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ABSTRACT

The need to develop sustainable organizations capable of working towards development objectives, including literacy, has resulted in an emphasis on capacity building in the international development community. This case study of a mother tongue literacy program in existence for over 20 years examines how capacity building is related to the representations of leadership and of literacy constructed by Ifè (Ana) people of Togo and Benin. Most of the 41 interviewees are leaders in the local associations, or in the umbrella organization which birthed them. Theories underpinning this study include the theories of *représentations sociales* (social representations) from French scholarship in social sciences, of leadership, and of literacy and development.

One significant finding was that much of the capacity building at the personnel and organizational levels is based on decisions made by technical advisors and/or funders. Nevertheless, Ifè leadership themes are clearly reflected in the choices made by program leaders for personnel development, such as use of the mentorship model for supervisor and coordinator training. The most pertinent representations of leadership to organizational capacity building are competence, creativity, and solidarity. However, in personnel and community capacity enhancement, qualities pertinent to the development of relationships such as patience, faithfulness, caring, and respect are crucial for capacity building effectiveness. Meanwhile, representations of literacy, such as literacy as openness and development, literacy as full participation in society, and mother tongue literacy as a means of preserving the culture, strongly influence the literacy program’s emphasis on community development. In addition, because biliterates are seen as having a responsibility to monolinguals, the program produces translated and adapted development materials among its texts and offers writers’ workshops to program teachers.

The data provided by this study discusses leadership and followership qualities valued by one African culture, so is useful to the development or refinement of leadership theories and models, particularly as regards African leadership and leadership in volunteer organizations. It also contributes to further theorizing regarding the relationship between literacy and development. It may also inform training used in cross-cultural contexts. Recommendations for literacy program leaders and other stakeholders in literacy and development efforts are included.

**Keywords:** leadership; capacity building; literacy; development; Ifè
Dedicated to all literacy workers in Africa who have the well-being of their people at heart.

and

to the memories of Mary Gardner, my friend and colleague, and member of the Ifè project, and of Abdel N. Affonféré, co-literacy coordinator of ADCIBA.
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My family and friends also deserve thanks for the support role they provided. My parents never doubted my ability to carry this through, and made space for me to work without much interruption while I wrote my thesis. Both of them, but especially my father, proofread and gave comments on the clarity of the text. For the period of time when I was trying to write my thesis in French, my friend Hermine gallantly attempted to make my French not only grammatically correct but comprehensible. I thank her for her willingness to give it a shot; I finally had mercy on her and yielded to the desires of my committee to write it in English. My thanks also to Rafila and Tariq, who put me up during most of my visits to Burnaby after I’d moved back to the U.S.

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Last but certainly not least, this thesis could not have been written without the cooperation of the ACATBLI literacy program personnel. My thanks to all research participants for sharing so willingly your thoughts and food. I also want to express my appreciation for my language teacher/interpreter/translator/night guard, Koffi Alessi; I treasure all he taught me. Finally, I thank Akoété and Kodjo, who went above and beyond the call of duty. May the Lord bless them richly for all they have done.
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# LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACATBLI</td>
<td>Association chrétienne pour l’alphabétisation et la traduction biblique en langue ifè (Christian Association for Literacy and Bible Translation in the Ifè Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADCIBA</td>
<td>Association pour le développement de la communauté ifè du Benin par l’alphabétisation (Association for the Development of the Ifè Community in Benin through Literacy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMI</td>
<td>Association des moniteurs ifè (Association of Ifè Instructors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMIADA</td>
<td>Association des moniteurs ifè pour l’alphabétisation et le développement des adultes (Association of Ifè Instructors for Adult Literacy and Development)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVID</td>
<td>Association des volontaires ifè pour le développement (Association of Ifè Volunteers for Development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.E.</td>
<td>Bureau exécutif (Executive board)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENALA</td>
<td>Centre national de la linguistique appliquée (National Center of Applied Linguistics; Benin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNL</td>
<td>Commission nationale linguistique (National Linguistic Commission; Benin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNAEA</td>
<td>Direction nationale de l’alphabétisation et l’éducation des adultes (National Office of Literacy and Adult Education; Benin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGA</td>
<td>Income-generating activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>REFLECT</td>
<td>REgenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>SOTOCO</td>
<td>Société togolaise de coton (Togolese Cotton Society)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Social representation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>VADEMI</td>
<td>Volontaires pour l’alphabétisation et le développement en milieu ifè (Volunteers for Literacy and Development in the Ifè Area; pseudonym)</td>
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1: INTRODUCTION

... nous marquons beaucoup ... d'impact positif de l’alphabétisation au milieu ifè. ... c’est un milieu enclavé. Il y avait PAS d’église. Il y avait PAS de .. des écoles. Et .. {consonne roulée bilabiale}.. tous est dans la faim et ils vivent misérablement. Et .. grâce à cette alphabétisation, qu’il y a, comme il a dit, un petit chantier, pour que les gens puissent voir que ah, notre état n’est pas bon, et nous pouvons changer notre état.

... we show much ... positive impact of literacy in the Ifè social environment ... it’s a closed environment. There were NO churches. There were NO .. schools. And .. {rolled bilabial consonant} .. all are hungry and they live miserably. And .. thanks to this literacy, that there is, as he said, a small working example, so that the people can see that ah, our state is not good, and we can change our state. (A. Agbémadon, Feb. 16, 2009)

1.1 Perspectives and concepts

According to the latest Education for All Global Monitoring Report (Watkins, 2010), illiteracy is among the greatest challenges in the fight against poverty in the 21st century, largely because it closes the doors of opportunity for hundreds of thousands of people. One-fifth of the world’s illiterates live in sub-Saharan Africa, which is also where countries having a low score on the Human Development Index (HDI) abound. The nations of Togo and Benin, where this study was carried out, are among the countries that report a literacy rate under 55% and that are listed among the world’s least developed nations (ibid.).

Through UNESCO’s Education for All (EFA) initiative, illiteracy is under attack from two fronts (Burnett, 2006; Watkins, 2008): prevention through increased school enrollment levels and remediation through adult and youth literacy classes. This latter strategy usually involves non-formal education programs (Bhola, 1998; Katahoire, 2006; Ouane, 1984) run by non-governmental
organizations (NGOs) in relationship with the government of the land (Juliesson, 2008; Maddox, 2001; Obura & Desruelles, 2006).

One such international NGO is SIL International¹, which has formal consultative status with UNESCO (UNESCO, 2004). In 1998, I arrived in Togo to work as a literacy specialist with SIL Togo-Benin, a branch of SIL International. Among other activities, SIL develops and assists mother tongue literacy programs in partnership with local language communities. The support provided includes training in program management as well as in literacy activities and theory. In 1999, I accepted the position of branch literacy coordinator. This role allowed me to learn about and be involved in the planning of numerous literacy programs, including the Ifè program that is the subject of this research project.

This program is particularly interesting because of the strategy developed by its Ifè leaders in order to serve the entire Ifè population with literacy classes. The essence of this strategy is the creation of local literacy associations to take on the responsibility of running a literacy program in the villages in their immediate area. Given the large number of ethnolinguistic groups with low literacy levels in West Africa that are large and/or spread over an extensive geographic region, this program merits study to see if and how its strategy might be used successfully elsewhere.

In addition, this study will provide perspectives on leadership in NGOs from francophone West Africa, an area neglected in much of the literature on leadership. These viewpoints are here articulated by Togolese and Beninese participants themselves. A better understanding of these West African perceptions of leadership should help inform the content and strategies of programs that aim to improve the capacity of literacy and development organizations in that area of the world.

¹ Formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics
1.1.1 Leadership

One important aspect of this strategy is the leadership involved in its development and implementation. In addition, the creation of local organizations implies the development of local leadership and of the capacities these leaders need to effectively carry out their tasks. For this reason, understanding their representations of leadership and of literacy, and how these influence capacity building in local associations is key to leadership development, and thus was chosen as the main focus of this case study.

Leadership development requires a clear idea of what a leader is and/or does. Most definitions of leadership indicate that it involves the ability to influence people and organizations, whether to make a particular decision, to go a certain direction during an activity, or to change opinions (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Brassard et al., 2004; Hiebert, 1983; Langlois & Lapointe, 2002; Ugwuegbu, 2001). Mintzberg (1973) indicates that the role of a leader entails integrating the needs of individuals with the goals of the organization in order to achieve a greater cooperation among the organization’s units. Robert B. Jones (2003) says that good leadership is evidenced by how well the organization’s mission is communicated and moved forward. These definitions all come from North American perspectives.

Given the location of this research project, however, the views of African scholars are perhaps more pertinent to this study. One perspective from Africa suggests that an important indicator of good leadership is the organization’s survival, or durability (Ugwuegbu, 2001). An additional African viewpoint states that effective leadership is able to transform ordinary people into ones who are capable of extraordinary achievements (Edoho, 1998). Another take on leadership from sub-Saharan Africa emphasizes the necessity of the leader and his or her subordinates together developing a common vision (Aire, 1990). Yet another point of view, in contrasting management with leadership, states “Leadership is of the spirit, compounded by personality and vision” (Anantharaman, 1990, p. 208). Leadership will be further discussed in chapter 2,
when various theories and issues of leadership are described and discussed, before the emic perspective of the ethnolinguistic group in question is presented in chapter 4.

Organizations working to improve literacy rates\(^2\) in Africa must have leaders who can motivate and influence others, such as literacy workers and potential and current learners as well as other community members whose support is key to the success of any literacy program. As these motivated people work and learn, they will indeed accomplish extraordinary things in their communities. The scale of the lack of reading and writing ability among adults combined with the current lack of universal primary school education in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa also means that these organizations must have a long life span. This need for continuing service often requires that these organizations and their leaders receive various supports, which are generally subsumed under the heading of capacity building.

### 1.1.2 Capacity building

Capacity building has been a hot topic in the international development community for well over a decade (Chambers, 2005; Eade, 1997). The grounds for this attention are that while NGOs generally are believed to be more efficacious than governments in attaining development goals, largely because of a perceived greater sensitivity to local needs and conditions (D. Lewis, 2001; Planche, 2004; K. Willis, 2005), the durability of their programs is too often dependant on outside funding and other support (Eade, 1997; D. Lewis, 2001). As a consequence, international organisms have decided that increased attention to capacity building of national NGOs and other instruments of civil society is essential as a long-term solution to development challenges (Eade, 1997; Edoho, 1998; D. Lewis, 2001; Planche, 2004).

It is worth noting, as Eade (1997) does, that the French and Spanish terms normally used when translating the term capacity building, respectively

---

\(^2\) Literacy and illiteracy statistics are generally based on the skills-based definition of literacy. A more complete discussion of what literacy can mean is found in chapter 2, section 3.
renforcement des capacités and fortalecer las capacidades, imply that capacities already exist; they are just being reinforced or strengthened. For this reason, the terms capacity enhancement (Eade, 1997) and capacity development (Chambers, 2005) are also used, although for the time being capacity building is still the dominant term in the literature.

However, capacity building is a term that means different things to different people. Dym & Hutson (2005) observe that building capacity “is current code for becoming more businesslike” (p. 55). For nearly everyone, at least if one looks at what has been labeled capacity building on the ground, it implies training of some sort (Chambers, 2005; Edoho, 1998). Sometimes the focus of the training targets the skills and knowledge of project personnel (Handbook for literacy and post-literacy for capacity-building of organizations: For managers and trainers, 2000; James, 1998; Johnson & Thomas, 2007; Leduc & McAdam, 1988; Van der Westhuizen, Mosoge, & van Vuuren, 2004), sometimes it is directed at organizational issues of mission, structure and procedures (Gubbels & Koss, 2000; Hope & Timmel, 1995b; Johnson & Thomas, 2007; Kinsey & Raker III, 2003; D. Lewis, 2001). However, Eade (1997, 2007) and Gubbels & Koss (2000) explicitly state that training alone is insufficient to build capacity.

Views of capacity building that are larger than training require a large picture view of the target of the initiative, and generally take the stance that capacity building is a long-term process. Often, capacity building is thought of in the contexts of organizational strengthening (Burke, 2007; Chambers, 2005; Gubbels & Koss, 2000; R. B. Jones, 2003; L. D. Wagner, 2003). In this instance, the goal of capacity building is to improve the performance and sustainability of an organization in order for it to meet its goals in its current environment as well as in the future. However, the entire society may be seen as the ultimate target (Eade, 1997, 2007; Edoho, 1998; Hope & Timmel, 1995a; Imdieke, 2003; Planche, 2004). In this case, the belief is that in order to achieve the goals of the community or organization, policies and structures in the wider society must be changed; or that as these goals are attained, society will be transformed. In either case, it is not just skills and knowledge that must be acquired or reinforced;
behavior, both personal and organizational, must change (Eade, 2007; Gubbels & Koss, 2000).

In summary, capacity building efforts can be directed toward people, at organizations, or at communities. They can be seen as a means to assist a person, organization or society to carry out activities. They may be perceived as a process that produces a greater consistency between an institution's mission, structure and activities, or as a process that targets communication practices among members of civil society to promote unity. They may also be viewed as an end in themselves enabling an organization to survive and meet its goals, or supporting stakeholders of civil society to achieve political or social objectives (Eade, 1997; Imdieke, 2003).

The point of view taken on these aspects of capacity building affects decisions made in this domain. If one believes that having capable personnel is essential, the accent will be put on training of individuals, which has been the case of SIL as it has supported literacy work among the Ifè and other ethnolinguistic groups. If one perceives that it is the structures, vision and strategies that are most important to the success of the organization, not to mention its long-term sustainability, then work is focused on helping the association develop these elements, which is what the principle donor of the local associations studied in this research project has done. These issues will be further discussed in chapter 6 when the capacity building choices made during the life of the Ifè literacy program are described.

1.2 Context: Togo and Benin

The beneficiaries of the Ifè literacy program live in Togo and Benin. In Togo, 38 African languages are currently spoken. In Benin, 54 are (M. P. Lewis, 2009). Since, however, the boundaries of African nations were fixed by the European powers during the Berlin Congress of 1884-1885 without taking into account either linguistic frontiers or migration patterns (Bane, 1956; J. D. Hargreaves, 1974; Reader, 1998), many ethnolinguistic groups, such as the Ifè
who are the subject of this study, found themselves politically divided by an international boundary (Webster, 1974). Given that a number of these groups are found on both sides of the boundary between Togo and Benin, the total number of languages spoken in this region is 73, not 92 (M. P. Lewis, 2009). As we shall see, French is the language of power for both countries, since it is the official language of both lands as well as the language of formal education.

1.2.1 History of colonial education in Africa

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, schools were first established by Christian missionaries, even before European countries imposed formal control over the region (Bane, 1956; Busia, 1968; T. J. Jones, 1922; Meredith, 2005). This was the case both in the former Togoland (now Togo) and in Dahomey (now Benin). These schools were established in order to spread both Christianity and (European) civilization (Bane, 1956; Busia, 1968; J. Hargreaves, 2001; T. J. Jones, 1922; Reader, 1998; Wrong, 1946). Most of the Protestant mission schools preferred to use a local language for instruction, at least for the first grades, in order to better communicate the gospel (T. J. Jones, 1922; Meredith, 2005). The Catholic mission schools also had the goal of training catechists, so although they generally accepted local customs, the majority of teaching was given in the colonial language of the land (Bane, 1956; McWilliam, 1959/1962).

Each colonial power had its own educational policy that in turn influenced the linguistic policy in the schools. The British had two goals for education: the training of civil servants and technicians, who would need English; and the creation of a population that would be able to contribute to the economy of the British Empire. The latter only required primary and vocational education, which could therefore be in the local language (Awoniyi, 1976; Busia, 1968). The goal of France, Portugal and Spain was cultural assimilation of the Africans, with the result that in their colonies, education was only available in the language of the colonial master (Awoniyi, 1976; Busia, 1968). The Belgians, however, chose to educate the entire population instead of creating an elite as the policies of the other European countries were doing. Therefore, they chose to use local
languages for education; as a result, at independence, Congo had the highest literacy rate in Africa, at 62%. Nevertheless, this policy led to a serious lack of people sufficiently educated to lead the country after the Belgians left (Busia, 1968). The Germans were not interested in assimilating the Africans; however, they did only want to deal with one language when communicating with villagers. So they required that the mission schools use only one dialect for basic education (the Anlo dialect of Ewe was chosen in Togoland) and German for secondary education (Afeli, 1996).

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic background: Togo

During the colonial era, Togo was controlled first by Germany. Schools were run by both British and German missions. During this period, therefore, the mission schools used Ewe for primary education and added English and/or German at the secondary level (Afeli, 1996).

As a result of losing World War I (WWI), Germany forfeited its colonies. In 1922, the League of Nations officially divided Togoland between France and the United Kingdom, which had occupied it since 1914 (Ajayi & Crowder, 1974; Meredith, 2005). The territory controlled by the U.K. was united with the British colony of the Gold Coast in 1956 to create Ghana (Woronoff, 1972). The section administered by France between 1919 and 1960 became Togo. Since the colonial policy of France favored assimilation, after WWI ended in 1919, French became the sole language of education in Togo (Afeli, 1996; Bamgboše, 1991; Calvet, 1999; Chaudenson, 2006).

At independence in 1960, the new Togolese government chose to keep French as the official language and as the language of education. In maintaining this use of the colonial language, they followed the practice of the elites of most African nations during the era of independence (Mutaka & Attia, 2008). Continuation of the role of the colonial language consolidated their position in the new nation and assured communication with European and North American powers (Alidou, 2004).
However, during the 1970’s, while Africa was seeking to establish its unique identity through an authenticity movement (Ellis, 1993), two indigenous languages, Ewe and Kabiye, were designated as national languages (Afeli, 1996). These languages are used in the media (television, radio, official newspaper). They are also, in principle, taught as a subject during the first three years of secondary school (CEG, or Collège d’Enseignement Général). Specifically, Ewe is supposed to be taught in Southern Togo, where it is a language of wider communication, while Kabiye is supposed to be taught in Northern Togo, where the Kabiye ethnic group, the largest group in the country, is located. However, due to lack of trained teachers who have mastered the standardized written forms of these languages and of materials, this policy is not consistently carried out. They have also been authorized for primary school instruction, but again, the lack of trained teachers combined with a lack of materials has meant they are not used at that level, with very rare exceptions (Discussion, Séminaire sur l’éducation multilingue, March 2009, Lomé).

At the same time that Ewe and Kabiye were authorized for use in formal education, they were also designated for use in adult literacy courses in the regions where they are spoken, although not necessarily by all peoples living in those regions. The two other languages that also had over 100,000 speakers at the time, Tem and Moba (Ben), were also chosen for use in government-directed literacy programs aimed at youth and adults (Séminaire de concertation, 1999; Yentcharé, 2007). Where the local population did not speak these designated languages, the literacy courses were offered in French (A. G. Lamboni, personal communication, Nov. 1998). Currently, the use of other languages for literacy instruction is permitted, as long as these languages have a written form (Yentcharé, 2007).

The linguistic policy that insisted on French-only education has been an important factor in low rates of schooling (Alidou, 2004; Bwenge, 1998), and thus, low literacy levels. In Togo, the global illiteracy rate is, according to the source

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3 A region is the largest political division of Togo. There are five regions in total.
consulted, either 47% (Burnett, 2006), 40.4% (Yentcharé, 2007), or 39% (M. P. Lewis, 2009). Many organizations are attempting to better this state of affairs. The most important is the Ministère des enseignements primaire, secondaire, de l’enseignement technique, de la formation professionnelle et de l’alphabétisation (the Ministry of Primary, Secondary and Technical Instruction, Professional Training and Literacy). Until 2007, the para-governmental organization SOTOCO (la Société Togolaise de Coton [the Togolese Cotton Company], now la Nouvelle Société Cotonnière du Togo [the New Cotton Company of Togo]) also did much literacy work through its local cotton groups. Among non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in literacy and education, international groups such as SIL Togo (affiliated with SIL International), Aide et Action and Plan Togo (affiliated with Plan International) are present. Local NGOs and associations also exist. These include the Association pour la Sauvegarde du Nawdm (ASDN; the Association for the Maintenance of Nawdm), the Association des Femmes pour l’Alphabétisation, la Santé, et les Activités Génératrices de Revenus (AFASA; the Association of Women for Literacy, Health, and Income-generating Activities) and Recherche, Appui et Formation aux Initiatives d’Auto-développement (RAFIA; Research, Support and Training for Self-development Initiatives), as well as many more. Where available, they often work with networks of NGOs in their working region, such RESOKA (Réseau des ONGs de la région de Kara; Network of NGOs of the Kara Region) or FODES (Fédération des Organisations de Développement de la région des Savanes; Federation of Development Organizations of the Savannah Region).

1.2.3 Sociolinguistic background: Benin

France took control of the former Dahomey in 1894, incorporating it in French West Africa in 1895 (Petit Larousse illustre 1990, 1989). French became first the colony’s administrative language, and then its language of education. It continues to maintain this privileged position. However, in 1972 Dahomey declared that all its languages were national languages (D. Awolu, personal communication, Apr. 10, 2006). The Commission Nationale de Linguistique
was created in that year in order to coordinate linguistic research and to establish orthographies for each one of these languages (Awolu, 2006), as well as to study indigenous literature for incorporation into schools (Yai, 1976). Between 1975 and 1980, a series of seminars was organized by the CNL to help each then-identified language group establish a local linguistic commission, an alphabet and principles for the transcription of its language (Awolu, 2006).

The next step was to write and publish primers for each of the national languages. Many of these government-sponsored primers, designed during the period of the Marxist government (1972-1990; T. Marmor, personal communication, 1999), are still in use. They are based on the approach developed by Paolo Freire (Freire, 1968/1970), by which he sought to make the inhabitants of Brazilian slums aware of their condition in order to empower them to improve it. In 2009, the Beninese government decided to continue with their version of the Freire method as they seek to put into operation the *Faire-Faire* strategy, where the State delegates authority to private operators to run literacy programs with government funds (Groupe Technique du Travail de Ministère de la Culture, de l’Alphabétisation et de la Promotion des Langues Nationales [MCAPLN], 2009). This is being done in the framework of the UN’s Fast-Track Initiative (ibid.).

In spite of Benin’s reputation as the “Latin Quarter of French West Africa” (Biao, 1993), the illiteracy rate ranges between 66.4% (Burnett, 2006) and 72% (M. P. Lewis, 2009). Nearly 80% of the population cannot read one of the national languages (Groupe Technique du Travail de MCAPLN, 2009). However, these figures are still far better than those of the 1970’s, when the illiteracy rate was estimated at 95.4% (*Commission nationale pour la réforme scolaire* [National commission for scholastic reform], May 1973, cited by Yai, 1976). This improvement is largely due to the efforts of the *Direction Nationale de l’Alphabétisation et de l’Éducation des Adultes* (National Office of Literacy and Adult Education), supported technically and financially by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC, DDC in French), which has assisted the
Beninese government in this domain since 1983 (DDC – Direction du développement et de la coopération, n.d.). Several other international organisms also support efforts to raise levels of literacy, by running classes, by offering technical support and/or by publishing materials in the national languages. These organizations include SIL Benin, Aide et Action, and The Hunger Project (L. Dozeman, personal communication, Sept. 10, 2009). National organizations are also involved in the fight against illiteracy. Among these are found the Union of Evangelical Churches of Benin (UEEB) and the Bible Society of Benin (ABB) as well as several literacy worker associations and the local language committees of the CNL.

1.3 The Ifè

The Ifè (Ana⁴), the people group targeted by the literacy program studied in this research project, have a population of around 200,000 speakers, which are distributed between Togo (2/3) and Benin (1/3; M. P. Lewis, 2009). The geographical area covered by this group extends approximately 150 km. from south to north, and 80 km. from east to west (see appendix 1). Road travel is difficult, as most roads are neither paved nor well-maintained. During the two annual rainy seasons (more or less from mid-February through March, and from May to September), rural zones become extremely difficult to reach, and virtually impossible by car.

Those who live in Togo often know some Ewe, the language of wider communication of Southern Togo, while some of those who live in Benin understand Yoruba, a related language which is also a language of wider communication of that region. Since 1975, Yoruba has been the language designated for literacy work in that prefecture of Benin, but in March 2009 the Beninese Ifè presented a request for official recognition of Ifè as a language of literacy in five of their six arrondissements⁵ to the DNAEA (B.4.ANA⁶).

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⁴ This Ewe name for the Ifè has been used in some literature discussing the Ifè.
⁵ An arrondissement is the smallest of Benin’s political divisions. From smallest to largest, they are arrondissement, commune, préfecture, département (B.4.KL si1).
The Ifè people, of Yoruba origin, emigrated from Nigeria around the 18\textsuperscript{th} century as they fled violent conflict in the area (Affala, n.d.; Gayibor, 1996, 1997). A series of wars among other clans of the Yoruba, and later with the Fon (Ajayi, 1974), the Ikposso and the Bago (Gayibor, 1997) caused the Ifè to become closed to outsiders (A.1.AgbA af2). Their experiences under colonialism reinforced this distrust, as violence was used against the disobedient (A.1.AgbA af2; Awokou, 1997).

One of the results of this feeling was a marked reluctance to send children to school. The subsequent lack of schools in the area – estimates in the late 1980’s were 1 primary school per 7-8 villages – led to a very high illiteracy rate among the Ifè (A.1.AgbA af2). By 1990, the estimated literacy rate among the Ifè, in any language, was between 5 and 15% (M. P. Lewis, 2009). Whole villages were unable to read any language spoken in the region (A.1.AgbA af2). Although a breakdown in gender statistics is not available specifically for the Ifè, most parents saw no point in sending their daughters to school, even when one was available (B.1.NK af1). One study of the entire prefecture indicated that in 1996, after a ten-year explosion in growth of school enrollment, approximately 38% of primary school students, 26% of CEG students and 13% of high school (lycée) students were girls (Awokou, 1997).

Life was and is physically demanding for most Ifè. The poor infrastructure in the area makes access to markets and modern health care difficult. Few communities have a clinic. Access to clean water is another challenge; even where wells had been put in by 1990, often the pumps were broken (A.1.AgbA af2). The weak economy in West Africa, even prior to the recent global economic crisis, made finding paid employment difficult even for those few who did obtain an education (B.1.NK af1; B.3.MK & AmA). One result of these difficulties that compounds the overall difficulty of the situation is the subsequent exodus of young men to points south in Togo and Benin or to Nigeria in search of paid work (B.3.MK; B.4.ANA).

\footnote{This reference code indicates information that emerged during the interviews. See appendix 2 for key to codes.}
The majority of the Ifè follow their traditional religion, which involves worship of ancestral gods who personally take care of individual clans and occupations (Affala, n.d.; Kossi-Titrikou, 1997). Participating in this worship is seen not only as a privilege, but as a fulfillment of the responsibilities of a citizen (Affala, n.d.). The spiritual chief, known as Iba, is responsible for the transmission of beliefs and practices in the community, and for performing ritual sacrifices (Affala, n.d.; Kossi-Titrikou, 1997). According to Affala (n.d.), anyone who offends the traditional chief also offends the gods. A common faith in the local gods has been the traditional means to build community solidarity (ibid.).

