadians from Toronto, Canada, while the other half were Greeks from Athens, Greece. All of the participants are either friends or online friends with the researcher, with a medium level of intimacy. However, it is possible that some of the participants know each other, either in real life or online. Nonetheless, they were asked not to forward their responses to anyone else but the researcher, for further protection of their anonymity.

4.1.4. 

Privacy and confidentiality

Participants who read the Informed Consent Form web page were directly sent to the online questionnaire. By filling in and submitting the questionnaire automatically
constituted consent and there was no association with the participants’ name, since there was no question concerning that matter. All the submitted forms were sent directly to the researcher’s email account anonymously, from where they were downloaded and stored in the researcher’s hard drive. The anonymity of the participants’ submitted forms was fully protected, since by submitting the form there was no sender’s name appearing as an email address, other than nobody@oise.utoronto.ca, thus there was no chance of recognizing the participant’s name or email address. After the completion of the study these forms were erased.

4.1.5. Informed Consent Process

Participants were sent an email, explaining the purpose of the research, the objectives and hypothesis of the topic, the procedures and safeguards for protecting their anonymity, as well as the kind of analysis that will be done with the results of the questionnaire. It also included the URL that would directly send them to the Informed Consent Form web page (http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/~avalassakis/thesis/informed_consent_form.html). The email was sent with the Blind Carbon Copy (Bcc) method, in order for the participants’ email addresses not to be identified by the other recipients. The Informed Consent Form included the researcher’s and Faculty advisor’s email addresses, as well as the telephone number of the researcher for any questions before the completion of the form. After
reading the form participants had to click on the word “Proceed”, which would directly send them to the online questionnaire

(http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/~avalassakis/thesis/questionnaire.html).

In case participants did not agree with the Informed Consent Form, or they were under 18 years of age, they had to click on the word “Quit”, which would directly send them to a web page thanking them for their try. A copy of the Informed Consent Form has been included in the Appendix of this paper.

4.2.

The results

4.2.1.

General information of the participants

As mentioned above the number of the sample of the participants was 20, from which 10 females and 10 males, 11 Greek-Canadians and 9 Greeks. 7 females were Greek-Canadians living in Toronto, Canada, and 3 females were Greeks living in Athens, Greece, while 4 males were Greek-Canadians and 6 males were Greeks. 5 of the female participants were in the age range of 18 – 24, while the remaining 5 were in the age range of 25 – 29. 6 of the male participants were in the age range of 18 – 24, while the other 4 were in the age range of 25 – 29.
In regards to the educational background of the participants it seems that the majority hold a university degree in their mother language, while having a sufficient background in their second language education (Tables 6 and 7).

**Table 6: “Educational Background”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female participants</th>
<th>Greek-Canadians</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Background in English</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Background in Greek</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 1-6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 7-8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Graduate school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7: “Educational Background”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male participants</th>
<th>Greek-Canadians</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Background in English</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Background in Greek</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 1-6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 7-8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Graduate school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Amongst the researched group, the phenomenon of Greek-Canadians, born in Canada, living a number of years in Greece before and then returning to Canada was rather frequent. In my research one female and two males had attended a Greek high school, and then returned to Canada for undergraduate studies. For this reason they were not placed in the above tables.

The criteria I was based on in order to check the educational background of the participants’ second language abilities were the Greek schools placed in Toronto for Greek-Canadians, and the “Cambridge” or “Michigan” Lower and Proficiency Tests for English as a second language speakers, commonly used in Greece for English background purposes for Greeks. Greek schools in Toronto are under the supervision of the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto and the Greek Orthodox Church, and their hours of operation are either every Saturday morning or after regular school hours. Their grading system is organized in parallel with that of the Canadian schools, with grades 1-12 and OAC.

According to the information above the vast majority of the participants are well educated in both their primary and secondary language. As a result, they can speak and write both English and Greek with some of the same efficiency, and of course they can communicate in both languages. However, this seems not to be a case of spoken language, but of written, where the most problems occur, as will be discussed later.
4.2.2.

Internet experience

In regards to the participants’ Internet experience I found that most of the 20 participants have been using the Internet for more than 3 years. Males in both Canada and Greece seem to have more experience than females (more than 3 years of use), whereas Greek-Canadian females are divided (25% with 1 year of experience, 25% with 2 years, 25% with 3 years, and 25% with more than 3 years). Greek females are in the same range as males. However, the sample number of Greek females in this research is too small for me to make conclusions.

The hours that the participants spend on the Internet per day vary from 1 to 3, with some exceptions to both males and females, who spend about 4 – 5 hours. The majority of the sample size seems to be using the Internet for e-mail and research purposes, and not for other reasons, like chatting or surfing. All of them own an e-mail account, either web-based (free) or client-based (via an Internet provider), which they check regularly. According to the replies to the online questionnaire the majority of the participants use e-mail to contact mostly their friends and family members (90% of Greek-Canadian females, 100% of Greek females, and 100% of both Greek-Canadian and Greek males), while e-mail use for work/business and academic purposes is in second place. It appears that most of their e-mail needs refer to persons with a high or medium level of intimacy, which is a basic reason for the fact that they feel more free to express themselves in any way – formal or non-formal – in order to be understood. In a
way, they assume that, even if they misspell a word or use "slang" language, the recipient will automatically comprehend what they want to say.

4.2.3.

Greek/Latin characters

One of the most important questions in the online questionnaire was whether the participants choose Greek or Latin characters to write an e-mail message to a fellow Greek. Five out of 7 of the Greek-Canadian females chose Latin characters, whereas only one will write in Greek and the other one using both characters. On the other hand, all of the 4 Greek-Canadian males chose Latin characters in order to write e-mail. The most interesting part comes with the Greeks. Two out of the 3 Greek females used both character sets and one will use only Greek. However, half of the Greek males (3 of 6) used Latin characters, 2 used both, and one only used Greek. It is rather interesting to see that, even though the computer software of the Greek male participants supported the Greek alphabet, they preferred to use Latin, in our case, Greeklish.

Table 8: "Reasoning of using Latin characters"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible answers</th>
<th>Female participants</th>
<th>Male participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greek-Canadians</td>
<td>Greeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is faster</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No need for spelling check</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC does not support Greek fonts</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More convenient</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two of the 6 Greek male participants did not answer the specific question, while one of the 7 Greek-Canadian females replied that she only used Greek characters in her e-mail messages to Greeks. The answer “PC does not support Greek fonts” refers especially to Greek-Canadians using the English keyboard and software. However, Greek participants replied that the recipient’s PC might not support Greek or it does not whatsoever. As mentioned before, that is also the answer that half of the Greek males gave as an explanation on why they will use Latin characters in their Greek e-mail messages.

It is interesting to see that most of the Greek-Canadians use Greeklish because they believe that it is a faster way to express themselves in the Greek language when exchanging e-mail messages, rather than because their computer software does not support Greek fonts. Over the last two years, Microsoft’s Windows and Macintosh computers through the Unicode system have begun supporting all non-Latin languages. However, there still seems to be a problem with the e-mail client software programs, especially third-party vendors. That is the reason why the majority of the Greek participants believe they should use Greeklish for their Greek e-mail messages sent to people living abroad, or even within Greece. They strongly assume that the recipient might not be able to read the message, and there is no need to take a risk, since the other type of script is more “universal”. The same type of results were found by Dr. Jannis Androutsopoulos (1999) in his attempt to describe the reasons why Greeks use Latin characters in their e-mail messages.

Convenience seems to be correlated with the lack of spell check, although the fact that Greeklish does not need spell checking is somehow ignored by this research’s
sample. However, the test I asked the participants to take in the online questionnaire can lead us to further conclusions about Greeklish.

4.2.4.

Transliterating Greek

In the online questionnaire I asked our participants to re-write a sentence written in Greek, transliterating it in Greeklish, in their own way and style. The results have shown me that there seems to be a mixture of Phonetic (PT) and Orthographic (OT) Transliteration, especially between Greek-Canadians. On the other hand, half of the Greek participants were closer to OT, whereas the other half were following the mixed type (especially the males). However, most of the participants transliterated the sentence in their own unique way.

The Greek sentence was:

"Ἀπόψε θα περάσει να σε πάρει ο Γιώργος για να πάτε να φάτε."

(eng. Tonight George will pick you up to go for dinner.)

This sentence was chosen because it contains letters and words that can provide us with information about the user’s style of writing Greeklish. For instance, we are able to check whether someone uses the letters "th" or the number 8 for the Greek letter "θ", or even whether someone writes the word perasei or perasi for the Greek word περάσει. Examples like this are used to verify if a participant is using PT, OT or a mixture of both.

The four most frequent samples were:

1. Apopse tha perasei na se parei o Giorgos gia na pate na fate. (20%)
2. Αποψε θα περασει να σε παρει ο Γιωργος για πατε να πατε. (15%)

3. Αποψε θα περασει να σε παρει ο Γιωργος για πατε να πατε. (10%)

4. Αποψε θα περασει ο Γιοργος να σε παρει για πατε να πατε. (10%)

Sentence 3 combines all the characteristics of OT, with the substitution of the letter “θ” with the number 8, the correct spelling of the words περασει (περασει) and παρει (παρει), and finally the substitution of the letter “ω” with the letter “w”. Only 2 (10%) of the participants (Greek-Canadian females) transliterated the sentence using PT, where there was no attention to spelling check, as long as the words can sound like the originals, which is the basic element of Phonetic Transliteration (sentence 4). On the other hand the two first sentences are a combination of both PT and OT. Sentence 2 looks exactly like 3, except of the “th” in the place of “θ”. On the other hand sentence 1 seems to be a pure PT, without the transliteration of “θ” (th) and “ω” (o), except of the correct spelling of the words περασει and παρει, which makes it a mixture. Interestingly enough sentence 1 was written by 3 Greeks (2 males, 1 female) and 1 Greek-Canadian female, sentence by 2 Greeks (1 female, 1 male) and 1 Greek-Canadian female, and sentence 3 by 1 Greek-Canadian female and 1 Greek male.

Apart from the sentences that were alike and could be categorized in one or both of the transliteration types I received other sentences that included a “new” element that was not discussed before. In two of the sample sentences I found that the participants had transliterated the Greek letter “Γ” (capital) “γ” (small) with the Latin letter “y” (sentence 5).

5. Αποψε θα περασει να σε παρει ο Υιοργος για να πατε να πατε. (10%)
In this case we can see a PT of the Greek letter, which sounds like “y”, especially when it is followed by an “i” (yia). However, I believe that this kind of substitution is only applicable in these kinds of Greek words that include the vowel “i” (ι) after the consonant “g” (γ). For all the other words that start with or include the letter “γ” without the “ι” following, the substitution letter would be “g”. Overall, the sentence includes again elements of OT, with correct spelling of the endings of the verbs. It was written by a Greek-Canadian female and a Greek male.

In another case the participant chose to transliterate only the letter of the name and not the next word as well (sentence 6).

6. **Apopse tha perasei na se parei o Yiorgos gia na pate na fate.** (5%)  
There seems to be confusion as to where it is appropriate to put the letter “y” as a Phonetic Transliteration, or the letter “g” as a result of the visual contact with the keyboard (see Ch.3, Table 1).

Finally, in some of the sentences I checked that the participants did not really mind using small-caps everywhere, even in names. The name “Γιώργος” was not written with a capital letter, and surprisingly enough this phenomenon of writing everything in small characters occurs rather frequently in e-mail messages, not only in Greek but internationally as well (sentence 7).

7. **Apopse tha perasei na se parei o giorgos gia na pate na fate.** (10%)  
As little interviewing was done a few different explanations could explain this. I presume that this all-lower case phenomenon is related to the “time-loss” factor, which could occur if the writer would push the “Shift” button for capitals. Another explanation may be the heavy use of Microsoft Word and other word processing programs, which
automatically correct lowercase letters at the beginning of sentences, or notify the user of any such errors at the beginning of proper names. As a result of the increased dependence of such “auto-correct” features, typists (avid typists, more often than novices) have possibly unlearned the capitalization of a letter using the “shift” key. However, due to the lack of in-depth research, such claims cannot be properly argued.

4.3.
Perspectives

The last part of the questionnaire focused on the participants’ perspectives on the phenomenon, as I asked them to feel free to express their opinion and comment on the topic of Greeklish. The questions that I raised were: a) “What do you think of the use of Latin characters for the Greek language on the Internet?” and b) “Do you think it has any affects on the Greek language?” Overall, 60% of the participants replied that they believe that the use of Latin characters for the Greek language will eventually have a negative impact on the language, whereas the rest 40% thought that the phenomenon does not really affect the Greek language. With more details, 63.5% of the Greek-Canadians (5 females, 2 males), and 55.5% of the Greeks (2 females, 3 males) were on the negative side (anti-Greeklish), whereas 36.5% of the Greek-Canadians (2 females, 2 males), and the rest 44.5% of the Greeks (1 female, 3 males) were on the positive side of the phenomenon (pro-Greeklish). Table 9 below provides the results according to the sex of the participants.
Table 9: “Opinions on Greeklish affects”

| Do you think that the use of Latin characters has an affect on the Greek language? |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                 | Female participants | Male participants |
|                                 | Greek-Canadians | Greeks | Greek-Canadians | Greeks |
| YES | 71.5%            | 66.5% | YES | 50%            | 50% |
| NO  | 28.5%            | 32.5% |

4.3.1. The negative side (anti-Greeklish)

According to the results it seems that the females are more worried about the phenomenon of the Latin transliteration of the Greek language on the Internet than the males. They especially focus on the historical value of the Greek language, as well as spelling knowledge that tends to be declined and the accents that are absent with the use of Latin characters. We can see that in their comments on the subject below:

1. “I’d like to try and use Greek characters more often, however sometimes it’s convenient to use Latin characters instead. I think the use of Latin characters might take away the value of the Greek language in some way. Moreover, the use of Latin characters is not the correct way to write in Greek.” (Greek-Canadian female, age 25-29)
The participant in comment 1 uses both Greek and Latin characters in her e-mail messages, depending on whether she knows that the recipient will be able to read the message with his/her e-mail client software. She focuses more on the value of the Greek language, which might be taken away, while she thinks that writing in Latin characters is an improper way of writing Greek.

2. “I believe it does have a negative impact on the Greek language, given the expanding use of the Internet.” (Greek-Canadian female, age 25-29)

Comment 2 comes from a female that uses only Latin characters in her e-mail messages. She believes that the growing expansion of the use of Internet will eventually affect the Greek language.

3. “Yes, it does (affect the Greek language), because I’ve noticed that it has affected my spelling knowledge of the Greek language, and many times because it’s easier and faster I use both Greek and English words. It’s a good way of forgetting the legitimate spelling and usage of the Greek language....” (Greek-Canadian female, age 18-24)

This female participant talks about another phenomenon that occurs within the Greek communities all over the world. Personally, being a member of the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto and talking with Greek-Canadians of all ages, I realize that they have somehow forgotten a large amount of vocabulary of the Greek language, which they substitute with English or Greeklish words. However, this kind of language is only oral and it is used in discussions and non-formal chats. On the Internet this language assumes
a written form and includes all the characteristics of the oral, including pure English words, wherever needed.

4. "I can understand that it would be easier for some people to use Latin characters for the Greek language. The reason is because I am one of those people. I also feel that it doesn’t do any justice because it does loose (sic) its “Greek-ness.” (Greek-Canadian female, age 18-24)

The concept of “Greek being and remaining Greek” has been in the hearts of Greeks all over the world for centuries. Harping a cord of national pride, it refers especially to the language, which is unique and a part of the Greek heritage, which links to ancient Greece and our ancestors. Comment 4 is a typical example of how many Greeks feel about the Greek language.

5. "The most important problem that occurs with the use of Latin characters for the Greek language is spelling. Greek spelling is already difficult and the majority, especially young people, experience many problems learning it. The use of Latin characters establishes an alibi for the improper writing and spelling of the words and makes incorrect spellers to remain as they are. (...) Another problem is the accents, which are not used with Latin characters, and consequently the users are not using them and they forget the correct intonation of the words. I’m afraid that the wide use of Latin characters will open the way for more simplicity, even a disaster for the language, with the non-use of accents and perhaps even spelling."

(Greek female, age 25-29)
Both correct spelling and accents are mentioned in comment 5, which seems to be perhaps the most important issue of the Greeklish topic. As mentioned in the previous comment, these two elements are the basis for the proper writing of Greek and of course for the continuity of the uniqueness of the language. If simplicity, which is the characteristic of Greeklish, eclipses the two elements, then, as mentioned in the comment, Greek language might be destroyed.

Comments from the male participants of the negative side are in the same frame of mind:

6. “The use of Latin fonts to write in Greek has a minimal affect on my Greek. The Internet is another medium, separate from the rest of the world, and as a result I have accepted that typing in Greeklish on the net is just a separate language. However, it has an affect on my use of accents, and since I don’t really write in Greek off the net, it is easy to forget to use accents on the odd occasion when I do write Greek on the paper.” (Greek-Canadian male, age 18-24)

Is Greeklish just a separate language of the Internet? According to P. Kontos (2000) “Greeklish is like a fashion, of a non-permanent nature. However, language is one of the most crucial factors of cultural survival”. Will that non-permanent language remain only an Internet language, or will it expand in other forms and penetrate into our everyday lives? Here we also can see the Internet use of Greeklish might have affects on the off-the-Internet use of Greek in everyday life. Using a good Word-processor program on the computer, which may include spelling check for the Greek language, can be a great help
for those who experience problems with the Greek accents. However, the use of “paper and pencil” can always lead to major problems, anxiety, and finally total abandonment of the effort.

7. “For those typing in Latin characters there is no interest in using correct spelling, since you’re not typing in real Greek. If email is your only opportunity to write Greek to friends and family then your knowledge of Greek will only deteriorate with time!” (Greek-Canadian male, age 18-24)

This male participant is in accordance with the former one, in terms of reality. He believes that Greeklish is not “real Greek”, thus no credit is being given to spelling and grammar. He also assumes that practice makes a difference, especially for second and third generation Greek-Canadians, for which Greek is a second language. If there is no support from the family environment in speaking and writing in Greek, then the language will not only be minimized but also extinguished.

4.3.2.

The positive side (pro-Greeklish)

As mentioned before, 40% of the participants in this research replied that the use of Latin characters in writing Greek does not really have an affect on the Greek language. The general approach was that as long as someone knows how to write in Greek properly Greeklish will always be a tool to write faster and more conveniently on the Internet. I
must note that some of the participants did not really explain their reasoning when asked to comment on the subject. Their comments were:

8. "I don't think it affects the language, as long as it is used correctly. Writing in Latin characters proper Greek will not change the meaning of the Greek language." (Greek-Canadian female, age 25-29)

This female participant believes that the general meaning of the Greek language will not change, as long as the users use Greeklish correctly. However, the concept of "correctness" does not really apply to Greeklish, since there are no specific rules that form this "language". Nevertheless, this female uses only Latin in her e-mail messages, and her Greeklish are based on Phonetic Transliteration, which has no interest in correct spelling.