Nevertheless, both Islam and Christianity have adherents among the Ifè (A.1.AgbA af2). The Muslim Ifè are members of one clan and live mostly in a small part of the eastern portion of Ifè territory (Boëthius, Klaver, Devine, & Gardner, 1991). Christians are scattered throughout the area, with Assembly of God and Baptist churches being predominant. Although most of the leaders in the ACATBLI literacy program and their affiliates are Christian, it has been a major concern of these leaders to avoid creating a religious split based on literateness, particularly because of early opposition to the program due to its ties to the spread of Christianity (A.1.AgbA & SK af1 & af2). They have therefore emphasized the usefulness of Ifè literacy for all Ifè, and see that as a new basis for Ifè solidarity (A.1.AgbA af2, B & C.5.OK).

1.3.1 Ifè language development program

An SIL team composed of two European women began a linguistic research program on the language in 1981 (H. Boëthius, personal communication, Mar. 24, 2008). The goals of this research were to provide a basis for Bible translation and literacy work. In order to learn to speak the language and begin linguistic and cultural research, the women lived in an Ifè village not far from Atakpamé, a large town at the western edge of the Ifè territory and the cultural center of the Ifè. While there, they met and hired Mr. Akoété Agbémadon, who later became the head of the literacy program, as a part-time language-learning helper (A.1.AgbA af1).
1.3.1.1 Ifè orthography history

The first fruit of their linguistic research was a proposal for the alphabet, which was presented to around 20 influential Ifè from several towns and villages during a meeting in 1982. At this meeting, a language committee was elected to discuss questions of how to indicate tone and nasalization, as well as to determine the sociolinguistic basis of the alphabet. The committee decided that the system chosen would be based on Ewe in order to facilitate transfer to this language, as the majority of Ifè live in Togo. The SIL team developed a few materials and used them to test the acceptability of the committee’s decisions. In 1984, another meeting was held to present these propositions and the results of the tests. Around 100 Ifè representing the entire region and all dialects attended this meeting and collectively approved the standard orthography (Gardner, 2003). Since several important members of the first language committee had died, a second language committee was elected to discuss outstanding questions for the orthography (ibid.), which operated until 1988 (Boëthius, Klaver, Devine, & Gardner, 1990/1993). Subsequently, primers using this orthography were written and then tested in each of the three dialectical regions (Boëthius, 2008). A third language committee was organized at the initiative of a member of the second committee; this committee supported the literacy work, and sent representatives to the diploma ceremonies until it too ceased to function (Boëthius, Klaver, Devine, & Gardner, 1990/1993).

About 15 years later, after the National Center for Applied Linguistics (le Centre National de la Linguistique Appliquée, or CENALA) in Benin had recognized Ifè as being a distinct language and not just a dialect of Yoruba, a Beninese literacy worker began to publish a rural newsletter in Ifè. Since he was not aware of how the writing system had come to be, he changed several graphemes to make it more like Yoruba. Another change he made accounted for a dialectical variation. This literacy worker also reworked the primers in order to format them to be like the government series, in the process also incorporating the aforementioned orthographic changes (P. Devine, personal communication, 2003).
As the Ifè literacy program had just been implemented in Benin, its program directors quickly reacted against these changes. They organized a conference on the Ifè orthography, held in Doumé in December of 2003. During this meeting, the history of the development of the Ifè orthography and of the primers was presented, along with reasons for writing choices. The conference participants decided to confirm the standard orthography for use in Benin. I was one of the presenters, explaining why and how other linguistic groups in Togo and Benin had developed pan-dialectical orthographies. Additionally, prior to the conference, I had asked the DNAEA if a three-volume format was required for primers in Benin. The response being that the format wasn’t as important as having a functional content, the Beninese literacy workers decided to continue using the primers in five volumes furnished by their Togo-based counterparts.

1.3.1.2 Early years of the literacy program

The literacy program that gave birth to the associations to be described in this case study began just after the primers were tested in 1988-1989 (Boëthius, 2008). Mr. Agbémadon, who had been working for the SIL team, was hired and trained on the job to supervise the program (A.1.AgB af1). A second supervisor was hired in 1996 (A.1.SK af1).

During the first six years, the literacy books only covered reading and writing in Ifè. Math (calcul) was introduced in 1995, but it quickly became evident that this lengthened the course to the point that it interfered with the agricultural cycle. As a result, math was made part of a 2nd year (Cycle 2) course, which also includes a post-literacy book and writing manual, in 1996. A third year course of learning oral and written French was piloted in the year of the fieldwork for this study. Although from 1998 to 2004 the first year course had two versions, one for church-based literacy (with Bible verses for reading material) and one for community-based literacy (with proverbs for reading material), use of the church-based series of primers was discontinued, except in the urban area of Atakpamé, in order to promote community unity (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, Dec. 9 & 16, 2010).
At first, the project was able to handle its printing needs with a stencil burner and duplicator. In 1995, the program hired a man to be a part-time project printer (M. Gardner, personal communication, Dec. 29, 2010). He was gradually trained by one of the expatriates in book assembly, printing, and layout, and finally in management of the printshop (Ifè language project: Yearly activities January 1995 - January 1996, n.d.; Projet de langue ifè: Activités de janvier 1999 à décembre 1999, n.d.; Projet de langue ifè: Activités de janvier 2000 à décembre 2000, n.d.; Projet de langue ifè : Activités de janvier 1996 à décembre 1998, n.d.; Gardner, 2010). The program put in a funding request for a copy-printer, which it subsequently purchased, in 1995. For the next eleven years, the printshop not only printed and stocked Ifè books, but also was available to print material for other literacy programs at cost. When the copy-printer then needed to be replaced, gifts from Scottish churches and individuals were received to buy a Risograph. The same year, the printer was made a full time employee of the project. However, due to a recent chronic disability, an assistant printer had to be hired and trained in book assembly and printing a few years later. The senior printer continues to handle finances, maintenance and repair of equipment (Gardner, 2010). Currently, due to the number of Ifè literacy classes, the printshop is only able to meet the printing needs of ACATBLI, serving both the translation and the literacy work.

The living conditions of the Ifè had an immediate impact on the program. First, the poor state of the roads made travel difficult. Motorcycles were more practical than cars; during the (relatively brief) period when the program had a four-wheel vehicle, that vehicle had four-wheel drive, an absolute necessity for travel, particularly during rainy season.

Then early on in the program, as the dry season progressed, class attendance started falling. When inquiries were made, the team learned that, since the pumps in the village wells weren’t working, and the villagers could not afford to repair them, the female students were having to walk up to 20 km. to find water. They subsequently had neither the time nor the energy to attend classes. In order to address this problem, the team got a count of the broken
wells and an estimate of repair costs. With this information in hand, the expatriate member of the team found someone to repair them and some money to pay them (A.1.AgBA af2). Currently, villages are encouraged to form a committee, take up a collection and start a bank account, then contact Togo’s water company to request a new or repaired well and pump (A.1.AgBA af2; B.3.AmA). At least one church denomination in the area also has a fund to help communities construct wells (B.2.VA1).

The limited financial resources of the project, coupled with the high illiteracy rate in the population and the desire of the Ifè members of the literacy team to reach all their fellow Ifè with literacy, pushed the team early in its work to envision a strategy that is unique in Togo (A.2.AgbA). The team decided not to try to establish a literacy program that would cover the entire Ifè region at the same time. Instead, they divided the territory into seven zones, five in Togo and two in Benin according to the major travel routes. The three-phase plan was to concentrate on one zone at a time, opening literacy centers and facilitating the creation of a local association that would oversee literacy work in that zone. At the end of three or so years of capacity building, the responsibility for the literacy program in that zone would be completely transferred to the local association, and the team would begin work in another zone (A.1.AgBA af2).

1.3.2 History of the local literacy associations

This strategy was followed for sixteen years, with some success. By the end of that time, two associations had become autonomous, but later had had severe financial difficulties that effectively halted literacy work. Two other associations, one of which encompassed two zones, were nearly ready to become independent. Work had been attempted in two other zones, but interest in literacy during this time was weak to non-existent. This section chronologically traces the history of each of the six literacy associations, noting its distinctives and the challenges it has faced and was facing at the time of my fieldwork.
1.3.2.1 AVID

The first local association to take shape was AMI, the Association des moniteurs ifè (Association of Ifè Instructors), in 1990 (B.1.NK af1). This association, which was composed of all the first literacy teachers in the Akpara zone (in Togo), became autonomous in 1996 after having found, with the help of the SIL-Ifè team, funding through DED\(^7\) (B.1.NK af1 & af2). In 1999, AMI began a grain storage project in order to generate additional revenue (B.1.NK af2). Shortly before this time, it also changed its name to AVID (l’Association des volontaires ifè pour le développement, the Association of Ifè Volunteers for Development) following the abrupt departure of its second president (Projet de langue ifè : Activités de janvier 1996 à décembre 1998, n.d.; B.1.NK af1).

AVID aims to help the Ifè community develop via education, starting with literacy but going further, to the establishment of groups that will be involved in income-generating activities (IGA; B.1.AgA & NK af1). Unfortunately, the association had to pause its activities in 2001 when the grain storage IGA failed due to a weevil infestation that spoiled the beans in their granaries so badly it was impossible to sell any of the beans (B.1.NK af2). Their external funding from DED had ended just a few months before this catastrophe (ibid.). Nevertheless, the board submitted the documentation necessary for obtaining legal status in 2002; however, they never received an official response to their request (B.1.NK af1). AVID’s supervisor, who also has held the post of president, continued to be involved in Ifè literacy work through his technical support of SOTOCO’s program (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007), and in consequence continued to be invited to SIL training courses.

AVID was revitalized with the infusion of money from Swedish funders in 2006 through ACATBLI. However, it came with the cost of a loss of their autonomy. A dedicated female supervisor (B.1.AgA) was chosen as literacy coordinator by the ACATBLI team leaders (B.1.NK af1). The president at the time of my visit, who had served three terms, informed me of his decision to step

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\(^7\) a German development organization
down in order to pursue additional training in the field of development/income-generation, as he perceives this to be AVID’s greatest lack. In addition, the association has resubmitted its paperwork for legalization, but because of a lack of contacts in the appropriate ministry, the president was rather pessimistic about its chances of success (B.1.NK af2). The formal membership of AVID has also declined; many literacy teachers in the Akpara area have decided not to join due to a perceived lack of energy in the board (K. Alessi, personal communication, May 2009). This deprives the association of income from membership dues and may have long-term consequences for its sustainability. This will be further discussed in chapter 6.

1.3.2.2 Association “Jésus le Chemin”

The association “Jésus le Chemin” (Jesus the Way) is also known by its Ifè name, Yéésù ńi Onà. It was begun in 1987 as a collaboration of churches and pastors in the Convention Baptiste (Baptist Convention) and of Baptist missionaries working in the Est-Mono region (B.5.OK). Its headquarters is in Morétan, where the Baptist training center is also based. Initially, it did not include literacy work among its activities; the literacy work was begun by SIL in 1989 (Boëthius et al., 1990/1993). Although SIL had attempted to begin an Est-Mono chapter of AMI, this effort failed (ibid.) and so the literacy work was handed over to Jésus le Chemin after two years of work in the region.

The members of Jésus le Chemin are churches, not individuals (B.5.EK si). At the association’s annual general assembly church representatives elect the board that governs them. Because their territory is quite large, Jésus le Chemin has divided the members into four geographical zones, each of which has a certain liberty of action within the association (C.5.OK).

The goal of Jésus le Chemin is twofold. First, it seeks to bring all Ifè to a knowledge of God through Jesus Christ. Secondly, it aspires to the development of the entire person, through meeting physical needs. This latter is considered to be a support for the former (B.5.OK). Literacy is regarded as a form of development, and until 2006 was administered under the association's
development department (B.5.EK si). Other departments include those for evangelism, men, youth, schools, projects and missions, music, the women’s missionary union, and church development (B.5.OK).

From 1991 onwards, literacy classes were undertaken by *Jésus le Chemin*, with financial and practical support from the Baptist Mission and, until 1995, advice and occasional practical help from SIL literacy workers (SIL, 1996). When the Baptist missionaries abruptly left in 1999, literacy work, as well as much of the other evangelistic and development work of the association, slowed to a crawl due to a lack of funds (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007; B.5.OK & BK). The few classes which took place over the next 6 years were taught by previously-trained volunteer teachers (B.5.OK & BK).

In 2006, *Jésus le Chemin* created a literacy department, and became a member organization under ACATBLI when the latter received funds from a Swedish NGO to develop local community-based literacy organizations. Swedish government funds, even when channeled through a faith-based NGO as in this case, may only be used to support the literacy component of *Jésus le Chemin*’s work; the remainder of *Jésus le Chemin*’s activities are supported by a fund created by tithes and offerings from member churches (B.5.OK & BK). The only aspect of the literacy work that receives a contribution from this fund is maintenance of the literacy coordinator’s motorcycle (B.5.EK si), which was paid for by Swedish funds through ACATBLI.

In part because of the funding issue, and in part because of a desire to ensure that literacy work is seen as nonconfessional, there has been some discussion about creating a literacy organization that would be separate from *Jésus le Chemin* (A.3.SK), but as of this writing, that has not occurred (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2010). On the other hand, literacy work has intentionally been done as much as possible in collaboration with people of all faiths, with the focus being cultural and linguistic solidarity, since the leaders of *Jésus le Chemin* desire to see all Ifè able to read and write their own language (B.5.OK).
1.3.2.3 AMIADA

Literacy work in Oké began in during the 1997-1998 literacy campaign year (Projet de langue ifè : Activités de janvier 1996 à décembre 1998, n.d.). In line with phase two in the SIL-Ifè Project strategy, the Association des moniteurs ifè pour l’alphabétisation et le développement des adultes (Association of Ifè Instructors for Adult Literacy and Development), or AMIADA, was created in 2000 (B.3.AmA). Shortly thereafter, local authorities identified land just outside the town of Oké-Adogbénou and gave two hectares to the local association. In 2004, SIL bought those two and an additional eight. Once AMIADA is officially recognized by the state, it will get its two hectares back (S.I.L. projet Ifè & Comité A.M.I.A.D.A., Mar. 27, 2004). One use of this property is for teacher trainings and other meetings, which until this land was obtained, were held in churches (B.3.AmA). Once the property was acquired, these activities were held in a temporary structure on the site, but in 2006 the Ifè SIL project was able to find funding to build on their portion of the land a cement block meeting hall, a small dormitory, and hygiene facilities, which host all trainings and meetings (B.3.AmA). The property also has a small two-room building built in 2004-2005 that houses a caretaker and can host the ACATBLI leaders when they come for trainings or meetings (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007).

The primary goal of AMIADA is for all Ifè in their zone to become literate (B.3.AmA). Their secondary goal is to improve life economically and spiritually for residents of their region (ibid.). The strategies to reach this latter goal incorporate elements of the literacy program, including supplemental readers which discuss ways to improve agricultural techniques and to manage a family harmoniously, and the math program which allows small businessmen and -women (petit[e]s commerçant[e]s) to keep accounts and avoid being cheated (B.3.AmA & MK). As for all the associations, local people are invited to monthly teachers’ meetings in order to learn from the practical teachings given at those times (B.3.AmA). They have been involved also in encouraging literacy learners to buy fruit-tree seedlings (B.3.AmA), which ACATBLI then distributes towards the beginning of the long rainy season each year. In addition, Oké is the home of two of
ACATBLI’s income-generating activities, bee-keeping and sheep raising (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). These as well as AMIADA’s own projects described in the next paragraph have inspired individuals to try to improve their income in these ways (B.3.AmA & MK).

As just indicated, AMIADA has implemented its own agriculture-based income-generating activities. The first income-generating project (IGA), beginning in 2001, was storage of peppers (*piment*), although grains have been stocked in other years (B.3.AmA). In this type of IGA, commodities are bought when prices are low and resold during the natural cycle of price rises during the year. As is true of most storage projects, the success of this has fluctuated with market prices and randomly imposed government controls (ibid.), as well as natural disasters such as insect infestations. In 2004, the association planted and harvested a crop of soy beans which were then sold (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). In addition to grain and pepper storage projects, AMIADA owns two hectares of land, one of which was planted with teak in 2008 as an income-generating activity (B.3.AmA). Plans for a chicken-raising project to generate funds are also in process (B.3.AmA si). Another development project they would like to implement is a health center established on or near their property, as there are none in the vicinity, which is a handicap when people fall ill during training sessions (B.3.SY).

All literacy teachers are automatically members of AMIADA (B.3.AmA). They elect the board at their yearly general assembly (ibid.). AMIADA members pay annual dues which have helped to provide seed money for income-generating projects of the association, and are also used for such things as benches for training courses (B.3.MK). In 2008 AMIADA opened a bank account as a step towards self-sufficiency; the next step it took was the submission of its papers for legalization to the government in 2009 (B.3.AmA).

According to the original strategy, AMIADA should have become autonomous by 2002 or 2003. However, various difficulties led to its not becoming legally recognized (A. Agbémadon, Sept. 24, 2010). As a
consequence, funding was sought and received for the period 2004-2005 to build capacity towards independence for AMIADA (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). When ACATBLI received funding for project expansion in 2006 and following, all existing Ifè literacy organizations that agreed to place themselves under ACATBLI in order to receive funds and training were placed on the same footing (B.1.NK af1; B.3.AmA) to maintain a sense of equality and so prevent feelings of jealousy (A.3.SK).

1.3.2.4 ADCIBA

In Benin, the Ifè people have been considered part of the Nago language group (B.4.ANA). Several related ethnic groups were placed in this group: Yoruba, Idatcha, Tcha and Savé, as well as Ifè (B.4.KL si). Literacy for this group was thus provided in Yoruba, the presumed common language of this group (B.4.ANA). However, as Mr. Koumondjo explained, “l’alphabétisation en yorouba. ne reste pas .. dans nos:. dans la tête de nos apprenants” (“literacy in Yoruba doesn’t stay .. in our: . in the heads of our students”; B.4.KL si1).

Around 1995, an Ifè man from Doumé teaching in Benin’s government literacy program for Yoruba learned about the SIL literacy work in Togo. Being frustrated with the difficulties his non-Yoruba speaking Ifè students were having learning to read, he visited the team in Atakpamé (B.4.ANA) and in 1996 received training in teaching Ifè literacy (Attestation, Dec. 23, 1996). For several years, he continued to receive training from the government program in Yoruba, but taught in Ifè (B.4.ANA). In the meantime, he worked to establish a National Linguistic Commission for Ifè (P. Devine, letter to literacy coordinator for Save-Zou prefecture, Apr. 20, 1997; B.4.ANA), and maintained contact with the SIL-Ifè program in Atakpamé (B.4.ANA).

Meanwhile, although unaware of what was happening in Doumé, literacy teachers in Tchetti were experiencing the same frustrations with the lack of progress in their students (B.4.KL). In 1998, a man who had taught in the Ifè program in Oké came to Tchetti and did awareness-raising for mother tongue literacy and teacher training (ibid.). Three years later, the Tchetti teachers were
put in touch with the SIL-Ifè project thanks to another man who had been living in Oké, but then returned to live in Tchetti (ibid.). In 2001, SIL began classes in the area. Two years later, the Tchetti teachers formed the Comité régional pour la promotion de la langue ifè (CRPI – Regional Committee for the Promotion of the Ifè Language; Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). However, this organization did not function well, and soon ceased to exist (B.4.KL).

In 2002, the two groups became aware of each other (B.4.ANA & KL). In 2006, after the failure of the CRPI, the two decided to unite (B.4.KL). This decision was made primarily to present a united front to the Beninese government and literacy department as they sought recognition for Ifè as a language distinct from Yoruba and other related languages (B.4.KL si1). The name chosen, l’Association pour le développement de la communauté ifè du Bénin par l’alphabétisation (ADCIBA; Association for the Development of the Ifè Community through Literacy), reflects their primary distinctive from the other associations: it is located in Benin, not Togo (B.4.ANA si2). In 2007, they submitted their application for registration as an association and it was accepted (B.4.ANA). While I was there in 2009, they petitioned the DNAEA to request recognition of Ifè as the official language of literacy for their area; it was signed by the chiefs of five of the six Ifè arrondissements.

Membership in ADCIBA is open to all (B.4.KL). Among those present at the first general assembly were literacy workers at all levels, traditional chiefs, local political authorities, heads of the majority Ifè arrondissements, and local resource people from each village (B.4.ANA). This group elected the board, with each of the five participating Ifè arrondissements being allowed two representatives to the board, except for Doumé, which was permitted a third representative due to its being more densely populated (B.4.KL si1). However, one arrondissement currently has no representatives on the board because of a lack of commitment on the part of those elected (ibid.). The founding members of ADCIBA contribute a special sum (la part sociale) each year, while all members pay annual dues (ibid.). The part sociale has been used for the constitutive
assembly expenses as well as for registration fees during the legalization process (B.4.ANA).

The primary goal of ADCIBA is to achieve the development of the Ifè people through literacy (B.4.ANA). They seek collaboration with the many development organizations who work in Benin, and desire to translate and publish as much development information as possible (B & C.4.ANA). In this vein, they publish an official newsletter (C.4.ANA). They also hope to provide support for those learners who want to start IGAs (B.4.ANA). Reforestation through education and participation in ACATBLI’s tree planting program, as well as through planting teak on their own property, is another emphasis of theirs (ibid.).

ADCIBA owns land in each zone on which they plan to pursue agricultural development activities such as crops, tree plantations or animal husbandry. The Tchetti zone is the site of five hectares. They started with two, but were not permitted to plant on that property, so they acquired three more in order to have a site for future income generation through the teak plantation and other agricultural activities (B.4.KL si1). The Doumé zone contains a small piece of property in town where they hope to build a training center (B.4.ANA). They also have three other hectares of land, one of which is planted in teak for future income (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2010).

1.3.2.5 VADEMI

SIL first attempted to establish literacy work in the Buko region in 1995. However, the people were very reluctant to accept classes, and the few classes begun did not finish (SIL, 1996). In 2002, an Ifè Assembly of God pastor was assigned to the area (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). He reflected on the poverty of the area and began conversations with a number of people on what could be done to fight this condition (B.2.VA1). The outcome of these conversations was the establishment of an association, Volontaires pour l’alphabétisation et le
Développement en milieu Ifè⁸ (VADEMI; Volunteers for Literacy and Development in the Ifè Area), in 2006 (B.2.VA1; Boëthius, 2007). Deciding that the first step in their fight against poverty was literacy, they held meetings to raise awareness of the need for literacy, and invited ACATBLI to come and start literacy classes, which it did (B.2.VA1) in late 2006 (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007).

The goal of VADEMI is to develop the Buko region economically, culturally, and educationally (B.2.VA1 & VA2 & VA3). Their theme, in line with one heard in the international development community, is “lutter contre la pauvreté” (“fight against poverty”; B.2.VA1). They desire to see every Ifè able to read and write, whether in Ifè through the literacy program or in French through the formal education program (ibid.). Another concern is the health domain, as latrines and organizations for maintaining village cleanliness are lacking in most villages of the area (ibid.). Yet another area where they hope to develop the region is through the establishment of cultural centers, where folktales can be transmitted and other cultural activities occur (ibid.).

So far they have worked through the literacy classes to accomplish their goals. Classes are encouraged to organize themselves to pursue IGAs and other development projects (B.2.VA1). One class, for example, took up a collection whereby they were able to buy corn for a grain storage project (B.2.VA2). They have also seen many literacy class graduates organize local schools for their children (B.2.VA1 & VA2).

Membership in VADEMI is open to the community. Teachers are encouraged, but not required, to be members; so far, all have joined (B.2.VA1 si). Collections have been taken, but to this point, the association has minimal financial resources outside of what ACATBLI and its financial partners have been able to provide (B.2.VA1). They have, however, prepared the documents needed to obtain legalization (A.Agbémadon, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2010).

⁸ pseudonym
1.3.2.6 Association “Espoir Pour l’Avenir”

Literacy work had been attempted in the Datcha-Glei region, to the south of Atakpamé, in 1995 to 1999. However, because many members of the local population were concerned that the classes were merely a mask for evangelization, SIL had minimal success in establishing classes, much less a local association (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). The literacy team finally decided to put their resources elsewhere until the time seemed right to try again.

Literacy work was restarted in this area in 2008, with the help of an Ifè pastor committed to promoting literacy (Y. Akpo, personal communication, Jan. 26, 2009). By this time, people had heard from other areas that the literacy classes were for all Ifè and not a place of evangelism. ACATBLI asked the pastor to be the literacy coordinator for this zone (Agbémadon & Devine, 2008). With the
agreement of his denominational leaders, he accepted. The association was not yet formally organized by 2009 (Akpo, 2009). For this reason, it did not form part of this research project. However, it did have its constitutive assembly in May of 2010, an essential step in forming a viable, formally recognized association in Togo (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2010).

1.3.3 ACATBLI’s role

ACATBLI was created in 2007 and legalized in 2008 in order to ensure continuity of the literacy and translation work after the departure of the expatriates in the program (A. Agbémadon, Jan. 27, 2009). It has been and expects to continue to be the umbrella organization for the local associations discussed in the previous sections. In addition, the local associations are represented on ACATBLI’s board by three elected members (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2010). Other members of ACATBLI’s board include the association’s employees and various community members. At this point in time, its literacy workers still are heavily involved in carrying out certain responsibilities that will be handed over to each local association when their leaders are ready to conduct them independently (see figure 6.1; A.3.Agba & SK).

Once the associations gain their autonomy, the ACATBLI leaders foresee a shift in their role. They expect, first of all, to continue to organize and supervise literacy classes, but only in Atakpamé (A. Agbémadon & K. Sétodji, personal communication, June 22, 2009). The city is technically part of AVID’s zone of responsibility, but AVID’s zone covers three cantons9 (B.1.NK af1). ACATBLI, therefore, intends to supplement AVID’s efforts in the city to ensure that all Ifé have the opportunity to read their mother tongue (Agbémadon & Sétodji, 2009). In addition, ACATBLI’s literacy personnel plan to focus on literature production, since they are well aware of the need to develop a literate environment and to provide ample reading material, both to build fluency among new literates and to

9 Togo’s administrative units, from smallest to largest, are quartier (urban area) or village (rural area), canton, sous-préfecture (sub-prefecture), préfecture, and region (Présidence de la République, 2007).
motivate Ifè to learn to read their mother tongue. They also desire to ensure that materials that will support development efforts – economic, cultural, social, religious – are available to their people (ibid.). However, due to their currently heavy workload resulting from having to be so heavily involved in all of the local associations at once, they have not been able to do much in this area for some time.

1.4 Research questions

This research was undertaken following inductive logic, which requires an iterative reformulation of research questions (Gauthier, 2006). Originally, I had wanted to know what representations of leadership and other factors promoted organizational sustainability, which I planned to study through a comparative analysis of the local associations. However, the original questions had to be modified because of the change of strategy from working in one zone at a time to working with all at once, which neither I nor the ACATBLI team had fully realized had been changed until my first interview with them. Studying the representations of leadership also was needed to address gaps in the literature concerning African leadership in NGOs.

In addition, after a presentation of the capacity building efforts of the Ifè program, one listener asked how the program managed to retain its personnel. It was at that point that I realized the importance of the representations of literacy that had emerged during the interviews to the sustainability of the program and to the possibility of adapting the zone strategy for other large language groups.

As this study was carried out under an Education doctorate (EdD) program, the main thrust of my research was to gather and analyze field-based data that can provide direction to literacy practitioners, policy makers and partner organizations offering technical and/or financial support to literacy programs, and that can inform researchers.

Thus, the following four questions and six sub-questions became my research questions.
1. What are the representations of leadership constructed by literacy leaders in the Ifè literacy program and by the Ifè people?
   1.1 How do their representations of leadership merge and diverge?
   1.2 What role do these representations play in capacity building in and by the local literacy and development associations?