9. "It is confusing, as it is annoying to read messages that shift from one language to the other. Amusing, that one can put Greek and non-Greek thoughts and expressions together to make a really creative and fun reading experience." (Greek-Canadian male, age 18-24)

This comment seems to refer especially to Greeklish that Greek-Canadians use in their everyday lives and during their Internet sessions with other Greek-Canadians. He testifies that he uses Greek words written in Greeklish as an addition to his English sentences that create a rather interesting product. It is obviously about a transcription of the oral Greeklish language that Greek-Canadians use during their discussions to the paper, in our case, the computer.
10. *No! I believe that all individuals using Latin characters are Greek and live abroad or in Greece, have studied English therefore we have a common tie of communication amongst us.*" (Greek-Canadian female, age 25-29)

Comment 11 seems rather confusing, as it refers to the English educational background of both Greeks and Greek-Canadians. She believes that English, not Greeklish, is the common tie between Greeks all over the world, while she confirms that anyone using Latin characters is still Greek. I assume that this participant connected the issue of using Latin characters with whether someone knows how to write in English or not.

11. *“I believe that it doesn’t affect the Greek language as long as people still know how to write the Greek language whenever and wherever they need to.” (Greek male, age 18-24)*

This comment is in accordance with comment 8, in that it refers to the people’s previous knowledge of the Greek language, which will not deteriorate, even if they use Latin characters in their Greek e-mail messages. It is very interesting to see that people believe in the already existent knowledge on a subject, which cannot be extinguished if it is used frequently.

12. *“Regardless the formality and the importance of what someone writes, I think that the use of Latin characters doesn’t really affect the Greek language. It is easier and more immediate to write in Latin” (Greek male, age 25-29)*
The issues of convenience and time are mentioned here, which seem to be the main reasons that the pro-Greeklish participants use in their comments. This Greek male, who transliterated orthographically the Greek sentence given before, prefers Greeklish as a more immediate means of communication, regardless the formality and the importance of the message. However, the invasion of Greeklish in the formal messages within academic and political circles seems to be a major issue of concern, which will be analyzed in the next chapter.

13. "The use of the Latin characters is something that was expected since the net is a means that everybody uses. It does not harm the nature of the language since it's better writing an email to a friend in Greeklish than in Greek." (Greek female, age 18-24)

What does "better" mean for this participant? I assume it is in accordance with convenience, which, as mentioned before, seems to be a major factor of accepting Greeklish as an Internet language. What is under scrutiny here is whether this language will have effects on the everyday Greek language; and that is something this participant did not give enough evidence for.

14. "I think it has absolutely no affect on the Greek language. The language is spoken everywhere in my everyday life. I don't think that anyone is going to loose his/her knowledge of Greek in any way. My opinion is that those who oppose to this are over-pessimists." (Greek male, age 18-24)

This Greek participant believes that since the Greek language can be spoken everywhere in his everyday life, there is no reason to fear that Greeklish will become a threat. Of
course, he talks about Greece and the local people. What happens with Greeks living abroad, where the Greek language does not have the privilege to be spoken everywhere, and can even be forgotten? On the other hand, he talks about oral language, which again might be easier to preserve. Again, what happens to those who do not have the chance of practicing the written language, in our case, Greeks living abroad, which could be threatened by the invasion of Latin characters? For one more time, the pro-Greeklish participants do not provide me with a fair reasoning.

4.4. 
Summary

Even though this was an exploratory research, with only 20 participants answering an online questionnaire, it provided me with a useful amount of information about the perspectives of people between the ages of 18 to 29 on the growing phenomenon of Greeklish. Eleven Greek-Canadians from Toronto, Canada and 9 Greeks from Athens, Greece gave their insights on a topic that has become fairly discussed recently, the Latin transliteration of the Greek language.

In this research I realized that 60% of the participants were worried about the invasion of Latin in the Greek vocabulary, which might cause further anomalies and catastrophic results on the Greek language in general. Forty per cent believed that there is no reason to worry, since people still speak and write in Greek in their everyday lives, thus Greeklish, which is considered to be just a convenient and fast Internet language,
cannot be a major threat. Further, I reached the conclusion that Greeklish users are not based on only one of the basic un-official norms of the script, but they use both Phonetic and Orthographic Transliteration of the Greek language in Latin characters, whenever it is convenient. According to that, I am now certain that “everyone writes however he/she likes and everyone uses his/her own method”. However, most of all, I am certain that there is a growing phenomenon that needs to be examined closely.
Chapter 5

5.1.
Tool or threat? – Conclusion

After presenting the results of my research I am now faced with a dilemma; is Greeklish, this hybrid Internet language, a tool for the Greek-speaking users of the Information Superhighway or a threat to the Greek language, one of the most ancient languages, yet with a minor range? Latin-alphabeted Greek seems to be a convenient way, a supplementary system of script for most Greeks to communicate with friends and family, especially those living abroad. Further, since Greek spelling is very difficult by nature, Greeklish offers a chance for expression, even to those who are not capable spellers. As D. Mitropoulos (1997) writes: “(Greeklish) is a solution, of course not a quite elegant one, however convenient”. On the other hand, the Latin transliteration of the Greek language through the Internet seems to annoy those who fight to preserve the proper Greek language. They consider Greeklish to be a threat to the language, which could lose its uniqueness and might be extinguished in the Internet’s “melting pot”.

There has been quite an argument on this subject, especially within Greek academic circles, which seem pretty divided. Those who consider Greeklish to only be a convenient tool or just a fashion believe that there is nothing to fear. Anna Fragoudaki (2001) explains:

“Language and alphabet are not equal, since language means most of all how to speak, while written text is its substitute. If younger people choose
to communicate with “Greeklish” it does not mean that this hybrid script will be adopted as an alternative script and, consequently, will become a threat to the Greek script. It is nothing but a kind of glossary that young people use within their circles. They will never use this script to write an official document, and they will never use it to refer to other parties.”

Perhaps official documents are not yet written in Greeklish, however this hybrid script is not only used by younger people, since academics, professors, and businessmen find in Greeklish a useful tool as well (Lalios, 2000). Veritally, language and alphabet are not equal, since the alphabet is just a way of expressing language in written text, and every language is connected with an alphabet. However, there are certain occasions where a second one (alphabet) is used, because of some need of communication. For instance, there is a similar tradition in Japan and China, because of the ideograms of their alphabet (Androutsopoulos, 2000). Should Greeks consider the Greek language to be an ideogram language as well? It seems that the Internet follows that idea. Let us not forget that about 85% of the web sites on the Internet are written in the English language, 2% are in French, while the rest are written in all the other languages, including Spanish, German, Italian, which are an “endangered-species” on the Net. It is obvious that English is the “lingua franca” of cutting-edge technology (Mitropoulos, 1997). The fact that Greek is considered to be a minor language on the Internet has been taken under careful consideration by the Greek Government, and certain measures were announced to support Greek fonts and content on the Internet. This measures included complete sets of Greek fonts, enrichment of sites with Greek content, and contacts with Greeks abroad.
Nonetheless, Greeklish is a reality, perhaps unofficial, but a part of our everyday life. An entire generation of young Greek people (and perhaps not so young) is using it, and eventually will continue using it as a means of professional and private communication (Androutsopoulos, 2000). Will this mean that it will gradually take over as an official language? This idea seems to have crossed the minds of some, who consider the recent example of Turkey, where people saw that adopting the Latin alphabet never hurt the language or the culture of the Turks. However, famous academics reply that “the Turks did not have to preserve a culture as great as the Greek culture, which offered the basis of civilization to the rest of the world via this particular Greek alphabet” (Despotopoulos, Moutsopoulos, 2001). The arguments could go on forever.

Personally, I fear that this is just the beginning of something bigger that is yet to come. I may be a part of the “anti-Greeklish” side, however I believe that there should be more research conducted on the phenomenon of Greeklish on the Internet. On the other hand, I strongly support the idea of Maria Kakridi-Ferrari (2001), who writes:

“Development of technology is truly causing immense social and cultural changes. However, we know from History that the only way for a culture to survive in such critical situations is by accepting the new challenges creatively and for its own interest, without avoiding them and finally remaining an outsider.”

Greek culture has survived all these millennia by accepting challenges and elements of other cultures, which were finally reformed and added in its frame. What we need to do
now is to accept the fact that the hybrid script of Greeklish is present in our everyday lives, and try to find ways to make the necessary reformations, in order for it not to become an obstacle to the Greek language, or even a fatal threat. On the other hand, the total domination of the English language on the Internet needs to be examined and certain measures to be taken for other languages to be present on the Web (Christidis, 2001). Hopefully, in a few years, the phenomenon of Greeklish will not be a phenomenon any more, while the Greek language will take the place it deserves on the Internet.
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Appendix
I am currently working on my thesis for the M.A. program at OISE/UT, and I would like to invite you to take part in the research process of it.

The title of my thesis will be "Greek & the Internet - The affects of electronic mail exchange on the Greek language", and it talks about the current use of the Greek language on the Internet, and especially the affects on the language because of the use of Latin characters.

The purpose of this study is to try to show the effects of electronic mail exchange and online chatting on Greek language and typing skills. It focuses on the ways people use the Greek language on the Internet. Relationships between Greek usage and the type of interactivity (how close the person you are writing to is), time-loss factor (especially in chat sessions), and the participants’ already existing skills. Facts like Greek language written in Latin characters, improper use of language (incorrect spelling, acronyms, etc.) will be analyzed here. One of the main objectives of this study is to give the world a sense of what is going on in today's cyber-world; not in terms of cutting-edge technology and its affections on human relationships, but in terms of the very first element of human nature, that is being modified in order to fit the needs of the rapid technological change: Language.

In order to get the appropriate feedback from Greek speaking email users that use the Internet for email exchange, I am sending you a questionnaire, which I am asking you to fill in. This questionnaire is online (web-based) and the questions are focused on the use of Latin characters and improper use of the Greek language. Please keep in mind the following:
1. The questionnaire is fully anonymous. There is no question concerning names, email addresses or anything that has to do with recognition, other than age, sex, and location. With you submitting the questionnaire I will be receiving an email in my account sent by nobody@oise.utoronto.ca, which will further ensure your anonymity. In the research your submission will be referred to as a number, and there will be no association with your name.

2. One of the basic parts of the questionnaire asks you to re-write a sentence written in Greek. With that I want to see how you will do that, what kind of characters you will use, and if you will ignore spell and grammatical checking or not. The analysis of that will be one of the main parts of the project.

3. There is a chance that some of the participants may know each other, either in real life or online. After you are done with questionnaire please do not forward your responses to anyone else, other than me. That will further ensure your anonymity in the research.

4. After the completion of the research all the data collected will be destroyed and you will be sent a URL for a web site especially designed for you to see the results of the study.

The following URL will send you to the Informed Consent Form web page, which will directly send you to the Online Questionnaire page (better viewed with Internet Explorer):
http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/~avalassakis/thesis/informed_consent_form.html

If you have any questions or concerns about the questionnaire or the research please contact me at avalassakis@oise.utoronto.ca or call me at (416) 469-0878. You can also contact my supervisor Lynn Davie at ldavie@oise.utoronto.ca. Please note that you have the right to withdraw from this research at any time without explanation or negative consequences.

Thank you for your time

Antonios Valassakis
M.A. Computer Applications
C.T.L.
OISE/UT
Informed Consent Form

I have volunteered to be the participant in a study entitled: Greek & the Internet, The affects of electronic mail exchange on the Greek language. This study is being conducted by Antonios Valassakis, in partial fulfillment of the Masters of Arts requirements in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning (CTL), at the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT), under the direction of Dr. Lynn Davie. The purpose of this study is to show the effects of electronic mail exchange upon the Greek language. I understand that the study requires that I answer all the questions given in the questionnaire, and that I am over 18 years of age. I am aware that this project will be conducted in June 2001.

I will be given the opportunity to ask any questions about the study prior to or after my participation by sending an email to Antonios Valassakis (email: avalassakis@oise.utoronto.ca, tel.#: (416) 469-0878) or Lynn Davie (email: ldavie@oise.utoronto.ca). I acknowledge that the data will be used in the analysis and subsequent publication of the thesis. I have been informed that there are no potential risks for participation in the study, as by filling in and submitting the online questionnaire there will be no association with my name, since the questionnaire is anonymous.

The potential benefits from participating in this study include learning about the effects of the Internet upon the Greek language through a web site, designed especially for this purpose. I understand that there will be opportunity to raise any concerns throughout the study so that they might be addressed. I understand that I can withdraw at any time without explanation or negative consequences. I understand that following the study, I may be contacted via email to clarify or confirm the findings. I understand that the data collected for this study will be destroyed after the study is completed. I have carefully considered the implications of this study and will indicate my agreement to participate by clicking on "Proceed" below. I understand that submitting the questionnaire constitutes consent.

Proceed

Quit
Internet and the Greek language

Please answer the following questions

GENERAL

Where are you from? : 
Country: ___________________________ City: ___________________________

What is your gender? : □

What is your age? : ___________________________

BACKGROUND

Please indicate your academic background in:

Greek

Greks : ______________________ □ Greek-Canadians : ______________________ □

English

Greks : ______________________ □ Greek-Canadians : ______________________ □

INTERNET

When did you start using the Internet? : ______________________ □

How many hours do you spend daily on the Internet? : ______________________ □

Do you use electronic mail (email)? : ______________________ □

Where do you usually send email? (check all that apply):

□ Friends

http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/~avalassakis/thesis/questionnaire.html 9/12/01
Do you send emails outside your country?: 

**USE OF LANGUAGE**

When you send email to a Greek do you prefer to use Greek or Latin characters?: Greek

If you use Latin then why?:

- It is faster
- It does not need spelling check
- My computer does not support Greek fonts
- Other

Do you change your mind about typing in Greek or Latin characters when you send an email to a relative or a friend?:

Please re-type the following sentence the way you would if you were to send an email message:

"Απόψε θα περάσει να σε πάρει ο Γιώργος για να πάτε να φάτε."

YOUR OPINION

What do you think of the use of Latin characters for the Greek language on the Internet?
Do you think it has any affects on the Greek language?

(please send us a few thoughts):
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EFL STUDENTS GO MOOING: A CASE STUDY OF PROJECT-BASED TECHNOLOGY SUPPORTED LANGUAGE LEARNING

by

Jen-Yi Wu

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Art
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
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University of Toronto

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EFL STUDENTS GO MOOING: A CASE STUDY OF PROJECT-BASED TECHNOLOGY SUPPORTED LANGUAGE LEARNING

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Master of Art, 2001
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

Abstract

This thesis is aimed at exploring the use of MOO (Multi-user domain, Object Oriented), a network-based virtual environment, in supporting language learning through a collaborative project which involved six college students from Taiwan. To examine the process and outcomes of learner interactions and productions, this research adopted a qualitative, field-based case study methodology which offers a detailed description of the project members’ experience and language use promoted by this MOO-based collaborative project. The outcomes of the study reflect the mediation role of online tools and written language for learners’ construction of virtual spaces and their communication with others. Within the context of technology-supported language learning, it was possible to describe the varied language learning activities in the MOO environment using Cummins’ analytical framework in turn focusing on language, meaning and use. Four of the six participants’ viewpoints toward MOOing and language learning, technical issues and their project work were investigated.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Statement of Problem and Goal

The rapid growth of network technologies has placed human connection and information retrieval at one's fingertips. In addition, the role of computers in language learning has changed from being the stimulator of drills and practice to being the mediator of information and interaction. Combining the features of synchronous chatting and asynchronous writing, Multi user domain, Object Oriented (MOO) environments attract language researchers and educators for their potential to facilitate EFL students' learning and use of English through a text-based virtual environment. However, due to the novelty of MOOs, the studies found in the literature are either limited in their scale of investigation, or they fail to provide systematic documentation of the process and product of teaching and research projects. Moreover, the learners' individual performances and reactions to this innovative medium are rarely reported or examined in detail. To address these issues, the present study aims to document participation and performance of six students in a summer project held in an educational MOO and to investigate how their use and learning of English can be promoted through a collaborative online project. Furthermore, the study investigates
what their viewpoints are regarding their experience of participating in this virtual environment.

Content and Organization

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter introduces CMC and MOOs as an alternative access to the target language learning and use for EFL students. The first chapter begins with a description of the development of CMC technology in language teaching. Then I provide an introduction to different communication tools used in the networked environment, followed by a specific focus on the MOO, its environment and brief history. The second chapter consists of a review of literature in two areas. The first part is a review of research related the network technologies and language learning involving the use of synchronous and asynchronous tools, integrated environments, and MOOs. In the latter part, I provide the theoretical orientation of the present study based on a review of literature. The third chapter details the methods used in the research and describes the means and procedures of data collection. In the fourth chapter, detailed information about the research project is provided through descriptions of the project site, the participants, the education tools provided, and the project timeline. The fifth chapter presents the outcomes of the project starting with a description of the project, analysis of speech events and activities, and viewpoints of the participants. It documents the findings of the
Qualitative analysis conducted to answer my research questions. The final chapter summarizes the present study and discusses the significance and implications of project-based learning through the virtual space created by MOO.

1.2 Language Learning, Computers, and Networking Technologies

1.2.1 Learning English as a Foreign Language

In the countries where it is regarded as a foreign language, English is mostly spoken in the language classroom, and is not used for the purpose of communication in people’s daily lives. Therefore, there are very few chances for language learners to practice or use what they have learned in a meaningful context within their own country (Brown, 1994).

For implementing a communicative activities syllabus, Stern (1992) stresses the importance of contact with a variety of target language speakers, access to various target language settings and use of authentic language. However, in recognizing the limitations of foreign language settings, he suggests the recreation of some characteristics of the target language environment as “the next best thing”. Examples of such artificial environments could include such things as a school where the target language is spoken, a class instructed in the target language, a house, a camp or a meeting and even a sports activity that is specially arranged for use of the target language.
1.2.2 Network Technologies and Foreign Language Learning

In recent years, the advance of computer and network technologies has provided more options to language learners and educators. In particular, the Internet provides opportunities for accessing information and for the meeting of people in different physical locations. Through this technology, it is possible to recreate a virtual space that simulates the target language environment and to further provide chances for language learners to use the target language meaningfully while interacting with their peers or native speakers. In other words, the advance of computer and network technologies has also provided what Stern called "the next best thing" for foreign language education. In the next section, we will look at the development of network technologies and the opportunities they provide for foreign language education.

1.2.2.1 CALL

Computer-assisted language learning (CALL) has been affected both by the advance of network technologies and the shifting perspectives of theoretical orientations (Warschauer, Turbee and Roberts, 1996; Ortega, 1997; Kern and Warschauer, 2000). Earlier instructional foci were affected by structural perspectives, which led to the stress on drill and practice of formal aspects of the language. More recent CALL programs view language learners as active agents and often provide a simulated environment for learners to explore and construct their own worlds. With
the development of network technology, network based language teaching (NBLT) has served a critical role in CALL’s evolution (Chapelle, 2000). Therefore, a current approach to CALL tries to place language learners on a sociocultural plane, which stresses the importance of contextualized, meaningful engagement of interaction.

According to Kern and Warschauer (2000), computer networking in the language classroom arises from two important technical developments, computer-mediated communication (CMC) and globally linked hypertext (e.g. World Wide Web). They foster opportunities for active participation and learner collaboration across physical boundaries. For foreign language learners, these developments provide an alternative access of reaching out and interacting with either native speakers or non-native speakers in the target language.