2. What representations of literacy and related concepts are present among the literacy leaders?
   2.1 What is the relationship between these representations and program choices (materials, activities, strategies) made?
   2.2 What role do these representations play in capacity building in and by the local literacy and development associations?

3. According to research participants, what capacities have been or should be developed in or by these associations?
   3.1. How have capacity building choices impacted the program and its personnel?
   3.2. How have capacity building choices impacted the Ifè community at large?

4. What factors contribute to or hinder the development of multiple, sustainable local literacy and development associations in order to adequately serve a widely dispersed population?

1.5 Thesis organization

The introduction of this thesis has given the reasons for this research project, an overview of pertinent concepts, and background to the study. This background contained not only a brief description of the political, historical, and environmental context of the Ifè people, but also one of the development of the Ifè language program. As part of the rich description essential for a case study, the history of each local association has been described. The research questions were then presented.
The second chapter describes the theoretical foundations of this work. The dominant theories underlying this research are the theory of *représentations sociales* (social representations), theories of leadership, and theories of literacy and development. The theory of social representations comes from French scholarship, while theories of leadership arise primarily from North American research; the two theoretical areas have not been discussed together before. Various issues in development as well as a discussion of the relationship between literacy and development are presented. A brief discussion of how all these theories interact to provide the foundation for my work ends the chapter.

Methodology is the theme of the third chapter. In this chapter, I explain why the case study is the most appropriate method for discovering responses to the research questions. I describe the participants in this project prior to explaining the choice of each research tool used to collect the data. Next, the ethical considerations necessary to cross-cultural research are explored. Finally, the steps taken to analyze the data are explicated.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the representations of leadership among the Ifè. Most of the data in this section come from interviews with the leaders of the associations studied, but an interview with some community members is also taken into consideration in the analysis. In an effort to separate emic (in-group) from etic (outsider) perspectives, the representations which emerged are described in the main body using the words of the participants as much as possible. The etic perspective is found in the discussion of the findings which concludes the chapter.

The fifth chapter discusses representations that motivate the leaders of these associations to invest their time and energies in the literacy program. These representations relating to literacy also respond in part to questions about which capacities have been or need to be reinforced, as they exert a strong influence on the leaders in the management of their programs. The etic and emic perspectives are handled the same as in chapter 4.
In the sixth chapter, I show how the representations of leadership and of literacy have influenced and are influencing the development of the literacy program and local associations among the Ifè and their activities in the community. The capacities they have built or reinforced, as well as felt needs in this domain are described. Additionally, the question of who chooses which capacities to reinforce is scrutinized, and conclusions regarding factors influencing the long-term sustainability of local associations are drawn.

In the final chapter, findings are summarized and implications for theory, policy and practice drawn. Additionally, limitations of this research project are noted, and directions for further research are proposed.
2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In my 10 years of living in Africa and working in a non-governmental organization in the area of mother tongue literacy program development, some of the clashes between African and Western leadership and management styles became apparent, particularly in the handling of financial issues and of conflicts. Nevertheless, the program management courses offered by our organization and others have been based on Western models of business leadership, largely due to a lack of an alternative African model. A number of authors have noted this mismatch of Western management and leadership models and of African styles of leadership (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Edoho, 1998; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Malunga, 2006; Nzelibe, 1986; Theimann & April, 2007). While various studies have analyzed the leadership traits of African business managers and African bureaucrats, particularly in English-speaking Africa (see for example Booysen & van Wyk, 2007; Chhokar, Brodbeck, & House, 2007; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Mbigi, 2007b; P. B. Smith, Peterson, & Schwartz, 2002; van der Colff, 2007), studies of leadership in African non-governmental organizations, of African organizations that depend on volunteers, or situated in French-speaking Africa are much less common. One aim of this study is to contribute to the development of an African model of leadership through the description and study of the essence of what Africans believe about and expect from leadership: their représentations sociales\(^\text{10}\) of leadership. In this way, training in the area of organizational capacity building can be better adapted to the African context.

Three theoretical perspectives form the foundation of this research. First, the theory of représentations sociales, a French theory that came out of social psychology but that is now used throughout the social sciences, is the basis for my analysis of leadership in the Ifè culture and literacy organizations and its

\(^{10}\) The reason for using the French term instead of a translation is explained in section 2.1.
influence on what happens in those organizations. This theory will also shed light on the motivations of mother tongue literacy program leaders and the choices they make in training and in program management. Next, theories of leadership will be considered to see how these may influence capacity building in the associations, whether by outsiders or by other Africans. Finally, in order to understand choices made in program activities, I will examine theories of literacy and of development, two domains that often intermingle. The chapter will conclude with observations on how the three theoretical areas interrelate.

2.1 The theory of représentations sociales

The notion of représentations sociales, or social representations (SR), was developed in the French-speaking academic community. Most of what has been written on this theory was written in French and has not yet been translated into English (Dagenais & Jacquet, 2008; Duveen, 2000; Kramsch, 2008). The genesis of this theory is generally attributed to the sociologist Émile Durkheim (Abric, 2001a; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Boyer, 2003; Duveen, 2000; Farr, 1996; Flament, 2001; Jodelet, 1996; Moliner, 1996; Moore & Py, 2008; Moscovici, 1989). He first posited the notion of représentations collectives (collective representations). He stated that societies consist of people in relationship; as individuals act and react within that societal relationship, their personal representations merge with others and in the process are transformed, becoming collective representations. These representations then take on a life of their own, able to influence the members and institutions of the society (Durkheim, 1898/2002). These collective understandings, such as those found in myths, religion and moral law, form a system and are very stable (Duveen, 2000; Durkheim, 1898/2002; Filloux, 1970 cited in Boyer, 2003; Moscovici, 1989). They also constrain members of that group in their ways of acting and thinking, in essence regulating social life (Duveen, 2000; Durkheim, 1898/2002; Moscovici, 1989). However, the fairly exclusive application of this concept to explanations of traditional (‘other’) societies led to its marginalization in the field of psychology (Moscovici, 1989).
This view of representations as socially constructed was then taken up by social psychologist Serge Moscovici in the early 1960’s as he studied how French society constructed representations of the relatively new practice of psychoanalysis (Abric, 2001b; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Boyer, 2003; Duveen, 2000; Farr, 1996; Flament, 2001; Jodelet, 1996; Moliner, 1996; Moore & Py, 2008; Py, 2003). His application of the notion to modern, diversified societies (Duveen, 2000) with a fast pace of change expanded the concept to include a wide range of ideas and knowledge that have a collective origin, thereby producing the theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1989). Whereas for Durkheim, it was the substrata of collective life – the group – that was significant in the construction of a collective representation, for Moscovici, it was the interactions between individuals that were essential to the construction of social representations (Duveen, 2000; Moscovici, 1989). Since that time, it has been recognized as an important theoretical tool and applied throughout the social sciences as researchers strive to better understand communication as well as social practices and thought (Boyer, 2003; Dagenais & Jacquet, 2008; Doise, 1986; Jodelet, 1989; Py, 2004).

However, the diversity of domains of application has led to a wide range of understandings of the character of a social representation. Essentially, the theory of social representations seeks to explain how meaning is constructed and spread throughout a group (Py, 2003). Social representations are viewed as both a social process and a cognitive process (Abric, 2001a; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Boyer, 2003; Gajo, 2000). A SR, then, is seen as a socially-generated, interpretive framework (Py, 2003), or ‘microtheory’ (Moore & Py, 2008; Py, 2003, 2004), often perceived by those who share it as ‘common sense’ (Jodelet, 1989). It is constructed through experience, through group and individual interaction, and by portrayals of the object in the media (Py, 2004), generally from a common reference point, also known as a social anchor (Gajo, 2000). However, just because a person recognizes a SR does not mean he or she agrees with it; thus discourses and behaviors that seem to contradict the SR may be in evidence.
within the group (Doise, 1988, cited in Dagenais & Jacquet, 2008; Gajo, 2000; Py, 2004).

Two types of representations are recognized by researchers coming from a linguistic approach, which is the one I have taken. The first type is one that is widely recognized in a given group, and fairly stable. Gajo (2000) calls these preconstructed representations (représentations préconstruites), while Py (2003, 2004) refers to them as reference representations (représentations de référence). Cavalli & Coletta (2003), however, label them as fundamental features of a social representation. Py (2003, 2004) notes that these representations usually are decontextualized and often emerge as set phrases, such as expressions of stereotypes, proverbs, maxims, and other sayings and clichés. Cavalli & Coletta (2003) add that they are not tied to social or professional roles. The second type of representation is one whose meaning has been proposed and negotiated in the particular discursive context in which it was expressed, thus rendering this type of representation very flexible. The negotiated aspect of this type of representation has led Gajo (2000) to label them co-constructed representations (représentations co-construites). Py (2003, 2004) and Cavalli & Coletta (2003), however, highlight the link to context by their use, respectively, of the terms employed representation (représentation d’usage) and contextual feature. These elements of a social representation are very strongly linked to the social roles and behaviors of those expressing them (Cavalli & Coletta, 2003).

The distinction between the two varieties is not necessarily sharp in a given situation, however. The categorization of a representation is meant to help in an analysis, but generalizations and categories tend to break down (Py, 2004). In a given discourse, both may be present, even mixed (ibid.), as is true for the data gathered for this study. In fact, Moore (2001) identifies their relationship in the construction of a representation as taking the preconstructed representations and adapting them to a new situation, in context, by the strengthening or dilution of certain features, and by the selection of elements which will convey the content of the representation in a more pertinent manner. (my translation)
So as participants in a discourse speak, choosing terms, reformulating expressions and clarifying statements, fundamental features are adapted to the specific context of the communication. In any case, the communal vigor of a social representation is shown by the expression of both stable and contextual elements (Gajo, 2000).

However, for researchers coming from a quantitative perspective, the elements of stability and sensitivity to context relate more to the structure of the content of a social representation. In this view, stable elements, generally those that are descriptive and/or prescriptive (Flament, 2001), form the core (*noyau central*; Abric, 1989, 2001b, 2003). These core elements then generate and organize the structure of other features of the representation (Abrid, 1989, 2001b, 2003; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Flament, 2001; Moliner, 1996). Features that are less inherent to the representation and are tied to a specific context of production are considered to be peripheral elements to the representation (Abrid, 2001a; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Moliner, 1996). An example of how this works was given by Flament (2001). In one study concerning the representation of a new highway, the core elements were identified as speed/ease of travel. However, one woman stated that the new highway would increase antisocial behavior. When she explained, it emerged that she saw the new highway as making it easier for criminals from Marseille to travel. Thus, security was a peripheral element of the representation, organized by the core element ease of travel.

Researchers in this tradition insist that not only must the elements of a representation be identified, but its core and structure as well (Abrid, 2001b; Moliner, 1996). The reason the core must be identified is that the representations of two groups may contain identical features, but have different cores, which means that two different representations are being studied (Abrid, 2001b;
Moliner (1996). Moliner (1996) adds that identification of these three components of a representation are necessary in order to study the evolution of a representation over time. These researchers also note that it is only as elements in the core change that the representation itself changes, while changes in peripheral elements can be explained away by those expressing them, usually by indicating something in the environment has changed or is exceptional (Moliner, 1996).

Whichever view of social representations is held, researchers agree that a social representation has several functions. First, it gives meaning to social realities or ‘social objects’, such as education or HIV-AIDS, helping individuals to orient themselves in relation to these realities. Part of this orientation involves social positioning of those interacting with or communicating about the object (Cavalli & Coletta, 2003; Doise, 1986; Moore & Py, 2008). A SR also allows a person to know how to behave in a socially-accepted manner in relationship to that object (Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Jodelet, 1989). SR also allow people to justify their practices, beliefs and behaviors (Abric, 1989, 2001b, 2003; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Flament, 2001; Moliner, 1996; Moliner, Rateau, & Cohen-Scali, 2002; Py, 2003). These various functions of SR – of mutual understanding, of identification, of orientation and of justification – are what make this theory valuable to this case study, as I seek to understand how Ifè literacy leaders understand leadership and literacy, orient themselves in relationship to these social objects, and use SR to explain their practices as leaders and the choices they have made in the literacy program.

Several concepts are closely tied to the notion of social representation, and their relationships to it have been widely discussed (Moore & Py, 2008). A stereotype is a particular, well-known type of representation (Py, 2003), one that is simplified, fixed and stable, allowing discourse participants to quickly identify and categorize the object of the stereotype (Boyer, 2003). Beliefs and opinions are generally, but not universally, considered to be components of a representation (Abric, 2003; Moliner, Rateau, & Cohen-Scali, 2002). Opinions may also be seen as precursors to representations (Py, 2000, cited in Boyer,
the result of someone asking about beliefs (Py, 2004), or as a discourse theme that reveals a representation (Negura, 2006). I included beliefs and opinions among the features of representations that emerged during the course of my research.

Attitudes, however, are considered by some to be a component of SR, but by others to be related to, yet not a part of, representations. It should be noted that ‘attitude’ in English and attitude in French do not quite have the same semantic content. The French word has much stronger connotations of behavior (Dictionnaire des synonymes et nuances, 2005; Petit Larousse illustré 1990, 1989; de Villers, 2003) than does the American English word, which in its most recent sense generally refers to a mental state reflecting feelings or opinions (Webster’s New World Dictionary, 2nd ed., 1978). This may be why some French researchers insist that attitudes are integral components of a representation (Abric 2001a, 2003; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Cavalli & Coletta, 2003; Rouquette & Rateau, 2000, cited in Boyer, 2003). In discourse, however, an attitude is not observable, it must be inferred (Moore, 2001; Moore & Py, 2008). So for other researchers, an attitude is not, then, part of a representation, but related to representations through its evaluative character, which shows up as reasons or motives for holding a particular representation (Moore & Py, 2008). Accordingly, attitudes are seen as influencing the development of representations and vice versa (Moore & Py, 2008; Py, 2003). I did not distinguish between opinions and attitudes in my analysis of the data, as for me both have evaluative connotations, whether or not behaviors are implied. Thus, attitudes, particularly in relation to those unable to read and/or to read and write in Ifè, may be found among the features of the representations described in chapters 4 and 5.

Although most literature concerning social representations is found in traditions of French scholarship, similar notions have arisen in other academic traditions. In English, the social linguist James Gee (1996) proposed the notion of Discourses with a capital D, which are "saying(writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 127, italics in the original). This conception is probably the closest in English language scholarship to the notion of SR.
Like a social representation, a Discourse displays both an identity and a membership in a particular social group “through words, actions, values, and beliefs” (Gee, 1996, p. 128). However, a Discourse is also tied to ideologies and can either empower or disempower self and others (Gee, 1996).

The idea of a *cultural narrative* as used by Dym & Hutson (2005) also has much in common with the theory of SR. These authors indicate that a cultural narrative is “the sum of a particular society’s ideas about how people are supposed to behave, think, and feel [and] is more than just a perspective. It is the means by which a culture puts forth, promotes, and imposes its standards on members” (p. 48). The main differences here seem to be that a cultural narrative applies to a much wider group (a whole society) than those described by works on social representations generally do, and is communicated more by stories than through ordinary discourse.

It must be noted that the translation of the French term for social representations does not completely correspond to what is generally understood by that term in English. In English, a social representation is strictly a cognitive phenomenon describing schemata\(^\text{11}\) or other mental structures; it does not include behaviors (Duveen, 2000; Kramsch, 2008). In French, however, the term covers not just attitudes, beliefs, and ideas but social norms, actions and practices that result from and construct those mental states and structures (Krasmch, 2008). In this study, the term social representation will be used strictly in the sense of the French term *représentation sociale*, that is, the interpretive framework around a social object, generated by a distinct social group, that encompasses “thought and action, knowledge and practice, the saying and the doing” (Kramsch, 2008, p. 321).

In the context of my research, I became interested in the theory of social representations for its power to explain African social practices and thought, in

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\(^{11}\) Schemata are systems “of cognitive structures stored in memory that are abstract representations of events, objects, and relationships in the world” (Harris, T. L. & Hodges, R. E., 1995. The literacy dictionary: The vocabulary of reading and writing. Newark, DE: International Reading Assn., p. 227).
this case in relation to leadership in literacy associations, from an insider’s perspective. As has been stated, a SR motivates and justifies behavior. As a cross-cultural worker, sometimes I do not understand the actions or reactions of African friends and colleagues (and I am certain they are confused by mine at times). This theory offers a means to access the interpretive framework of my African colleagues that is the basis of their ‘common sense’. This study, therefore, is only a starting point, as I collaborate with many Africans who are not Ifè; I will need to explore the representations of other groups. On a practical level, application of this theory lays some preliminary groundwork for adjusting the content of capacity building courses and workshops currently based on Western resources and knowledge. Additionally, as will be discussed in the final section of this chapter, the theory of social representations offers an additional theoretical tool to leadership theorists attempting to account for cultural differences in leadership as well as to literacy program leaders desiring to justify the investment of time and other resources into local language literacy. Theories of leadership pertinent to the context of this study are the focus of this next section.

2.2 Leadership theories and models

Leadership theories and models have generally been built around experiences with Euro-American businesses and politics (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Burke, 2007; Drucker, 1990; Dym & Hutson, 2005; Theimann & April, 2007). However, a growing body of literature about leadership in non-profit organizations and in sub-Saharan Africa does exist. Although leadership theories that fully account for cultural variations have not yet been developed, attempts have been made to do so, most notably in the GLOBE study of middle managers in 62 countries (Chhokar, Brodbeck, & House, 2007; Northouse, 2007; Robbins, DeCenzo, & Gabilliet, 2008; Silverthorne, 2005) whose findings on African leadership are described in section 2.2.3 below. In this next section, I will briefly discuss some of the leadership theories most relevant to the methods and objectives of this study, then look at leadership of non-profit (volunteer) and development organizations, as these are the types of organizations targeted by
This study. This section ends with a review of literature on African leadership models.

2.2.1 Leadership theories

A number of leadership theories and approaches have been developed in the past 100 years or so. As Burke (2007) points out, many of them were conceived in light of the shifts in expectations of leaders as the pace of cultural shifts and economic change accelerated. In addition, emphases shift according to each theory’s views of the weight of leaders, followers, and context in a situation calling for leadership (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007). Another major point of differentiation is the attention given or not to motivational factors in each theory (Northouse, 2007). All are useful for understanding leadership, but all also have weaknesses, particularly when applied to non-American cultures (Burke, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008). A comprehensive review is beyond the scope of this work; the focus is on those theories that are relevant to this research project, to African modes of leadership and to capacity building models promoted by NGOs.

2.2.1.1 Traits theory

The traits theory of leadership, sometimes known as the great leader theory (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007), has been around the longest, having been developed early in the 20th century (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002). This theory is based on the idea that people are born with the traits that make them leaders (Dym & Hutson, 2005). This idea is often revealed when what is emphasized in a discourse are a leader’s character qualities. The core traits identified by Western scholarship include intelligence, self-confidence, good communication skills, eagerness to accept responsibility, and trustworthiness, among others (Burke, 2007; Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002).

Although many theories have been developed since to challenge this theory, it continues in popularity. Nevertheless, it has had a number of different theoretical and practical emphases, the most current being a focus on the
importance of traits in effective leadership (Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002). Part of its popularity stems from its intuitive appeal, and the fact that most people, when asked what makes a great leader, will come up with a list of character traits (Northouse, 2007). In Essays on Leadership (1998), for example, both Boutros Boutros-Ghali (former Secretary-General of the UN) and Archbishop Desmond Tutu framed their descriptions of leadership in terms of qualities or attributes such as vision, credibility, eloquence, a spirit of cooperation, and courage (Boutros-Ghali, 1998; Tutu, 1998). This listing of characteristics happened during this research project as well. However, the list generated from the research participants, while overlapping somewhat with the lists produced by American research, contains many significant elements rarely, if ever, mentioned in leadership literature, such as patience and faithfulness. These will be discussed in the chapter 4. Since one of the criticisms of the traits theory is that most of the core traits are culturally biased towards Western cultures (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008), this study may be a valuable contribution to researchers seeking to redress this imbalance.

In response to the earliest emphasis of the traits theory, that great leaders were born that way, an opposing belief arose that leaders were not just naturally occurring; they could – and should – be made (Drucker, 1990; Northouse, 2007). The following theories are based on this idea: that leadership does not depend solely on the traits of the leader, but on his or her behavior; on the abilities, expectations, and/or motivation of the followers; and/or on the situation (Northouse, 2007; Zaccaro, 2007). Since leadership development is a component of many capacity building efforts (Malunga, 2006), these models have great relevance to this study.

2.2.1.2 Skills model

The skills approach looks at the capabilities a leader needs in order to function effectively in his or her organization (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs, & Fleishman, 2000; Northhouse, 2007). Katz’s early model of this approach identified the three areas of skills as those relating to ideas, people,
and things, which are needed in differing proportions according to rank in an organization (Northouse, 2007). Mumford and his colleagues (Connelly et al., 2000; Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding et al., 2000; Mumford, Zaccaro, Connelly, & Marks, 2000), however, focus on the knowledge and skills needed by leaders, and particularly those related to problem-solving and development of appropriate solutions in a socially effective manner. These are presumed to be the result of a combination of traits and career experience. In this view, effective leadership requires three areas of knowledge: of people, of the organization, and of the problem and related variables. The importance of problem-solving and social skills to performance are also stressed in this model.

While, in contrast with most current theories, the modern skills model de-emphasizes the follower, which is a weakness, it does acknowledge the important role that environmental influences, including capabilities of subordinates, have both on the leader and on the problem-solving and implementation processes (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding et al., 2000). Other environmental influences include organizational culture, and time and financial limitations (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding et al., 2000; Northouse, 2007).

Thus, leadership development under this model assumes that while leaders have some inherent traits, such as intelligence, their capabilities can be improved upon through experiences in exposure to complex, ill-defined problems; mentoring; training; and practice in problem-solving (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding et al., 2000). In addition, all knowledge of the organizational culture and the people with whom a leader works can be learned and will affect performance.

This model is of interest to the current research project because the skills and experiences of the Ifè literacy leaders were explored during the interviews, as well as the opinions of subordinates (teachers) regarding their training. As will be discussed in chapter 4, the results of my research generally seem to support this model, although I did not attempt to evaluate such areas as intelligence and personality, or specific problem-solving skills.
However, this model is open to several criticisms. Mumford, Zaccaro, Connelly & Marks (2000) note that the influence of leaders’ beliefs and values on their performance needs to be examined, as do variables in skill and knowledge application to a problem. Northouse (2007) agrees with this latter critique, and additionally sees its inclusion of traits as a weakness. In fact, Northouse considers that the theory is too broad, as it appeals to other domains such as conflict management, motivational theory and personality theory in its construction. However, I disagree with this criticism since motivational theory is considered to be very important to leadership in the literature on volunteer and non-profit organizations (Edmunds, 1978; Fisher & Cole, 1993; Ilsley, 1990; McSweeney & Alexander, 1996; Pell, 1972), and is one of those on which path-goal theory is based (House, 1996).

This theory, as is, also can be criticized for the narrowness of its cultural viewpoint. Among the cognitive abilities Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding et al. (2000) say a leader requires is a high degree of literacy (reading and writing) skills. Oral cultures also have leaders; it would be more accurate to say that the cognitive abilities required include all the communication skills necessary for the context. Another problem with the model is the explicit limitation of experience to career experiences (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding et al., 2000). I would argue that all life experiences influence the development of personality, abilities, and problem-solving skills. For example, social skills, such as persuasion, negotiation, and the ability to adapt to the needs and expectations of others are initially learned in childhood, through interaction with our families, communities and other groups such as classes. An additional critique is that performance evaluation is based on the effectiveness of the leader in carrying out his duties (Northouse, 2007); but while in many organizations, effectiveness can be determined by others in the organization’s hierarchy, in service organizations, the best evaluator is the client, whose input is nevertheless rarely sought in such evaluations (Edmunds, 1978). In fact, another weakness of this model is its overall focus on the individual leader; the synergy available in team leadership situations is not addressed.
Finally, while this model does note the influence of organizational culture, the following theories better take into account the wider situation.

### 2.2.1.3 Situational theory

In contrast to the two preceding theories, situational theory, frequently regarded as a contingency theory (Burke, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008), focuses on the behavior a leader should adopt according to the level of understanding and experience his or her subordinates have for a particular task (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Graeff, 1983; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008). The primary four behavior-based styles are given as directing, coaching, supporting and delegating. These are based on two continua: supportive behavior and directive behavior. Supportive behavior involves affective issues around confidence and good working relationships with co-workers. Directive behavior focuses on getting the job done by setting goals and evaluation criteria and by identifying who should be doing what at what point (Northouse, 2007). A subordinate’s development level is contingent on his competence as well as his dedication to the task (Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008). A subordinate working on a task completely new to him will need his leader to be very directive, but may not need him to be supportive; he just needs to follow directions to get the job done. On the other hand, a subordinate who understands what to do and how to do it may work independently; the leader only needs to delegate the task in order for it to be accomplished well.

This is the model most often used in leadership training programs (Northouse, 2007), and in fact has been used in SIL program management training in Africa since the mid-1990’s; however, most of the trainers, myself included, did not understand the theory behind the leadership styles we presented, and so the contingent nature of the styles has frequently not been taught. Yet according to Graeff (1983), this focus on adaptation of behavior to accommodate the needs of the subordinate is one of the main contributions of situational theory to the study of leadership. Regardless, this section of the SIL program management course received highly positive reviews from participants.
when it was taught in 2004, largely I suspect because it helped the participants recognize that there are various valid ways to lead, even though we did not help them understand that these styles were follower-focused.

In spite of its popularity, situational leadership is vulnerable to several criticisms. Northouse (2007) denounces its lack of validation by a large corpus of published research. The follower component of the model can also be criticized. In the first place, the model does not make clear the reason a subordinate’s development resides in competence and commitment (Graeff, 1983). Secondly, it does not recognize the fact that other factors, such as affective needs or rational needs, play into whether or not a follower chooses to cooperate with a leader (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Ugwuegbu, 2001). Another major criticism of this model, and particularly pertinent to this research project, is that it does not take cultural factors into account as it describes reactions to styles of leadership (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008). Related to that criticism is a lack of attention to organizational culture and its influence (Bess & Goldman, 2001). Yet another criticism levied against this model is that it does not address leadership of groups; in a group setting, subordinate development levels are unlikely to be identical, but the theory does not speak to the issue of what a leader should do in a situation where various levels are represented (Bess & Goldman, 2001; Northouse, 2007).

Nevertheless, because of its attention to the needs of the situation and of the subordinate, situational theory is likely to remain a favored basis for development of the capacities of leaders. However, motivational factors are poorly addressed in this model; it is for that reason that path-goal theory may provide insights on the capacity building being done in volunteer programs, such as the Ifè literacy program.

2.2.1.4 Path-goal theory

The path-goal theory states that effective leadership depends on the ability to motivate followers, using whichever of eight to ten styles will best accomplish that (Dym & Hutson, 2005; House, 1996; Northouse, 2007). A leader motivates
subordinates by making sure they see how what they are doing will accomplish their goal, and ensuring that they have all the necessary resources to do so (House, 1996; Northouse, 2007). The 1996 version of the theory adds that the leader will show or model appropriate task behavior and facilitate the development of collegial relationships within the work-unit as well as between work-units in the organization. In addition, s/he will empower subordinates and increase their satisfaction and effectiveness, both individually and as a work-unit (House, 1996). However, House, the primary developer of this theory, considers it to be more of a theory of supervision, addressing as it does a superior and his subordinates in a work-unit, and explicitly not leadership of an organization.

The emphasis on motivational factors is what makes this theory of interest to leaders of volunteer organizations. While the original version of this theory was based primarily on the motivational theory of Vroom, theories such as McClelland’s are more strongly emphasized in the more recent version (House, 1996). Vroom’s expectancy theory states that the effort someone puts into a task is linked both to their belief that their activity will lead to a desired end and to how much the person wants that end (Droar, 2006; Sharma, 1995). McClelland’s three needs theory, on the other hand, posits that a person is motivated by one of three needs: for achievement, for power, or for affiliation (McClelland, 1976). Path-goal theory focuses on the need for achievement as being a major leader characteristic. It also addresses the questions of which needs may motivate followers and thus affect the leader’s behavior. These are important questions for organizations using volunteers such as those in this case study.

Path-goal theory shares some of the criticisms of situational leadership, particularly the lack of substantial empirical support (Bess & Goldman, 2001; Northouse, 2007). In addition, Northouse (2007) says it is difficult to apply practically, whether in training or in practice, both because of its complexity and because descriptions of specific behaviors that ensure the motivation of subordinates, compelling him or her to act as desired, are not clearly explicated. On the other hand, Bess & Goldman’s (2001) study of American universities and of K-12 institutions notes that a major problem in applying this theory to the
domain of formal education lies in the situational constraints, including educational policies and practices, that restrict the leader’s power to remove obstacles to goal achievement, and that may or may not motivate subordinates. Actually, this lack of attention to context outside the organization and its work-units, including culture as well as policies, is a general drawback of the theory. A further weakness in the theory is identified by House (1996), who notes that in a group situation, a leader cannot be all things to all followers, so will generally engage in the behavior s/he is most comfortable with; in addition, the theory does not attempt to provide a complete list of leader behaviors. A final major criticism is that the focus is so strongly on the leader that the responsibilities of the subordinate in the relationship are ignored (Northouse, 2007). This last is an accurate criticism of the original theory, which focused so strongly on the dyadic leader-follower relationship. However, the updated theory includes a focus on the responsibilities of all members of the work-unit (House, 1996).

One of the legacies of the original path-goal theory as noted by House (1996) is its contribution to the development of the charismatic theory of leadership. This particular theory is occasionally seen as a version of trait theory, but more often as one of the versions of transformational leadership (Bess & Goldman, 2001; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008), which is the final theory to be discussed here.

2.2.1.5 Transformational leadership

Transformational leadership, one of the most popular current approaches to leadership (Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002), aims to change people as it inspires and empowers them (Burke, 2007; Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007). In doing so, transformational leadership also involves notions of attitudes, values, ethics and morality, unlike most other theories (Manning, 2003; Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002). In essence, a transformational leader is one who has a relationship with his or her followers through which s/he either motivates them to put their own desires after the needs of the larger group, whether an organization or society, or uses the followers’ own values to motivate
them to accomplish more than they believed themselves capable of achieving (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007).

Four dominant factors of transformational leadership have been identified in Bass’s model (Bess & Goldman, 2001; Northouse, 2007). The first is charisma: followers respect and desire to imitate those who possess this characteristic. The second is the ability to motivate followers through symbolism and emotional appeals to extraordinary goals. Next is the ability to inspire and support creativity, innovation, and critical thinking. The final factor is demonstrating concern for and working toward the development of followers to their full potential. However, a transformational leader may not manifest all these qualities (Bess & Goldman, 2001).

Other models of transformational leadership have been developed as well. One is that of Bennis and Nanus (Northouse, 2007). In this model, the strategic elements of vision creation, mobilization, trust, and self-awareness are key in leadership that transforms. Bennis (2007) later added the abilities to develop others as leaders and to get results. These elements overlap with the model elaborated by Kouzes and Posner, although their focus was practices, not strategies (Northouse, 2007). These practices include modeling, inspiring vision, questioning the status quo, collaborating with others, and rewarding others (Kouzes & Posner,1987, 2002, cited in Northouse, 2007). These strategies and practices are all ones generally regarded as important for leadership in volunteer organizations, as will be discussed further in the next section.

Transformational leadership is generally regarded as being the most effective style of leadership (Robbins et al., 2008), as well as the one most suited to human services organizations (Manning, 2003). However, it has also been criticized. One frequent criticism is the degree of attention paid to leader traits (Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002), with the concurrent implication that some people are born to be leaders, others followers (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007). However, others disagree with this view; Manning (2003), referencing Burns (1978), says that transformational leadership “supports the transformation of
followers into leaders”. Bennis (2007) agrees that transformational leaders encourage the emergence of leadership in others. Others who acknowledge the validity of this criticism call for research that would show how to develop transformational leaders, generally thought to occur through experiences that would influence people’s values (Bennis, 2007; Russell & Kuhnert, 1992).

Another criticism is that, although most models stress the relationship leaders have with followers, the leader is still seen as the sole catalyst for change (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007). An additional limitation seems to be that transformational leadership requires an atmosphere of trust and collaboration. Where opportunities to build those prerequisites are limited, as can happen in strongly hierarchical organizations where authority is firmly linked to position, transformational leadership rarely flourishes (Bess & Goldman, 2001).

But the strongest criticism of transformational theory in the light of this study comes from Blunt & Jones (1997). They note that many of its underlying values, such as the importance of equality, a willingness to confront differences of opinion and personality openly, and a high tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, are not common in most non-Western cultures. Africans, for example, typically seek to resolve conflicts through a third party, as I have experienced many times in my years on the continent. Blunt & Jones (1997) also note that transformational leadership encourages the taking of initiative by subordinates once overall goals are set. However, studies in East Africa have shown (Littrell & Baguma, 2005) that subordinates are generally expected only to carry out explicit directives. Other authors also note that, while at least transformational theory attempts to take culture into account, it, like the other theories discussed here, still falls short of being a universal, cross-cultural leadership theory usable for leadership development in non-Western contexts (Burke, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008).
2.2.2 Leadership in nonprofit and human development organizations

Leadership theories tend to be developed based on studies of business or political leaders (Burke, 2007; Drucker, 1990; D. Lewis, 2001). Therefore, the issues raised focus on how leaders can be the most effective, generally meaning how efficiently they meet the goals of their organizations or nations. It is assumed that the answer lies in their relationship with subordinates, the nature of the subordinates themselves, the power inherent in leaders' positions/roles, the approach they take to management, and/or the influence of situational factors, including the characteristics of tasks to be carried out, which may or may not be under the control of the leaders (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007). While many of these are relevant to leadership and management of nonprofit organizations using volunteers in the domains of education and the development industry, certain issues are more likely to arise in human development organizations than in businesses or politics.

One of the most important issues for leadership in volunteer organizations is motivation. Leadership that is unable to motivate people to volunteer and then to keep them engaged will not have the work force to carry out the organization's primary function(s) and thus assure its survival (Pearce, 1982). Volunteers, after all, do not financially need the organization (ibid.). Thus, any model of leadership intended to apply to volunteer organizations must address motivations of subordinates, that is, the factors related to social identity that cause volunteers to invest their time and energy in the organization (Norton, 1997, 2000).

One of the more effective ways this has been accomplished is through the vision of the organization. Volunteers who are convinced that their efforts contribute to meeting the visionary goals of the organization, especially when they have similar or related goals, are more likely to continue to work for the organization (Brudney, 2005; Drucker, 1990; McSweeney & Alexander, 1996). Thus perhaps the most important task of any leader of volunteers is to develop and promote a vision for the organization. In this light, to inspire volunteers, it is
important that leaders themselves be seen to be personally engaged in realizing that vision (Mintzberg, 1973).

Leaders have other ways to maintain volunteer motivation in addition to vision. First, volunteers are more likely to continue their contribution if their work empowers them, not only in this domain but in their personal and professional lives (Brudney, 2005). One way to ensure that is to offer continuous learning opportunities (Ilsley, 1990). Another area helping to maintain the motivation of volunteers is participation in decision-making (Edmunds, 1978; Ilsley, 1990; McSweeney & Alexander, 1996; Pell, 1972). As Ilsley (1990) says, “Volunteers are likely to feel most involved with and committed to an organisation when they are offered chances to take part in organizational decision making” (p. 104). Both continual training opportunities and opportunity to participate in decision-making and governance feature in the associations studied in this paper, and will be discussed in chapter 6.

Leaders of nonprofit and human development organizations also must pay attention to ethical issues in the organization and in its relationships with the communities they serve. To do this, they should first be aware of their own values (Fisher & Cole, 1993; Langlois & Lapointe, 2002). They must also regularly reflect on organizational practices (Duignan & MacPherson, 1992; Fisher & Cole, 1993). Some of the foundational ethical practices that ought to be observed are promotion of the well-being of their staff and of the population they serve, evaluation choices that reflect the values of the organization (Manning, 2003), and avoidance of hidden agendas (Viltard, 2008). Above all, a human service organization must offer moral leadership (Duignan & MacPherson, 1992; Langlois & Lapointe, 2002; Manning, 2003); it must have leaders and actors who are respected in the community because they exemplify the moral values held by that community. This view of leadership is found in transformational leadership theory (Northouse, 2007).

One important aspect of ethical leadership is accountability, which is a factor in relationships not only between a leader and his/her subordinates, but
also between the organization and its other stakeholders. The leader of an organization is responsible for ensuring that accountability to stakeholders. Accountability consists of being held responsible for one’s actions (D. Lewis, 2001), both in finances and in the impacts of one’s strategies (Edward & Hulme, cited in D. Lewis, 2001). For nonprofit leaders, the former is often important for financial survival of their organization, as otherwise donors cease to give (Drucker, 1990; Ilsley, 1990; D. Lewis, 2001; Turbide, 2005; G. Willis, 2000). The latter, however, is generally a more crucial issue for nonprofit and human development organizations than for businesses, as its mission depends on the impact of its strategies (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Eade, 2007; D. Lewis, 2001; Tandon, 1988; Turbide, 2005). In addition, Drucker (1990) underlines the importance of a leader of volunteers being accountable to them so that they will want to follow him or her.

This issue of accountability to multiple parties leads to one of the major challenges for leaders of nonprofit organizations, which is tied to the situational context: they must be able to balance fund-raising activities with core activities. Far too often, instead of the mission driving the form of core activities, these become constructed in order to meet the demands of donors; that is, dependency on funding allows the desires of donors to outweigh the felt needs of program beneficiaries (Eade, 2007; Lacey & Ilcan, 2006; D. Lewis, 2001; Robichaud, 1998; G. Willis, 2000). Leaders of nonprofits thus need to maintain a strong sense of mission and to communicate well and use their powers of persuasion with donors, staff (including volunteers), and the target population as well as any other stakeholders in order to ensure that core activities are not neglected (Lacey & Ilcan, 2006; Robichaud, 1998; Turbide, 2005). Current models of leadership do not account for leadership in such a complex, sensitive situation.

The effectiveness of leaders in nonprofit and human development organizations depends on a number of factors often not present in the business world where leadership models are developed. Subordinates, more often than not, are volunteers, who have more freedom to walk away from the organization than employees. A nonprofit organization is usually, although not always
(Robichaud 1998), dependent on outside funding, which is a significant contextual factor for leadership. Finally, the number of stakeholders and the necessity of maintaining healthy relationships with each and every one in order to pursue the vision of the organization introduces a high level of complexity in accountability and communication. All of these indicate a need for leaders with high moral and ethical standards, able to motivate volunteers and attract donors in order to attain organizational goals.

2.2.3 African leadership

As was stated earlier, during my years in Africa working with SIL in the domain of mother tongue literacy program development, several dissonances between Western and African leadership and management styles became evident, most notably in two areas: in the handling of finances and of conflicts. Nevertheless, training in program management presented styles of leadership based on the theories discussed earlier. This section will discuss the ideas of African leadership as found in the literature, written both by researchers and by internationally recognized African leaders themselves.

It is somewhat misleading to talk of “African leadership”, since Africa, even just sub-Saharan African, covers a large territory with a non-homogenous population. As one Togolese SIL member observed, “il y a plusieurs styles de leadership dans les différents groupes ethniques d’Afrique. … Ma pensée se base sur mon expérience du Togo avec une comparaison entre les Kabiye et les Ewé par exemple” (“there are many leadership styles in the different ethnic groups of Africa. … My thoughts are based on my experience of Togo with a comparison of the Kabiye and the Ewe for example”; A. Azoti, personal communication, Aug. 18, 2010). These differences must be taken into account in any discussion. This discussion will highlight issues and characteristics that seem to have been identified by research and leaders across the continent.

The GLOBE project, mentioned above, did include mid-level managers from seven different sub-Saharan African nations in its study, and came to
certain conclusions about leadership in Africa (Chhokar et al., 2007). These were that Africans were “charismatic/value based”, “team oriented”, and “participative”, as well as “humane-oriented” (pp. 1065-1066). Overall, Africans appear to prefer leaders who are caring and compassionate, competent and modest (Chhokar et al., 2007; Northouse, 2007). However, although purporting to represent all of black Africa (white South Africans were included in another regional grouping), this project only studied countries in anglophone Africa. In addition, although it noted that subcultures were present in countries with multiple languages and that it attempted to sample the one “in which there was the greatest amount of commercial activity” (p. 21), none of the specific subcultures in the seven African countries, four of which are neighbors, were named, which makes it difficult to evaluate how broadly applicable results might be. Silverthorne (2005) does note that a research project in The Gambia gives different values than the GLOBE results.

Other researchers examining African leadership in Southern and Eastern Africa, and Nigeria, have identified a number of characteristics of good leadership. Those common to all these areas include the ability to maintain good relationships, a knowledge of patterns and methods of communication proper to the local culture and expertise in using them, respect for others, courage, and the ability to implement decisions, which were reached by consensus (Aire, 1990; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Malunga, 2006; Mbigi, 2007b; Nzeli, 1986; Silverthorne, 2005; Theimann, 2007; Ugwuegbu, 2001). A leader is generally expected to be the spokesperson for the group as well, as Littrell & Baguma’s (2005) study of Ugandan educators and my personal experience has shown.

Authors writing from a Bantu perspective often discuss leadership in the context of Ubuntu, a philosophy emphasizing solidarity, interdependence, and African humanism (Booysen & van Wyk, 2007; Kamwangamalu, 2008; Malunga, 2006; Mbigi, 2007b; Theimann & April, 2007; van der Colff, 2007). Mbigi (2007b) says the literal translation of the word, which derives from the proto-Bantu word meaning man, is "I am because we are; I can only be a person through others"
(p. 4). Writers from Eastern and Southern Africa also tend to claim that the values of Ubuntu are pan-African (Kamwangamalu, 2008; Mbigi, 2007b; Theimann & April, 2007). However, one of the common claims they make is the importance of participatory democracy in all African cultures. Silverthorne (2005) does note its presence in The Gambia. I myself have seen that in action among the Pagabete (a Bantu group of the DR Congo), and it is important among the Ifè as will be seen in chapter 4. Yet it is not universal. For example, among the Ewé of Togo and Ghana, their king has absolute authority over his subjects (A. Azoti, personal communication, Aug. 18, 2010). Another example is the Akan society of Ghana, which prior to the colonial era was under a paramount chief and his council, who although elected by elders, wielded substantial power (Woronoff, 1972). Other examples from Ghana of resistance to participatory forms of government have also been noted (Nkasa & Chapman, 2006). Chiefs in many West African societies, including the Ifè, can be “destooled” in case of abuse of power or bad administration, however (Koba, 1996; Woronoff, 1972). This has been used as a justification for coups deposing modern presidents (Woronoff, 1972).

In addition to the above studies, several African leaders have written books and articles in which they identify significant characteristics of leaders and/or African leadership. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and Julius Kambarage Nyerere, two of sub-Saharan Africa’s great leaders of the past 60 years, both come from Bantu groups, so it is perhaps not surprising that they identify participatory decision-making where everyone is heard, good communication, consensus-making, and leadership by example as key elements of leadership (Mandela, 1994; Nyerere, 1967, 1973). Both also note the importance of a humble attitude and of taking responsibility for followers and their actions (ibid.).

Several of these are echoed by Desmond Tutu, a leader in the religious domain who also has a Bantu heritage (Allen, 2006). His list of attributes of good leadership, based on a reflection on the characters of Mandela, the Dalai Lama, and Mother Theresa, include goodness, credibility, a readiness to suffer, solidarity with one’s followers, humility, altruism, and intuition (Tutu, 1998). His biographer notes that Tutu himself exemplifies several of these and related
qualities, notably a readiness to suffer, a humble attitude, integrity, a desire to mentor others, and a strong tendency to follow his intuition (Allen, 2006).

Wangari Maathai (2009), a member of a different Bantu ethnicity and Nobel Peace Prize recipient who leads an African NGO and is a former member of the Kenyan parliament, explicitly links leadership to values:

Leadership is an expression of a set of values; its presence, or the lack of it, determines the direction of a society, and affects not only the actions but the motivations and visions of the individuals and communities that make up that society. (p. 25)

In her view, a good leader is honest, transparent, humble, a model for others, and willing to make personal sacrifices. As do the other African leaders already discussed in this section, she believes that the qualities of “fairness, justice, deliberation, and representation” (p. 218) are inherent to traditional African life and leadership, and that they must be taught to future generations in order for Africa to have the leaders – and followers – it needs. In addition, accountability must be reintegrated into societal values, as it was in her Kikuyu tradition, in order to prevent corruption and the abuses of power for which many African governments have become known.

While much less has been written about non-Bantu leaders, in those a number of similarities are found. For example, Léopold S. Senghor, Senegal’s first president and a Christian in a predominately Muslim country, created unity and loyalty through his respect for others, both traditional and religious authorities as well as more humble Senegalese; he was an excellent communicator and persuader who recognized the value of language use and the media; and he listened well, whether in person or through listening to radio call-in programs in order to understand the concerns of rural Senegalese (Bourges, 2006).

Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the first president of Côte d’Ivoire who held onto power until his death in 1993 (Felix Houphouët-Boigny, 2010), was able to do so in part because, at least during his first decade in power, he actively sought to build national unity through cooperation and reconciliation with many (although
not all) of his opponents. Additionally, he maintained open communication with his support base, frequently seeking out village-level farmers and talking with them (Woronoff, 1972). He also motivated donations by wealthy Ivorians to development and other projects through his personal example of generosity (ibid.).

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana’s first president, on the other hand, was a charismatic leader who used speeches and written works to spread his ideologies, gaining for himself a following around the continent (ibid.). However, neither consensus-making nor an exemplary life were features of either Houphouët-Boigny’s or Nkrumah’s rule (Félix Houphouët-Boigny, 2010; Woronoff, 1972). Nkrumah in particular did not take responsibility for his actions and those of his followers, always blaming policy failures on others, and especially other countries (Woronoff, 1972). Yet both of these men did seek the welfare of those under them, Nkrumah limiting this to members of his political party, while Houphouët-Boigny worked to raise the standard of living of all Ivorians (ibid.).

Leadership representations in Africa vary according to ethnic group, but some widely-held representations do exist. Foremost is the importance of good communication skills (Aire, 1990; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Bourges, 2006; Mandela, 1994; Nyerere, 1973). A degree of respect for others (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Bourges, 2006; Mandela, 1994; Theimann, 2007) as well as at least some inclusion of others in decision-making (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Cosway & Anankum, 1996; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Maathai, 2009; Mandela, 1994; Nyerere, 1973; Silverthorne, 2005; Theimann & April, 2007; Ugwuegbu, 2001; van der Colff, 2007; Williams, 2003) are also characteristic of African leadership. A certain level of paternalism is also accepted, and even expected, from African leaders (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Nyerere, 1967). In addition, the ability to implement decisions made with the input of others is required (Aire, 1990; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Mandela, 1994; Nyerere, 1973). However, while consensus-building (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Cosway & Anankum, 1996; Littrell &
Baguma, 2005; Malunga, 2006; Mandela, 1994; Theimann & April, 2007; Theimann, 2007) and an exemplary life (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Bourges, 2006; Edoho, 1998; Maathai, 2009; Mandela, 1994; Moemeka, 1996; Nyerere, 1973; Silverthorne, 2005; Theimann & April, 2007; Tutu, 1998; van der Colff, 2007) are seen as important for many, they are not universal values across the continent, and have been lacking in several key political leaders.

2.2.4 Summary and discussion of leadership

Current leadership theories have generally ignored or inadequately incorporated the influence of culture on leadership in their models. Since most studies on which they were based occurred in North America, this is perhaps not surprising. While some studies, such as the GLOBE study, have attempted to identify cultural factors of leadership, they do not seem to have succeeded in constructing a theory that accounts for all the dynamics of leadership. Furthermore, many of these theories have been based on studies of business, political and/or military leadership, so also have not accounted for the dynamics found in leadership of non-profit organizations, a particular type of organizational sub-culture that often relies on a volunteer workforce and that is represented in this case study.

Five theories were discussed in this section: traits theory, skills theory, situational theory, path-goal theory, and transformational leadership. In the traits and skills theories, most attention is paid to the characteristics of leaders themselves. The traits theory tends towards the belief that leaders are born with the necessary qualities to make an effective leader; without these inborn traits, they cannot be developed as leaders (Dym & Hutson, 2005). The skills model, on the other hand, examines the capacities and knowledge a leader must have to function effectively, such as problem-solving skills and social skills. These capacities are believed to arise from a combination “natural” traits and work experience (Connelly et al., 2000; Mumford, Zaccaro, Connelly et al., 2000). Thus, in this model, through the judicious exposure to experiences, people can be developed as leaders. While this theory does acknowledge the influence of
the organizational environment and abilities of others in the organization (Mumford, Zaccaro, Connelly et al., 2000), the influence of followers on the exercise of leadership is de-emphasized.

The two contingency theories discussed were situational theory and path-goal theory. Contingency theories are so named because a leader’s behavior is contingent on their followers’ needs, and perhaps on other situational factors. Situational theory, often used in leadership training programs, focuses on the behavior a leader should adopt in relation to the competency and motivation levels of his or her subordinate for a specific task (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Graeff, 1983; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008). This behavior is based on an assessment of the level of support combined with the level of direction needed by the subordinate (Northouse, 2007). However, a follower may have additional reasons for cooperation or noncooperation with his or her superior that are not accounted for by this model (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Ugwuegbu, 2001).

Path-goal theory incorporates motivational theories into the leadership model, maintaining that leader effectiveness is contingent upon the ability to motivate followers (Dym & Hutson, 2005; House, 1996; Northouse, 2007). Additionally, the leader must model well the task and facilitate good relationships within the work group as well as between work groups (House, 1996; Northouse, 2007). The result of this is that subordinates will become empowered, satisfied, and effective (House, 1996). However, environmental factors that may constrain action to remove obstacles on the path to goal achievement are not adequately addressed by this model (Bess & Goldman, 2001). Neither of these contingency theories accounts for cultural variations in leadership and followership expectations (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008).

Transformational leadership is more often recognized as a paradigm than a theory (Bess & Goldman, 2001; Manning, 2003; Northouse, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008). This view of leadership not only examines a leader’s traits and skills, but also his or her attitudes, values, ethics and morality (Manning, 2003; Northouse, 2007; St-Germain, 2002), as these all play a role in transforming,
inspiring and empowering followers (Bennis, 2007; Bess & Goldman, 2001; Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007). This is the model of leadership most often promoted as appropriate for nonprofit human development institutions using volunteers, since motivating volunteers entails paying attention to positive attitudes, values, inspiration, ethics, empowerment and high moral standards, among other things (Manning, 2003). It is also sometimes identified as being an appropriate model for Africa. However, while this model emphasizes the importance of relationships, so important in most African contexts, the underlying values it assumes, such as equality and a willingness to openly confront differences, are by no means universal across the continent (Blunt & Jones, 1997).

While not attempting to construct an integrated model here, I do wish to identify several elements that I believe must be present in such a model. Basic elements are the leader(s), the followers, other stakeholders, the organization, the environment, and the goal to be reached. Such a theory would account for how a leader’s traits, or personality, behavior and skills, attitudes and values influence the development of vision, the achievement of the task or organization’s goal, cooperation of and accountability to followers and other stakeholders in the organization’s vision, and durability of what is accomplished. It must also address the relationship of the leader(s) with the followers, as well as the motivation and competencies of those followers. This theory must incorporate the influence of organizational type, structures and policies on the exercise of leadership, as well as characteristics of the tasks carried out. Finally, the effect of other environmental factors, including cultural influences as well as national or regional policies, infrastructure, and other constraints to goal achievement and the exercise of leadership exterior to the organization, must be explained.

Such a theory would be most useful to those of us working in cross-cultural situations where we may be assisting or facilitating the development of community-based institutions and their leadership. It would help current and developing leaders understand what they must do, what they can do, and what they cannot do in order to be effective, however that is defined (e.g., profits,
number of people impacted, change occurring, etc.). This understanding is particularly important in the domains of literacy and development in countries where illiteracy rates are high and standards of living overall are low, which is the subject of this next section.

2.3 Literacy and development theories

Literacy and development are often found in the same discourse (Archer & Cottingham, 2007; Awa, 2005; Bhola, 1998; Cheffy, 2006; Davis, 2004; Doronila, 2001; Hope & Timmel, 1995a; Kalman, 1999; Kambhampati, 2004; Kawada, 1990; Mutaka & Attia, 2008; Rogers, 2001; Tadadjeu, 2008; Vernières, 2008). One school of thought, seen quite clearly in the Education for All (EFA) initiative, as well as in other places, believes that literacy leads to development (Burnett, 2006; Kingsbury, 2004; Kwapong, 1990; Rassool, 2009; Watkins, 2008, 2010). Another field of thought claims that true development requires literacy (Davis, 2004; Mutaka & Attia, 2008; Tadadjeu, 2008). It is probably most accurate to see the relationship as recursive: progress or lack thereof in one influences the state of the other (Doronila, 1996; Windham, 1999).

As noted in chapter 1, the local associations studied in this project conceive of themselves as literacy AND development associations; their representations that underlie this conception will be discussed in chapter 5. However, a framework for understanding the literacy discourses which surround them, in which they are immersed, and which are influencing them is useful for situating that discussion, and thus is presented here.

2.3.1 Literacy

The representation of literacy is one of those areas where the basic conception affects the shape of a literacy program and of the organization in charge of it. However, literacy has divergent representations in the academic community, as well as in the world of practitioners (Burnett, 2006; Dagenais, 2001; Dubin, 1989; D. A. Wagner, 1999).
Interestingly, while the term literacy has a wide variety of meanings in English, in the French-speaking world where the Ifè literacy program is located, different approaches to literacy are at least partly signaled by the vocabulary used: *alphabétisation*, *illettrisme*, or *littératie*. UNESCO generally uses the term *alphabétisation*, which they define as “the learning of literacy” (*l’apprentissage de l’alphabétisme*; Burnett, 2006) in their publications and on their website. *Alphabétisation* has as its root the names of the first two letters of the Greek alphabet, signaling the importance of knowing the letters in order to read and write. It is used when the focus is on skill acquisition, and, at least in sub-Saharan Africa, when non-formal education is involved. According to Burnett (2006), *alphabétisme* and its derivative *alphabétisation* historically are tied in France to the needs of the immigrant population. He notes the evolution of this concept to include functional literacy in the 1990’s. This is still the term commonly used in French-speaking Africa for adult literacy efforts, largely, I suspect, because the focus still is on basic skills acquisition, even when the aim of the literacy program is to promote practical, functional application of these skills.