1.2.2.2 CMC

To access the target language community and interact with its speakers, foreign language learners and teachers can use CMC either in synchronous or asynchronous modes. Synchronous CMC tools allow users to interact with either one or many users in real time. With their help, foreign language learners may connect to their peers in the same classroom or school through the establishment of a local area network (LAN). They may also connect to the outer world through the Internet and interact with other users of the communicating client. Both chat rooms and Internet Relay
Chat (IRC) provide this kind of function. On the other hand, asynchronous tools do not require users to be on-line at the same time. Their communications are carried out through tools such as electronic mail (e-mail) or discussion boards.

1.2.2.3 Hypertext and Hypermedia

Another powerful development of network technology, globally linked hypertext and hypermedia provide foreign language learners a wide range of information access and exchange. Appearing in the form of the World Wide Web, the combination of sounds images and texts generate a great number of authentic materials on the Internet such as recipes, travel guides, and news reports with video clips. Language learners may also participate in projects that perform research on the Internet through the use of search engines, online dictionaries and encyclopedias. The product of the learning projects, for example, can be a web page created by learners for sharing with their community.

The tool which is the focus of this study, MOO, is an example of an integrated network environment. The interface of the particular MOO where this research took place incorporates asynchronous and synchronous communication and hypertext capabilities. These characteristics will be introduced in the next section about the history and the environments of MOOs.
1.3 MOOving Ahead

1.3.1 The History

MOOs originated from MUDs (Multi-User Domain/Dungeon), real time text-based environments that were originally developed as a type of adventure game in which the players gain experience and power by finding treasures, collecting money, killing monsters and dragons or becoming, a wizard at the end of the game (Turkle, 1998; Hynes & Holmevik, 1998). In the late 80’s, Steven White first incorporated the Object-oriented programming ability into the MUD program and termed it “MOO”. In this new generation, the users are allowed to construct their own world by writing descriptions for their places and objects and they were even given the ability to add functionality to these objects through programming. Later, the major development and documentation of the programming language of MOOs was taken over by Pavel Curtis, a researcher in Xerox Palo Alto Research Center (PARC). His MOO, LambdaMOO, has been running since 1991 and is a popular social place in which thousands of users connect from different places around the world.

The creation of LambdaMOO inspired its early visitors to think of the potential applications of this text-based, virtual environment. For instance, Amy Bruckman started a meeting place for media researchers called Media MOO, which took the
development of MOOs in a new direction for professional use. Similarly, Gustavo
Glusman and Jaime Prilusky founded BioMOO in 1993 as a meeting place for
biologists. ATHEMOO, an educational and professional MOO created by Juli Burk,
was prepared for the Association for Theater in Higher Education (ATHE). Simulating
the physical setting of a campus, Diversity University, created by Jeanne MacWhorter,
was made to incorporate multiple disciplines.

The potential of language education envisioned by language educators inspired
the creation of language learning MOOs such as SchMOOze University for English
(e.g. Frizler 1995; Pinto, 1996; Sanches, 1996; Baker, 1999; Shield et al, 1999),
MUNDO Hispano for Spanish (Hall, 1998), Little Italy for Italian and Dreistadt MOO
for German. These MOOs provide language learners a place to use their target
language, to meet with native speakers, and to collaborate in language learning
activities.

1.3.2 The Structure

The physical structure of a MOO appears as a database housed on a server¹.

Users from different locations of the world may access the database via the Internet
through their own client software. Therefore, to connect to a MOO, one needs a

¹ A server is a computer and its associated application of hardware and software applications that act
as a repository for information files or software programs. The server sends this information by request
across the network to users of client software. A client is the software that operates on a user's
computer for accessing information distributed from servers (December. 1996).
computer with Internet capacity and appropriate client software that is suitable for their operating systems².

1.3.2.1 Text-Based Interface

Basically, the MOO world is constructed by text; in other words, every object in the MOO comes into its existence through a string of words that describe it. Here is what a player can see in a room from a text-based MOO client:

Figure 1-1. A MOO Room in the Text-Based Interface

² See Appendix A for a list of MOO clients for different operating systems and the web sites of their manufacturers.
As figure 1-1 displays, one can input commands in the lower dialogue box for the purpose of synchronous communication, object creation, and programming. The results will then appear in the text area. In a typical room, one first sees the name of the room, followed by its description, the objects inside it and exits to other rooms. Based on the object-oriented concept, everything one can see in the MOO is an object. By looking more closely at various objects, through the use of a specific command, one can see separate descriptions for different objects, including the characters, furniture and exits. Players can also interact with the objects through the use of associated commands; they can, for example, open a treasure box and take a necklace from it. Through the use of exits and other commands, one can travel from one room to another and interact with the objects inside it. Each player is an active participant in this virtual community and is in control of using, creating and deleting objects. In other words, things happening in real life can be visualized and simulated in this virtual world through texts created for and by its residents.

1.3.2.2 Graphical User Interface (GUI)

The introduction of globally linked hypertext and hypermedia into the MOO’s interface provides a new visual presentation of the objects of this virtual world. The implementation of web page-integrated GUI allows the users to ‘examine’ objects and visit adjacent rooms through a mouse click. In addition, users may apply images and
icons on their own objects and characters to strengthen the visual presentation of their characteristics. Moreover, the web page area of the interface also allows its users to import information and images from other web resources, which transforms the MOO into an integrated networking environment equipped with synchronous, asynchronous CMC, hypertext and hypermedia (See figure 1-2).

Figure 1-2. A MOO in GUI\(^3\) - an Integrated Networking Environment

\(^3\) Figure 1-2 represents a GUI of MOO core called Encore Express that is adopted by Achieve, the project site. This form of GUI was developed at LinguaMOO by Cynthia Haynes and Jan Rune Holmevik. For more information, see Haynes and Holmevik (2000).
In Figure 1-2, the upper window presents some basic commands in the form of buttons. The window on the right is the web area that shows the description of the room and objects inside of it. As explained above, each object not only has an icon to represent it but the icon can also be further examined by clicking its hyperlinked names or images. In addition, clicking the hyperlinked exits will take one to the room indicated. The window on the left hand side is the area that displays the record of synchronous communication and results of commands use, which is similar to the traditional text-based interface as showed in Figure 1-1.

Either through text-based interface or GUI, the whole construct of a MOO reflects a particular environment where the identities of both users and objects can be created through narrative forms. The generation of space, characters and text is endless and the players in MOOs are both readers and writers. Moreover, the features of these texts are multi-linear and co-constructive (Haynes & Holmevik, 1998). For foreign language learners, this virtual environment provides a great potential for language use in a meaningful context.

Summary

Learning English as a foreign language rarely includes opportunities for target
language use in meaningful contexts. However, the development of network technologies may offer some remedies for this situation. In this chapter, I introduced the basic concepts of several networking tools including asynchronous CMC, synchronous CMC, hyperlinks/hypermedia and integrated networking environments. Then, selecting MOOs as the focal research tool, I first briefly reviewed its history of development and then its concepts and structure. Along with the introduction of two interfaces, I also explained its features as an integrated networking environment. To understand how this networking tool has been used in language teaching and the outcomes of that use, in the next chapter, I will review the research literature of different kinds of networking tools and their underlying theoretical frameworks.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this chapter, I will provide a review of literature in two sections. In the first part, my focus will be on how networking tools have been used in language teaching in the literature. In the second part, I will introduce the theory that guides the current study.

2.1 Research on Network-based Language Teaching

Since networking tools may create opportunities of meaningful communication and authentic use of the target language, language researchers and educators have been making use of these technologies. In the following section, I will review the studies on the use of asynchronous and synchronous CMC tools. Then, I will review how integrated environments have been used in language classrooms and the outcomes. Finally, as the main research focus, existing documents on the application of MOOs in language teaching will be presented.
2.1.1 Asynchronous CMC and Foreign Language Education - The Use of E-Mail

Since the early 90's, the asynchronous exchange of e-mail has been receiving wide interest (Appel, 1999; Barson, Frommer & Schwartz, 1993; Gonzalez-Bueno, 1998; Lunde, 1990; Kern, 1996, Kroonenberg, 1995; Soh & Soon, 1991). Since then, e-mail has been used as a tool for promoting learner interaction, collaboration, and the exchange of languages and cultures. As Gonzalez-Bueno (1998) summarized from previous studies, the use of this medium generates (a) a greater number of linguistic exchanges among participants; (b) more variety in topics and language functions; (c) higher level of linguistic accuracy; (d) a style of writing that has similarity with oral language; (e) more student-initiated interactions; and (f) more personal and expressive language use.

2.1.2 Synchronous CMC and Foreign Language Education - The Use of Interchange

Along with the development of research in the use of e-mail, the application of synchronous CMC tools also has received attention from researchers. Many researches have been drawn to a real-time communicating software named Daedalus InterChange that is operated on a local area network (LAN) such as a computer-equipped classroom environment (Beauvois, 1992, 1998; Yun, 1994; Kern, 1995; Sullivan & Pratt, 1996; Warschauer, 1996b; Schultz, 2000). More target
language production and less teacher intervention are the common findings of these studies. In Yun's (1994) study, the students took more initiative than in the normal classroom. Kern (1995) found students were in favour of the Interchange session. He also outlined the following characteristic features of the sessions: decentralization of the teacher’s position, less attention paid to grammatical accuracy, and less coherence and continuity in discussions. However, Sullivan & Pratt (1996) suggested that students produced more focused comments during the on-line sessions. Results of Warschauer’s (1996) study also showed students’ positive attitude towards networked environments and their increased production of the target language regardless of gender and keyboard skills. Beauvois (1998) indicated that students usually wrote more than one sentence with compound-complex sentence structure and their participation increased. Finally, the results of Schultz (2000) indicated that the visual effect of written exchanges through computers has a positive effect on the development of organization and style in writing. In summary, synchronous CMC on LAN appears to have a positive linguistic, cognitive, and affective impact on students’ use of target language and their written products.
2.1.3 Research on Integrated Network Environment and Foreign Language Education

As the selection of networking tools expands, researchers are starting to investigate the impact of combining both synchronous or asynchronous CMC tools or adding World Wide Web with multimedia capacity (Cummins & Sayers, 1995; Oliva and Pollastrini, 1995; Lee, 1997; Singhal, 1998; Yun and Plass, 2000). Although the studies in this area are still scarce, they have illuminated the potential of the integrated network environment. Projects described in Cummins and Sayers (1995) employed teleconferencing software and e-mail to link up students across geographical distance to foster intercultural learning. Oliva and Pollastrini (1995) brought learners of Italian ancestry to an on-line Italian community which used a synchronous communication channel and mailing lists as tools of communication. Lee (1997)'s study involved 124 students using e-mail, browsers and listservs in a learning project. Results of surveys indicate that the use of the internet improved students' understanding of Spanish culture and was beneficial for their target language. Singhal (1998) suggested that teleconferencing and e-mail provide language learners an experience of authentic communication and foster awareness of languages and cultures. Yun and Plass (2000) put together the use of multimedia, hypertext, and e-mail for peer review and discussion. They discussed the issue of designing networked multimedia environments and suggested two important criteria for implementing language
instruction: (1) Cognitive process involved in developing linguistic and pragmatic
competence must be supported, and (2) in order to diminish the problems of
hypermedia environments, the potential drawbacks must be avoided (p. 166).

To summarize from the reviewed studies, the use of CMC tools allows more
equal participation among learners, develops learning skills, fosters greater student
autonomy and empowerment. An increase in written linguistic skills can also be
expected. In addition, more affective involvement and further understanding of
cultural aspects of the target community can be fostered (Barson, Frommer &
Schwartz, 1993; Cummins & Sayer, 1995; Paramskas, 1993; Warschauer, Turbee and
Robers, 1996; Warschauer, 1996a).

2.1.4 Research on MOO and Foreign Language Education

The interactive virtual environment of MOOs immerses foreign language
learners into a community that uses the target language. Suggested activities for
language learners in MOOs include a treasure hunt, interviewing both native and
non-native speakers, writing a description for creating one's identity, room and
objects, programming for others to learn English, participating in collaborative
projects, and tandem learning\(^4\) (e.g. Turbee, 1995; Sanchez, 1996; Davis et al, 1998).

The text-rich interface of MOOs can also be used as a medium for writing instruction. Frizler (1995) taught a composition course in a MOO to students from various countries. She pointed out that being able to write to real audiences for the purpose of authentic communication is an important motivating factor. Students were given chances to use natural language and thinking in English for the purpose of communicating with other people. Active participation in knowledge creation and sharing increases students’ responsibility for learning. Finally, cultural awareness was also enhanced through students reading essays written by their peers.

Pinto (1996) looked at the interaction of ESL students in a MOO. His study investigated the communication moves and technical aspects that could impede learners’ interactions. Results showed that the number and types of conversational moves varied from one task to another. In addition, he noted students in this study did not display the ability to pick up on other’s utterances and build a conversation. For developing students’ conversation management skills, he suggested the use of MOO logs as a valuable source for analysing students’ conversation styles and moves.

\(^4\) In tandem learning, learners with different L1s are paired up to learn each other’s mother tongue. Its purpose is to develop mutual support and to provide more than just one informant (the teacher) for learners to communicate with authentic purpose (Donaldson & Köter, 1999).
Researchers who endorse the philosophy of constructivism focus on collaborative opportunities provided in a MOO environment. Turner's (1998) writing project took advantage of the MOOs' features of role-playing and object creating. The ESL students were brought to a MOO to build a small town and to develop the personalities for the characters that lived there. They also had to keep an on-going record of the growth and change of this community in order to orient newcomers. The product was like a plot for a stage show whose audiences and writers were the same group of students. Besides the descriptive account of the project, Turner (1998) did not provide further analysis of cognitive, linguistic or affective domains.

Schwienhorst (1997, 1998a, 1998b) connected learners of German in Ireland and learners of English in Germany to work collaboratively on technology related tasks. The projects reported by Shield et al. (1999a, 1999b) involved learners from different geographic regions carrying out group-research, creating objects and publishing results on the web. However, the account of the studies from both groups lacked detailed documentation of the process of learner collaboration and they did not conduct further examination of their written products. The perceptions of the participants were either unknown or not fully documented.
Backer’s (1999) research project investigated the impact of MOO-based learning on affective dimensions of anxiety and motivation. Sixty-two Israeli high school students were divided in two groups; one group’s learning activities involved twelve MOO sessions and the other conducted the same activities face-to-face in the language classroom. Results from the statistical analysis of questionnaires showed that using MOO as an EFL learning tool heightened motivation in the high school EFL class in general. In addition, students with higher computer skills displayed lower anxiety and greater motivation in using MOO. However, in comparison with the students in the control group, the enthusiasm of students in the experimental group did not reach a significant level. In the interview, teachers who conducted the MOO sessions noted that participating in MOO sessions allowed students to encounter a large amount of reading and generate meaningful writing both in the MOO and in class.

Donaldson and Kötter’s (1999) study involved learners of English from Germany and college level German students in America. They formed small groups that consisted of students from both countries and each group had to accomplish at least two projects of interest. The results of the study showed that the participants used communication strategies. They took the opportunity of learning language from
their partners and in turn fulfilled the role of mentor. The participants demonstrated increased motivation and learner autonomy in accomplishing the tasks. The role of the teacher, contrary to the tradition, was gradually transformed from a classroom controller to a mentor or a consultant who provided guidance on occasion.

To summarize, the potential benefits suggested by previous studies on the MOO and language learning include the following: (a) motivating students; (b) providing a context for purposeful and meaningful language use; (c) developing conversation managing skills; (d) enhancing learner autonomy; and (e) providing gateways to cultural learning. The role of teacher, different from that in the traditional classroom, stressed the importance of assistance rather than maintaining control.

2.2 Theoretical Orientation

The change in how technologies are used in the language classroom also reflects the evolution of the theoretical groundwork. According to Kern and Warschauer (2000), research on the role of computers in language learning has encompassed structural, cognitive and sociocognitive perspectives. They point out that network-based learning and the sociocognitive paradigm “have brought about a focus on the way that discourse and discourse communities develop during use of computer networks” (p. 8). The viewpoints generated by this sociocognitive paradigm and their
effect on the research design and pedagogical actions will be presented in this section.

2.2.1 Sociocultural Theory

Originating from the theory developed by the Soviet psychologist L. S. Vygotsky, the sociocultural perspective maintains that the achievements of human activities are mediated by cultural artifacts and the development of higher cognitive functions are mediated by language, a psychological tool. The development of mental functioning first appears in the interpersonal (social) plane and then in the intrapersonal (individual) one (Vygotsky, 1978).

One important theoretical concept that informs the studies from sociocultural perspectives is known as activity theory, which originated with Leontiev’s argument building on Vygotsky’s basic ideas. According to Donato and McCormick’s (1994) interpretation, "activity is defined in terms of sociocultural setting in which collaborative interaction, intersubjectivity, and assisted performance occur" (p. 455). In its three-level scheme, activity, action and operation correspondingly associate with motive, goal and instrumental conditions (Lantolf, 2000). In terms of the language learning task in which the students are engaged, the motivation and goal directs the students’ performance in the task, actions are behaviors guided by the students’ goal, and operation means how learner actions are taken according to the condition in
which the task is carried out. From the model of the activity theory, the speech act of
the language learner is dynamic in that one's action changes when the goal of
form/meaning negotiation is attained. Hence, as Donato (1994) suggests, "the
interrelationship of motives, goals and operations needs to be taken into consideration
when investigating L2 interactions (p.37)."

To examine how learning takes place in communicating with others, the evidence
of how consciousness of knowledge moves from an inter-mental to an intra-mental
state becomes an important source. Through interacting with others, learners will be
able to receive help or guidance and learn more productively within their Zone of
Proximal Development (ZPD), the area that is between their actual and potential level
of growth (Vygotsky, 1978). For learners, they may perform the desired action
through scaffolding, a process of how an experienced person guides a novice or the
collaborative work among peers. Six features of scaffolded help were identified by
Wood, Bruner & Ross (1976): (1) recruiting learner's interest, (2) simplifying the task,
(3) maintaining learner's motivation and goal direction, (4) marking critical features,
(5) controlling frustration and (6) demonstrating idealized solutions. With these,
learning can be described as one's progress from needing other's help (other regulation)
to being able to carry out the right action by himself/herself (self-regulation).
For the purpose of investigating the learning that takes place within a culturally specific activity, the unit of analysis is the "goal-directed, tool mediated action" from which the involved perception, memory, thinking and attention can be investigated (Wertch, 1985). Therefore, in the network-based environment, the analysis will focus on the microgenetic domain, a local, contextualized learning process where learners incorporate the psychological tool (language) to mediate their activities.

2.2.2 Transformative Pedagogy

Transformative pedagogy, also known as critical pedagogy (Freire 1970; Giroux 1988; Cummins 1995, 2000a), arises from its reaction against the traditional perspectives of education which Freire (1970) called the "banking concept". In this banking model, learners are merely passive receivers who store the information and skills deposited by the teacher. Its major weakness, as Kanuka and Anderson (1999) specify is that, "It discounts the reality of the ambiguous, complex, and continually changing world in which we live (p.3)". In the long run, the result of this transmission type of education will only create learners with an inactive attitude to learning and little creativity. By contrast, transformative pedagogy stresses the construction of knowledge from the teacher-student interaction and students’ collaborative
engagement in cognitively challenging activities. In addition, with its emphasis on the student as learner in the social context and knowledge as produced within a social context (Travers & Decker, 1999), the content of these activities originates from the learners' own lives and enables them to analyse and understand the social realities. As Cummins (2000b) maintains,

> The focus is on constructing meanings, cognitive challenge, and dynamic support within the zone of proximal development.... The content for investigation and inquiry has social relevance related to the power structure in society. (p.2)

2.2.3 A Framework for Technology-Supported Language Learning

To apply network technologies in the language classroom, one must recognize the social origin and consequence of these tools or they will still be used in a structured manner (Travers & Decker, 1999; Warschauer, 2000). Dede (1996) characterizes the instructional features of technology-supported pedagogies from a transformative standpoint,

> Analogical, case-based, learning by doing ... giving learners constructivist experience, facilitating comprehension and ability to generalize ... structuring group dialogue and decision making, facilitate collective activities. (P.13)

For the purpose of assisting English language learners (ELL) in mastering academic language, Cummins (2000a, 2000b) argues that the instructional focus must
be on meaning, language and use. He outlines a technology-supported framework for academic language learning and intercultural exchange.