*Illettrisme* is used when describing a lack of functional literacy skills. Functional literacy generally has to do with the belief that a person must be able to handle the reading and writing tasks considered normal for his or her culture (Harris & Hodges, 1995). As these vary from culture to culture, the benchmarks for functional literacy acquisition vary considerably. In France, this term was developed in the early 1980’s to separate native French who did not acquire sufficient literacy competence while in school from immigrants, who often had not completed school (Burnett, 2006).

*Littératie*, although generally identified as a neologism of English (Dagenais, 2001; Fraenkel & Aïssatou, 2010), is based on the same Latin root word as *literature* (Fraenkel & Aïssatou, 2010; Pierre, 2003). Fraenkel & Aïssatou (2010) note that the Latin root *literatus* evolved to include by the 12th century the ideas not only of being able to read and write, but of knowing Latin, which in turn implied a certain position in the social and political hierarchy of the day. Thus, while other translations of the English term *literacy* are possible, *littératie* retains
best the etymological semantic ambiguity of *literatus*, including the notions of reading-writing ability and of culture. This accords well with the conception of literacy as a sociocultural product and process. Additionally, Burnett (2006) indicates that *littératie* has ties to the concepts of “computer literacy” and other “literacies” as promoted by the New Literacy Studies (described in section 2.3.1.3). He also records the term *littérisme*, “the capacity to read a simple text with understanding, and to use and to communicate written information in daily life” (p. 156, my translation), which was published in the Official Journal in France in 2005. However, *littératie* was only accepted for use in (some) francophone publications in the 1990’s (Pierre, 2003), and is not in current usage among educators in French-speaking West Africa.

### 2.3.1.1 Literacy as a skill set

Traditionally, literacy has been viewed as a set of technical skills covering reading and writing, generally acquired by an individual as opposed to a culture or society (Archer & Cottingham, 2007; Burnett, 2006; Dagenais, 2001; Ferdman, 1999; Wagner, 1999). It emerged from the research traditions of experimental psychology and psycholinguistics (Rassool, 2009). In this view, acquisition activities may be decontextualized; it is for the individual to decide how they will use their new skills, since literacy itself is autonomous (Burnett, 2006; Street, 1990). This is the view behind UNESCO’s 1958 widely quoted definition of literacy, “[A literate person is one] who can with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life” (Cheffy, 2006; Davis, 2004; Harris & Hodges, 1995; Watkins, 2010).

This view of literacy has been strongly criticized, however. It has been labeled a deficit model, implying that people without skills in reading and writing are less than complete (Rogers, 2001; D. M. Smith, 1986). Instead, it is argued, literacy and orality should be viewed as a continuum (Finnegan, 1999; Street, 1990). Another criticism is that programs with this view tend to overlook the cultural changes that happen with the introduction of literacy into a society.
(Street, 1995). In addition, I would say that this view of literacy overlooks, or even denies the influence of material designers in promoting a particular ideology as they choose what the learners will read or write about.

2.3.1.2 Literacy as power

However, as ethnographers and sociolinguists began to study uses of literacy and dimensions of power around literacy, other models developed to challenge the traditional, skills-based model (Dubin, 1989). One of the earliest and best known is that developed by Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator (Archer & Cottingham, 2007). In the 1960’s, he reconceptualized the acquisition of literacy skills as only a part of the true goal of a literacy program, which is for participants to learn to “read the world” through conscientization, which occurs through dialogue (Archer & Cottingham, 2007; Freire, 1968/1970, 1998). The skills acquired are only valuable insofar as they permit the poor and disenfranchised, working as a community group, to improve their situation by challenging established power bases (Finnegan, 1999). This model, also known as literacy for social transformation, has often been used to promote particular ideologies (Kalman, 1999; Rogers, 2001), as when it was adopted by Benin in the mid-1970’s to promote the political and social agenda of the Marxist regime then in power (T. Marmor, personal communication, 1999). It has since been adapted by ActionAid as the basis of the REFLECT (REgenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques) method to promote economic as well as societal development (Archer & Cottingham, 2007), and is used by number of NGO’s in the developing world (Burnett, 2006), including Aide et Action in Togo.

This conception of literacy also has its critics. First, literacy for social transformation is censured for the underlying ideology that believes the illiterate person is helpless and can only be an object, not an agent (Rogers, 2001); that is, the belief that an illiterate person is incapable of effecting changes in his or her society. In addition, it, like the traditional model, also introduces literacy practices that are new to the culture instead of building on what is already present
(Maddox, 2001). It should also be noted that while some governments have adopted it as their preferred model, other have seen it as a threat because of the method’s focus on encouraging the newly literate to transform their world, often by challenging current power structures. On a more practical note, Freire’s method has been difficult to implement as conceived because it requires well-educated teachers, like the college students who were Freire’s first recruits, instead of those who did not complete high school who, as in the Ifè program, are most often those willing and available to teach their fellow community members (Archer & Cottingham, 2007).

2.3.1.3 Literacy as social practice

The final major current conceptualization places literacy firmly in its sociocultural context, having drawn from social anthropology, sociology, critical linguistics, and discourse theory in its development (Rassool, 2009). This approach, epitomized by the New Literacy Studies, states that literacy is never unchanging and cannot be defined apart from the specific culture in which it occurs (Burnett, 2006; Ferdman, 1999; Street, 1995, 1999). It is intimately tied to the uses and the contexts of literacy, and may even include oral practices (Burnett, 2006; Dagenais, 2001; Gee, 1996; D. M. Smith, 1986). Furthermore, it includes examination of power relations, and so is sometimes referred to as an ideological model of literacy (Street, 2001). In this view, the language used for literacy becomes very significant, as literacy practices may vary according to the language in use (Martin-Jones, 2000; D. A. Wagner, 1998; D. A. Wagner & Venezky, 1999).

This view of literacy is not without critics. Two major critiques are discussed in Fraenkel & Aïssatou (2010). First, the ethnographic approach favored by researchers examining the social practices of literacy usually results in a very narrow view of literacy, with only the immediately visible contexts of literacy being foregrounded. This distances literacy from its roots in institutions and individuals who have promoted it. The second criticism that has been made is tied to examinations of power inherent in different literacies. By focusing on
descriptions of different literacies, the inequalities resulting from lack of access to reading and writing skills, and the consequences thereof, are hidden from view.

However, Angélil-Carter (1997) used an approach that answers at least one of the above criticisms. She applies Norton’s (1997, 2000) theory of investment, which explicitly links power dynamics to acquisition of languages and identity in a social and historical context, to the acquisition of literacies, or discourses\(^{12}\), showing how investments in these literacies are also historically and socially constructed. This type of approach would help to ensure that the roots of literacy with their power bases and their influence on individuals, the development of the identities of these individuals and their acquisition of literacy skills are revealed.

In any case, literacy as conceived by researchers in the New Literacy Studies has much in common with the theory of *représentations sociales*. For example, in their discussion of literacy practices, Barton & Hamilton (1999) say that these are "general cultural ways of utilising written language... based on actions, values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships." They consist of “people's awareness of literacy, constructions of literacy and discourses of literacy, how people talk about and make sense of literacy” (p. 7). In addition, they "are more usefully understood as existing in the relations between people, within groups and communities, rather than as a set of properties residing in individuals" (p. 8). All these are also elements describing the concept and construction of social representations, which as noted earlier, are socially constructed (through discourse, whether orally or in print) interpretive frameworks that allow people to think about and act in relation to particular social objects, one of which is literacy.

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\(^{12}\) Angélil-Carter prefers the term discourses when discussing forms of writing or speaking, using the definition of Kress [1985; “systematically organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. ... In that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions. (p. 7)]. She thereby links her work to prior research on discourses, such as Bourdieu (1991), Fairclough (1992), Gee (1990) and others.
2.3.1.4 Discussion

Functional literacy is a melding of the skills view with development activities, but can also be seen as a social practice (Doronila, 1996). A functional approach attempts to make the literacy skills being learned immediately applicable to the lives of learners, by using content that teaches skills, whether improved agricultural techniques or hygiene practices. This is the currently favored approach of both the Togolese and Beninese governments. Materials I have seen in use support such things as the cotton industry, important to the economy of both countries.

It is important to realize that, from the viewpoint of those interested in the practicalities of teaching someone to read and write, all of the above perceptions of literacy are valuable and useful (Dagenais, 2001; Rassool, 2009). Those of us working in literacy are, for the most part, interested in helping people acquire competences that will be useful to them in their daily lives, whether to reinforce or to develop an identity (ethnicity, nationality, adherence to a religion), to empower them to take charge of their lives, and/or to open doors to improved health or economic status. Literacy workers in areas where the reading and writing of text is a new technology also are interested in questions of how literacy becomes integrated into a society, and how to facilitate the development of cultural literacy practices that will enable a community to make decisions about its future in the face of modernization and globalization (Davis, 2004; Davison, 2008; Tadadjeu, 2008). These are all issues that are linked to the development domain, which is the topic of the next section. Issues common to literacy and development will be explored in section 2.3.3.

2.3.2 Development

*Development* is a problematic term, any precise definition of which is closely tied to the ideologies of those using it (Kingsbury, 2004; Lamboni, 2008; Mutaka & Attia, 2008; Tadadjeu, 2008; K. Willis, 2005). It implies, first of all, a mind-set of change (Droz & Lavigne, 2006; L. T. Smith, 1999; Woronoff, 1972): a belief that things can and should be different than what they are. Beyond that, it
can refer to a process, a vision of a desired state, purposive behavior, (Johnson & Thomas, 2004) or an ideological project (Coquery-Vidrovitch, Hemery, & Piel, 1988/2007).

Those who see development as a process place it in an historical context of change (Coquery-Vidrovitch et al., 1988/2007). Kambhampati (2004) identifies it as “a multi-dimensional process, one that changes the economy, polity and society of the countries in which it occurs” (p. 12). Tadjedeu (2008) perceives development in Africa as the process of transformation from a pre-industrial society to an industrial society, which will require an adaptation of its economic, political, cultural, and educational systems, but not its values, to new realities. On the other hand, Hope & Timmel (1995a) see development as “an awakening process – a way in which people see themselves awaken to their right to live as human beings” (p. 27). One aspect of that is an increase in the choices available to individuals that can lead to an improvement in their overall well-being (Vernières, 2008). As far as local communities are concerned, development involves the process of reducing susceptibilities to harmful events and building the capacity to solve problems (Eade, 1997), preferably to the point of being able to do so with their own resources (Schanely, 1983).

Of course, many of the above processes occur without outside intervention. But the term development as it is used today frequently refers to deliberate actions to bring about a state of change (D. Lewis, 2001). This is most often seen when development is used as an adjective, as in the phrases development activity or development project. This brings up the issue, which will be further discussed below, of who is initiating and controlling the direction of these deliberate actions.

Whether development is a process or a deliberate action, however, it is generally moving towards a vision of a preferred state of affairs. Generally, development in this sense refers to an improved standard of living and well-being (Latouche, 1988/2007; Ogden, 1962; Vernières, 2003, 2008; Woronoff, 1972). This includes an adequate income, good nutrition, and access to education for all
(Husain, 1990; Vernières, 2003). However, it can also refer to empowerment (Kingsbury, 2004), a just distribution of resources (Latouche, 1988/2007; Vernières, 2003), a culture of peace and social justice (Busia, 1968; Mutaka & Attia, 2008), or maintenance and development of local cultural resources (Mutaka & Attia, 2008). It may also mean having a standard of living equivalent to that found in rich countries, with the accompanying status accorded to their governments (Latouche, 1988/2007; Woronoff, 1972). This plethora of meanings has led one Togolese development agent to observe, "Le flou qui entoure ce concept et la difficulté d’en limiter les contours n’entraînent-ils pas l’impossibilité de son application et donc l’espérance d’obtenir des résultats palpables ?" ("Does not the vagueness that surrounds this concept and the difficulty of limiting its boundaries lead to the impossibility of its application and thus the hope to obtain tangible results?"; Lamboni, 2008).

In addition to this criticism, it is important to remember what Tanzania’s first president, Julius Nyerere, said in 1968: “For the truth is that development means the development of people. Roads, buildings, the increases of crop output, and other things of this nature, are not development; they are only the tools of development” (Nyerere, 1973). He went on to say, in the same speech, "Development brings freedom, provided it is development of people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves" (p. 60). Thus while many development programs and activities focus on building infrastructure and improving the economy, or empowering people and especially women, or capacity building for sustainable development, it is nonetheless essential to keep in mind that all such activity has meaning only insofar as the target population has input into all aspects of the decision-making and implementation processes (Busia, 1968). This has not always been the case, as the remainder of this chapter will show.

2.3.2.1 Brief history of development theory and trends

The earliest roots of the concept development are found in the notion of progress, which was developed during the period of the Enlightenment
Latouche, 1988/2007). In the minds of Europeans, this notion, augmented by the theory of evolution applied to societies (ibid.), justified their domination of those lacking a European heritage, whom they perceived as “backwards”, not having the trappings of civilization recognized by the Europeans (Bourges, 2006; L. T. Smith, 1999; Tadadjeu, 2008). Thus, many of the actions taken by Europeans arriving in Africa were with the aim of civilizing the Africans (Bourges, 2006; T. J. Jones, 1922) as well as serving political and economic goals of the Europeans (Alidou, 2004). This was principally done through the schools, whether church-run or government-run, to the detriment of African societies (Abdi, 2006; Bourges, 2006).

After World War II, economic recovery and reconstruction was the focus of development efforts throughout the world (Géronimi, Bellier, Gabas, Vernières, & Viltard, 2008; K. Willis, 2005). Overall, however, development during this period aimed to improve economic growth as much if not more so for the North than for the South (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Economic development continues to dominate the field, as most measures of successful projects focus on the economic impacts (K. Willis, 2005), although measures that also include other dimensions have arisen in the past 20 years (Kambhampati, 2004), most notably the Human Development Index (HDI; Klugman, 2010; K. Willis, 2005). However, even when overtly the development program is, say, to improve education, it generally is with the long-term goal of improving the economic contribution and situation of the people (Kambhampati, 2004). Classical, neo-liberal and Marxist theories espoused this view; however, classical and neo-liberal theories identified the market as key to development, whereas Marxist-based theories focused on the need for the state to have active control over all processes that lead to modernization (K. Willis, 2005).

Socialist theories came into favor in Africa as part of the movement to decolonize Africa, that is, to throw off not only the political domination of Europe, but also the cultural and social domination of the North (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2006; L. T. Smith, 1999; K. Willis, 2005; Woronoff, 1972). These theories took two forms: African, or populist, socialism, the approach taken by Tanzania under
Nyerere as well as other countries; and Afro-Marxism, or Marxist-Leninism, the approach adopted by Benin, Senegal under Senghor, and others in the 1970’s (K. Willis, 2005). In African socialism, Nyerere and others sought to motivate people towards collective ownership and work through an ideology that drew on ideas of African society prior to the arrival of the Europeans; this ideology is known as *Ujamaa* (Nyerere, 1973), which means *familyhood* (Nyerere, 1967). Where necessary, the Tanzanian state intervened to assure that collective villages were established (Kambhampati, 2004). However, the dream of Tanzanians working first for the group and afterwards for themselves was not realized. In Afro-Marxism, the state plans all activity and owns important industries (K. Willis, 2005). Unlike Marxism as practiced in Europe, however, Afro-Marxism acknowledged the important role of African spirituality in society (Bourges, 2006). However, this approach was no more successful in achieving development goals than classical approaches. As a result, most African countries have now adopted capitalist policies (K. Willis, 2005). However, in the time between independence and the abandonment of socialist policies, many had also acquired large amounts of international debt that, it became evident, they were not going to be able to repay (Bourges, 2006; Meredith, 2005; Moulton & Mundy, 2002). These enduring problems led to the next two – non-compatible – development theory emphases: structuralism and grassroots approaches.

From the 1980’s to the mid 1990’s, structuralism came into prominence (Géronimi et al., 2008; Maathai, 2009; K. Willis, 2005). This theory stated that the main problem with developing countries was that their governments were neither structured nor managed efficiently (Vernières, 2003), and that a lack of accountability was what was hindering development (Maathai, 2009). As a result, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed structural adjustment policies on countries seeking loans, with devastating results to the education and health care systems of many of these countries (Abdi, 2006; Maathai, 2009), as these, being areas of high expenditure, were prime targets for being “adjusted”, that is, having expenses reduced, including salaries of teachers and health workers (Moulton, Mundy, Welmond, & Williams, 2002).
In contrast to these extremely top-down policies, grassroots approaches emphasize the participation of the local community. Although these theories began to be formulated in the 1970’s (K. Willis, 2005), they gained wide-spread popularity in the 1990’s. In a grassroots approach, local communities are asked, at a minimum, to participate in prioritization of needs and in discussions on how to address them, and at best, to actively be involved in every phase of the planning, implementation, and evaluation of development projects (Hope & Timmel, 1995a; Maathai, 2009; Vernières, 2003; K. Willis, 2005). One important manifestation of this conception of how to accomplish development is the rise in importance of non-governmental organizations and other members of civil society to development efforts (Eade, 1997; Planche, 2004; K. Willis, 2005).

In conjunction with grassroots approaches, theories about what would make development sustainable over the long term gained popularity, largely as “developed” nations began to realize what their own drive towards progress had done to their environment (François, 2009; Froger, 2008; Landy, 2008; Maathai, 2009; K. Willis, 2005). Although definitions of what makes development sustainable vary, generally these approaches center around development that is economically feasible, socially acceptable, and ecologically friendly to the environment (Froger, 2008), although this conception has been criticized for being very Western since its emphasis is on the needs of future generations, de-emphasizing or even excluding those of past and present ones (Helame, 2009). Through this and the rise of post-modernist philosophy in the North, the idea that perhaps there are alternate paths to development began to gain popularity (Droz & Lavigne, 2006; Klugman, 2010; Maathai, 2009). At the same time, the influence of globalization became more evident, resulting in a concern for regional level development initiatives, such as NEPAD (New Partnership for African’s Development), an initiative of the African Union (K. Willis, 2005). Another effect of globalization is the coordination of multiple actors to address economic growth in the fight against poverty, one of the current themes in the world development scene (Bellier, 2008; Droz & Lavigne, 2006).
All of these theories and approaches, however, have had limited success in Africa (K. Willis, 2005). According to the HDI developed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1990, 31 countries of sub-Saharan Africa are among those designated as having “low human development”; none are rated as having either “high” or “very high human development”. This index bases its conclusion on three factors: health, education and income. Of particular interest to this study are the rankings of Togo and of Benin: respectively, 139th and 134th out of 169 countries (Klugman, 2010).

The failure of so many theories and policies to effect durable, positive change has led many analysts to identify issues that contribute to continuing unacceptable levels of poverty and social ill-being. These are the focus of the next section.

2.3.2.2 Issues in development

Among the forefront of development issues is the question of power. Who holds the power to decide? Governments? Local communities? Funders? Multilateral organizations on behalf of “the international community”? A number of authors have observed that too often, the peoples being affected by interventions have not had input into decision-making processes, or, even in grassroots projects, that local concerns are overridden by the agenda of those funding the projects, whether the national government, a donor nation, an NGO, or a United Nations agency (Bellier, 2008; Droz & Lavigne, 2006; Eade, 1997, 2007; Kingsbury, 2004; Nkasa & Chapman, 2006). As Kingsbury (2004) observes, "in helping to create an environment in which people can make decisions for themselves, decisions are often made for them. The first decision is whether or not they wish for such intervention in the first place” (p. 224). Bellier (2008) notes that one of the things that indigenous peoples want is not only the right to be consulted, but the right to consent or refuse development projects in their locality.

Other potential problems with grassroots approaches include an oversimplification of structures, difficulty in integrating local development efforts into national or regional plans, and a lack of overall efficiency (Landy, 2008).
addition, it can be difficult to ensure the participation of every stakeholder in the local community (Ajulu, 2001; Cosway & Anankum, 1996; Gallissot & Tamba, 1988/2007; Planche, 2004). Finally, no matter how inclusive the process is, experience in Ghana, at least, has shown that the key factor in project sustainability is local leadership (Nkasa & Chapman, 2006).

While some of these concerns are eliminated when the national or regional government is making the decisions or coordinating actions, development directed by this level carries its own concerns. Poor or corrupt national-level leadership has been identified as a major reason Africa has not made the progress other continents have in improving life for its people (Aire, 1990; Maathai, 2009). In addition, national governments often have difficulty in fairly balancing the needs of all in the country (Maathai, 2009; Obasanjo, 1990; Woronoff, 1972). Therefore, difficulties with grassroots approaches notwithstanding, the local community must be involved at early stages of development projects in order to ensure that the needs of the community are actually met.

This is particularly important in light of the fact that areas in which Northern and multilateral organizations tend to impose their own agenda include development priorities, project timetables (Eade, 2007; Planche, 2004), and the definitions of what makes for good practice and adequate standards (Droz & Lavigne, 2006; Planche, 2004). For instance, clean water provision is currently a major funding thrust. However, I know of a number of communities in Togo where an outside organization came in, dug wells for the community or protected the community’s water supply, and left. After several years, the wells were filled in and the pumps, due to a lack of maintenance, were broken, with either no interest in or no resources for repairing them. Having clean, protected water sources was (and is) not a high priority for those communities. Also of concern to beneficiaries are donor timetables, which are frequently set with little or no regard for local realities, and too much concern with “efficiency” (Eade, 2007; Landy, 2008; Nkasa & Chapman, 2006). The insistence on certain forms of reporting or management structures not known in the culture is another area where Northern
organizations may impose their will on Southern organizations and communities (Eade, 1997).

In reaction to these insensitivities to local felt needs, an emphasis on partnership has arisen. Besides increasing the participation of beneficiaries in the development process, partnerships are also seen as a way to be more efficient in the use of resources and to facilitate institutional sustainability (D. Lewis, 2001). However, partnerships are not a panacea; the notion of partnership in an environment where partners are not equal in terms of resources is inherently flawed (Bellier, 2008). It is too easy for the partnership not to be of mutual benefit, leading to dependence of beneficiaries on the wealthier partner(s) (D. Lewis, 2001; Maathai, 2009; Planche, 2004). A major concern for local communities is ensuring that the allocation of resources and the means of their participation is protected regardless of who is in power, as well as balancing the roles between modern and traditional authorities (Bellier, 2008).

In order to meet these concerns, accountability must be mutual, with donors examining what they can learn from those whom they are helping as well as evaluating the impacts of their aid (Eade, 2007; Planche, 2004). As the former president of Senegal L. S. Senghor said in his call for partnerships, Africans seek “un partenariat humaniste où les intérêts immédiats sauront céder la place à une véritable symbiose des coeurs et des esprits” (“a humanistic partnership where immediate interests will give way to a true symbiosis of hearts and spirits”; quoted in Bourges, 2006). The goal of partnership, based on shared values, should truly be one of working together in every sense of the word (Planche, 2004).

Yet even when partnerships seem to be working well, disadvantages exist. These include extra organizational costs for communication and travel, additional responsibility for program personnel, new obligations to share information with other organizations (D. Lewis, 2001), and significant time spent in maintaining these relationships (L. D. Wagner, 2003). In addition, the focus or emphases of one partner may influence the direction of the other in ways potentially
detrimental to the original mission of the organization (Eade, 1997; Ilsley, 1990; D. Lewis, 2001), and/or not sustainable (Kingsbury, 2004; Planche, 2004). For these reasons, partnerships must be carefully monitored for costs and benefits to all involved, and reworked as necessary (D. Lewis, 2001). More powerful partners need to examine the impacts they are having, both intended and unintended; and be sensitive to and willing to learn from the concerns of and points of view expressed by their partners (Eade, 2007; Planche, 2004).

Cultural diversity, although currently getting lip service on the international scene, comes into conflict with globalization, and is therefore often disregarded by development organizations. One area in which outsiders often err is not respecting or seeking to understand local communication patterns, which affect decision-making (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Cosway & Anankum, 1996). Often times, solutions to community needs may have an indigenous solution (Helame, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999; Warren, Adedokun, & Omolaoye, 1996). Yet frequently, technology and other solutions developed in Europe or North America are promoted as being the best (Kawada, 1990; L. T. Smith, 1999). For instance, soils are depleted from overcultivation due to high population density in the area of Northern Togo where I lived for several years. The Kabiye traditionally prepared a compost for their fields, using a pit where goats were kept and grasses and organic waste thrown. However, this practice has greatly diminished in favor of imported fertilizers – which are expensive and must be applied at the proper time in relation to rainfall, which is becoming erratic due to climate change. As a result, several literacy programs in the area now promote composting, whether through the traditional technique or through one not using animal waste, as a better if more labor-intensive way to enrich poor soils (T. Marmor, personal communication, 1998; E. Atamon, personal communication, 1998-2004).

One aspect of globalization is a supposed consensus on “internationally recognized” values, such as democracy, gender equality, environmental safe-keeping, and sharing of knowledge (mainly through the Internet; Burnett, 2006; D. Lewis, 2001; Viltard, 2008). These often conflict with local values and
structures (Mabogunje, 1990). For instance, gender equality has been at or near the top of the international development agenda for some time (K. Willis, 2005). But when this value has been imposed on communities, unintended consequences are known to occur, negative as well as positive (Kingsbury, 2004). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) identifies this as a type of cultural arrogance that threatens marginalized ethnic groups. At least one African researcher has gone further and stated that the Western social development goals are destroying recent advancements made by Africans (Abdi, 2006). Another African professor has noted that Western concepts of such things as sustainable development do not take into account African notions of the importance of past as well as of future generations (Helame, 2009). He goes on to say that development tends towards a “vision à sens unique, qui sans le vouloir peut-être, contribue à s'imposer des schémas culturels et civilisationnels occidentaux aux autres sociétés puisqu'ils ne s'inscrivent pas clairement dans une approche de diversité culturelle” (“one-way vision, which while perhaps not wanting to, contributes to imposing cultural schemas and Western civilisations on other societies because [actors] are not clearly committed to an approach of cultural diversity”; p. 69).

Several authors have noted, in fact, that development agents must be sensitive to local contexts and avoid assuming that others have or need the same structures, ways of thinking, or conceptions of time and space (Droz & Lavigne, 2006; Matemba, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Wallman, 1972; Warren et al., 1996). They must be aware that local people are more knowledgeable about possible constraints to new techniques (Schanely, 1983; Wallman, 1972). They must also be aware of how new techniques may disrupt the social order (Mabogunje, 1990). When the local context is fully taken into consideration, innovations will endure, as happened in one project combating water-borne diseases in Ghana (Cosway & Anankum, 1996). The consequence of disregarding this cultural diversity, however, is that that which is called development may become more destructive than constructive (Droz & Lavigne, 2006).
2.3.2.3 Summary

Development is a term with a wide range of meanings, and can refer to a process, a vision of the way things “should” be, or intentional behavior (Johnson & Thomas, 2004; D. Lewis, 2001). Economic development, which leads to a better standard of living, is probably the most dominant understanding (Latouche, 1988/2007; Tadadjeu, 2008; K. Willis, 2005; Woronoff, 1972); but social development, which improves quality of life, is also frequently invoked, particularly in terms of health and education (Busia, 1968; Doronila, 1996; Mutaka & Attia, 2008). Another form of development is cultural, which generally seeks to maintain a group’s heritage, but may also seek to help it adapt to modern life. Ideology and, more recently, globalization are factors that influence the direction of all of these (Coquery-Vidrovitch et al., 1988/2007).

However, the history of development works shows that decisions about what should be done – whether economically, socially, or culturally – are closely tied to ideology and power (Kingsbury, 2004; Lamboni, 2008; Mutaka & Attia, 2008; Tadadjeu, 2008; K. Willis, 2005). All too often, decisions have been made with the interests of the industrial nations or of the elite of the “developing” world in the forefront. However, none of the major top-down strategies, whether driven by capitalist or Marxist ideologies, has had significant, lasting positive results.

In response, grassroots approaches and the creation of “partnerships” have become popular. These, however, are not without their problems. Amongst the difficulties of grassroots approaches are those of involving all members of a community in the decision-making, whether from cultural factors or time constraints (Ajulu, 2001; Cosway & Anankum, 1996; Gallissot & Tamba, 1988/2007; Planche, 2004), and of ensuring that the communities’ participation continues from initial planning through final evaluation (Bellier, 2008; Kingsbury, 2004). Too often the external partners in this process impose their own agendas, standards, timetables and evaluation tools (Droz & Lavigne, 2006; Eade, 1997, 2007; D. Lewis, 2001; Planche, 2004). Since they are usually the main source of finances for the project, they cannot be refused without the danger of having
Another concern about external partnerships is that too often, local wisdom for solutions is overlooked in favor of imported, technological solutions (Kawada, 1990; L. T. Smith, 1999). What appears to be a sustainable practice from the outside may not be so, due to unknown (to the outsiders) or misunderstood factors in the cultural, regional, or national context (Matemba, 2007; Schanely, 1983; Wallman, 1972). It is, therefore, important for all development agents to be sensitive to local priorities and knowledge (Droz & Lavigne, 2006; Matemba, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Wallman, 1972; Warren et al., 1996), even while seeking to further aims of national development or to align with social goals of the international community. This may mean choosing not to pursue certain national or international objectives unless or until a majority of the local community desires them (Bellier, 2008). Otherwise, any progress towards these objectives is unlikely to be permanent (Droz & Lavigne, 2006).

2.3.3 Discussion of the relationship between literacy and development

The precise relationship between literacy and development, whether economic, social or cultural, is not well understood. Although many assume widespread literacy is a prerequisite to improving standards of living, literacy can only be shown to correlate with certain changes such as an improvement in maternal health; it cannot be shown as a cause for this change or any other development target (Davis, 2004; Eade, 1997; Rogers, 2001). Conversely, neither an improved standard or quality of life nor development projects will necessarily motivate people to learn to read and write, as I and my colleagues have seen repeatedly.

Carrington & Luke (1997) explain this non-correlation through an application of Bourdieu & Passeron’s (1970) notion of capital. Capital is a form of relative social power, any form of which must be recognized as such in a particular group or domain for it to have power. Economic and cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Spire, 2002) are the two principle modes of domination. Cultural capital consists of knowledge, skills, practices, material cultural objects, and acknowledgement of qualifications by recognized social
institutions (Carrington & Luke, 1997). Literateness is one potential form of cultural capital. In order for it to provide the benefits attributed to it by folk theories of literacy, three things must be in place: other capital must also be available to literates, the literate practices they control must be needed for what they want to do, and literacy must be recognized as valuable capital by appropriate institutions (ibid.). So according to this view, literacy acquisition will only benefit development if other factors are in place to make that so; and development will only lead to literacy if literate practices are valued as a form of capital.

However, activities in the two domains do have the capacity to reinforce one another, and thus strategies that combine the two are more effective than those that focus only on one or the other (Kingsbury, 2004). Literacy enables access to written materials, which may teach new information or reinforce oral teaching, as has been noted in the literature on African development (Tadadjeu, 2008) and pointed out in the interviews (see chapter 5). It also allows citizens of a country to communicate appropriately with their authorities, such when legal documents need to be obtained (A.1.SK af2; B.3.SY) or rights claimed (Davis, 2004). Furthermore, development activities may provide uses for literacy and numeracy that are not present in a strictly oral culture, as happened among the Machiguenga of Peru (Davis, 2004). The introduction of income-generating activities and health clinics in their area, for example, created uses for literacy in bookkeeping and inventory, which then kept the former viable. This mutual effect is one motivation for functional literacy programs.

Literacy and development agents, however, must be sensitive to ethical concerns. Principles of social change such as those proposed by Appel (1990, cited in Kingsbury, 2004) or Wallace (1956, cited in Davis, 2004) indicate that all change in a culture – such as that induced by introduction of literacy or other changes in social practice – involves destruction of something, replacement of something, and stress; thus those who introduce such change must be sensitive to consequences of their actions and work to mitigate negative side effects. For instance, education oriented away from agriculture has resulted in a labor
shortage in rural Nigeria, as schooled youth leave the countryside, placing the burden of agricultural production on women, who often do not have land rights. Policy makers and development agents should therefore develop strategies to address these concerns (Mabogunje, 1990).

One of the most important ethical issues in both literacy and development activities is participation in the decision-making process (Eade, 2007; Kingsbury, 2004; Rogers, 2001). Who, for instance, is making the decisions about what literacy methodology and ideology is used in a community? Frequently it is the government. For example, it was the choice of the Beninese government to use Freirean methodology during their Marxist period, and later to emphasize functional literacy. In both cases, it was and is with the goal of promoting national social and economic development. In other instances, it is the NGO running the program who makes such decisions. For instance, SIL has developed several different methods in its years of serving minority language communities; but it has generally been an expatriate facilitating the start of the program who chooses which one is used. In Togo and Benin, the Gudschinsky method, an analytic-synthetic method, has been the preferred choice, and is the basis of the Ifè primers. The content of the reading material in these primers, however, has been an area where local people have had significant input as well as authorship (A.1.AgA af2), although government preferences for functional literacy are taken into consideration as well.

Another area of ethical concern is changes in the balances of power present, whether locally or nationally. These will be influenced by both literacy and development activities (Kingsbury, 2004), as these change the cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu & Spire, 2002) of those participating in those activities. For instance, when these target the younger population of a community, traditional structures that grant authority and respect to those who have gained wisdom through the experience of age are often disturbed (Maathai, 2009). Another area that impacts power balances is the language of literacy and the social capital it provides (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). Mother tongue literacy may grant people enough cultural self-esteem that
they are willing to challenge the status quo, but generally has limited use outside the language area (Baker, 1998; Mutaka & Attia, 2008). In order to interact with the national or even regional government, literacy in the official language is usually required of at least some individuals in the community, often those who have attended school long enough to acquire that language. Adult literacy programs often are unable to compensate for the power imbalances that exist between the schooled and the newly literate adult (Kingsbury, 2004). While the newly literate may feel or even be empowered to take control of various aspects of their lives, the potential rises for resentment and even conflict with those who have had power through their control of the language(s) of literacy (ibid.).

A final area to address is how the links between literacy and development are presented. I have attended several regional International Literacy Day commemorations and other literacy awareness-raising events that promote the benefits of literacy through skits. Too often, the situations depicted are more issues of the language of literacy than of literacy itself [e.g., not being able to read défense d’uriner (do not urinate) signs, which I have only seen in French; or not being able to read usage and dosage instructions for a medication, which are only available in French, English, and, for dosage, symbols]. Other times, literacy is presented as being a way to improve one’s economic status or get to travel to other countries. While some individuals may realize these benefits (see chapter 5, section 5.2 for some examples of the former), it is not a given (Davison, 2008). Windham (1999) states:

The economic arguments, as powerful as they can be (and as convincing as they are to those who control government and private planning and finance activities), should never be the sole, and rarely the primary, concern of literacy advocates. As Wagner (1991; see also this volume) notes, literacy transforms the behaviors and beliefs that define individuals, cultures, and nations. The economic dimension of that change always deserves consideration, but only in the context of the full range of transformations – good and ill – that literacy will bring. (p. 346)

Literacy and development agents must be careful, therefore, as to how they present the benefits of being literate in order not to raise false expectations.
Finally, literacy and development programs do not happen in a environmental vacuum. The physical infrastructure available in an area will affect what is possible to do as well as indicate possible areas of intervention. Transportation and communication links are the most significant of those areas, although access to electricity, or the lack thereof, also plays a major role in shaping programs. Although the main work of infrastructure development rests in the hands of governments, development projects may occasionally address some of these issues, such as provision of solar power or wind generated local systems. Local communities frequently maintain roads and bridges in their immediate neighborhood in order to prevent being cut off completely from the outside. For instance, a bridge on a road I took to one of the interview sites was being fixed – at least temporarily – by the nearest village. Regardless of how it occurs, without attention to infrastructure, development work will not endure, and those who live in rural areas will continue to be marginalized (Landy, 2008), whether or not they are literate.

### 2.4 Putting the theories together

In this chapter, the theory of *représentations sociales*, theories and models of leadership, and theories and issues of literacy and development have been described. Together, these theories offer insight into the capacity building that has occurred and is occurring in the Ìfè literacy associations, which is described in chapter 6.

Leadership theories and models are relevant only insofar as they take into account the elements found in social representations of leadership and followership. The traits and skills theories acknowledge some aspects of these SR, but exclude the motivations, actions and expectations of leaders and their subordinates. Situational theory and path-goal theory seem to do better in accounting for contextual variations in a work situation and motivation, but do not go far enough, being limited strictly to the situation between a single leader and his/her follower or work-unit even though leadership occurs primarily in groups (Northouse, 2007). Transformational theory, while giving central place to the
relationship between leaders and their followers (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007), still places all responsibility for leadership choices within leaders themselves (Burke, 2007; Northouse, 2007), and has underlying values that are not universal across cultures (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Burke, 2007; Robbins et al., 2008); yet it still is valuable in understanding how leaders interact with their followers to inspire them, both to follow and to become leaders themselves. A theory that accounts for preferred leader characteristics, motivations, expectations, group dynamics, contextual factors and cultural variations is still needed; the theory of social representations is a tool that may help construct such a theory of leadership.

The social representations circulating in a group, such as the Ifè interviewed for this research project, profoundly influence the interaction among group members and with other groups. SR of leadership determine both what a leader expects and is expected to do, and also what is expected of his or her subordinates. This in turn influences the type of decision-making, authority structures, and activities developed and accepted by the group. Capacity enhancement efforts led by outsiders must therefore take into consideration the SR of leadership constructed by the group, as well as contextual influences such as infrastructure and government policies, in order to have sustainable results.

Social representations of literacy, meanwhile, including its relationship to development and to language use, influence what is expected of a literacy program and situate it in the community. Literacy program leaders who are aware of these SR are able to use them in program development, thereby motivating not only volunteers but also potential and current students. Appropriate responses to the SR circulating in the community will increase the impact of the program, beyond teachers and students to the whole community, as has happened in the Ifè program and is described in chapter 6.

However, the very act of introducing change in a community, in the form of increased levels of literacy or alternative sources of income or new ways of doing things, changes the social representations circulating in a community. Thus, good
program leaders need to be listening to and dialoguing with community members and then adapting program goals, strategies and activities to changes in expectations as well as to changes in the environment. This element of flexibility is one that needs to be incorporated into any leadership theory.

Leadership theories also need to consider all the parties to whom a leader is accountable. As has been stated earlier, leaders of volunteer organizations have a responsibility to multiple stakeholders, who may not agree with each other as to the most important goal or action of the organization. This dynamic, which is an important element of the SR of the leader of a volunteer, non-profit organization, is not present in any of the leadership theories I have examined.

Finally, leadership is about power; the power to decide, the power to control, the power to create. The enhancement of capacity, through literacy and development activities, shifts the balance of power, as ordinary people gain additional tools to impact their political, social and physical environment. As people transform their organizations, their communities, and their lives through the strengthening and development of resources and structures, their SR regarding leaders, democracy, education, and development will also shift. These dynamics are important considerations in all capacity enhancement endeavors, requiring flexibility in the responses of all those involved in providing such services.
3: METHODOLOGY

Africa is the home of over 2000 ethnolinguistic groups (M. P. Lewis, 2009). However, many generalizations of what is “typically African” seem to be based on in-depth studies of just a few cultural groups (such as the Bantu), or countries (mostly former British colonies; see for example Chhokar et al., 2007; Malunga, 2006; Mbigi, 2007a; Mbigi, 2007b; Nkasa & Chapman, 2006; P. B. Smith, Peterson, & Schwartz, 2002; Theimann & April, 2007; van der Colff, 2007). Yet, cultural differences as well as similarities exist between ethnic groups, even when they are closely related (Maranz, 2001; Nzeli, 1986; P. B. Smith et al., 2002). Thus, the case study is a highly appropriate tool for the study of African societies, as it helps in avoiding inappropriate generalizations that miss significant points of difference.

The case study also has the advantage of allowing a portrayal of the emic, or in-group, perspective (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). As I am not African, the dangers of imposing a North American understanding on the data are quite strong in spite of my ten plus years on the continent. The development of a rich description through the methods used, which seek an in-depth understanding of the social representations of a particular cultural group of West Africa, facilitates an accurate rendering of the emic viewpoint of leadership and capacity building in non-formal education organizations. In addition, the original words of the participants are given as often as possible; where it was not possible, the interpretation given by the Ifè translator is provided.

The people group served by the organizations studied is a West African minority group, albeit having approximately 200,000 speakers. The use of the case study to examine what the social representations regarding leadership and literacy of this particular group are, and how they influence choices made in
capacity building, adds to the body of knowledge in the domain of African studies and in the area of cultural aspects of leadership.

3.1 Participants

I chose to study the Ifè literacy program, which was started over twenty years ago by SIL. Most of the research participants are Ifè people who are involved in the program in some way. The program itself is in transition from being overseen by SIL to being completely under the authority of ACATBLI. The names or pseudonyms and roles of participants who work with ACATBLI or the local associations are found in appendix 2.

While in Togo from mid-January to late July 2009, I had contact with all of ACATBLI's board; but most of my interactions, as well as the formal interviews with the association, occurred with two people, Mr. Agbémadon Akoété, head of the ACATBLI literacy work, and Mr. Sétodji Kodjo, ACATBLI literacy coordinator. It was they who arranged the meetings between me and the leaders of the local associations. In addition, I accompanied them and ACATBLI’s literacy supervisor to two teacher meetings (for Cycle 3 teachers) and to one French transition class in a nearby village, both of which helped me to better understand the realities and context of the program. In addition, contributions from other members of the ACATBLI board (two project translators, one local association literacy coordinator who is also a pastor, and one community member) are also represented in the data collected during a capacity building workshop in April 2009.

During the research phase of this study, I met the governing bodies of five of the six local associations that have ties to ACATBLI. Four of these have an executive board (bureau exécutif); Jésus le Chemin has an administrative committee (comité administratif). One association is Beninese; the others are Togolese. Each meeting, with the exception of the clarification interviews, allowed me to interact with at least two, and up to four, persons. However, at no time did all members of the governing bodies participate in an interview. For each association, the president and the literacy coordinator were present, as were one
or two other people. Only one woman participated in these interviews, although another had been expected by her association’s coordinator. During my years as SIL Togo-Benin’s literacy coordinator, I had already made the acquaintance of at least one person in each group, with the exception of VADEMI, during SIL-TGB’s annual literacy forum and other activities.

I encountered the other participants in the study at a teachers’ meeting. This meeting, which was for teachers of the new 3rd level class (Ifè to French transition), was held in Itséré, about 17 km, or an hour’s drive, from Atakpamé. Other villagers are also invited to such meetings in order to benefit from the practical teachings given at these events. I was able to take advantage of this situation by asking those present, which included some literacy class learners, to participate in my research. I needed their input in order to ascertain if their representations of leadership were the same as those of the literacy program leaders, given that their social anchorage should differ somewhat (Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Doise, 1986; Gajo, 2000; Matthey, 2003; Moliner et al., 2002). I also wanted to know the literacy teachers’ perceptions of the training they had received. Those who agreed to participate read and signed the authorization form (see appendix 6). This form was translated into Ifè and read to those who did not read French well. All these people then responded to the first part of the interview protocol, which had to do with representations of leadership. Seven women were among this group of thirteen people. Next, the literacy teachers (all men) came together to answer questions about trainings they had had and which they wanted.

In total, 40 Ifè people cooperated with the research project (see appendix 3). The participation of these Ifè – Togolese and Beninese, men and women, leaders and subordinates, literacy workers and others – allowed the collection of a rich body of data for the study of social representations among the Ifè and their effect on the capacity building of and by the local associations.
3.2 Data collection

A researcher’s choice of theory affects the methodology used during the research project (Norton Pierce, 1995). Not only case studies in general, but the analysis of social representations in particular, call for the use of a variety of methods (Abric, 2001a; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Bryman, Stephens, & Campo, 1996; Gall et al., 2007; Jodelet, 1989; Karsenti & Savoie-Zajc, 2004; Roy, 2006; Stake, 2005). The preferred method for SR is discourse analysis, generally using interviews (Matthey, 2003; Negura, 2006). However, SR have often also been studied using public documents (Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Jodelet, 1989). Therefore, while my primary source of data is from interviews, I also have used written sources, published and unpublished, which were available in Togo from the Ifè team, the SIL archives and technical libraries, and the Atakpamé public library. The use of multiple sources, including different interview groups, also provides triangulation of data, which is essential in validating qualitative research according to many researchers (Roy, 2006; Stake, 2005).

The choice of the theory of social representations as the foundation of my study affected the type of data collected for my project. As a result of this choice, I collected data from primary and secondary sources: from members of the ethnolinguistic group and other people involved in the SIL-Ifè project, and from both published and internal organizational documents. These documents provided both sociopolitical and cultural background as well as much of the history of the organizations studied here. I also carried out several semi-directive interviews, which were recorded using a digital voice recorder, with the resource people identified as participants earlier in this chapter. These individuals gave their personal perspectives on the history of each association and needs for capacity building, and are the main source of data for the social representations and of capacity building efforts. I also tried to describe in detail the physical context of each interview in my research journal, as Spradley (1980) recommends. A few photos were taken to aid recall of the environment. One serendipitous source of data was collected during a two-workshop series of
capacity building workshops that took place during my stay with the Ifè. The workshop participants allowed me to use the results of their group work. The combination of all these sources has allowed me to compile the rich description recommended for case studies (Gall et al., 2007; Karsenti & Savoie-Zajc, 2004; Roy, 2006; Stake, 2005).

3.2.1 Documents

Social representations may be revealed in documents of various kinds (Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Bourgeois & Piret, 2006; Jodelet, 1989). In order to better discern the context of these local associations, I have examined several documents: histories of linguistic policy and of planning, available statistics, evaluation reports, papers written for the 2003 conference on Ifè orthography and literacy, newspaper articles about Ifè program activities, funding requests, and the project team’s annual reports, including donor reports. Some of these documents have been published, other are internal to SIL and the local team. All of these documents shed light on the attitudes of leaders in regard to the development of associations, to development and to literacy. In addition, they help explain certain aspects of the evolution of this nonformal education program.

I have also sought to better understand the specific context of this language group by reading the few anthropological books and articles written about or mentioning the Ifè, as well as a master’s thesis on Ifè proverbs. This last was used because proverbs play a very important role in African societies in education and discipline (Agbajé, 2002; Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2006; Koba, 1996; Malunga, 2006). In addition, proverbs are a form of prefabricated statement. Such statements are important because they can reveal SR (Moore & Py, 2008; Py, 2004). However, proverbs are frequently only understood in context (Koba, 1996); thus the master’s thesis was of limited use for understanding Ifè proverbs. On the other hand, several proverbs that emerged in the course of the interviews were helpful in shedding light on the SR. In summary, the anthropological documents were better than the thesis at helping me to understand the role and
conceptions of traditional leadership among the Ifè, although in its introduction, the thesis did have some helpful information about Ifè traditional leaders.

3.2.2 Interviews

Interviews are the favored method for the study of social representations among qualitative researchers (Coletta, 2003; Matthey, 2003; Moore & Py, 2008; Negura, 2006; Py, 2003, 2004), since SR frequently emerge in conversations and other discourse. They are also recognized as valuable by quantitative researchers (Abric, 2001a; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Moliner et al., 2002). However, interviews are also a significant research tool for other reasons. Face-to-face interviews are a way of entering into relationship and developing an understanding of the interviewee’s perspective of the topic (Brewerton & Millward, 2001; Karsenti & Savoie-Zajc, 2004). In addition, recorded interviews are an important way of ensuring that the sense intended by the participants is protected (Brewerton & Millward, 2001). In West Africa, it is essential that communication be two-way, involving feedback (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005). Thus, interviews are a particularly appropriate method of research in this group, as they allow that feedback.

Two types of interviews were carried out: semi-structured according to the definitions of Brewerton & Millward (2001) and Gall, Gall, & Borg (2007), where both closed and open-ended questions are asked; and semi-structured according to the definitions of Karsenti & Savoie-Zajc (2004) and Py (2003), where only a thematic guide is used, with suggested trigger questions (déclencheurs). Gall, Gall & Borg (2007) refer to this type of interview as a “general interview guide approach” (p. 247). As stated previously, all interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder.

The first type of semi-structured interview was used with the leaders of the umbrella organization and of the governing bodies of the local associations. I also used this type of interview with the literacy teachers during the teachers’ meeting in Itséré. The goal of these interviews was to add a more complete and personal
perspective to the organizational histories found in internal documents. Also, these interviews explored what has already been accomplished in capacity building and identified felt needs.

The thematic guide type of semi-structured interview used a series of open-ended questions that I had hoped would trigger vigorous discussion. As Moore & Py (2008) note, SR emerge most clearly when opposing views are present. The goal of these interviews with the board and executive committee members was to identify representations of leadership and literacy, as well as conceptions of necessary elements for healthy literacy (and development) organizations. The interview with the villagers also used a thematic guide, but was limited to questions regarding leadership.

In all, four protocols guided the interviews (see appendix 5). The first was destined to direct the interview with ACATBLI’s literacy leadership team. Two others were used with the governing bodies of the local associations. The fourth one directed the interview with the villagers present for the teachers’ meeting, both teachers and other village members. A review of the data after the first meetings with members of ACATBLI and the local associations showed several gaps in information, so follow-up questionnaires were developed to clarify these points and used with the local coordinators of each association when they came into town for the capacity building workshops, and with the ACATBLI team.

The meetings took place in three sites in Atakpamé and in four villages. The first meeting with the ACATBLI literacy team took place at their office, but as we were frequently interrupted, their follow-up interview was held on the porch of my house (the normal place to entertain visitors in Africa if one doesn’t have a separate shelter for the purpose), around 50 meters from the office. The interviews with AVID board members also took place at my home, since their territory includes Atakpamé. The other governing body interviews were held at a central location in their respective zones, with the exception of ADCIBA’s board’s, which took place in Oké, a community more or less central between Atakpamé and their area of Benin, as well as being the seat of AMIADA and the site of
ACATBLI’s training center. AMIADA’s and ADCIBA’s board interviews took place in the hall of this training center, one after the other. VADEMI’s board interviews were held in the local Assembly of God church, while Jésus le Chemin’s executive committee interviews occurred at the home of the director of missions and projects, in his visitor’s shelter. The follow-up interviews with the literacy coordinators of each organization happened outside at the regional training center of the Ministry of Social Affairs in Atakpamé during the capacity building workshops. The interview during the teacher’s meeting took place in the Assembly of God church in Itséré, a village in VADEMI’s zone. A table of the interviews is presented below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Interview goal</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Total time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 16</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>ACATBLI, 2 members of literacy team</td>
<td>Atakpamé, ACATBLI literacy office</td>
<td>1h 13m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 18</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>AVID, 3 board members</td>
<td>Atakpamé, porch of my house</td>
<td>1h 40m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 20</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>VADEMI, 4 board members</td>
<td>Djama, in a church</td>
<td>49m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>AMIADA, 4 board members</td>
<td>Oké, program training center</td>
<td>1h 30m*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>ADCIBA, 4 board members</td>
<td>Oké, program training center</td>
<td>1h 45m*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 23</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>Jésus le Chemin, 4 committee members</td>
<td>Morétan, apatam of a committee member</td>
<td>1h 00m*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 30</td>
<td>social representations (SR)</td>
<td>Jésus le Chemin, 4 committee members &amp; ACATBLI literacy head</td>
<td>Morétan, apatam of a committee member</td>
<td>1h 02m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 2</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>AMIADA, 4 board members</td>
<td>Oké, program training center</td>
<td>1h 30m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 2</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>ADCIBA, 4 board members</td>
<td>Oké, program training center</td>
<td>1h 49m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 3</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>VADEMI, 4 board members</td>
<td>Djama, in a church</td>
<td>56m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Interview goal</td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Total time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 17</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>5 literacy teachers and 8 other members of the community</td>
<td>Itséré, in a church</td>
<td>1h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 20</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>VADEMI lit. coord.</td>
<td>Atakpamé, Affaires Sociales (A/S), courtyard</td>
<td>3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 21</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>Jésus le Chemin lit. coordinator</td>
<td>Atakpamé, A/S, courtyard</td>
<td>5m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 22</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>AMIADA lit. coord.</td>
<td>Atakpamé, A/S</td>
<td>8m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 23</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>ADCIBA lit. coord. for the Tchetti zone</td>
<td>Atakpamé, A/S, courtyard</td>
<td>15m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 24</td>
<td>SR &amp; clarification</td>
<td>AVID, 3 board members</td>
<td>Atakpamé, porch of my house</td>
<td>50m*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 19</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>both ADCIBA lit. coordinators</td>
<td>Atakpamé, A/S, courtyard</td>
<td>23m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 25</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>ACATBLI, 2 literacy team members</td>
<td>Atakpamé, porch of my house</td>
<td>37m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Various recording malfunctions means these times are approximate.

3.2.3 Other sources

At the end of January, I was offered an oral overview of the literacy work. The project had just accepted an intern, a Togolese SIL member who will be working in literacy with a neighboring language group. Mr. Agbémadon had planned to give her this overview, and invited me to join them. This gave me a good framework with which to work when I went to Kara the following week for archive research, although technically I could not count this as part of my research, due to the delay in receiving ethics approval.

Additionally, while in the Ifè area, I was invited to attend several events that were not part of my original research proposal. They fall broadly into the category of participant observation as far as data collection goes. They included two one-week workshops on organizational capacity building required and paid for by the program’s current funders; one 2nd level teacher training workshop; one 3rd level pilot class; and two 3rd level teachers’ meetings. They all allowed insight
into the capacity building occurring in the Ifè program, both externally generated and internally generated, and into the leaders’ perception of their role in capacity building, thus enriching my understanding of the context of the Ifè program as well as its content and organizational structure.

3.2.3.1 Workshops

The first capacity building workshop was held in April, mid-way through my interview schedule; the second in May, after all the scheduled interviews had taken place. I was able to be present for a number of the sessions, more often during the first week than in the second. The data gathered during this workshop series falls into two categories of data collection: written sources and observation. Although I was asked to be present the beginning of the first week as a substitute for SIL Togo-Benin’s current literacy coordinator, who was ill, in order to assure that the workshop started well, my main motivations in attending were to discover what was being taught under the heading of capacity building and to learn what other members of the Ifè team thought about the state of the organization, in the process adding to the rich description sought in a case study.