As illustrated in figure 2-1, maximum cognitive engagement and identity investment within the interpersonal place can be fostered from the interactions between teacher and students and among students. In other words, learning takes place among the interactions of teacher and students, through which the students' formulate their self-images, recognize their identities and their capabilities.

**Figure 2-1. A framework for Academic Language Learning**

In this framework, three instructional foci provide a general guide for promoting cognitive development and identity investment within the teacher-student
interactions. The Focus on Meaning component directs the learners’ attention from the surface level of comprehension to a deeper level of cognitive and linguistic processing (Cummins, 2000b). A combination of experiential, literal, personal, critical, and creative phases is essential for the development higher order of thinking and literacy skills. In the Focus on Language component, the learner’s awareness is drawn beyond the accuracy of language form to its use and power relationship and further reinforces the students’ sense of identity. Within this scope, extensive written and aural input, together with opportunities for writing and speaking, are the keys to effective implementation of Focus on Language. The last component, Focus on Use, stresses the importance of the opportunities for learners to express themselves through the target language. Through the participation of network-based projects, the use of the target language may become purposeful and authentic. The collaboration of learners within or between classes, further motivates their on-line learning.

2.2.4 Electronic Literacy

A final guiding framework for the present study is the notion of electronic literacy (Shetzer & Warschauer, 2000; Warschauer, 1999; 2000). Learning a language through a network-based electronic medium is, in fact, an integration of language and computer skills. While learning a language, students not only receive visual and audio
input, produce written and oral output through a computer, they also have to learn
various technical skills to operate this medium efficiently. In line with literacy
theorists, electronic literacy is viewed as a complex social practice. Furthermore, the
instruction of electronic literacy is focused on apprenticing learners to interpret
retrieved information and express themselves through the CMC medium. In other
words, learners are guided into the discourse and social practice of the electronic
medium and its community.

Shetzer & Warschauer (2000) outline three major areas of electronic literacy
skills: communication, construction and research. The area of communication
involves ways of effective communicating through various kinds of CMC media. The
construction domain involves the transition to the use of hypertext, multimedia and
collaboration, which is different from the traditional presentation of a linear essay
accomplished by one single author. Finally, the field of research includes the skills of
searching, viewing and evaluating the information source online. Given the
implications of the electronic literacy approach, the authors suggest the involvement
of the teacher as action researcher and students as co-investigators. Furthermore, their
working environment, an electronic network-based environment, can facilitate
collaboration and knowledge co-construction.
Summary

Thus far I have reviewed the studies that took place in a network-facilitated environment with different mediating technologies. As these technologies advance with time, it is important to ensure that they are used in a way that will indeed promote language learning rather than becoming gimmicks or instruments of controlling people. Therefore, I also provided reviews of associated theoretical frameworks that will guide the use of network technologies for the current study. These will be presented in the design of my research in the next chapter.
This chapter documents the method used in the present study. To begin with, I describe my pilot study; this is followed in the second section by research questions that came to be formulated. Section three describes the research design and section four describes my methods of data collection and how I have processed the data for analysis. In the end, I describe the outcomes of my study and address its limitations.

3.1 The Pilot Study

For the purpose of understanding the role of synchronous CMC in students’ learning of basic MOO commands and their perceptions about this medium for practicing target language, I conducted a pilot study which involved two high school students from Taiwan in an ESL MOO for three weeks. The two participants and I met twice weekly for an hour in each meeting, during which I taught them basic commands for communicating with others and navigating in the MOO. Sources of data in this pilot study came from e-mails and logs of synchronous communication in the MOO. From the logs of conversations that took place in the MOO, it was possible to see that the synchronous written exchange was the key vehicle that mediated the
participants' learning of the MOO environment and commands. In other words, both EFL students used English as the language to learn to communicate with others and navigate in MOO. The logged interactions demonstrated not only the mediating role of the written text in basic command learning but also the complex and dynamic nature of interaction and scaffolded help among the speakers. Students reflected on their MOO experience in e-mail, and considered the MOO as a useful tool for practicing English. They were able to review their own language use from seeing the texts on the screen. Students cited the following difficulties: keeping pace with the conversation because of slow typing speeds, and the interruptions caused by disconnections due to network breakdowns.

Although this pilot study showed the mediating functions of synchronous written exchange and briefly touched upon learners’ viewpoints, its coverage was fairly limited due to the small scale of the tasks and number of CMC tools used. Therefore, for conducting a more comprehensive study, the research site was moved to another educational MOO where graphic web support and more synchronous and asynchronous CMC education tools are used. This study includes one major project with additional tasks conducted over an extended length of time. The scope of investigation was expanded with refined research questions, which I will present in the following section.
3.2 Research Questions

The purpose of this study is two-fold: (a) to document the process and products of EFL students' participation in an online project in an educational MOO; (b) to determine if their participation in this integrated CMC environment can enhance their experience of learning and using the target language. It attempts to seek answers to the following research questions at two levels:

1. At the micro level: How are the focus on language, meaning and use promoted in this integrated network environment?

2. At the macro level: What are the project members' viewpoints toward learning/using English through this collaborative on-line project?

Through the two-level inquiry, I expect to provide a holistic view of this network-based project work from the macro level through the eyes of the researcher and participants. I also expect to present the participants' dynamic interactions with their environment and with each other, and to show how they lead to the accomplishment of learners' personal goals and generate opportunities for language learning. For the purpose of achieving a contextualized understanding of the implementation of this project in the integrated networked environment, the methods of my investigation are situated in the paradigm of qualitative research. The following
section will introduce the methods of my research.

3.3 Research Design

The design of the present study reflects the qualitative orientation of inquiry. It aims to examine holistic, grounded, and participant-informed perspectives in order to account for learners' language learning experience shaped by social, cultural and individual factors. In other words, the fundamental objective of the present study is not to test the effectiveness of MOO on foreign language learning through quantitative lenses. Rather, in a broader sense, the purpose of the present study is to discover how language learners interact with an integrated virtual environment through a collaborative project. Therefore, in reporting the outcomes, the progress of the research project, the context, and the participants' words, actions and records are all carefully documented in the observation and documentation of the present study.

Established on a groundwork of constructivism and critical/transformative pedagogy, the design of my research situates myself within the culture group of investigation, through which I act as a participant observer, an in-depth interviewer, and a leader of the focus group. With the purpose of studying the culture of a particular learner group in the online virtual space, this study can be described as a micro-ethnographic study.
Developing since 1970s in the field of applied linguistics, ethnographic studies recognize language learning as an activity that is inseparable from its social context and hence focuses on the social meaning of language within the context of particular groups (Johnson, 1992; Davis, 1995). Employing a socio-culturally-oriented qualitative research method, as Warschauer (1998) remarks, is “especially helpful in examining students’ and teachers’ evolving attitudes or sense of identity in changing circumstances -- and attitudes and identity have been shown as critical components affecting language learners’ use of computer” (p. 758).

3.3.1 Provisions of Trustworthiness

To increase of reliability and validity of my investigation, data triangulation was carried out through multiple methods of data collection. My research journal, the original interview transcripts, the field notes, and the unitized data all contribute to the audit trail (Lincoln and Cuba, 1985) for documenting the progress of my study and judging the trustworthiness of the outcomes. The process of data collection, which strictly adheres to the steps approved in the ethical review, is described in detail. Reporting of outcomes is also documented in a comprehensive manner to support the credibility of the study.
3.4 Methodology

Data collection for the research reported in this thesis was carried out in the summer of 2000. The section below describes the arrangements and procedures to collect data for the present study.

3.4.1 Sampling Strategy

The sampling strategy for the current study adopts purposive sampling, which "acknowledges the complexity that characterizes human and social phenomena and the limits of generalizability" (Maykus & Morehouse, p. 56). The participants in this study were selected on a volunteer basis. I first contacted a college teacher in Taiwan who had been bringing his students to the MOO for three months. The students in his freshman English classes were informed about the study by the teacher through distribution of information about the study and a consent letter prepared in Chinese and English (See Appendix B). All the students were notified that the study would take place during the summer vacation so that their decision to participate would not affect their scores in the English class. Finally, those who were willing to participate in this study returned the consent form to the researcher. Therefore, the study come to include six college students chosen from two freshman English classes in Taiwan.
3.4.2 Data Collection Method

For the present study, I employed multiple data collection methods that not only fit the purpose of data triangulation but also to reflect the "indwelling" nature of a qualitative study. Instruments for data collection can be classified as general data set and in-moo data set.

**General data set.** This category involves the source of data collected from the instruments other than MOO. It includes a questionnaire, e-mails, and a research journal kept by me.

1. **A questionnaire:** This was used for the purpose of gathering information about learners' experiences in learning English and their background knowledge in using computers. The questionnaire was sent to the participants prior to the commencement of the project through e-mail. A sample of this questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

2. **E-mail:** This was the only asynchronous communication tool outside the MOO environment. It was primarily used for transferring images. Since all of the personal images must be stored in a web space for display in the MOO, the

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5 Indwelling, as Maykut and Morehouse explain, "means to exist as an interactive spirit, force or principle - to exist within an activating spirit, force, or principle. It literally means to live within. Perhaps this dictionary definition can be translated for naturalistic inquiry to mean being at one with the persons under investigation...". (p.25)
participants who did not have their own web space were required to send their
selected images to me via e-mail in order to have them uploaded to a public
web space. E-mail was also used as an alternative to 'MOOmail' when this
feature was disabled due to technical problems.

3. Research journal: This contained detailed descriptive fieldnotes written after
MOO sessions by the researcher to keep track of the progress of the research
project and activities of the participants.

In-MOO data set. This set of data was generated by the participants from their
activities and interactions within the MOO. It can be further separated into four
groups according to the difference in purpose and instruments of data collection.

1. MOOlog: Provides two important activity records of the participants. The
record of the participants' actions can be traced by the keystrokes and mouse
clicks performed by the participants while they are viewing, building objects or
interacting with the environment; the records of synchronous communications
(chat) are also logged by the system. The logs are stored in a
password-protected server and can only be viewed by the researcher. For a
sample of MOOlog, please see Appendix D.

2. MOOmail: An internal mailing system within the research site. This tool
provides records of asynchronous communications between the researcher and
the participants and records of public announcements sent to the mail list. All
the mail records, except the private MOOmail exchanges among the
participants, can be accessed within the MOO.

3. Descriptions and images of objects and rooms: The descriptions of rooms and
objects written by the participants not only represent the physical appearance of
items in the MOO but also provide a record of the participants’ integration of
their written products and images. Sample room descriptions are provided in
Appendix E.

4. Interview: The interview with the participants was conducted in the last week of
the project as a discussion session. An interview guide was prepared for
directing the discussion (See Appendix F), in which I acted as the moderator of
the session. During the discussion, flexibility was also allowed for emerging
issues and topics during the discussion.

3.4.3 Data Analysis Procedures

My approach to data analysis was coordinated with the interpretive and
descriptive features of my research. I begin with a “funnelling” (Jacob, 1987)
approach that proceeded from a general observation of the MOO environment and
project tasks to more focused speech events. In selecting units of analysis, my focus
was on goal-directed activities which include speech events and learning tasks
(Wertch, 1985). Furthermore, for the purpose of rendering a rich and believable report of the outcomes, I adopted several strategies following the suggestions of Markut and Morehouse (1994) and Bogdan and Biklen (1998) to weave together the data collected from descriptions, participants' personal words, system logged data, and my own fieldnotes.

As recommended by Markut and Morehouse (1994), my data analysis started as an early and on-going activity of my research. This not only allowed me to be aware of the emergent themes of my study but to cope with the bulk of data generated along the progress of the research project. Each week, I reviewed the data that came from my data collection instruments. The log of participants' activities, their text and image productions, were highlighted, coded and referenced to my own fieldnotes with my observer's comments and occasional noting of emerging themes and patterns. Provisional categories⁶ were created for the coded data, but revisions were also performed after revisiting data. In addition, possible quotations were highlighted with emerging patterns and results that might be relevant to the final report and discussion of outcomes.

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⁶ Bogden & Biklen (1998) distinguish different categories of coding: setting/context codes, definition of the situation codes, perspectives held by subjects, subjects way of thinking about people and objects, process codes, activity codes, event codes, strategy codes, method codes, relationship and social structure codes, and pre-assigned coding systems (p.171–p.177).
3.4.4 Report of Outcomes

To introduce and verify the assertions of the study, I present the outcomes in the manner of “thick description”, through which general descriptions provide the patterns demonstrated in the corpus of data and particular descriptions provide evidence of events from a valid analysis (Ericson, 1986). I provide narrative descriptions of events and selected quotations according to my general and in-MOO data sets. As a researcher immersed in the research site, I report this study from an *emic* (insider’s) perspective. While interpreting data, I first present my brief assertion followed by sample data, then offer longer comments and explanations from theoretical standpoints which link to the more general significance of assertions or patterns. As Davis (1992) suggests, the interpretations of my general assertions will then “lead to a comprehensive discussion of the overall (grounded) theory produced by data collection and analysis. (p.448)”

In brief, my research methodology reflects the characteristics of qualitative, ethnographic research. My research participants are selected from purposive sampling. Data triangulation is utilized from multiple sources in the manner that strictly adheres to the ethical guidance. In reporting the outcomes, I provide rich, detailed descriptions of activities or events supported by quotes from my data sets which are processed according to the conventions of qualitative research.
Nevertheless, I also acknowledge the limits in generalizing the outcomes of my study due to the nature and design of qualitative research (LeCompte & Pressle, 1993).

On the other hand, the strength of my study lies in the detailed understanding of the particular group that it focuses upon. In addition, the context-rich, interpretive orientation of my report provides a basis for comparison and allows my readers to surmise the possible relevance to their own research or pedagogical interests. In other words, the readers of the present study are those who will determine whether and how to apply the conditions described to another situation according to their own contextual similarities.
Chapter 4

Project MOOseum

In this chapter, my intention is to provide detailed contextual information for the current study through descriptions of the project including such details as the setting of the project site, the content, participants, and timeline. The provision of context-rich narratives for the present study is a fundamental recognition of the assumption that "everything has its potential of being a clue that might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p.6).

4.1 The Setting

The MOOseum project took place in an educational MOO named Project Achieve. All the project-related activities were carried out in this MOO. Therefore, in order to understand the participants' activities in the project site in detail, I will introduce the physical environment of Project Achieve in this section. First of all, figure 4-1 provides a complete map of main areas in Project Achieve:
Figure 4-1. The Map\(^7\) of Project Achieve

The Achieve MOO contains several areas: The Achieve Center is the first stop for all the new members and those who do not have their own personal space; Project Sites connect several major projects that have been conducted in this MOO; The Hangout is a public area with a simple game of darts; Learning Resources has samples of generic objects and some programming tips; Project Planning contains guides for preparing project proposals; the administrative personnel reside in Administration;

\(^7\) This map only represents the location of areas in the summer of 2000. A few modifications have been made and new sites and objects were added afterward.
and finally, four residential places, Greensward, Into the woods, The Heath and Lakeside, are prepared for members to create their personal spaces.

On this map, I highlighted three major areas where most of the activities of the current research take place. (1) The Heath: this is the area where I built my own home - Miao's house, a unit resembling one's personal home and connected to two other rooms. The Study Room contains some MOOing guidance and message boards and is also the place where weekly meetings of this study's project group took place. The Language Clinic is prepared for project members to post their language related issues or questions. (2) Lakeside: due to the full occupancy of the Heath, the participants of the MOOseum project are advised to build their own homes in Lakeside, the fourth residential area of this MOO. (3) Project sites: this is where the MOOseum located. The MOOseum is a four-floor building where the participants are asked to place their own exhibition rooms.

4.2 The Participants

Six college students, five female and one male participated in the MOOseum project. The five female students were classmates and the male student was from another class taught by the same English teacher. All of them had learned some skills of MOOing in another text interface-based MOO for about four months in their
Freshman English class in Taichung city, Taiwan. All of their real names have been replaced by pseudonyms, which are the personas they choose in the project MOO.

1. Lin: He started learning English at the age of 9 and has continued to do so for the past 11 years. He has a Pentium level computer with Windows 98 operating system and Internet Explorer as web browser. His computer skills include: E-mail, web-browsing and playing Bulletin Board System (BBS) and MOO.

2. Tsai: She began learning English in junior high school and has been studying for 7 years. She has a Pentium level computer with Windows 95 and Internet Explorer. Her computer skills include e-mail, browsing web pages, playing MOO and BBS.

3. Yeh: Her English learning started from the age of 12 in junior high school. Her Pentium level computer runs Windows 95 operating system and is equipped with Internet Explorer as web browser. Her computer skills involve e-mail, browsing web pages, and MOOing. She also likes playing adventurous, role-playing games (RPG).

4. Yu: She started learning English in the third year of elementary school and has been studying for 11 years. Her Pentium level computer runs Windows 95 with Internet Explorer as web browser. She uses her computer for e-mail, web-browsing, using
BBS and MOOing.

5. Chen: She began learning English at the age of 12 and has been learning for seven years. She has a 486 computer running Windows 98 operating system with the Internet Explorer browser. Her computer skills include e-mail, web-browsing, playing BBS and MOO.

6. Ko: She has been learning English for seven years. In addition to the regular school lessons, she also considers MOO as a place for English learning. She has a Pentium level computer running Windows 95 and her web browser is Internet Explorer. She uses her computer for e-mail, playing BBS, browsing web pages, and MOOing.

4.3 Educational Tools

Educational tools in MOOs can be used for maintaining conversational coherence, making resources available, and managing presentations (Scheweller, 1998). In project MOOseum, educational tools not only fulfill these needs, but they also serve the functions of providing different means of communication and maintaining the integrity of the online community. These tools, as Scheweller (1998) suggests, are designed so as to resemble real-world objects. In this section, I will introduce a group of frequently used education tools in the MOOseum project.
1. Channel: A synchronous communication tool that allows the users of the channel to speak with each other without being in the same room. Therefore, one can stay in his or her own room and talk to people in different locations at the same time. In Achieve, all the project members can choose to speak on two channels, beam, a public channel for all members of Achieve, and MOOseum, a channel specifically opened to members of MOOseum project. Here is an example of a conversation I had with Lin while speaking on the MOOseum channel from different rooms. In this dialogue, the [+][MOOseum] marks the channel in which one is currently speaking.

```plaintext
[+][MOOseum] Miao [to Lin]: You want to connect the fire room to MOOseum, right?
[+][MOOseum] Lin nods.
[+][MOOseum] Lin nods to miao.
[+][MOOseum] Miao [to Lin]: Then type @dig
(entrance.name)!{exit.name} to #2072, think.of.the.name yourself.
[+][MOOseum] Miao [to Lin]: Got it?
(In Fly with the fire!) Lin types: @dig Fly!!moooseum to #2072
```

However, to prevent the participants’ confusion of Channel use with other basic commands for synchronous communication, the MOOseum channel was not open to the project group until the third week when each member was familiar with the basic commands.

2. Answering machine: a message logging system that saves paged messages in ones’
storage space when the user is not on-line. The saved message is displayed to the recipient on his or her next entrance. This asynchronous communication tool delivers short messages in a convenient way. Here is a sample of a saved message:

The following messages were undeliverable to you while you were asleep and were recorded on your answering machine.
---
Received Tue Jul 18 12:31:32 2000 EST:
A large Jackfruit cake from Lin is flying fast toward your face.
Duck! ^o^ 
He pages, "take care :) bye bye :]
---
To review your saved messages, type: review

3. Recorder: this tool logs the conversation in the room where the recorder is placed.

The recorder in the project is used for keeping track of each meeting so that those who were not able to attend can check the logs saved in the recorder object. A logged conversation appeared as follows:

Start log: Saturday, July 8, 2000 11:17:23 am Achieve time --

Miao says, "Now we have had everyone, meeting start."
Miao smiles.
Miao says, "Ok?"
Ko nods.
Yeh nods.
Chen says, "hi"
Yeh [to Chen!]: hi :]
Miao says, "For Yu, Lin and Tsai, we will keep this meeting record for them. Ok?"
Ko nods to Miao.

....
Miao says, "Good. Then meeting is over and you can do your thing now."
....
-- End log: Saturday, July 8, 2000 1:21:40 pm Achieve time --

4. Generic note board: this board generates a new note on it when one posts a new message. Using this function, I created a Bulletin Board in the study room for displaying new tasks and notices. Users simply need to click on the displayed note for viewing its content. They can also add new notes to it. Another example of the note board is the discussion board located in the language clinic. This board, as demonstrated in Figure 4-2, is prepared for users to post questions and answers.

Figure 4-2. A Discussion Board Made from Generic Note Board.
5. Generic public writable note: Instead of generating separate notes, this object presents all the messages posted by its user on a single page. Its function is similar to the note board described above in that they both provide space for asynchronous message exchange, even though these two objects may be used in different ways. Therefore, it is the real life object characteristics and image assigned to the object that makes the difference. For example, a guest book in Chen’s nest is made from the note, as demonstrated in Figure 4-3.

**Figure 4-3. A Guest Book Made from Public Writeable Note**

6. MOOmail and mail list: This internal mailing system allows every member of the MOO to access their moomail box through GUI regardless of his or her location in the MOO. In particular, a mail list called MOOseum is created for members of the MOOseum project. Therefore, issues and announcements specifically addressed to
the project group can be sent to this list. Figure 4-4 demonstrates the look of the mailing system and mail list.

**Figure 4-4. The MOO mail system and MOOseum mail list**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mail Boxes</th>
<th>Mail box: MOOseum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inbox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wizards</td>
<td>Subject: Help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>From: Miao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bug Reports</td>
<td>Date: 07/13/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc</td>
<td>17: Hi Everyone!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>Lin (#1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOO</td>
<td>07/14/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help List</td>
<td>18: New English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edu Policy</td>
<td>books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miao (#1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07/15/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20: HOORAY!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alex (#1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07/15/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21: Time to Say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lin (#1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07/24/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22: I will be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>back!!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yu (#1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07/28/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23: Meeting on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday, July 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miao (#1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07/29/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24: Look at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>here!!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yu (#1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>08/07/2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25: Informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meeting this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday, Aug 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miao (#1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>08/11/2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Instructional notes: stores the guidance for different types of useful skills in the MOO such as commands for communication, creating and managing objects. These notes are organized as chapters within books on different topics which are then placed on a bookshelf. Each participant can consult these help files depending on their own progress or problems encountered. Since traditional Chinese characters are supported in the GUI of this MOO, I prepared two bookshelves which contain Chinese and English help files respectively. Figure 4-5 displays the look of the Chinese shelf.
Figure 4-5. The Chinese bookshelf

Book Shelf (Chinese-中文)

This shelf contains all the help manuals and tapes written in Chinese. Your browser must support Traditional Chinese Big5 Code in order to read these books.

Back

Book Shelf (Chinese-中文) contains:

8. Web-projector: This tool utilizes the web page integrated feature of GUI. It allows the user to view the content of certain web sites prepared by the owner of this object. Therefore, the name of this educational tool, web-projector, implies its capability of presenting content of other web sites within the GUI enhanced MOO.

In Figure 4-6a, I prepared a ‘video tape’ made from the web projector. Then, in Figure 4-6b, I demonstrated an imported web page following the instruction specified in Figure 4-6a. This page contains the Chinese and English instructions for setting one's personal information in the MOO.
In summary, the educational tools used in the current project not only meet the purpose addressed by Scheweller (1998), they may also help to create a sense of community through self-sufficient communication systems that use different forms of synchronous and asynchronous communicating tools. If properly designed and arranged, these tools may also facilitate the project members' work by supplementing helpful information and reducing potential difficulties in communications and object use. In the next section, I will describe how the project environment, the participants, and these educational tools are put together in a 10-week long summer project.
4.4 Project Objectives and Timeline

Held in the summer of 2000, the MOOseum project involved six college students from Taiwan. As explained in the letter of consent, their mission was to create their own personal rooms and objects and then at the end product of their project, to create an exhibition space to display their lives and interests.

4.4.1 Pre-Project Meeting

Before the commencement of the project, the project members and I had our first group meeting. During the meeting, we developed ways to communicate on a regular basis. We decided to have a weekly meeting on Saturday for reviewing the progress of their task completion or their project work. I would log into the MOO on weekdays from ten to twelve a.m. Eastern time, which is equal to ten to twelve p.m. in Taiwan. My presence in the MOO was mainly for assisting the participants with their weekly tasks or project work. The participants could choose to visit the project site at any time of the day at their convenience. Furthermore, they decided to form groups of two for the purpose of providing mutual support during the project. Therefore, Ko and Yu, Lin and Tsai, Yeh and Chen became partners.
4.4.2 Timeline

The MOOseum project was carried out during the participants’ summer vacation from the first week of July till the end of the second week in September. The first part of the project, from Week 1 to Week 3, was designed to allow the project members to become familiar with the GUI-based MOO environment and create their own identities and space through weekly tasks. After entering the second part of the project from Week 4 to the final week, their mission was to continue the construction of their personal room and a theme room in the project site, MOOseum. Since the timing of the MOO project overlapped with the participants’ summer vacation, their participation was also affected by the real life activities that they engaged in. In Table 1, I offer an overview of weekly tasks. In addition, advanced notice by project members identified, a list of their real life activities which had the potential to affect their participation in the MOOseum project and these were noted in an activity log in Table 4-1.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided detailed contextual information about the MOOseum project by describing its environment, the people engaged in this project, the mission, tasks and timelines for the ten-week time span. In the next chapter, I will go further
into the qualitative analysis of collected data from the MOOseum project.

Table 4-1. Weekly Schedule, Tasks and Active Log

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Activity log</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1    | • Scavenger hunt 1$^8$ – visit three main project areas  
      • Set self-description and icon  
      • Subscribe to MOOseum mail list  
      • Make a personal house | |
| 2    | • Scavenger hunt 2 – visit other people’s homes  
      • Practice object making  
      • Decorate personal house  
      • Sign the guest book in each member’s place | |
| 3    | • Scavenger hunt 3 – visit other project sites in Achieve  
      • Continue home decoration  
      • Prepare project room | • Ko: High school camp (Jul 14–18) |
| 4    | • Project room construction | • Lin: English camp in UK (July 27–Aug 29) |
| 5    | | • Yu: Music camp in US (July 30–Aug 25) |
| 6    | | • Ko: High school camp (Jul 20–25, Aug 1–10) |
| 7    | | • Chen and Yeh: trip to other city (Jul 25–29) |
| 8    | | |
| 9    | | |
| 10   | • Final meeting: Review and discussion  
      • End of project | |

$^8$ Sample of scavenger hunts from Week 1 to Week 3 is provided in Appendix G.
Chapter 5

Outcomes

This chapter reports the outcomes of the MOOseum project in three sections. To begin with, I report the participants’ activities in the project site during the 10 weeks by describing their progress in completing tasks in the MOOseum project. In the second section, in reporting the results of qualitative analysis conducted for answering my first research question, I describe the general patterns according to focus on meaning, language, and use. In the last section, I report a discussions session in which the project members shared their viewpoints in relation to their participation in this project.

5.1 Progress in Task Completion

This section describes the progress of the MOOseum project according to the project members’ weekly participation, their activity records, and their written products in the project site. This section is divided into two parts: Part one focuses on the learning stage from Week 1 to Week 3 in which the weekly tasks are assigned to the participants. Part two focuses on the remaining weeks in which participants spent their online hours constructing their own space and objects.
5.1.1 The Learning Stage – Week 1 to Week 3

Lin He finished his own character and message settings, created his first personal room called Lin’s fantasy which linked to Lin’s Kingdom contained a rose garden, as well as two other theme rooms with no objects. However, he did not submit the answers to any weekly assignment. It was known during late Week 3 that this was due to his absence from the first 3 weekly meetings and the fact that he failed to check the bulletin board. When he was logged into Achieve, he liked to approach others. In speaking with other MOO residents, he would ask questions related to the usage of English words. In interacting with project members, in addition to casual greetings to others, the MOOlogs showed that he interacted most with Yu.

Tsai She prepared her character setting and accomplished her answers to Week 1 tasks on time. She also created her personal room and 4 objects. However, due to her personal schedule, she had few chances to come to Achieve at the designated time where she would have had a better chance to meet with me and with fellow members of the project. Therefore, the MOOlogs showed that she often came to the project site in the afternoon when no other members were online. Although MOOlogs showed that she did explore different residential areas in Achieve as directed in the Week 2

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9 The personal message setting including messages of sending and receiving paging message, message shown to the sender when the user in not on line.
tasks, she did not submit the assignments for Week 2 and Week 3.

Yu She prepared her character description and messages, created 3 personal rooms. Yu's cabin, a small garden, and music sky which contained 13 objects in total. In addition, she also accomplished the tasks for each week and submitted her answers through MOOmail. Since she came to Achieve almost every day and spent her time doing assignments, she also had more chances to meet other project members and communicate with them in real time. While speaking with me and the other project members, she often explicitly expressed her interest in the MOO and the tasks by saying, "I like MOOing," "It is fun", or "I learned a lot." "That is interesting."

Ko She set up the description and related messages of her character in Achieve. She also built a personal room with no text but an image and a guest book object. She accomplished the assignment for the first week but did not submit the following two. Although it was shown on the MOOlogs that she did try the Week 2 tasks, she did not finish them on time because she spent most of the time during this week talking about aspects of her personal life which seriously affected her mood. She also could not accomplish the Week 3 tasks because she had left for her high school camp where computers were not accessible. Later after returning to Achieve during the interval between her school camps, she decided to skip the tasks.
Yeh  She set up descriptions for herself soon after the first week started. Her efforts
to try Week 1 and 2 tasks could be seen in the MOOlog but she did not turn in any
assignments. Although she learned how to create rooms and objects very quickly, she
recycled her trial objects and did not make any other objects after that time. In
addition, she did not write any description for her personal room. Even so, she
maintained her attendance at the weekly meetings and visited other project members’
room every week.

Chen  She finished preparing the descriptions and messages for her character. In
addition, she completed the tasks assigned from Week 1 to Week 3. During these
weeks, she made a nest for her character, a bird, and other animal friends. She also
proposed a dream place for cats with different personalities as her next step. When
she was on-line, in addition to her presence on the MOO using the GUI, she usually
logged on through the text-interface in order to avoid the longer wait time that one
sometimes experiences through the web interface. She often encountered connection
problems due to the speed of her own lower-level computer and the Internet. However,
this did not seem to affect her work in the first 3 weeks. Since her partner, Yeh, did
not come to Achieve as often, she usually came to me, Yu and Lin to talk about the
project, and to Ko to talk about life matters.
5.1.2 The Construction Stage – Week 3 to Week 10

At this stage, it was up to the project member to control of the pace of creating rooms and objects. However, because all 6 project members were engaged in different affairs in their real life, chances for them to meet as a group or in pairs decreased.

Lin  Lin left for summer camp in Europe during Week 4 and did not return until Week 9. During his absence from Achieve, his chance of using the Internet was extremely limited due to his schedule and the accessibility of computers. In his first visit to Achieve after coming to Taiwan, he sent mail to the MOOseum mail list to announce his return. After that, he devoted his MOO time to visiting other members’ places, refreshing his memory of commands and speaking with Yu, Chen and Ko. Overall, Lin created 35 objects.

Tsai  She maintained one to two visits every week from Week 4 but did not create any more objects during that time. While visiting Achieve, she usually visited rooms prepared by other project members or occasionally spoke briefly with them. I found out later from our conversation that she considered her difficulties in finding a convenient time to meet other project members led to her lack of interaction with and support from them, and this further influenced her commitment to the project. She did not come to the final discussion meeting and she created 9 objects in total.
Yu As Week 4 started, she created a diary based on a public writeable note and started to prepare a theme room and objects in the MOOseum for recording her upcoming summer camp. She left for camp at the beginning of Week 5. With the Internet access provided in the local library, she came to Achieve in her leisure time and recorded the events. Occasionally, she chatted with Chen and Ko if they were online at the same time. After returning to Taiwan in Week 8, she started to create objects, organize their placement in the room and attach images to them. By the last week of the project, her theme room was filled with objects and she had essentially recreated her summer camp in the MOOseum. In total, Yu made 64 objects in her 10 weeks of participation.

Ko Returning to Achieve at the end of the 6th week, Ko spent another week talking about the new friends that she had made. A week later, she tried making two objects with my guidance but decided not to finish her unaccomplished tasks. Although she decided on a topic for her theme room in MOOseum in Week 7, she had difficulty thinking of ways of presenting her ideas in the space. In the following week, Ko spent most of her time learning about the processing and uploading of her pictures from me; she managed to upload her photos to the space on the server but still had no idea how to present it. Therefore, although she kept expressing interest in constructing her MOO space, she continued to spend most of her time chatting in the MOO, talking
about her ideas and daily life. By Week 10, she decided to use the ideas she collected as the basis for her theme room and postponed the due day till Christmas. Ko created 15 objects in total.

_Yeh_ She maintained her constant appearances in the weekly meetings and visited the rooms made by other project members every week. Although I offered some personal guidance to acquaint her with the project site, she still expressed her concern about not being able to perform well. In addition, her online hours were mostly spent in another MOO where she needed to be in touch with a friend. Therefore, she maintained her quiet existence until the end of the project but did not participate in the final reviewing session. She made 3 objects in total.

_Chen_ Continuing her idea from Week 3, she made a room with toys for cats. In addition, she prepared a diary and wrote it with her MOO character, her real life character, and characters of the cats she made. After finishing this room, she started designing a small restaurant in Week 7 and started placing different kinds of food and drink objects in it. Later in Week 8, she finished setting descriptions, uploading images and adding Chinese names to these objects. After finishing both rooms, writing the diary became the major activity in her visits to Achieve in the last 2 weeks. Her total number of objects was 61.
5.2 The analysis

Research question: How are the focus on language, meaning and use promoted in this integrated network environment?

My examination of the MOOseum project at the micro level is conducted from general observations of weekly tasks and daily moo sessions to a more focused study of participant activities and speech events. This "funneling" methodological process (Jacob, 1987) allowed me to focus on a specific participant goal directed activity as a unit of analysis. I also adopted a "constant comparative" method (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) through which I categorized and placed my labeled data into different digital files cards on an ongoing basis. The use of digitalized file cards rather than the traditional paper card set allowed me to sort my data according to the fields I set with ease and accuracy. In order to perform subsequent data inclusion and exclusion for each category, I prepared rules of inclusion which are also known as propositional statements (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, citing Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

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10 FileMaker Pro 4.0v1 1994–1997 Claris Corporation
11 Propositional statements "make the shift from categorizing units of meaning, to preparing a statement that reflects the collective meaning contained in the cards within each category." (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p.140).
Table 5-1. Categories and Propositional Statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Propositional Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus on Meaning</td>
<td>A combination of development in higher order thinking and literacy skills involving experiential, literal, personal, critical and creative phases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on Language</td>
<td>Learners' awareness is drawn beyond the accuracy of language form to its use and further reinforces students' sense of identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on Use</td>
<td>Opportunities for learners to express themselves through the target language purposefully in authentic situations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 2, three major categories were established to answer the research questions targeted at micro level. The establishment of these categories is based on Cummins’ work (2000a, 2000b). These three categories are set to examine the opportunities for language learning afforded in the MOOseum project. Therefore, guided by my research question, the report of my analysis is presented as follows:

5.2.1 Focus on Meaning

This element emphasizes the importance of meaning and messages for language learners. Through project-based learning, it is hoped that participants “gain access to comprehensible input and use higher-order thinking skills to transform this input into critical literacy (Cummins, 2000b, p.542)” through the following 5-phase process:
In the experiential phase, the main objective is to activate prior knowledge and build background knowledge (Cummins, 2000a). In the MOOseum project, this goal was achieved by having the project members prepare the descriptions and images of themselves. Figure 1a and 1b display the samples of character descriptions prepared by Tsai and Yeh.

Fig. 5-1a. Tsai’s self-description

Fig. 5-1b. Yeh’s self-description

As demonstrated above, the descriptions were written by the participants themselves either through GUI or text command based on their prior knowledge of basic commands learned at school. Moreover, the new experience of using an image to represent oneself provided them the fundamental idea for using graphic and text-integrated representation for space and objects in this GUI based site. More

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12 Throughout the thesis, the samples of participants’ work are presented the way they appeared online in the MOOseum Project. Errors have not been corrected.
samples of the participants' character setting can be seen in Appendix H.

In the literal phase, project members were guided to attend to the information contained in the text (Cummins, 2000a). This was made possible by the weekly scavenger hunts that took the participants to the major areas in Achieve. Excerpt 1 displays sample answers to the hunt in Week 1 by Ko:

1. Miao's house  
Miao's place
1. There are 4 ASCII pictures.
2. Shu is a lovely squirrel. He is in charge of recording meetings and important discussions in this study room.
MOOseum Achieve
3. There are 3 floors in the building.
4. They are Gourmet Planet and Gallery, and they are on first floor.
5. There are 3 dishes here. The second one is invented by Miao's husband.
Tip: Remember to take off the gill of salmon.
6. There are 11 items in the refrigerator.
7. I like Catch, Walking with the cans, and Ride, because these pics looks so cute, and they let me think about childhood, childhood is sweet, no trouble, just playing, laughing and happy, and the pics are so funny, I like them.

Through answering the questions about the contextual facts of these areas, the project members have to process the textual information of rooms and objects.