These workshops were part of the response by the current project donor to the ACATBLI team’s desire for organizational capacity building leading to self-sustainability (Boëthius, 2007). The trainer, a Togolese man of a Northern ethnic group, is a specialist in capacity building training and a member of a national NGO that offers such guidance. The participants were members of the ACATBLI board (conseil d’administration), which includes three representatives of the local associations, all of whom are literacy coordinators. The other associations’ literacy coordinators were also invited to participate, with the understanding that they would share what they learn with their local association. Although not all of them were present during the first workshop, they were all able to attend the second one. It should be noted that only one of the three community members of the ACATBLI board, which also includes a SIL representative, was present during the workshop series.
Participants worked in small groups for several exercises. During these times, they analyzed various aspects of their organization and of their environment. The results of these exercises, which were written either on large sheets of paper or on smaller cards and then posted at the front of the room for discussion, showed their perceptions of ACATBLI and of their physical, social and political environments. During the discussion time, I was able to ask some questions. The results of the small group work, which I copied into my research journal or photographed, enriched the description of the context of this case study. They also added information as to the capacity building that has been done and that is desired by ACATBLI staff.

3.2.3.2 Program events

As is typical of literacy programs, teacher trainings and meetings are held as part of initial and on-going training of teachers; they also help program heads keep track of class enrolment and motivation. Supervision is another important component of literacy program activities; the teacher meetings and class visits provide evaluation opportunities for supervisors and coordinators. Supervisory visits, teacher trainings and meetings all are times when teachers can ask for specific help for problems or difficulties that they have encountered. I was able to gain a more complete picture of the program and its functioning through attendance at several of these events.

The first of these events was a teacher training workshop for Cycle 2 literacy teachers that took place in January 2009, shortly after my arrival in Togo. It was held in Atakpamé in a hall at the regional headquarters of the Ministry of Social Affairs, for the three associations geographically closest to this major town. The trainers included AVID’s president, who is also a supervisor, as well as being a past coordinator for AVID; and Mr. Agbémadon. I was introduced to the teacher trainees by Mr. N’Tchou as a researcher, and then was given the chance to say a word about my research, and a word of encouragement. Trainees were encouraged to cooperate with any questions I might have for them, but as I had not yet received clearance from the SFU Ethics Review Committee (it came
through the following week), I could not take advantage of this permission, and in fact only attended one day in order to ensure I did not begin interviewing people prematurely. Later in the morning, Mr. Agbémadon referred to me as “une grande parmi nous” (“an important person among us”), referencing my years as literacy coordinator for SIL Togo-Benin.

I was able to note the make-up of classes as trainees reported the numbers of enrollees to their classes; the majority of students in the 20+ classes were men, with only a couple of classes having just women enrolled. Most of the teachers were also male. In addition, I was able to observe the state of the literacy skills of the teachers, as a practice time for reading out of the literacy books was included in the training. Although all training was done in Ifè, I was able to observe how teachers are trained. The Association Espoir coordinator, who had been my pastor for three years when I lived in northern Togo, acted as my translator, and described the functional content of the Cycle 2 supplementary readers, which address the issue of family management.

I was next invited to accompany the ACATBLI literacy team (plus the intern) on a supervisory visit to a Cycle 3 pilot class in AVID’s zone. This class, about half men and half women, was at the beginning of the second of its three book course, and meeting in a local church. At the end of the class, I was introduced and asked to give a word of encouragement. Afterwards, the ACATBLI team asked for my input on what I had seen of this new Ifè to French transition class. With this observation in February and the consultant check of content and vocabulary I had already done for the third book of Cycle 3, a book in story form on common legal documents and how to obtain them, I obtained a good idea of the overall shape of this level of the literacy program.

The following day I accompanied the team and the intern to a teachers’ meeting for the eight teachers of the pilot program, which met in an uncompleted, concrete block church building. I was able to observe how reports were given and challenges discussed. Also, Mr. Agbémadon gave a practical lesson, in essence a training to grow capacity in the agricultural domain. Details will be discussed in
chapter 6, when capacity enhancement issues are addressed. The intern and I were asked to give a word of encouragement to the teachers at the end of the session. These first three events all occurred before the first interviews took place.

The final program event I attended was the mid-April Cycle 3 teachers’ meeting in Itséré, discussed in the interview section. I had been intending to do this interview when AVID held its general teachers’ meeting, but that had been postponed, so when I learned one morning that the team was heading out for this meeting, I asked if I could come along to observe and to do this final interview. Permission was quickly given. Among other things, this meeting allowed me to experience first-hand the distances involved in VADEMI’s zone, as this village, while not far from Atakpamé, was more than 20 kilometers away over bad roads from the VADEMI headquarters. A practical lesson not just for teachers but also the local villagers was included in the time allotted for the meeting. This meeting, as well as the previously discussed one, ended with a meal that had been prepared by village women, students I believe, for all attendees.

3.2.3.3 Summary

In summary, the oral review and attendance at these events as well as the trips to interview sites gave me a good overview of the program and associations as well as a first hand look at the physical environment of the Ifè. I experienced the state of the roads, observed the depletion of forests and large amounts of charcoal for sale along the road and in two local markets, and the effect of the rains on travel and crops. I also learned about relationships with other ethnolinguistic groups: the Fon, longtime neighbors; the Nawdba and Kabiyè, recent immigrants to the area; and the Fulani (aka Peul), a transient group. Notably, in one village I was taken to greet the Ifè and Fon chiefs, and was told that the two groups like to live next to each other. However, relationships with the Fulani are tense, as the migrating cattle of the Fulani destroy field crops. During the time of my fieldwork, there were also killings that forced the Fulani to retreat from the area. These contextual details all added to my understanding of the
challenges faced by the Ifè program and to much of the rationale behind capacity building decisions.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Two main sources of ethical considerations influenced the methodology used in this research project. The first was the ethical code of Simon Fraser University. The other is related to the fact that this research involved African participants and a researcher from the North American culture, who had been the Literacy Coordinator of SIL Togo-Benin, the NGO that offers technical support (training and consultant help) to all the literacy organizations participating in this study.

The ethical code of Simon Fraser University seeks to clarify the responsibilities of researchers and to protect the rights of the participants. I was and am bound by this code. Before even writing the research proposal, I had already received permission from the umbrella organization to undertake this research, after I had explained the potential benefits and risks of the research. Before beginning each interview, I explained the goals of the research and the possible advantages and disadvantages of participation to all present; in addition, I emphasized the right of participants to withdraw from the project. After that, the participants read and signed an authorization statement that contained this information as well as my responsibilities towards them. As anonymity is not always appropriate in non-Occidental cultures, the option to be named was offered to the interviewees in all except the village interview. Those who chose anonymity, as well as the village group, are identified by numerical codes; and one association has a pseudonym (see appendix 2).

Ethical considerations are particularly important when conducting cross-cultural interviews. One of the tenets of modern ethical thought is the necessity of sincere relations with the other (Karsenti & Savoie-Zajc, 2004). This is particularly pertinent in Africa, where numerous researchers and expatriate residents have noted the importance of managing positive relationships in all aspects of life.
Good listening skills are key to communication and the building of relationships, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, as are respect of the other and of established communication patterns (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005). I had some level of pre-existing relationship with approximately one-fourth of the participants of the study, ranging from strong, positive collegial relationships to mere acquaintanceship through brief discussions at large group events. However, no matter how sincere or positive these relationships are, they are unequal because of the power of my role in the SIL branch and of my American nationality. Because of that, I took extra care to position myself as a humble and respectful researcher who truly sought to listen well (Friedberg, 1997). This required repeated self-examination on my part to assure that this was happening. In addition, thank-you gifts were given to the participants, which both reimbursed them for their time (Savoie-Zajc, 2006) and established a reciprocity in the relationship (Glesner & Peshkin, 1992; Howitt, 2005), which is particularly important in the African context (Maranz, 2001).

Another major ethical issue in cross-cultural relationships is tied to language. I learned enough of the local language to be able to greet participants appropriately in their mother tongue, with the goals of further developing already established relationships and of initiating positive relationships with other participants. Experience has shown this to be a good way of indicating one’s real interest in the people, and it accords with Van der Maren’s (1995) criterion of familiarizing oneself with the local customs and languages in preparation for the interviews. This effort was indeed appreciated, particularly by the monolingual Ifè speakers.

However, I was unable to learn enough Ifè to conduct the interviews in this language. This had both ethical and methodological implications. French is the official language of both Togo and Benin, but it is not the first or best-known language of any of the project’s participants, including myself. I had hoped to conduct the interviews solely in French in order to prevent the influence of an interpreter on the content and results of the study (Shklarov, 2007). However, the
presence of a translator/interpreter proved necessary, since at least one person in nearly every group interview had difficulties in understanding and/or responding to questions asked in French. The translator, who also served as a guide to the culture, was informed of the rights of participants and of the importance of confidentiality in the interview process. Prior to the interviews, he and ACATBLI’s professional translators translated the consent forms used as well as the questions into Ifè. The level of French used in the interviews, both mine as well as that of several participants, possibly skewed some of the data, as occasionally we all had difficulty finding the right term or expression for what we were thinking, and other terms and phrases seemed to be understood differently by me and the interviewees. It was fascinating, and telling, to see how lively the discussion became when groups were invited to discuss a question, notably the question regarding the most important three or four qualities of those they had identified for a leader (chef) or literacy leader (responsable d’un programme d’alphabétisation), in Ifè. The fact that a third language, English, has been introduced to the mix has the potential to distance original meaning from what is written here, but my French academic writing skills were inadequate to the task. I have done my best to be true to what I believe the interviewees meant; and in order to prevent adding distortions, have not attempted to translate the interview responses given in French in the body of this text (but see appendix 6, English translations of interviewee quotes for a rough translation). Where those given in Ifè were transcribed, those transcriptions have been given as well as the French translation provided by my translator, in order to allow recovery of the original words by future researchers as well as any Ifè readers, including participants, of this thesis.

I also needed to be sensitive to cultural differences other than those between American and African. I had lived in Togo for six years between mid-1998 and late-2004, but in the north of the country where the Kabiyè are the dominant ethnolinguistic group. The Ifè live in the south of Togo and of Benin. Northerners and Southerners perceive a strong cultural divide, which roughly follows language family lines, with the Gur (or Voltaic) languages being located in
the North and the Kwa languages, such as Ewé and Fon, being found in the
South. Although the Ifè are the sole representatives of the Ede family in Togo
(Benin has other Ede languages), they are culturally more aligned with the South.
Certain behavioral expectations are the same, for example appropriate dress for
women. All the same, there were moments when I had to ask either an Ifè
colleague or one of my SIL colleagues who has lived among the Ifè for over
fifteen years what the norm was for a certain situation.

Finally, cross-cultural researchers have noted the importance of including
the group being researched in the design of the research, in order to demonstrate
the values of respect, responsibility, and integrity (Gibbs, 2001; Howitt, 2005).
However, Gibbs notes that “university ethics requirements may limit the sharing
of control over the research process, particularly co-construction of text and joint
interpretation of results, or indeed make a participant-drive approach untenable”
(p. 680). The SFU requirement to have the research protocol approved before
beginning research (SFU Request for ethical approval of research – Form 1,
Question 10) did indeed limit the amount of input participants had on construction
of the guide or questions.

Nevertheless, I was able to solicit a certain level of local contribution to the
project. As already noted, I had asked permission of ACATBLI’s board before
starting the project. Upon arrival in Togo, I consulted the ACATBLI literacy team
members as to specific steps to take in meeting with the groups composed of
local association members. It was they who proposed the dates and locations for
the initial interview with each local association, and subsequently contacted the
associations. In addition, I prepared a presentation for the 6th Pan-African
Conference on Reading for All on the capacity building aspect of the project
before I left the country, and showed it to Mr. Agbémadon and Mr. Sétodji for
their feedback. When I had written up my analysis of the Ifè representation of
leadership (in French), I sent the key paragraphs to them for comments. The two
of them were able to share it with all the literacy coordinators of the local
associations, who together approved what I had written.
3.4 Data analysis

Theory choice not only influences methods but also the procedures used in, and conclusions drawn from, analysis (Norton Peirce, 1995). The aim of this case study was to determine how representations of leadership and of literacy influenced and are influencing capacity building decisions. In order to do this, three main themes were identified and addressed (Stake, 2005) during the interviews and document search: representations of leadership and literacy; organization and functioning, with challenges and impacts, of the associations and their programs; and capacity building issues. Data was identified and coded according to these broad themes, which were then broken down into sub-themes.

However, before any coding was done, the context in which the documents were written and the speech acts produced was noted, as this is the starting point of any data analysis (Abric, 2001b; Friedberg, 1997; Goffman, 1987). Each of the documents was produced with a specific purpose that influenced its content and shape, which was kept in mind as the contents were analyzed. For example, entity planning documents included information about strategies, but very little, explicitly anyway, about language policy. The speech acts of the interview participants also occurred in a particular context (the semi-directive interview) and setting that surely influenced what was said, who said it, and how they said it (Bardin, 2007; Gumperz, 1982). As each of the following procedures was implemented, the data was therefore examined with the context of production in mind.

I was given access to all Ifè project materials that were in the SIL-TGB archives, printed and electronic. Identifying which materials pertained to my goals and then organizing the information contained in them was a major challenge. I created several electronic documents to aid me in this task, notably timelines and summaries of information found in the archives and other printed sources, particularly Togo Presse articles in the Ifè team’s files. The five Togo Presse articles were coded for what they revealed about representations of literacy.
Other documents were coded for information about organizations and capacity building.

The next step I took in data collection and analysis were the interviews. The recordings made during the interviews were transcribed onto my computer, including prosodic information (see appendix 4 for transcription conventions used). I then went over much of my transcription with the interpreter in order to double check what I had heard and written, as well as to see if he understood any of the sequences I could not make out. This also permitted him to verify that his interpretation at the time of sequences in Ifè had been complete and accurate. Where the length of the discourse had affected his interpretation, any additional information was noted in a separate column. In addition, after I trained him to use the digital voice recorder, he transcribed and translated many of the Ifè sequences into French (in addition to his on the spot interpretation), although we ran out of time for him to complete this task.

The data was then subjected to discourse content analysis. This procedure starts by identifying themes and then sub-themes via key words and/or phrases, identifying discrete sequences, and coding the data (Bardin, 2007; Coletta, 2003). Units were then grouped by sub-themes and smaller sections as needed, with speaker and interview noted, in order to bring out generalities and highlight differences among individuals and groups (see figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3).

The social representations data from the interviews were further organized into a table for each (leadership and literacy) in order to determine the level of consensus between groups for each representation. In the case of representations of leadership, the chart facilitated the identification of traits seen as universal for leaders, and those which were particular to one type of leader. For representations of literacy, the *Togo Presse* articles were added as indicators of SIL, ACATBLI and/or the official government position regarding literacy. Next, co-occurrences between themes and their elements were noted. These, along with frequency of mention, established the central themes that organize the elements of the representation (Cavalli & Coletta, 2003; Negura, 2006). The
structure of argumentation, with emphases, examples, reasons, contrary cases, and repetitions, was also examined in order to see how elements were related and weighted in the minds of participants.

Figure 3.1 Coding of social representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social representations</th>
<th>RS</th>
<th>RS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified leader</td>
<td>RS-chef</td>
<td>Literacy, general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional chief</td>
<td>RS-trad</td>
<td>-Responsibilities of biliterates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy leader</td>
<td>RS-resp</td>
<td>-MT lit. as preservation &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board member</td>
<td>RS-BE</td>
<td>transmission of culture &amp; identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate</td>
<td>RS-sub</td>
<td>-Literacy as openness &amp; development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ifè and French compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterates</td>
<td>RS-analph</td>
<td>-Lit. as access to another language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-MT lit. as language maintenance &amp; development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Lit. as full participation in society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ifè literacy as qualification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, an analysis of co-occurrences of the three major themes and their sub-themes was done in order to discover how they are linked to each other in the minds of the interviewees, and thus to determine just how the SR of leadership affects capacity building in the local associations. It should be noted that quite a number of statements were double-coded because two themes were addressed at once. The proximity of elements in a discourse is presumed to indicate that the speaker sees a relationship between them, so the first step is to tabulate which elements in one main theme co-occur with which elements of another main theme (Bardin, 2007). However, determining the nature of the relationship involved a fair bit of inference on my part, based on connections implicitly and explicitly made during the discourse and on consideration of the prosodic elements of the interviews (Gumperz, 1982).

Analysis of the formal aspects of the discourse were somewhat limited, for the limitations of facility in French mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, logical relationships, such as agreement, disagreement, or addition of information, were
**Figure 3.2 Coding of organizational feature themes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Org</th>
<th>Contextual challenges</th>
<th>Org</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local associations</td>
<td>Org-assn</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>Org-défi-dist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-membership</td>
<td>Org-assn-adh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-autonomy</td>
<td>Org-assn-auto</td>
<td>-social environment</td>
<td>Org-défi-envir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-other history</td>
<td>Org-assn-autre</td>
<td>-finances</td>
<td>Org-défi-fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-goals</td>
<td>Org-assn-but</td>
<td>-gender</td>
<td>Org-défi-gen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-name choice</td>
<td>Org-assn-nom</td>
<td>-infrastructure</td>
<td>Org-défi-infr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-creation</td>
<td>Org-assn-création</td>
<td>-lack of water</td>
<td>Org-défi-eau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-legalization</td>
<td>Org-assn-légal</td>
<td>-personnel</td>
<td>Org-défi-per</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-decision-making</td>
<td>Org-assn-déc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-resources</td>
<td>Org-assn-réun</td>
<td>Impacts</td>
<td>Org-imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-meetings</td>
<td></td>
<td>-improvement in relations</td>
<td>Org-imp-rel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-solidarity</td>
<td>Org-assn-solid</td>
<td>-development</td>
<td>Org-imp-dév</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zone strategy</td>
<td>Org-assn-zone</td>
<td>-schools</td>
<td>Org-imp-EF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Org-act</td>
<td>-literateness</td>
<td>Org-imp-lét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awareness-raising</td>
<td>Org-act-sens</td>
<td>-new leaders</td>
<td>Org-imp-lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-literacy classes</td>
<td>Org-act-alpha</td>
<td>-gender issues</td>
<td>Org-imp-gen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--language of</td>
<td></td>
<td>-spirituel, church creation</td>
<td>Org-imp-spir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--supervision of</td>
<td>Org-act-alpha-lg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--development</td>
<td>Org-act-dév</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Org-lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--economic/IGA</td>
<td>Org-act-dév-écon</td>
<td>-actions taken</td>
<td>Org-lead-act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--socio-culturel</td>
<td>Org-act-dév-soc</td>
<td>-choice of leaders</td>
<td>Org-lead-choix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--spirituel</td>
<td>Org-act-dév-spir</td>
<td>-motivations of leaders</td>
<td>Org-lead-mot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-book production &amp; sales</td>
<td>Org-act-liv</td>
<td>-guiding principles</td>
<td>Org-lead-prin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>Org-coll</td>
<td>-leader roles</td>
<td>Org-lead rôle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-with SIL</td>
<td>Org-coll-SIL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-with ACATBLI</td>
<td>Org-coll-ACATBLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-with other organizations</td>
<td>Org-coll-autre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.3 Coding of capacity building themes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capacity building</th>
<th>Cap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current capacities identified</td>
<td>Cap-act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt needs</td>
<td>Cap-besoins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiences with</td>
<td>Cap-exp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainings</td>
<td>Cap-form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-received by members</td>
<td>Cap-form-reçue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-given by an organization</td>
<td>Cap-form-donnée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-desired by an association</td>
<td>Cap-form-souhaitée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations felt</td>
<td>Cap-limit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer of</td>
<td>Cap-trans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
coded and analyzed in order to identify areas of consensus and conflict. In sub-Saharan Africa, solidarity and consensus have been identified as important group values (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Booysen & van Wyk, 2007; Koba, 1996; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Maranz, 2001; Theimann & April, 2007).

One participant, in fact, when asked if everyone in the group agreed with what the others had said, stated,

*Nous sommes d'accord. Oui, c'est comme ça, Même si d'autres ajoutaient même, on serait d'accord puisque le chef c'est lui la tête du bureau ou bien . de de l'association, si on n'est pas d'accord, le travail ne peut pas aller.*

(We are in agreement. Yes, it’s like that. Even if others added something, we would be in agreement because the leader is the head of the board or . the association, if we aren’t in agreement, the work couldn’t go on.; C.3.MK).

This may be part of the reason that there were so many monologues and so few of the arguments useful in identifying social representations (Moore & Py, 2008).

In conclusion, the analysis phase of this project involved looking at the data from various angles. Discourse analysis was the dominant strategy, but tables that showed distribution of beliefs and quantified these were also used. In addition, timelines and statements about what has been done or needs to be done in capacity building were examined in the light of the representations of leadership and of literacy revealed by the interviews in order to determine what the nature of the relationship between leadership, literacy representations and capacity building might be.

### 3.5 Summary

This case study involved a substantial number of participants over a six-month time period of direct contact. Follow-up contact by e-mail was possible with some of them in order to fill in small details and to confirm findings. In addition to interviews, data was collected through documents, both published and
unpublished, and through personal observation of classes, workshops and meetings.

Ethical considerations had special weight because of the cross-cultural nature of this research project. In particular, issues of relationships and researcher positioning, language of research, cross-cultural differences in behavior and expectations, and involvement of community members in research design and implementation were pertinent. The issue of research language also had an impact on the data collection and analysis.

In qualitative research, the validation of the research quality is always an issue (Gall et al., 2007). The validation criteria adopted for this case study are based on those presented by Guba & Lincoln (cited in Gall et al., 2007 and in Karsenti & Savoie-Zajc, 2004). These are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The credibility of the research was assured by a data-gathering process that included various types of sources during a six-month stay in the area. A research journal was kept that recorded the evolution of thought and insights, and included descriptions of context and environment; this ensures the transferability and dependability of the research. The results of the research, as noted previously, were confirmed by a number of the research participants, in particular with the ACATBLI literacy leaders and the coordinators of the local associations. This was done both in face-to-face discussions before I left Togo as well as by e-mail after I had returned to the United States. These findings are the subject of the next three chapters.
4: REPRESENTATIONS OF LEADERSHIP

As was discussed in chapter 2, social representations are frameworks for viewing the world. SR of leadership do not solely convey an individual's point of view, even though the components of these representations have been expressed by individuals. Representations are recognized as "social", whether convergent or not, when they appear several times in a group interview, are discussed by several participants, and/or arise in several interviews. When a majority of participants share the same attitude towards a particular quality – be it a trait, a skill, a virtue or other attribute – it is considered to be a fundamental component of the representation (Cavalli & Coletta, 2003), particularly if one or more people make explicit that it is a very important quality, or even essential to their definition of the the object, what Flament (2001) calls a prescriptive element of the SR.

Most of the themes discussed here come from interviews that took place between February 16 and June 25, 2009 (see table 3.1). Many of the elements that emerged are also identified by anthropological works on traditional African leadership. I had hoped that a master's thesis on Ifè proverbs (Koba, 1996) would also reveal some preconstructed representations (Gajo, 2000) of leadership. However, the meaning of an Ifè proverb is difficult for outsiders to interpret in isolation, without access to the context in which it was uttered. Since that was not a heading chosen by the author in his categorization of topics, the thesis was not very useful to my study. On the other hand, study participants quoted proverbs during the interviews from time to time; those that are pertinent to representations of leadership are included in this chapter.

In order to arrive at an understanding of Ifè representations of leadership, I asked each group interviewed to define or give a description of a leader (chef), of a literacy program head (responsable), and of a board (bureau exécutif; see
appendix 5). In context, this last type of leader was generally understood to be a member of a literacy and development association’s board; and whenever participants manifested uncertainty, I said “c’est vous” (“it’s you”). Because there was a notable lack of discussion during the first interview when these questions were asked, with Jésus le Chemin, I decided to add the question “What are his or her three or four most important qualities?” in future interviews, but forgot to do so during ADCIBA’s. I had also asked for a description of a problem that the board had had to resolve in order to discern what these leaders do in reality, in order to see if reported behavior was consistent with what they had verbally expressed about leadership.

I also asked for the qualities of a subordinate, since every leader has subordinates towards whom s/he has a responsibility (Moemeka, 1996). In fact, most models of leadership now incorporate the role of follower into the model (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse, 2007; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2004). As will be seen in several sections of this chapter, this link between leadership and “followership” (Blunt, 1997) was apparently quite strong for several of the interview participants, since for three groups, the discussion on the qualities or responsibilities of a subordinate returned to the qualities and expectations of a leader.

4.1 Social representations of a leader

The French word chef, which can be translated into English as leader, tribal chief, head (of a family or of state), director (of an institution), superior, head, boss, foreman or captain (Chef - dictionnaire français-anglais WordReference.com, 2010; Mergault, 1989/1993), was used without clarification on my part in order to ascertain the point of reference of the SR for leader. In Ifé, the word corresponding to chef, Ōlú, includes all the meanings of the French word. In addition, there is a word, Ṣogá, which is limited to the manager or head of a group or association (chef de service/groupe/association). However, it can also
be used when speaking of the head of the household (A. Agbémadon, Feb. 24, 2010, personal communication).

I had expected to find that the point of reference of the SR would be a traditional chief, but several groups based their examples on other leaders, such as the head of a family or of an association. On the other hand, one person began by saying that a chef is “le premier responsable dans un cercle donné” (“the main person in charge in a given circle”; C.5.BK), which is a truly broad definition. The only times the characteristics of traditional chiefs were mentioned, in fact, were when I specifically asked if a characteristic or part of a definition applied also to traditional chiefs.

Analogies comparing the head of an association with his group and a father with his family emerged in two interviews (in AVID’s first one and AMIADA’s second one). According to Moliner et al. (2002), these analogies are a manifestation of the psychological embeddedness of a representation. This supposition is supported by the work of anthropologist Schatzberg (1993), who notes that in many African cultures notions of legitimate authority and governance are derived from “idealised vision of patterns of authority and behaviour within the family” (p. 451). This foundational model generates the expectation that a leader will take care of and protect his people just as a father does his family, which accords with the notions of African leadership expressed in chapter 2. Another such expectation is that there will come a time when he needs to relinquish authority, transferring it to his “children” (ibid.). This view also emerged in the interviews.

Interview responses were sorted according to the following list:

- the qualities possessed by a leader,
- what s/he is,
- what s/he is not,
- what s/he should do,
- what s/he should not do.
These headings are in line with the definition of a social representation, which includes notions of behavior linked with the social object as well as ideas and beliefs about it.

I began with the hypothesis that those qualities recognized as important or essential for a majority of the groups are fundamental to the social representation, especially if they appeared in discussions for each type of leader (unspecified leader, literacy program head, board member). Thus, the fundamental qualities of leadership for study participants are patience, faithfulness, an exemplary life, competence in group management and avoidance of dictating. Each of these elements in turn generates and organizes other elements of the representation.

Other themes were also indicated as being important, but by a minority of groups, so that they appear to be less fundamental to the SR: caring, making decisions as a group, and forgiveness. Nevertheless, as the president of AMIADA remarked, all these qualities are interdependent and form a whole (C.3.AmA).

### 4.1.1 Patience

Only one feature was mentioned in every interview: patience. This quality was important for every type of leader. In addition, four groups indicated that it was essential for any leader. Furthermore, the ACATBLI leaders defined it, not as a trait, inherent in a person’s character, but as a competence necessary for every literacy leader. Moreover, Mr. Agbémadon emphasized the importance of this quality, saying that a leader “*est toujours patient*” (“is always patient”).