Furthermore, the experience of visiting different rooms and examining different objects further prepared them for the creative work ahead. More sample answers to the hunt questions can be seen in Appendix I.
In the personal phase, the purpose is to enhance the participants' understanding of the textual information by encouraging them to relate their own experiences and feelings (Cummins, 2000a). In the MOOseum project, the participants were encouraged to visit each other's room and encouraged to sign each other's guest books. The following excerpts displays the messages written on Yu's guest book,

2. Hi!! Yu
   I like your cabin!!
   The flowers are beautiful! ;)
   keep it up!!
   Tsai
   It's my pleasure to take a visit to your cabin.
   Many cute flowers! Good job! ^o^
   I believe you will make here more and more beautiful!
   Lin ^o^

   Dear Yu:
   Wow! This is a warm place. I like the picture you put. What the cute flowers. oh~ I hope I also have a cabin. So loving place.
   ~^o~Chen

   Not only could the participants relate their personal experience and emotions, they could also produce meaningful output in interacting with others in both synchronous and asynchronous modes. The following examples illustrate Chen's description of her idea using both the asynchronous medium of MOOmail and the synchronous medium of chat.

3.
   Dear Miao,
I have another thinking about the project. I want to create a Cat’s House. To create many cats there, and each cat has own personality and interesting name. I will discuss with Yeh. And you are interesting on it. Maybe you also can give me your opinion.

4. Chen says, “I have a plan to put the cats on my home.”
   Yu smiles.
   Yu says, “sounds great.”
   Chen purrs at Yu.
   Chen says, “I have to work that..now.”
   Chen says, “so see you~”
   Yu nods.
   Yu says, “go ahead...”

In the critical phrase, the objective is to foster learners’ analysis of issues or problems arising from the text (Cummins, 2000a). For participants in the MOOseum project, after visiting different spots in the project site, they are asked to choose the rooms or places that impressed them and share their opinions about the design of spaces and objects and the messages that the owners tried to convey. From critical reflections, the project members make judgments and generate their own concepts for the design of their ideal space and objects.

In the creative phase, the focus is on realizing the knowledge and learning accumulated by the participants in their production (Cummins, 2000a). The project members’ personal spaces are the products of this phase, as Yu’s Cabin and Chen’s Nest demonstrated in the next page.
In the MOOseum project, the mission of construction was assigned after the project members activated their prior knowledge, became familiar with the environment and tools of the project site, and established their own plan for their own further production. With these preparations, the objective could be achieved by the participants' creation of rooms and objects in the project site. More samples of the project members' productions are provided in Appendix J.

A well-constructed personalized space also allowed project members to immerse in themselves in their new roles in this virtual environment and provided further
opportunities to celebrate their accomplishments. In the following excerpt, Lin showed Yu his newly finished personal room, Lin’s Fantasy. In this room, he also acted as one of his newly created objects, a bodyguard, to interact with Yu.

5. Lin (in Lin’s Fantasy) types: @invite Yu
   Yu (in Yu’s Cabin) types: @join Lin
   Lin hugs Yu.
   Yu says, “wow! you change here a lot.”
   Lin says, “welcome! ^o^”
   Lin nods.
   Lin says, “I just finished them.”
   Lin says, “they are very new.”
   Yu says, “It is fun. :)”
   Lin smiles.
   Lin says, “have fun here! ^o^”
   Yu views Bodyguard.
   Yu views Jitanic.
   Lin drops guest book.
   Yu says, “Your bodyguard is also very interesting. :)”
   Yu smiles.
   Lin says, “yup, he was born yesterday.”
   Yu says, “I feel yours are full of creativity. You do better than all of us.”
   Lin asks, “really?”
   Yu says, “Yes, it is true. :)”
   Lin says, “btw, my bodyguard say he want to make friends with you.”
   Yu says, “sure.”
   Lin sees his bodyguard hugging Yu.
   Lin says, “oh! boy! he is as romantic as I, Gee!!!”
   Lin pats his bodyguard onna head.
   Yu hugs Jackosaur.
   Yu grins.
   Lin sees Jackosaur grins at Yu.
   Lin says, “ it seems he likes you :)”
In brief, in the process of completing tasks and constructing a personal world in the MOOseum project, the project members' attention was lead from comprehending the meaning and message to a higher level of planning, evaluation and creation of their own world. Therefore, the participants played the roles of a recipient, a judge and a producer of information and knowledge.

5.2.2 Focus on Language

The component of focus on language encompasses the instruction of the form and function of language and the promotion of critical inquiry into the use of language in different social situations (Cummins, 2000a, 2000b). This component is most effective in the context where extensive opportunities for receiving input and producing output in the target language are created (Swain, 1993). The following reported analysis is organized according to the activities of collaborative inquiry from the focus on language component suggested in Cummins (2000a, 2000b)

The Structure of Language

Due to the reliance on the written message as the major form of communication in MOOs, the structure of the language system (e.g. spelling, grammar, vocabulary) became one important topic for collaborative inquiry. The following excerpts
illustrate a common issue of concern – error correction.

   Chen says: “I did wrong.”
   Chen will change.
   Miao smiles.

7. Miao sees: (from afar) Ko grins.
   Miao (in Riddle 4) pages Ko: You need the S after verbs.
   Ko sees: (from afar) Miao smiles.
   Miao sees: (from afar) Ko grins.
   Miao (in Riddle 4) pages Ko: “yeah, good.”

   Error correction could be initiated by me, as shown in Excerpts 6, where Miao
pointed out Chen's misuse of the masculine pronoun in her description of the object.

   Then, in Excerpt 7, Miao explicitly told and demonstrated to Ko how to add a
third person S after verbs. In addition, the correction of errors happened between the
project members, as demonstrated in the next excerpt. In Excerpt 8, Yu corrected a
typing error of Ko's through a recast:

8. [+] [MOOseum] Ko says, “ok last night I see my school timetabel
   oh my god”
   [+] [MOOseum] Yu says, “timetable :)
   [+] [MOOseum] Ko smiles.

   Project members also corrected the errors found in my messages. In Excerpt 9,
Yu questioned Miao's inconstant use of gender pronouns in her prior statement about
another project member.
9. Miao says, "I will tell her to stop by when he comes up."
   Yu asks, "he? her??"
   Miao says, "OH, him. Sorry."
   Miao smiles.
   Yu smiles.

As project members felt comfortable with error correction and saw it as a way
of helping self-expression and improving English use, they actively asked for
correction from others, as demonstrated in the next two excerpts.

10. Yu says, "Can you give me a favor?"
    Yu asks, "If you find mistakes in my diary, could you please
tell me how to change?"
    Yu says, "I mean you can correct them."
    Yu says, "because I know when I wrote in English, I can't express
all feelings and don't know how to express."

11. Chen (in Tsai's Bungalow) pages Tsai: hello!
    Tsai (in Miao's House) pages Chen: hello!! ;)
    Chen (in Chen's nest) pages Tsai: I wrote on your guest book
    But I made a mistake! would you please correct. it..when You have
time..Thanks!
    Tsai (in Chen's nest) pages Chen: ok!! thank you!! :) i like
your nest!

In addition, opportunities for project members to correct their word use also took
place when they tried to clarify the meaning of their words. In the next excerpt, Lin
figured out his misuse of a word during conversation with another member of Project
Achieve on the public channel.

12. [+][beam]Lin [to Sean\textsuperscript{13}]: "they are farfetched like you :p"
   [+][beam]Lin says, "is farfetched really a rude word?"

\textsuperscript{13} The character names of other members in Project Achieve are replaced by pseudonyms.
[+] [beam] Lin is confused.
[+] [beam] Lin is looking it up in the dictionary.
[+] [beam] Lin says, “it looks as if I use the wrong word.”
[+] [beam] Lin [to Sean]: “sorry, I thought it meant far away...”

As shown in the excerpts above, error correction included different error types and interaction around different errors took place between the different pair combinations: between peers, between a project member and another MOO member, and between a project participant and me. Furthermore, requests for correction were also self-initiated by the project members so that they could achieve accurate communication and self-expression.

*Appropriateness of Expressions and Behaviors*

In addition to bringing the participants’ attention to language systems, the focus on the language component in the MOOseum project also addressed the appropriateness of behavior and expression in different contexts. In addition to reading a guide of proper manners in the MOO, project members learned about the appropriate use of certain words from their exchanges with others on the MOO. In the following example, Lin was told not to use “lick” in his action.

   Miao [to Lin]: Stop that.
   Lin says, “I just want to express my appreciation.”
   Miao nods.
   Miao says, “Ok. But being licked by a man is strange for a cat.”
Lin smiles. Miao says, "I am not. But the word lick is strange for your character."
Miao smiles. Lin says, "I understand now, sorry."

In this excerpt, Lin was advised not to use the word lick in describing his action for it could be interpreted as offensive behavior. It was known later that he had learned some expressions from a social MOO where slang and dirty words were commonly used. However, raising the awareness of the appropriate use of words in different contexts, especially for these ESL/EFL participants in the educational MOO, was a focal point of the MOO experience. In the following example, Lin sought a native speaker's help in Achieve in understanding the meaning of some commonly used words for expressing action or emotions.

14. Lin asks, "Can I ask you another question?"
   Lin asks, "Is whuggle=hug?"
   Lin says, "So 'hug' uses 2 arms, but whuggle use only one?"
   Lin nods.

   After figuring out the difference between whuggle and hug, Lin then explained the meaning to me:

15. Lin whuggles Miao.
   Miao [to Lin] What does whuggle mean?
   Lin asks, "you don’t know whuggle?"
   Miao says, "NO."
   Lin says, "Well, it’s similar to hug but you only use one arm."

---

14 Whuggle is a MOO specific word which means to hug with only one arm.
Miao nods.
Lin says, "but it's not lick at all."
Lin smiles

As demonstrated in Excerpts 14 to 15, the learning of using appropriate expression of actions and emotions could take place simply in the dialogue. For Lin, not only did he learn a new expression but he also passed this knowledge to others.

Bilingual Support in the MOO and the Use of L1 and L2

Since the textual representation of language is the main gateway to communication in MOOs, users' attention can be drawn to the words they see while they are communicating with others. Therefore, a focus on understanding of the meaning of vocabularies and their appropriate use naturally occurred in the MOO.

Under this circumstance, the bilingual support provided in Achieve offers the Mandarin-speaking participants an opportunity to use their mother tongue in assisting communication, as demonstrated in the following three examples.

16. Yu [to Miao]: how about 煞車?
   Miao [to Yu]: The break, you mean.
   Yu nods.
   Miao asks, "What's wrong with the break?"
   Yu says, "It seems right break control the back wheel in Canada, but in Taiwan it's different."

17. Yu says, "My pc 當機!!"
   Lin says, "mine was before."
   Yu says, "why would it happen so often?"
Lin says, “I don’t know…”
Yu says, “the pc is new……. its age is 10 months.”
Lin says, “we had better tell the wizards.”
Yu nod.
Yu asks, “but how to describe?”
Lin says, “achieve often crashed.”

18. [+] [Mooseum] Yu says, “You still can use Yu here.”
[+] [Mooseum] Yu says, “because I add it to alias, too.”
Lin (in Lin’s fantasy) pages Yu: alias?
Yu (in Yu’s cabin) pages Lin: It means 別名.

In Excerpt 16 and 17, Yu used Chinese characters to replace the vocabulary items
that she didn’t know and her interlocutors gave her the right words. While in Excerpt
18, she used Chinese to explain a new term. In both cases, code switching helped her
render the ideas she wanted to express. Achieve MOO’s bilingual support offered a
further exploration of different expressions, as the next example illustrates.

19. Yu says, “I don’t like a person that is so 霸道.”
Miao asks, “gee...how to translate this word?”
Yu looks it up in the dictionary.
Miao waits.
Yu says, “high-handed; overbearing; arbitrary; dictatorial; peremptory.”
Miao says, “Domineering is another one.”
Yu smiles.

Bilingual support also offered the project members another means of
self-expression about their identities through the descriptions written for the rooms or
objects. Figure 5-3 displays a bilingual menu prepare by Chen:
The names for each item on the menu were originally prepared in English. However, according to Chen, with the hope of dedicating the menu to the members of the MOO and indicating her Mandarin speaking background, decided to create a bilingual menu.

*Organization and Creation of Written Discourse*

The organization and creation of powerful messages, an activity that is also involved in the Focus on Language component, was realized in various written opportunities for creating one’s virtual space and identity. For example, creating personal messages allowed MOO participants to answer other people’s pages in different situations. Excerpt 20 shows a number of messages set up by Chen. These messages are written in her moo character’s voice (Tweety and Woodstock, the well
know bird from peanuts):

Chen types: @page_absent me is In the azure sky, there seems to be a pile of yellow feather floating towards to you. Oh! It is Woodstock who brings to you a message from Chen.
Chen types: @page_origin me is Tweet! Tweet! Woodstock takes your message to Chen.
Chen types: @page_echo me is Tweet! Tweet! Woodstock takes your message to Chen.
...
Chen pages Miao: here has no page_idle me....oh~~ I have thought a funny message....
Chen pages Miao: I thought this : Wow~~ Woodstock is lost now. Chen is looking for it. She will answer you soon. haha~~

Furthermore, project members demonstrated the organization and creation of written discourse through the design of the space and objects. So far we have seen examples of participant self-portraits as well as the creation of spaces and objects by project members. These samples reflect the hard work and strong organizational skills the MOO project participants developed through the process of writing in on online virtual environment.

In the MOOseum project, the Focus on Language component was demonstrated not only in the participants’ focus on the correctness but also the appropriateness of the language they used in the project site where the bilingual support was provided. Chances for the participants to focus the organization of written discourse happened naturally through the process of viewing, designing and creating of space and objects.
For the project members, reading and writing object descriptions and using synchronous and asynchronous tools for online communication created opportunities of encountering extensive input and producing extensive output. Under these circumstances, the project members were given maximum opportunities to help them express themselves and avoid confusion or misunderstanding.

5.2.3 Focus on Use

The Focus on Use component stresses the importance of providing opportunities for language learners to use the target language with and for authentic audiences in the mode of two-way communication. Through encouraging the students to express themselves in the target language, it was hoped to achieve “the overall literacy development and identity affirmation among English language learning (ELL) students” (Cummins, 2000b, p.544).

In the MOOseum project, the efforts of maintaining this objective can be seen in the online environment where multiple means of communication and construction are provided, the process of how participants learned to use these different tools, and their final products of construction. Since this was a project carried out in a network-based environment, I include the three components of electronic literacy (Shetzer & Warschauer, 2000) to illustrate how the Focus on Use component was realized in this
network-based environment.

5.2.3.1 Communication

The notion of communication in a network-based environment is moving beyond the idea of translating from one communications medium to another to the learning of how to communicate, interact and collaborate effectively via computer (Shetzer & Warschauer, 2000). In the MOOseum project, the participants’ ability to carry out effective communication is demonstrated in their use of both synchronous and asynchronous communication tools provided. The first example, Excerpt 21, demonstrates how Lin announced his temporary departure from the project to all the members through MOOmail list.

20. Date: 07/24 2000, 14:37 EDT
   From: Lin (#1969)
   To: *MOOseum (#2058)
   Subject: Time to Say Goodbye!

   Dear all, :)
   I will leave Taiwan for England at 3:30 this evening. That is, the time I can spend on Achieve project will decrease. Anyway, when I come back, I can still work with you happily. Sometimes, I would like to get away from it all. This trip will be a good opportunity for me. I believe I will have a good time there. Now, it's time to say goodbye. I wish you a happy summer vacation!
   Best wishes,
   Lin
MOOseum mail list is an asynchronous communication tool for making public announcements to all the project members. During the project, it was used for displaying self-introductions, invitations, and notices of absence or change. As to the use of synchronous communication tools, project members demonstrated their selection of different tools according to different situations. For example, Excerpt 22 illustrates how Tsai learned the different purposes of using – and + commands.

21. Yu [to Tsai]: You home icon is there. Nice one. :)  
Tsai exclaims, “thank you!!”  
Tsai asks, “why can't i say TO Yu??”  
Yu [to Tsai]: You have to use: -Yu ........  
Tsai [to Yu]: i see!  
Tsai [to Yu]: and can i wave to you if we are not in the same place?  
Yu nods.  
Yu [to Tsai]: use +Yu waves

With the knowledge of how to use the different communication tools provided, the project members were able to select the most appropriate tools depending on their own needs and conditions of communication. In Excerpt 21, Yu told Tsai how to address her message to a specific person in speaking mode and how to perform gestures to a person in a different location. Recalling Excerpt 7, the dialogue about third person S was carried out through paging because Ko and Miao were in different rooms. Also, in Excerpt 8, Yu's correction of Ko's typo was carried out on the MOOseum channel, another tool for real-time message exchange across the
boundaries of rooms and space. These examples illustrate the project members' flexible selection of communication tools for their collaborative inquiry.

5.2.3.2 Construction

For a network-based environment, the results of construction can be observed from three major shifts: (1) from essay to hypertext, (2) from words to multimedia, and (3) from author to co-constructor (Shetzer & Warschauer, 2000). In fact, hypertextual written discourses accompanied with graphic image, is a prominent feature of all the objects and rooms created by the participants in the MOOseum project. Figure 5-4 displays the theme room created by Yu in MOOseum as an example.

Figure 5-4. The Theme Room Created by Yu in MOOseum
This theme room, Yu's sweet memory, was created by Yu for the purpose of keeping and sharing her summer camp experience. She organized her essays into different categories. Thus the viewers can click on the topic of their interest. For example, in the category called music festival, she introduced her school life with five essays named Overture, Audition, School Life, Clarinet Lesson, Piano Lesson, and Food and Drink. Once again, the viewer can click on any essay that interests them. Yu's creation of this theme room represents a new form of writing that involves hypertext accompanied by images.

Finally, the process of creating this room also involved collaboration and co-construction through which she modified the content, form, and organization of the written descriptions according to the feedback from other project members and me. Therefore, the accomplishment of this theme room, covered all three elements of construction – inclusion of hypertext, combination with other media, and collaboration.

5.2.3.3 Research

This skill entails the abilities to search for information, select available technologies, navigate Internet resources and evaluate the found materials (Shetzer & Warschauer, 2000). In the MOOseum project, image searching and information
searching were the two activities in which participants demonstrated their skills.

Through the search of icons, the participants found visual images for their rooms and objects. In the following dialogue, Yeh told Lin how to find images from the Internet.

22. Lin [to Yeh]: by the way, where do you find rinoa?
    Yeh [to Lin]: from somewhere....I forgot.... sorry....
    Yeh smiles at Lin.
    Lin nods.
    Yeh [to Lin]: you can find it on internet
    Lin asks, “GTO classroom?”
    Yeh shake head.
    Lin [to Yeh]: do you know any place that provides many icons?
    Yeh [to Lin]: I don't know, but you can try to find icon on internet
    Yeh [to Lin]: got it?
    Lin [to Yeh]: type icon?
    Yeh nods.
    Yeh [to Lin]: or gif.
    Lin asks, “gif?”
    Lin asks, “gif =icon?”
    Yeh shake head.
    Yeh [to Lin]: but I always see that word on icon page.
    Lin nods
    Yeh [to Lin]: so, I think maybe you can try it
    Lin says, “Thank you very much! ^o^”

    In this example, Yeh demonstrated her knowledge of research in her answers to
    Lin's question about finding icons. For Lin, learning more about where to find icons
    enriched the image of the MOO space that he created. The sample of his room can be
    seen in Appendix J. All of the icons he used came from the websites that he found.

    The participants' research abilities were also seen in their demonstrated ability to find
    information in the various databases in the research site itself. In the following excerpt,
Yu manages her objects after reading the Chinese manuals in the study room.

23. Yu types: @join miac
   Yu views: Book Shelf (Chinese-中文)
   Yu views: 进阶课程 (Advanced Lessons)
   Yu views: 移動物件 (Moving Objects)
   Yu views: 容器相關指令 (Container’s Commands)
   Yu types: @go Yu’s workshop
   Yu views: Music Festival
   Yu types: get audition from music
   Yu types: get food from music
   ...
   Yu types: put audition in music
   Yu types: put school in music

Excerpt 24 recorded the commands and mouse clicks that Yu used. In this excerpt, Yu first went to the study room, clicked the bookshelf and selected Advanced Lessons from which she further viewed the contents of two lessons, Moving Objects and Container’s command. After this, she returned to manage the sequence of her objects in the Music Festival by taking them from Music Festival and putting them back in a new order. In the MOOlogs, the records of participants’ turning to the self-help resources can be seen frequently, especially when they are working on their own.

In brief, the MOOsuem project involved activities which enhanced three essential elements of electronic literacy: communication, construction and research. Moreover, the participants did use meaningful and purposeful English with authentic
audiences – the people they encountered or the viewers of their creations in the project site.

In summary, the Moo environment is virtual, text-based, as well as communication and construction oriented. This network-enhanced language learning environment offered opportunities for students to focus on language meaning and use through various activities in the MOOseum project. Moreover, many of the MOOseum tasks allowed students to focus to different degrees on language, meaning and use. As demonstrated in the previous examples, project participants were able to use English in different ways with various kinds of media in situations including 1) viewing, designing and creating personal virtual spaces; 2) learning new techniques for communication and construction; 3) sending invitations and posting announcements; 4) role playing, discussion and casual chat. The completion of these varied tasks heavily relied on meaning exchange and did not necessarily require correct form. With imperfect structures and vocabulary, project members strove to convey meaning. Therefore, the MOOseum project can be characterized as a fluency-oriented project (Shield & Hewer, 1999).

In the following section, I will switch the focus of inquiry to participants’ viewpoints toward this project in order to answer my second research question.
5.3 Participants’ Viewpoints

*Research Question: What are the project members’ viewpoints toward learning English through this collaborative on-line project?*

In the final week, I invited the project members to participate in the discussion session to review their own work and express their viewpoints about their experience in this online virtual community. However, Tsai and Yeh decided not to attend the meeting because of their lower level of participation time in this project. Therefore, the discussion reported here only represents the views of the four remaining participants.

Before the discussion session, I prepared a list of questions (see appendix F) and presented it in the room for reference during the session. The participants’ answers to these questions were organized into three categories: 1. the MOO and English learning/using, 2. technical issues, and 3. project work.

5.3.1. *The MOO and English Learning/Using*

*General impressions:* All four participants considered MOOing helpful to learning English but in different ways. Ko suggested that the MOO especially aided the learning of vocabulary which she learnt mostly from conversation. Chen noted
grammar and vocabulary learned through editing her objects. Both Lin and Yu suggested that the MOO improved their reading and writing and Yu also considered that her frequent visits to Achieve MOO made her think in English. Although it has been suggested that the form of text exchange in “chat” mode resembles “real life” spoken language, none of the participants believed that MOOing helped them to develop their speaking skills in English. Both Yu and Lin further stressed that speaking English is different and more difficult than chatting online. Ko, Yu, and Chen all recommended MOOs as a place for learning and practicing English. For Ko, the use of different commands, graphical representation of objects, and access to people who would listen and speak to her were the three major features that fascinated her and changed her prior negative attitude toward English. Yu suggested vocabulary learning and the process of creating her own place the two most interesting things. Chen also liked the process of creating her own imaginary places and hearing the feedback from the guests she invited. Although Lin noted opportunities for vocabulary learning and writing as two immediate benefits of the MOO, he also cautioned that spending a lot of time chatting using simple vocabulary may not result in much progress in one’s general language abilities.

Strategy use: For those who have difficulties in using English, it seems MOO provides quick access to assistance. All four participants turned to the people they
knew in MOO for help. Lin preferred asking native speakers, and Ko just asked whomever she was talking to. Chen mentioned her former English teacher and me as the two people that she usually approached in MOO. In addition to the people Yu encountered in MOO, she also turned to her sister for assistance sometimes. Each participant seemed to have common strategies for dealing with communication breakdown. In situations where they had difficulties expressing themselves, they all indicated rephrasing in easier words or different ways as a solution to the problem. Yu further noted that she would explain the word in Chinese if she was talking to a Chinese speaker. On the other hand, if they had difficulty understanding other people’s messages, they would commonly request their interlocutor rephrase the message as a common solution. Furthermore, Chen added that she would seek for explanations from other people. They would also consult a dictionary program called Dr.Eye. Both Yu and Ko used another program called Babylon with less frequency because of they have been familiar with using Dr. Eye.

*Chinese support:* The participants were asked to evaluate the importance of having Chinese language support in the project site because it was an innovation implemented specifically for this project. In responding to this question, all four participants considered this function useful. Ko suggested using Chinese helped her express herself better while speaking with project members. Lin added that that
Chinese could be used in talking about Chinese names of people or places. Yu used
Chinese for a specific word or phrase that she could not otherwise describe. However,
she further cautioned that one may not be able to learn English if Chinese is being
used as the primary language for communication.

5.3.2. Technical Issues

Challenges: Lin considered was keeping different commands in mind as the major
difficulty especially after returning to the project from his long absence. For Ko, not
knowing how to present her ideas with the generic objects provided discouraged her
from further creation. Although both Yu and Chen felt fine in both command use and
object selection, Chen's lower level computer and connection speed increased the wait
time of message and image transferring. It also increased the frequency of connection
failures which interrupted her communications with others and creation of her objects
and space.

Seeking help: When they had problems with using objects or commands, Ko, Chen
and Lin usually asked people for help. The people they turned to included their peers,
me, or other people they knew in the MOO. Yu preferred figuring out the answer by
consulting the online manuals in the study room first. Using her experience of
learning to use container objects as an example, she felt comfortable solving problems
this way. She would also turn to others when she could not work things out on her own.

MOOsium Channel and mail list: Each participant agreed that these two communication tools were very useful for connecting the whole project group. They considered the channel a very convenient tool because it allowed group synchronous communication without members of the group having to leave their own room, and thus not interrupt their work. They also considered the mail list convenient for its capability to connect every project member through mail. Each of them had made more than two announcements through the mail list.

Graphic support: All the participants favored having graphical representations of objects and spaces in this MOO. Yu, Ko and Chen considered graphics attractive and would not limit their imagination. Chen further stressed that the easy process of attaching images made creating objects more fun. Agreeing with Chen’s point, Lin added that using images with descriptions could present one’s particular design of his or her own space.

5.3.3. Project work

Opinions toward the tasks in first 3 weeks: Chen considered the tasks helped her
become familiar with the whole MOO and she also learned how to create her own world. Ko agreed that she did learn about the environment of the project site from the tasks, but she also requested more detailed instructions for each task to prevent her from getting lost. Yu further addressed the use of commands and formulation of ideas for one’s room as additional benefits of preparing for these tasks but specified the need for guidance in understanding the theme of each room in Week 3.

*Visits to other members' places and provision of feedback:* All the participants reported frequent visits to other members’ places. They also provided mutual feedback, but mostly in a general and positive manner. They all agreed with Lin that giving compliments is easy. The reasons, as Lin explained, are that they are friends and each of their projects did demonstrate a lot of creativity.

*Future plans:* All four members expressed their interest in continuing their attendance and creation in the project site. Chen wanted to make more objects to make each of her rooms more alive. Lin wanted to share the story about his summer trip abroad. Ko planned to add her summer camp story and finally, Yu hoped to complete her theme room in the MOOseum.
Summary

In this chapter, I reported the outcomes of the study through the descriptions of processes and products of each project member's participation. I also provided analysis of my data from the three components of technology-supported language learning. The descriptions of how each component was realized in the MOOseum project were accompanied by examples which illustrate the activities. From the analysis, it was demonstrated that ample opportunities for focus on meaning, language, and use were created for learners to interact with others and with the environment. Finally, I also provided four of the participants' viewpoints based on a discussion conducted in the final week.
Chapter 6

Discussion

In this chapter, I summarize the outcomes of the MOOseum project reported in Chapter 5. Then, I discuss the features of this study, possible factors that affected individual performance, and the particular circumstances of the project. Finally, I present some pedagogical implications.

6.1 The MOOseum Project

The present study examined the process and products of a collaborative project prepared for EFL learners in an integrated network environment. Originating from transformative perspectives of education, the present study adopted a project-based approach similar to those described by Turner (1998), Schwienhorst (1997, 1998a, 1998b), Shield et al. (1999a, 1999b), Backer (1999), and Donaldson and Kotter (1999). However, rather than providing anecdotal descriptions or an analysis of isolated aspects of the participants’ performance, the current study provided a close examination of both the process and the product of the research project based on a comprehensive framework for technology-supported language learning and electronic literacy. For the purpose of examining the process of learners’ collaboration, their written products, and their viewpoints, the present study adopted a qualitative
approach capable of revealing the participants' complex language learning experience shaped by social, cultural and individual factors.

6.1.1 The Analysis

To examine learners' language learning experience in this online project, I looked at the process and products of the project members' participation based on three components, focus on meaning, focus on language and focus on use, outlined in Cummins' framework of technology-supported language learning (2000).

In the my examination of the element, Focus on Meaning, I demonstrated how the project members developed higher level thinking skills of critical literacy thorough five phases in meaning and message based activities. With these activities, the participants went through the process of activating their prior experience of MOOing, navigating the environment, comparing their personal experience, evaluating other people's products and finally, creating their own MOO-based products.

In my examination of the Focus on Language, I showed that the participants attended to both the language structure and its proper use during their exchanges of meaningful messages. The provision of Chinese language support enabled the
Mandarin speakers to express their thoughts and confirm their identities. Finally, it was demonstrated that the process that involve the participants' viewing, designing and creating space and objects generated opportunities for organizing and sharing powerful messages.

I explored the final element, *Focus on Use*, by highlighting the opportunities for electronic literacy available to MOO participants. With these opportunities, the growth of the learners' abilities to communicate, construct and research were realized through their language use with/for authentic audiences in this network-based environment. Therefore, the chances for the participants to effectively use different communication devices, to create and organize graphic integrated hypertexts, and to find and evaluate resources needed, were those that promoted the *Focus on Use* element.

6.1.2 *Participants Voices*  

My attempt to understand the viewpoints of the project members was realized through an online discussion session with four of the six participants about related to MOOing in developing English skills, MOOing skills, and project work. In considering the benefits of MOOing for language learning, they mentioned vocabulary growth, and chances for writing and reading, but they did not feel that
speaking and listening were practiced in the project site. This is due to the fact that written text is the major tool for message transmission in the MOO. Therefore, although the messages generated from synchronous communication may resemble spoken language in some ways (Yun, 1994; Beauvois, 1992, 1998), it was not considered relevant to the development of speaking ability by these participants. Interestingly, similar to Donaldson and Kötter (1999), all the participants mentioned their use of communication strategies in dealing with communication breakdown during synchronous message exchanges. Therefore, the difficulties they had in using English during online conversations, reading, or writing created opportunities to actively interact with others or consult with the tools at hand. Finally, although the Chinese language support was considered a helpful tool insofar as it allowed for the expression of words unknown to the participants, its use as a tool for assisting language learning in this online environment should be carefully considered to prevent overuse.

In the discussion of some of the technical aspects involved in MOOing, some participants experienced the connection breakdowns due to the unstable conditions of the Internet and computers, and required support in the use of different commands and creation of educational objects. Participants sought help from other people on the MOO or they consulted online resources. Finally, they responded positively toward
the new communication tools and graphic support provided in the project site.

In discussing issues related to the project work, three of the four participants who did the weekly assignments considered them helpful for familiarizing themselves with the environment, using commands, and formulating of ideas for further creations. More guidance was considered necessary in preparing for some tasks. Consistent with the record on the MOOlogs, each participant maintained frequent visits to other project members’ rooms. Mutual feedback was mostly addressed in a positive manner. Finally, they all expressed interest in continuing or finishing their theme rooms in the project site in the future.

6.2 Discussion

Tool-Mediated Learning in a Virtual Environment

As presented in the outcomes, various kinds of synchronous and asynchronous devices were used to maintain mutual communication, to learn new knowledge and to construct one’s own spaces and objects. This demonstrated how tools were used in realizing one’s objectives in this virtual environment. Therefore, what the participants said and did while involved in the MOOseum project demonstrated how a network-based environment can be utilized to enhance foreign language learners’ experience of learning and using the target language. In other words, the written
language was used beyond simple conversation and involved different written forms in meaningful and purposeful use with authentic audiences. The written language also served as a tool that mediates the development of higher order thinking skills in this online environment.

*Possible Factors that Influenced Learner Participation*

Due to the fact that the participation in the project was voluntary and it took place over an extended period during the summer vacation, the amount of time each project member spent in the project site varied. Participants' involvement in other "real life" activities that allowed for little or no access to computers affected their participation in the project. Lin's trip to Europe and Ko's summer camps were examples of this. For Tsai, her lesser involvement in the project resulted from her inability to connect with other participants in real-time due to her different scheduling. As for Yeh, her personal need to maintain contact with a friend in another MOO also restricted her participation in the project. In brief, the participants' devotion to the MOOseum project was mainly affected by the schedule and personal circumstances. These factors further influenced their degree of dedication to the tasks and the development of social bonds in the virtual environment. Therefore, the initial objective of having pairs work collaboratively to enhance learning was not totally met.
This also resulted in differences in the quantity and quality of objects created by the project members.

Some additional points to consider in the implementation of this project are listed below:

First, all the six participants learned basic commands about MOOing before participating in the MOOseum project. Therefore, those who have never been in this type of virtual community, establishing the concepts of space and objects presented in this environment and learning its basic commands should be considered a prime objective.

Second, all six participants connected to the project site using their own personal computers. Therefore, the condition of their computers, the client software they used, and the connection speed of their Internet service provider all affected their language use and actions in the project site. Failure of any of their equipment resulted in slow transmitting or retrieval of data or in the worse case, disconnection.

Third, the relationship between this researcher and the participants was fairly informal. There was no teacher-student relationship before or after the commencement of the research project. Although I did suggest tasks and timelines for
the project work, the participants were completely free to determine their own progress and the amount of time they spent in the project site. Furthermore, their productions in this project had no effect on their scores at school. Therefore, throughout the project, my role was rather like a project coordinator or more specifically, a facilitator that provided suggestions or solved the project members’ questions on demand.

Fourth, the timeline of the project overlapped with the project members’ summer vacation. Therefore, the amount of time and frequency of their visits to the project site were often influenced by their real-life activities.

6.3 Implications

Internet can be used not just as a conduit for information, but as a context for learning through community-supported collaborative construction.

Bruckman, 1998

For EFL students, learning English has long been restricted to an environment that lacks authentic opportunities for practicing and using the target language. By engaging these EFL learners in the MOOseum project, it was demonstrated that opportunities for meaningful and purposeful exchange of the target language were created through the processes of learning and teaching how to communicate, navigate,
and create in this virtual environment.

In addition, a MOO with GUI that integrates the hypertext and graphic provides for language learners not only an opportunity to developing skills of reading, writing and computers skills, but it can also provide opportunities for searching, browsing, evaluating and creating. Unlike Baker's (1999) assumption that the graphics are merely decorative and irrelevant to the content, the participants of the MOOseum project chose images and icons that matched their descriptions of objects and rooms. They further noted that the use of graphics was actually beneficial for their imagination and made their work interesting. Moreover, the process of viewing and learning to use and organize this additional visual representation also created opportunities for meaningful message exchange. Therefore, in the GUI-based MOO that combines the use of hypertext and graphics, what a learner can potentially develop is not only literacy, but also critical and electronic literacy.

Despite the particular circumstances under which the present study was implemented, the difficulties mentioned by the project members and the factors that influenced the outcomes of the present study should be considered by educators who are interested in introducing project-based learning through this collaborative virtual environment. The problems experienced by some participants in connecting and
mastering different commands may impede the work of participants in this virtual environment. Further difficulties in scheduling or personal circumstance may affect their motivation and progress in becoming socialized into this online community. For educators, being prepared and having awareness of these problems may avert later difficulties.
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Appendix A

Some MOO Clients

Macintosh Clients
Rapscallion  http://www.rapscallion.co.uk/
MacMoose     http://www.cc.gatech.edu/fac/Amy.Bruckman/MacMOOSE/
Savitar      http://www.heynow.com/

Windows 95/NT Clients
Pueblo       http://www.chaco.com/
zMUD         http://zugsoft.com/zuggsoft/index.cfm

Windows 3.x Clients
Pueblo       http://www.chaco.com/
zMUD         http://zugsoft.com/zuggsoft/index.cfm

UNIX Clients
TinyFugue    http://tf.tcp.com/~hawkeye/tf/
Appendix B

Letters of Consent

Dear,

I am Jen-Yi Wu, a student at the Modern Language Centre, University of Toronto. Jim Cummins, my advisor, has invited me to participate in the Achieve project. Achieve is a virtual learning environment that involves interactive activities.

This project focuses on enhancing the student's language skills through collaborative activities. In order to participate, we require your consent.

This project will last for two months. During this time, we will meet for approximately three hours per week. During this time, students will have the opportunity to work collaboratively.

If you choose to participate, you will be provided with a questionaire that will assess your language skills. You will also have the opportunity to interact with other students and receive feedback.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Jen-Yi Wu

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Dr. Jim Cummins
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Email: jcummins@oisc.utoronto.ca
親愛的家長或監護人，

我是吳貞諡，現在是多倫多大學之安大略教育研究中心碩士班學生。Jim Cummins 博士是我的指導教授。我想邀請您的子女參加我在 Achieve 的研究計畫。Achieve 是一個位於多倫多大學的合作式網路虛擬學習環境。

這個研究主要目的在評估這個虛擬環境所提供的語言學習使用以及互助合作的機會。因此，在即將進行的計畫中，所要做的是在 Achieve 的博物館中建立展覽室。您的孩子將也會有機會和他/她的朋友合作在本研究中心展現他/她的興趣、嗜好和知識。

這個計畫將在暑假進行，預計持續兩個月。在這兩個月之中，我希望您的子女能夠每個星期在週一至週五的午間十二點至十二點之間花大約三小時到 Achieve 來，而且我也會同一個時間在站上提供您的子女進行計畫所需的種種協助。為了本研究所需，本研究站上的每位參賽者的互動狀況都會被記錄下來，而且我會每月將所記錄資料做回顧並且用於協助英文使用以及計畫進度。為了更進一步了解您的子女學習英文還有使用電腦的經驗，我會在您同意讓他/她參與本研究計畫後發給您/他一份五分鐘即能完成問卷。此外我也會在您的子女完成他/她的展示室後進行約一小時線上訪問。

這個研究的資料會保存於有密碼保護的伺服器之中，只有成功通過研究計畫審核的研究者及其指導教授才能夠讀取資料。這些資料在研究結案後並且會歸檔妥善儲存。您的子女的使用者名稱將會在資料中以三至四位數的號碼代替。此外在我的書面報告中將會以假名來代替您的子女的使用者名稱。如欲停止參加本研究，只需打一個指令即可。

如果您同意讓您的子女參與本活動，請在本信之後所附的同意書上簽名後再還給我。

祝 順心

吳貞諡

聯絡地址:

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Hi.

My name is Jen-Yi Wu. I am a graduate student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Currently I am in the Master’s program under the supervision of Dr. Jim Cummins. I would like to invite you to join my research project in Achieve, an on-line collaborative virtual learning environment housed at the University of Toronto.

The purpose of this research is to investigate the opportunities for language learning and use as well as collaboration provided by this virtual environment. Therefore, the main objective of the project is to create an exhibition room in the museum set up in the project site. You will have chances to work with your friends to practice English and demonstrate your interests, hobbies and knowledge in this project site.

This project will take place during your summer vacation and will last approximately for two months in July and August. Throughout these two months, you will be encouraged to visit the project site on weekdays for three hours a week between 9 and 12 p.m. Taiwan time. I will be present at the project site at the same time every weekday to help you with your projects. For the purpose of research as well as to facilitate language use and project accomplishment, the participants’ interactions in this project site will be logged and reviewed on a weekly basis. To find out about your experiences learning English and using computers, a questionnaire which takes about five minutes to complete will be given to you if you agree to join this study. You will also be asked to participate in an open-ended interview for one hour at the end of the project.

On transcripts and other data collected, your username will be noted by a 3 to 4 digit number known only to the researcher. The logged data will be stored on a secure password protected server or on the researcher’s personal computer and can only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisor. At the end of the study, all data collected will be kept in the researcher’s lock-protected archive. In the written report, your username will be replaced by a pseudonym. Finally, it is important to note that you may withdraw from this project at any time without penalty of any kind.

Eight participants are needed for this study. The opportunity to participate will be given to the first eight students who return the consent form. If you are interested in participating in this study, please sign the attached consent form and return it to me.

Sincerely,

Jen-Yi Wu

Contact information:

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Dear Parent and Guardian,

My name is Jen-Yi Wu. I am a graduate student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Currently I am in the Master’s program under the supervision of Dr. Jim Cummins. I would like to invite your child to participate in my research project in Achieve, an on-line collaborative educational environment housed at the University of Toronto.

The purpose of this research is to investigate the opportunities of language learning and use as well as collaboration provided by this virtual environment. You child will have the opportunity to work with his or her friends to practice English and to discuss their interests, hobbies and knowledge in this project site.

This project will take place in the summer vacation and last approximately two months in July and August. Throughout these two months, your child will be encouraged to visit the project site on weekdays for three hours a week between 9 to 12 p.m. Taiwan time. I will be present at the project site at the same time every weekday to help the participants with their projects. For the purpose of research as well as to facilitate language use and project accomplishment, the participants’ interactions in this project site will be logged and reviewed on the weekly base. To find out about your child’s experiences learning English and using computers, a questionnaire which takes about five minute to complete will be given to your child if he/she agrees to participate in this study. Your child will also be asked to participate in an open-ended interview for one hour at the end of the project.

On transcripts and other data collected, your child’s username will be noted by a 3 to 4 digit number known only to the researcher. The logged data will be stored on a secure password protected server or on the researcher’s personal computer and can only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisor. At the end of the study, all data collected will be kept in the researcher’s lock-protected archive. In the written report, your child’s username will be replaced by a pseudonym. Your child will be able to withdraw from taking part in this study at any time without penalty of any kind.

Eight participants are needed for this study. The opportunity to participate will be offered to the first eight students that return the consent form. If you agree to let your child to participate in this study, please sign the attached consent form and send it to me.

Sincerely,

Jen-Yi Wu

Contact information:
Ms. Jen-Yi Wu
Modern Language Center
252 Bloor Street West
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M5S 1V6
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Dr. Jim Cummins
Modern Language Center
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
M5S 1V6
E-mail: jcummins@oise.utoronto.ca
Consent Form
同意書

I have read the information about the research and I allow my child to participate in this study. I also know that my child have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime.

我已經讀過關於本研究的相關資訊而且我同意讓我的子女參加本研究計畫。我也知道我的子女隨時有權可以退出這個活動。

________________________________________________________
Signature of the participant’s parent or guardian
參加者家長或監護人簽名

________________________________________________________
Date (mm/dd/yy)
日期(月/日/年)
Consent Form
同意書

I have read the information about the research and I am would like to participate in this study. I also know that I have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime.

我已经讀過關於本研究的相關資訊而且我同意參加本研究計劃。我也知道我隨時有權可以退出這個活動。

Signature of the participant
參加者簽名

Date (mm/dd/yy)
日期(月/日/年)
Appendix C
The Pre-Project Questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Thanks for joining the MOOscum Project in this Educational MOO. Before we begin our sessions, please tell me more about yourself by completing this questionnaire. Your responses will help me to assist you in your project work in the future.

1. Please tell me your name:

2. Please give me a name that you would like to use in this MOO:

3. Please tell me about your level of education:
   1) I am in grade _____ in high school.  2) I am in my _____ year in college.

4. How long have you been learning English?
   I started learning English at _____ years old and have been learning it for _____ years.

5. Have you learned English outside of school?
   _____ Yes, in a private school.
   _____ Yes, through magazines and radio lessons.
   _____ Yes, through internet lessons.
   _____ Yes, by studying abroad in summer/winter vacation.
   _____ Yes.
   _____ No. I only have English classes at school.

6. Please tell me what you can do with the computer:
   I can _____ send and receive E-mail.
   _____ browse the Bulletin Board System (BBS).
   _____ browse the Bulletin Board System (BBS) and post articles.
   _____ browse World Wide Web (WWW).
   _____ create Web pages.
   _____ play Multi-user Domain/Dungeon (MUD).
   _____ play Multi-user Domain/Dungeon. Object Oriented (MOO).

Thanks for taking the time to respond to this questionnaire. I look forward to seeing you in the MOO.
Appendix D
A Sample of the MOOlog

Aug 30 00:18:41 2000  #894  #334 Study Room (書室)(#334) URL 334/ DATA
Aug 30 00:18:45 2000  #894  #334  @who
Aug 30 00:18:53 2000  #894  #334  rwave Chen
Aug 30 00:18:56 2000  #894  #334  @xswi m
Aug 30 00:19:01 2000  #894  #334  xwave Chen
Aug 30 00:19:08 2000  #894  #334  xto Chen Good afternoon.
Aug 30 00:19:14 2000  #1970  #2377  xin hi
Aug 30 00:19:29 2000  #894  #334  xto Chen How are you?
Aug 30 00:19:48 2000  #1970  #2377  xin fine...and you?
Aug 30 00:20:18 2000  #894  #2146  xto Chen Not too bad. Just had some dessert before
going to bed. How is your computer?
Aug 30 00:20:45 2000  #1970  #2377  xin hm...it is nice now....
Aug 30 00:21:06 2000  #1970  #2377  xin and speed is good...I think...I can correct my
error here^^
Aug 30 00:21:12 2000  #894  #2146  'Yu Having medicine is never fun. I think. Wish you
get well soon.
Aug 30 00:21:17 2000  #894  #2146  xnod Chen
Aug 30 00:21:24 2000  #1970  #2377  xin: purrs at #894
Aug 30 00:21:26 2000  #894  #2146  xto Chen Are you at school now?
Aug 30 00:21:30 2000  #894  #2146  xpat Chen
Aug 30 00:21:36 2000  #1970  #2377  xin home.....
Aug 30 00:22:01 2000  #894  #2146  xto Wow. Maybe because it's day time. I guess.
Aug 30 00:22:06 2000  #1970  #2377  xin because there was a typhoon..even it is sunny
now. I afraid that will rain suddenly.
Aug 30 00:22:07 2000  #894  #2146  xto Chen Wow. Maybe because it's day time. I
guess.
Aug 30 00:22:10 2000  #894  #2146  xnod
Aug 30 00:22:15 2000  #894  #2146  xnod Chen
Aug 30 00:22:24 2000  #1970  #2377  xin: smile
Appendix E
A Sample of Participants' Room Descriptions

mysterious space

What you can see here? Oh! Believe your eyes. You really see many cats here. Meow! Meow! Meow! This is a Paradise for cats. A big family of cats. Each cat has own specialty. They live together and get along well. If any cat wants to live here. Oh! They will say Welcome to stay.

You see:
- Mao
- Snety
- Aspira
- Anoli
- Jumpy
- Noble

Exits:
- Chen's nest
- Third Floor, and
- Just for you

Mysterious Place – prepared by Chen

15. * Throughout the appendices, the samples of participants’ work are presented the way they appeared online in the MOOsicum Project. Errors have not been corrected.
Appendix F
Guiding Questions for the Discussion Session

MOOing and English Learning and Use

1. Do you think MOOing is helpful for learning or practicing English? Why or why not?
2. Would you recommend learning or practicing English through MOOs? Why or why not?
3. When you have questions about English, what do you do?
4. What do you do if you have problems writing something in English?
5. What do you do when you can’t understand other people’s messages in the MOO?
6. Do you ever use the dictionary to look up new words you see in the MOO? If so, what kind of dictionary do you use?
7. Do you think it’s helpful/necessary to have Chinese support in both the talk and view windows? Why or why not?

Technical Issues

1. What is the most difficult thing to learn or to do in the MOO?
2. When you have questions about using the objects in the MOO, what do you do?
3. Do you ever leave a message to others or write mail to the MOOseum? What do you think of this tool?
4. Do you ever speak with others on the MOOseum Channel or the beam Channel? What do you think of this tool?
5. What do you think about having graphic support in Achieve? Does it create more visual effects or just waste more time and kill your imagination?

Project Work

1. What do you think of the tasks assigned in the first 3 weeks? Were they too hard or too easy? Too simple or too complicated? Too boring or too scary? Other comments or suggestions?
2. Do you visit other member's project rooms?
3. Have you ever given suggestions or corrected the grammatical errors of other people’s room or object descriptions?
4. Will you continue working on your project room in the future? If yes, what is your plan?
Appendix G
Samples of Scavenger Hunts

Hunt for Week 1

Miao's house
1. Name the items you see in Miao's picture box. How many of them are created by ansii art?
2. Leave a message in Miao's guest book in Miao's place.

Study room
1. Who is Shu? What is his duty in this study place?
2. Read Book 3. This book has useful information that can help you prepare your own room.

Language clinic
1. Discussion topic for Week 1: Can MOOing improve your English or just your typing skills? Please post a note or reply with a note on the discussion board.

MOOseum Achieve - Please type @go moo to go to the MOOseum
1. How many floors does this building have?
2. Two theme exhibition rooms have been placed in the MOOseum, what are they and on which floor are they located?
3. How many dishes has Miao prepared so far? Which dish was invented by Miao's husband? What is the tip for preparing the miso soup?
4. How many items do you see in the refrigerator?
5. Look at the drawings and their stories in Miao's Work. Which drawing do you like the most? Why?

Hunt for Week 2

1. What are the four housing areas in Achieve?
2. Visit the user’s house in these four areas. Choose three that you like the most. Tell me where they are located and why do you like them.
   bonus: Find Odyssey 's Shuttle in the Heath. Tell me what you see in his place and sign his guest book.

Hunt for Week 3
The hunt for this week will take you to other people's project sites. Try to explore as much as you can and think about how to design your own project room at the same time.

1.1 The Triangle Program

a. Find The Triangle Program in the Project site. What is The Triangle Program? Find the website, read it, and tell me what you think.

b. Visit House of Aviance. Who is the owner of this place? What is this person trying to share with us? What do you think?

c. (Optional) Visit the Temple of Serenity. Who is the owner? What is the theme of the house in this temple? Did you find anything there? What was it?

d. (Optional) Visit the space formerly known as Room and read the information there. What kind of knowledge is the owner of this house trying to share with us?

e. Tell us which room you find most interesting in The Triangle Program. Write a letter to the MOOseum and tell all of us why we should visit this particular room. You can work on this task with another project member.

1.2 QuesterVille

a. Go to Greensward and find QuesterVille. Tell me what you know about the owner and her crew from all the information you can find in this room.

b. Enter the Great Link, visit one of the following project rooms: The Rainforest, Cara's Math Store, or The Snake Pit. Tell me what kind of place it is and what do you found there.
Appendix H
Sample Self-Descriptions of Project Members

Lin

Hi! Howdy? My name is Lin. Have you ever seen Jack starred by Leonardo DiCaprio in the movie Titanic? I guess your answer must be positive. But have you ever met Lin starred by me in the Moo Achieve? I guess this time your answer must be negative. Huh! That's ok! Now, let me introduce myself.
I am a sophomore, 19, in a teachers' college in Taiwan. I major in Science Education. Just like Jack in Titanic, I am good looking (not ugly at least), brave, humorous, enthusiastic, kind, and a little romantic "o"... I have a talent for arts. For example, I have won lots of prizes in calligraphy.
When it comes to music, New Age is my favorite. I am fond of the works of Yanni, Giovanni, Suzanne Ciani, Enya, Bandari band, etc.
Speaking of sports, I like soccer and table tennis the most.
On the other hand, I am well-traveled. I have been to USA, Mainland China, Japan, Singapore, and Thailand. My Summerstay in Portland, in America is the most unforgettable experience in my life. Besides, I went to Cambridge in Britain during this summer vacation. This is definitely another unforgettable experience.
Anyway, I can't wait to share my traveling experience with you right away, such as riding on a large elephant in Thailand. So don't hesitate to talk to me! I am so glad to know you and make friends with you from all over the world! "o"...

1. Lin's Description

Chen

She is a girl with big eyes. Tweety and Snoopy are her favorite cartoon characters. She hopes to travel the world with her friends one day.

2. Chen's Description
3. Yu’s Description

Yu is a girl who likes to learn new things. She learned how to operate a computer when she was a freshman in college, so she is not good at it. She hopes that people will help her if she needs help. She is glad to meet you.

4. Ko’s Description

I am a girl; I know here from my English teacher and miao. I have many thanks for them. I like making friends, and I like our president—A-Bian. I like Taiwanese Opera. I like a Taiwanese Opera’s performer whose name is Sun Tsui-feng. I also like traveling. I ever went to Japan, Thailand, France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Austria. One of these countries I like best is Switzerland. I also like birds and Geography. I am a funny girl. If you want to make friends with me, you can send e-mail to me. :)
Appendix I
Sample Answers to Weekly Hunts from the Participants:

(1) Week 1 answers from Tsai

**Miao's place**
ANSII: Squirrel, PikaYu, Jigglypuff, Bulbasaur
Chipmunk, Jenyi and Pin-Han

**Study room**
Shu is in charge of recording meetings and important discussions in the study room.

**MOOseum Achieve**
1. There are three floors in this building.
2. Gourmet planet and Gallery are located in the main floor.
3. There are three dishes.
Rat's Red-Cooked Pork Shoulder is invented by Miao's husband
Tip: Remember to take off the gill of salmon.
4. There are cheese, shallots, black mushroom, apple, sweet peppers, onions, green onions, broccoli, carrots, cauliflower and five-spice powder in the refrigerator.
5. I like Walking with the cans because it's so cute!! :)

Tsai

(2) Week 2 answers from Chen

Dear Miao:

1. The four housing areas in Achieve are Heath, Lakeside, Into the woods, and Greensward.

2. (1) Cam’s underground lair (It is in Heath)
I like it because the description is interesting for me. The description like a map let you feel you really in this room. And like you are walking in this room.
(2) Marlene (It is in Greensward)
I feel this room has many interesting things can be found. And the owner seems very hard to decorate this room. I like the icon of Marlene. Ha! Funny!
(3) Bingen town limits (It is in Lakeside)
This is the room which I like most. I like the Marketplace. When I there, I can see the words on the screen of another half of window. It seems the sounds which describe the situation in market. Wow! So cool. And the pictures here very pretty. Because my
computer very slow, when waiting the pictures log in. I was surprise that, Wow! What the great place. Every place can visit, and each of them has special. I love this place. ^_^

3. I can see an Ansii art picture—shuttle and a board which is Odyssey's announcement. There are guestbook and signature putted in his room. There are four exits can go. The heath, Peking Opera Cabin, Taiwanese Opera Cabin and Hakka Opera Cabin are four exits.

PS. I learn many words from visiting room here. Although I have forgot how to spell, but really thanks!! Ha! And thanks to correct my grammatical error.

(3) Week 3 answers from Yu

Dear Miao:

I am sorry I didn't hand in on time.
I try many ways to send you the letter but all in vain. Because the accounts have some problems at home. I was kicked out all the time so I can't use Achieve, either.

1.1

a. The Triangle Program is Canada's only high school classroom for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth. I feel it is special. It's even a course in school. They can discuss the topic in public. I never thought I could see such a special topic here. Actually, when I saw it at the beginning, I was scared. But now I respect them, they can do what they want to do frankly. I feel it is great!

b. Alota is the owner of House of Aviance.
I feel she wants to share us her hobby - Gay fashion industry. It is so cool! She introduces different fashions to us. I feel her thoughts are much different from me. She has her own thoughts about it, but after I saw the images, I still can't say my idea. Maybe I just can say, "It is really queer." I don't know the information about fashion, because I don't know how to appreciate it. :p

c. I have not found a place I like. I was kicked out all the time when I went to the Triangle Program.
1.2  
a. The owner of QuesterVille is Marlene. She is a junior high school teacher in Alberta. She wanted to bring moo into her classroom and she found Achieve. Her crew is Allie, Cara, Susanna, Vickie, Graham, Dan, Cam, Valerie, Laura, Warren, Yarms.

Marlene is a science teacher so she put some information about biotechnology in Pharm Yard. There are some places we can visit in Around the World. BrainTickler is a record like Shu, I think. There is a Great Link in the room. I feel this idea is good. She links the crew together and makes it easy to share with people.

b. The Rainforest
This is Vickie's place and she told me she likes making words and riddles by herself. She is so great! I admire she can do it alone. Till now I can't answer any of her riddles. I will try in the future if I have time.

Yu
Appendix J
Samples of Project Members' Productions

Lin's Fantasy

Welcome to Lin's Fantasy! "o"
The first scene coming to your eyes is a picturesque sky and a wide ocean.
This is a mysterious world you have never been to before.
It is full of fantasy, imagination, and joy as well.
You will be stunned by all things you see here!
Lin's Fantasy is here waiting for you to explore!
Please take "Titanic Cruise" to enjoy!

Look up into the amazing sky!
Breathe refreshing air!
There is no pressure here!
Free your mind!
Free your body!
Enjoy yourself
in Lin's Fantasy! "0" "O"

1. Lin's Fantasy

You see:
- Lin (Sleeping), Mao, Titanic, Bodyguard, Guestbook, Radio Classic

Exits:
- Lin's Kingdom, Lakeside, New Age Planet, Art Gallery, Sleep

Tsai's Bungalow

Welcome to Tsai's Bungalow! :) You see:
- Tsai, Sleeping, Lakeside

Mao, Piano, and Guestbook

2. Tsai's Bungalow

Ko's Star Sky

Welcome to Ko's Star Sky! You see:
- Ko, Sleeping, Mao, Guestbook
- Lakeside and Ko's Sweet Memory

Art Gallery, Sleep, Fly with the fire!

3. Ko's Star Sky

Yeh's Room

This is the Generic Room. It's best used for simple spaces since it doesn't allow details or seats.
For more information about this room, type: examine #3

You see:
- Yeh, Sleeping, Mao, and Spiderman

Exits:
- Lakeside

4. Yeh's Room