A.3.SK 30m Là où je dirai encore, là où le Seigneur nous a beaucoup bénis, pour nos forces, c’est vraiment il nous a donné la patience.. Sinon, si on n'avait pas cette force, {laughs} on ne pouvait pas continuer= on ne pouvait pas faire le travail.
Parce que les moniteurs ils ne sont pas faciles hein ? Ça c'était très dur mais, Dieu nous a beaucoup aidés à acquérir, cette compétence de patience, et de temps en temps, eux-mêmes le disent, que: vraiment, quand ils viennent avec des décisions, ils s'engagent, ils font des réunions, de se préparent, quand ils amènent, mais quand les parlent seulement {tongue click}

A.3.AgbA ff. Ils sont désarmés! [{laughs}]
A.3.SK ff. [Ils sont désarmés!] {both laugh}

AMIADA participants identified it as one of the most important qualities for a literacy program head.

C.3.AmA 9m Bon, dans le cas de l'alphabétisation, pour pouvoir élire un chef {d'un programme d'alpha}, les qualités les plus nécessaires ou importantes, je vois d'abord la première qualité, c'est la patience. Il faut qu'il soit beaucoup patient avant d'être un responsable. Donc, dans le cas où un responsable n'a pas n'a pas assez de patience, il faut que la= sa patience domine sa colère . qu'il soit un peu lent en colère. Ça c'est une première qualité ça. Première qualité ça la patience.

C.3.MK 13m puisque c'est l'alphabétisation, ce sont les GRANDS, ils vont même faire quelque chose même il y a des gens qui vont te demander, des parents qui vont te .. te lancer des paroles tu n'est pas PATIENT, tu ne peux PAS recevoir mais il faut être patient

When they were deciding what the three or four most important qualities for a literacy leader were, this statement was made.

C.3.AmA 20m50s Bí ô dzé ògá ṣu é, àtɛsi ṣu nákó kpò ni quoi
Si tu es chef la patience doit être grande quoi.

C.3.All ff. Nn!
Effectivement!

Later in their interview, they also affirmed it was an important quality for a village chief.
C.3.AmA 29m S'il s'agit d'un chef du village, avant d'élire un chef dans un village, je vois que ces qualités aussi sont importantes à un chef d'un village. D'abord le chef doit aussi être patient. Si un chef n'est pas patient on ne peut pas l'élire, parce que on va dire que bon, notre chef là, il n'est pas patient est-ce qu'il peut encore régner sur nous, il peut diriger ce village, voire que il a de l'argent, il a tel tel mais, c'est l'impatience qu'il a. Donc, si le chef n'est pas patient selon moi, ça ne peut pas bien calé.

During Jésus le Chemin's interview, the reason patience was essential for a leader of a literacy program was explained.

C.5.OK 6m S'il n'est pas patient avec les adultes .. ça ne peux pas marcher. C'est pourquoi je dis .. c'est la qualité la plus importante pour un chef de programme d'alphabétisation. {a request from JR to speak more loudly} Je disais que, la qualité la plus importante pour un chef de programme d'alphabétisation, c'est la patience. Il doit avoir beaucoup de patience envers les adultes . parce qu'il faut du temps pour les comprendre . étant dit que peut-être vous êtes lettré, certains comportements vous allez trouver ça bizarre ... vraiment, il faut les accepter tels qu'ils sont, pour pouvoir aller xx je propose la patience pour gérer un tel groupe.

One participant also remarked that patience is also a very important quality for a subordinate.

C.4.ANA 34m Quelques fois même on peut aller jusqu'à vous dire que, ah toi tu ne vois pas tel que ton patron est en train d'évoluer pourtant lui il est en train d'évoluer à ton détriment c'est ce qu'il doit te donner là et il ne te donne pas et il est en train de construire quelque chose et bien il est en train d'acheter tout ceci, donc, vas-y il faut grever contre lui, il faut revendiquer ce droit là, il faut faire ceci, il faut faire ceci, oui, ça arrive souvent et si toi subordonné tu n'es pas .. patient, tu n'arrives pas à analyser bien, ces provocateurs-là tu risques de ton bien ou de bloquer le travail, c'est-à-dire ce qu'il vous attend.
Thus, patience is an essential attribute, not only for the leader of a group, but for all members of a group. A leader should listen to and receive all that is said to him, and seek the common good. These beliefs were not only stated frequently during the interviews, but were also seen in the descriptions of actions taken by the associations' leaders. When each group gave an example of a situation where they had to resolve a problem, all spoke of meeting to discuss the problem. While they themselves were always present during these meetings, usually others involved in the situation were also present, whether supervisors, teachers, students, or village members, including village chiefs. According to these data, it seems that the resolution of a problem among the Ifè is a process. This process involves, frequently, several meetings and much time in listening to every person and in discussing the issue before together arriving at a solution. This process requires, therefore, a superior level of patience.

Problem with a supervisor

C.1.NK 17m Et .. par des investigations, on a su que le superviseur a de tel problème. Maintenant, lorsqu'on l'a interpellé au au au sein de [YMA: du bureau] du bureau, il a reconnu les faits.

Problem at village level with teachers

C.2.VA1 32m Donc, c'est après tout on s'est réuni avec les autres moniteurs qui se sont présentés, et dans l'association, et nous sommes dit bon voilà le problème est posé, que pensez-vous ? Ils ont dit bon d'accord, et les autres qui étaient moniteurs, on a écouté leurs idées,

Problem with literacy class functioning

C.2.VA1 34m45s Donc, là, on va sur le terrain de temps en temps pour régler de tels problèmes réunir les apprenants ET les moniteurs, discuter avec eux et relancer la classe.

Problem at a sub-zone level with a supervisor and the teachers under him

C.3.AmA 49m Et à la fin de la campagne 2002 maintenant, nous nous sommes réunis ici et nous avons, nous nous sommes décidés que bon tel que nous travaillons ensemble avec les frères, les superviseurs, le superviseur qui est de l'autre côté, des moniteurs, et il a fallu que c'est suspendu, donc
nous allons revoir cet aspect. Et on a convoqué une réunion et nous sommes allés vers eux. Et on a .. on s'est réuni, et chacun a dit ce qui ne va pas.

**Problem with ACATBLI among the literacy coordinators**

C.4.JR 47m Donc, cette entente c'était arrivé pendant une réunion comme l'assemblée générale, pendant 

C.4.ANA ff. [oui, plusieurs réunions nous-mêmes] on a fait plusieurs réunions pour discuter de cela.

**Problem at the local association level**

C.4.GD 54m (interprété par ANA) on a débattu de ces problèmes là, on a traîné ça pendant {smile in his voice} pratiquement un mois avant de pouvoir élire le bureau. On a discuté d'ici et de loin là est que vraiment, si on ne fait pas attention, on risque de de de faire une association mort-née.

**Problem with teachers**

C.4.GD 59m (interprété par ANA) Bon, c'est résolu, c'est résolu, on nous coordinateurs, superviseurs, d'abord coordinateurs on a tant expliqué ça aux superviseurs et ensemble avec superviseurs on a fait des réunions sur des rumeurs avec les anciens moniteurs là pour pouvoir vraiment les amener à raison, pour leur dire .. ce qui il faut pour qu'ils puissent continuer à travailler.

**Problem at association level with member churches**

C.5.OK 21m Donc, c'est par la la voie de négociation et à plusieurs reprises par ce moyen nous sommes arrivés à faire revenir beaucoup, certaines qui sont en voie de dérailler.

These examples show that patience is an essential factor in group management and problem-solving among the Ifè. Several secondary elements of the representation emerged during the discussions of patience and the management of problems: decision-making in groups and love or compassion for everyone. These will be discussed later in this chapter. However, first let us consider other fundamental components of the SR of leaders.
4.1.2 Faithfulness

Faithfulness (la fidélité) is another very important quality in an Ifé leader. Participants in four interviews placed it among the most important ones for a leader and/or a literacy program head. This quality was also mentioned by the ACATBLI literacy directors during my 2007 research project on leaders and literacy program heads. It is interesting to note that, as one person said, “la fidélité englobe beaucoup de choses” (“Faithfulness covers many things”; C.1.NK 4m). Other people also specified several actions and attitudes that are included in this concept, thereby showing the fundamentality of this feature of the representation and how central qualities generate others.

AgbA 10 Oct 07 (for a leader) Il est fidèle. Il gère correctement les fonds, il est impartial, ouvert aux innovations de développement. (explanation of the importance of this quality for a leader) Savoir gérer le personnel, le matériel didactique, roulant, du bureau et les fonds du programme. Avoir une comptabilité saine pour pouvoir gagner la confiance des bailleurs.

SK 10 Oct 07 (explanation of the importance of this quality for a leader) Il est impartial à tel point que les villageois lui font confiance. Il aime assumer sa responsabilité. (and for a literacy program head) Savoir gérer le personnel et les fonds du programme. Avoir une comptabilité saine.

From the above extracts, it seems a major component of faithfulness is conscientiousness, although the French equivalent never appeared in the interviews. However, one translation of conscientious is honnêteté, or honesty. Although this word also was not used, the importance of truthfulness as part of fidelity did appear in one interview.

C.1.NK 4m Fidélité dans ses actions d'abord, fidélité dans la gestion ... de de l'entreprise, fidélité aussi en parole tu ne peux pas dire autre chose et le lendemain dis autre chose . ou bien ce que tu vas dire, peut-être vous avez posé un acte que vous avez tous .. eh . discuté, décidé donc, être fidèle aussi dans sa conduite dans son accomplissement. Voilà.
Another quality one person tentatively identified as linked to faithfulness was soundness of reasoning (justesse).

C.2.VA2 11m ou bien justesse rentre dans la fidélité, je ne sais pas,

However, consensus on the components of faithfulness does not always exist, as this extract from AVID’s second interview shows. One person claims you need to care about everyone, but another disagrees.

C.1.YMA 3m30s Bí ó wà tsòtító, bí ó wà tsòtító nàa dzáfó-onyà kpó.
    Si tu es fidèle, si tu es fidèle, tu aimeras tout le monde.

    Tu peux être fidèle sans aimer tout le monde.

C.1.YMA ff. Ni ó kò wà tsòtító ŋněć.
    Alors là tu n'es pas fidèle.

Some indications of the motivations for the inclusion of this quality appear in the extracts above. Nevertheless, the principle reason a leader should be faithful is clear: so that the work can succeed.

C.2.VA3 6m30 Ètí ó wà kpataki, bí ó dzé ògá tsí ó kò wà tsòtító, kò sá.
    La fidélité est très importante, si tu es chef, et tu ne pratiques pas la fidélité, c'est mauvais.

    C'est ça. Ça détruit l'association.

C.3.AmA 25m50s Ò rí fee, ó wà ní fee, bí ónyà-kā dzé ògá fee, tsí esprit de fidélité kò wà ŋně fee, itsé é kò bòkó rē.
    Tu vois, il faut que, si quelqu'un est chef, ne possédant pas l'esprit de fidélité, le travail ne pourra pas marcher.

C.5.EK 13m S'il n'y a pas la fidélité, bon, nous allons chuter dans le travail.

This concern for the smooth functioning of the group surfaced in another area of AMIADA’s interview. They linked the quality of being dynamic, or active, to the healthy functioning of a group. The lead-in to this quality in AMIADA’s interview was a saying (when the head is sick, the whole body doesn’t feel well),
followed by a family analogy before the conclusion that a leader must be
dynamic.

C.3.SY 8m (interpreted) Le chef c'est lui la tête. Et quand la tête est
malade, tout le corps ne se sent pas bien. Par exemple, un
père de famille qui est mou, qui n'est pas éveillé, qui ne
réveille pas qui ne fait pas travailler bien ses enfants, les
enfants sont derrière lui, quand papa parle, on fait, il ne parle
pas, ils restent là. Alors, un chef de groupe, un groupe quoi
c'est soit, il doit être quelqu'un qui soit vraiment dynamique et
aider le groupe à se mouvoir.

This quality of being dynamic or active may be one generated by fidelity.
AVID’s participants put the two together as they began their identification of
qualities of board members.

C.1.NK 10m20s Donc, ces membres du comité, le comité-là, doit être
aussi un comité .. ho .. fidèle.

C.1.YMA ff. actif
C.1.NK ff. actif .. et ... fidèle actif,

We see then that faithfulness is truly a fundamental aspect of leadership
for the Ifè. It is important in order to gain the trust of collaborators and to do work
well. These extracts also show that impartiality and righteousness, as well as
possibly caring and dynamism, are a few of the features generated by
faithfulness.

4.1.3 Exemplary

An Ifè leader should also live an exemplary life. This accords with
descriptions of African leadership in general as related in chapter 2, section
2.1.3. One participant, in fact, began his description of a leader by saying that a
leader should have good behavior and be an example (C.1.NK non-recorded
section). The Ifè want to be able to trust their leaders in all things. The village
women in Interview D put this quality among the most important ones, in contrast
to the men of their area. These latter, had, however, included exemplary in their
list of desired characteristics of a leader, defined by them as “he does things
correctly” (“il fait des choses justes”); and irreproachable, defined as “he does not do things for which he can be reproached” (“il ne fait pas des choses qu’on peut lui reprocher”). Two groups stated that a leader should be a good model, or a good example to others.

C.1.AgA 3m20s  Ó kó dzé ene yèé dzé àritse ọnyà ọhọ.  
Être un modèle pour les autres aussi.

C.2.VA2 3m Si je peux ajouter, je veux dire, ce qu'il vient de le dire, il doit être exemplaire, comme il {VA3} l'a dit,

Other groups specified the manner through which a leader is a model. Both the general qualities of good behavior and/or good morality were given as well as specific behaviors to do or to avoid.

C.4.ANA 3m50s Et il faudrait aussi qu'il ait un bon comportement, une bonne moralité, .. puisque c'est lui qui doit donner exemple aux autres, un bon leadership doit montrer comment faire et non dicter ce qu'on doit faire.

Il doit savoir bien se comporter, éviter des rumeurs de dette à son égard, que ce soit ailleurs ou dans l'association. Il faut que le président, le secrétaire et le trésorier aient le même comportement positif, être unis, que leurs paroles ne diffèrent pas les unes des autres.

VADEMI participants explained the reason that good behavior is particularly important for a literacy program leader:

C.2.VA2 14m Donc uhn bon, notre travail là, si tu: . bon: tes comportements . ne ho n'est pas .. doux, pour attirer les autres, tu auras beaucoup de problèmes. Donc, il faudrait que tu sois exemplaire, et: partant de là, bon, tu peux quand même attirer les gens et faire passer aisément . ho: tes= c'est-à-dire .. le message quoi.
Il doit il doit avoir aussi une portion d'une vie morale saine.

Mmm. Oui, xx

 Ça c'est, je vois ça important .. sa vie . dans le milieu . joue beaucoup. Donc uhn il doit quand même . adopter certains comportements, comme on vient de le dire, qu'ils vont: qu'ils ne seront pas, ne feront pas obstacle . à ce programme d'alphabetisation.

C'est ça.

I asked the ADCIBA participants to specify what they understood by the phrases good behavior and good morality, since the norms for behavior and morality vary from culture to culture. The response of the treasurer (and a literacy coordinator) is below.

Chez nous ici, en Afrique surtout, il ne faudrait pas que ça soit quelqu'un qui commet l'adultère, il ne faudrait pas ça soit quelqu'un qui vole. Le vol=.. ce n'est pas quelqu'un qui est trop arrogant, qui .. est agressif et qui vraiment qui se bagarre avec beaucoup de personnes, il ne faudrait pas que ce soit quelqu'un= un soûlard. Quelqu'un qui soûle et dit des choses sans s'en rendre compte que, ce que je dis n'est pas bon. Surtout cette première part là, c'est, disons, bon .. ce catégorie là, l'Africain surtout au niveau de l'adultère, l'Africain est trop rigoureux sur ça. Et c'est que ça met TROP de temps à ce qu'on puisse diriger pour oublier. Tu commets adulte .. cette année maintenant dans vingt ans, les familles ne vont pas laisser tomber. C'est pourquoi on aussi se méfie beaucoup de ça là.

In describing the qualities desired in a board member, another ADCIBA member repeated that he should avoid committing adultery, especially taking the wife of another. He used a proverb to emphasize his point that such a situation would have lasting repercussions: it's like a bottle in the ground, which never decays.

Il faut que en .. au sein du BE ou bien du bureau exécutif qu'il y ait l'amour entre les membres, pour éviter aussi l'adultère comme l'autre l'avait dit et éviter de
prendre la femme d'autrui. Quand ça là ça intègre le groupe-là ça ne peut jamais marcher. C'est comme nos anciens le dit, c'est comme un bouteille dans le sol, qui ne pourrit jamais. {several people chuckle} Voila, donc, il faut tout faire pour éviter cette situation.

Most of the behaviors to avoid were also named by other groups. A VADEMI participant specified that a person who commits adultery\(^\text{13}\) or who steals should not have any responsibilities in a literacy program. An AMIADA member agreed that aggression is not a desirable quality in a leader.

C.2.VA2 17m30s Bon, comme on dit le pourquoi, bon moi, je, normalement, pour un homme comme ça, il ne c'est pas un alphabète, qui va chercher à courir les femmes des autres ou bien quelqu'un bon qui sait bon .. qui qui vole, par exemple. Si tu as ce caractère, donc, tu n'es pas bien placé pour ce travail.

C.3.AmA 1m50s il ne faut pas qu'il soit un chef aussi violent.

The opposite of arrogance, humility, is a quality that was named by three groups: VADEMI, \textit{Jésus le Chemin} and the men in \textit{Interview D}. These last listed it as a quality for a literacy program head, whereas participants in the VADEMI and \textit{Jésus le Chemin} interviews identified it as a necessary characteristic for two types of different leaders. Those in VADEMI gave it for all leaders as well as for board members; \textit{Jésus le Chemin}'s members presented it for a literacy program leader in addition to board members. The latter group explained why they see it as an important quality.

C.2.VA2 5m52s \textit{Eeh! Œ wà ní kó tse nam gbo, ilò-re, bon, ŋkọ-re, avec bon, ọ́ọ́ẹ́ ọ́ ṣe, ŋkọ-re ní nò?} Oui! Il faut qu'il fasse chose aussi, bon comportement, bon, un beau nom, avec bon, ça là, un beau nom n'est-ce pas?

C.2.VA1 ff. \textit{Ngọ-re. ÈÈ! Ènc yèè wà balẹ-ara-è. Ènè ọ́ọ́ẹ́ ẹ́ ná nyàa wò ní nò è gé ni .. parce que bì ọ́gá-kà wà tsi tsi ińè}

\(^{13}\) Adultery is defined in the Ifè culture as a man sleeping with another man's wife, as well as a woman who sleeps with a man not her husband (A. Agbémadon and K. Sétodji, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2010).
In summary, the Ifè require that their leaders lead an exemplary life. They want these people to be humble, and not aggressive. They should not steal or commit adultery. Essentially, this model life is necessary to ensure that their subordinates will submit to them and that the work will succeed. This element of the representation was raised by many participants regardless of their role in society, so is classified as a fundamental feature of leadership.

4.1.4 Competent in work

Another fundamental, normative element in the SR of leadership for the Ifè is competence. Two people referred to this quality when they defined a leader. Another cited it in their description of an association’s board.

C.3.AmA 1m13s Quand on dit que quelqu'un est un chef dans une association, ou soit il est responsable d'une association, d’abord, on doit avoir en lui . eh la compétence . de son
travail. Est-ce que celui-là, la responsabilité à qui on le confie là, est-ce qu'il est compétent dedans. Est-ce qu'il a la compétence. Ça c'est une première qualité chez moi.

C.5.BK 2m Donc, le chef c'est celui-là qui est censé .. avoir la compétence, la maturité et l'esprit de coordination, pour avoir .. une manière de gérer par concert, donc, lui il prend les idées et les= il les travaille afin d'avoir un produit pour pouvoir amener à bien le groupe sur lequel il est établi chef.

C.1.NK 9m20s Bon, les qualités, moi je vois le bureau exécutif .. est l'organe qui est capable, c'est-à-dire qui a toutes les: .. les qualités possibles pour diriger.

Mr. Agbémadon, during my 2007 research project on leader representations, stated that competence should be a characteristic of literacy program heads. He explained: “Il doit vraiment connaître son travail, être capable de diriger, pouvoir planifier les activités.” (“He should really know his work, be able to direct, to be able to plan activities”). This point is very important for the analysis of capacity building done in and by ACATBLI; I will return to it in chapter 6.

A leader is expected to be competent in several domains. The most important is competence in group management, that which should be done “par concert” (“in concert”; C.5.BK 2m12s). To do that well, the leader needs to have several abilities, such as skills in decision-making, meeting management, problem-solving, and public speaking. Even though decisions may be made by consensus, the final responsibility for the decision apparently rests with the leader.

AgbA 10 Oct 07 Un chef est sage. Il sait prendre des décisions, il a l'aptitude professionnelle (savoir diriger, coordonner les activités, avoir le sens de l'organisation).

C.1.NK 0m13s D'accord. Je disais que le chef là bon il doit savoir écouter ses collaborateurs, il doit pouvoir distribuer au cours de la réunion les paroles à ses collaborateurs, il doit être aussi, comme la dame l'a dit, pardonner, savoir pardonner . et ..
savoir aussi diriger les réunions dans le sens est-ce que chacun puisse envoyer ses idées et maintenant il doit savoir aussi AGIR, agir en quelque sorte que, si quelqu'un donne peut-être ses idées, il ne doit pas le rejeter inxxment comme ce n'est pas fondé. Donc il doit accepter TOUT et ensemble analyser l'idée là d'abord.

This concern that a leader listens to his or her colleagues or subordinates was expressed by several people, as only in that way can s/he correctly administer the group.

C.3.SY 6m (interpreted) Alors, il reçoit beaucoup de choses, c'est-à-dire de gauche à droite, lui il reçoit il sait comment maintenant administrer pour que ça puisse marcher.

C.5.DO 4m (interpreted) tout le monde vient déposer ce qu'il a, bien comme le mal, et lui reçoit. Et, c'est au chef maintenant de mettre une différence entre tout ce qu'il reçoit et choisir ce qui est bien.

Another skill needed by leaders for group management is public speaking. This includes not just confidence, but the ability to maintain a calm demeanor even when difficult issues are argued.

C.4.GĐ 2m50s Kó dzé ònyà-kà yéé bí ó bòkó wiïnyë ñwádzú-ònyà ni odzo kà tse é, tsi bí ó bòkó wiïnyë fù ònyà ni náa máà fôô, tsi bí afò éc le gidì tsi ó bòkó dzé orù fù olèè ni nákó nyàa nyíí fô ë.

Un bon chef doit avoir le courage de parler devant les gens sans peur. Il doit savoir s'adresser aussi aux gens, savoir parler, ne parler pas avec arrogance en répondant aux questions mais avec sagesse et douceur quand bien même la question est d'un ton dur ou fort.

C.4.ANA 6m30s il faut vraiment un responsable . qui arrive à bien gérer tout ce qui arrive, et dans une condition difficile, ça dit quand il y a difficultés, c'est-à-dire au cours de l'exécution de . de d'un programme, quand une difficulté rentre dedans. Ça dit qu'une situation difficile vient, il faudrait que celui-là soit en mesure quand même de diriger, de diriger ça, d'une manière
à ce que l'association ne soit pas bloquée. C'est très important pour le leadership.

These extracts also show that the idea of competence generates several other elements of the representation, such as discernment, wisdom, and knowledge of administration, management, and supervision. It is also important for a leader to listen well to his subordinates and to accept without defensiveness all that they say to him. He should equally know how to speak in public and calm down or persuade his audience when necessary. As Mr. Saanya and Mr. Affonfééré noted, without competence and all the qualities linked to it, the work would be blocked and nothing would be accomplished.

4.1.5 Does not dictate

A distaste for dictatorship is very strong among the Ifè. For them, it is absolutely essential for a leader to make his decisions in harmony with the group’s thinking. This accords well with writings on African leadership discussed in chapter 2 that indicate the importance of consensus and the presence of notions of participatory leadership in sub-Saharan regions.

C.1.NK 1m Donc il doit accepter TOUT et ensemble analyser l'idée-là d'abord. Donc, il ne doit pas être un dictateur. Il doit pas être dictateur.

C.2.VA2 36m25s Ils {adults} ne veulent pas qu'une seule personne décide que bon, aujourd'hui on doit faire ceci et ainsi de suite comme ça. Un adulte n'aime pas une situation comme ça.

Again, the importance of listening to others emerges as a significant factor in making decisions that will advance the group or the work.

C.5.EK 5m09s Il ne doit pas aussi décider de quelque chose en lui-même, en lui seul, disons que je suis chef, donc je vais agir comme je veux. Il doit appeler ses membres et et poser la question, poser la situation et ensemble ils vont discuter et trouver la meilleure solution.
One point brought out by speakers in two groups was that ignoring or refusing to hear the advice of subordinates is a way of mistreating them that will discourage them and prevent the work from being accomplished.

C.3.AmA 43m28s c'est-à-dire le chef doit considérer les subordonnés, il ne faut pas que le chef prenne les décisions seul. Il ne faut pas que le chef soit un chef dictatoral. Lui seul va prendre des décisions comme tel, c'est ça que je veuille qu'on fasse .. sans avoir l'avis des subordonnés, sans recueillir leurs informations, leurs idées . alors, si c'est comme ça, si les subordonnés sont mal traités, le travail ne peut pas avancer.

C.5.DO 32m (interpreted) Bon, dans un groupe ou bien dans une association, c'est le chef est là, et qu'il amène un problème, il doit désirer recevoir l'opinion de chacun. Et recueillir les idées, débattre ensemble afin de prendre une décision. Et sans ça, l'association ne peut pas évoluer. Et quand les subordonnées ou bien ses collaborateurs finiront par découvrir que non, notre chef, notre patron est en train de faire le .. il se faire de s'autoproclamer, ou bien il décide seul ce qu'il veut, finalement, ils vont désister ou bien se décourager, se retirer et le travail ne peut plus avancer. Là, il faut la collaboration.

In addition, among the affirmations of what makes for a healthy organization, seven people chose the proposition “un programme d’alphabétisation réussira le mieux lorsque tous les membres peuvent donner leur opinion lorsqu’il faut prendre les décisions” (“a literacy program will best succeed when all its members can give their opinion when decisions are being made”). These seven people represent four different associations, which seems to imply that the skill of decision-making in groups is a shared component of the representation of leadership.

Tied very closely to the idea that a leader must not dictate is that he needs to have a realistic view of his position in the group, and not an overly proud one.

C.5.EK 30m c'est bien à ce que si un groupe veut faire un travail, bon le chef de ce groupe, il ne faudra pas qu'il ait, bon, qu'il se regarde déjà .. trop haut, il dise c'est moi qui suis le chef,
donc, je vais prendre seulement, seul ma décision pour
duire le travail, donc ça ne va pas marcher. Il faut
appeler les membres et vous asseyez et chacun donne son
opinion, et à base de cela, on retranche ce qui n'est pas bon,
et ceux qui sont ceux qui sont bon, on les ajoute, et c'est
enSEMBle qu'on peut faire évoluter un groupe.

In fact, lack of pride (*orgueil*) or presence of humility was expressly stated
as a desirable characteristic by several groups. This includes the Itséré men, who
listed it as necessary for a literacy program leader. VADEMI participants framed
these notions of humility and listening to other in terms of submitting to others.

C.2.VA2 4m  il doit se soumettre, pour que la chose passe bien et au
moment important, c'est à lui d'agir quand même.

C.2.VA1 ff. Il doit avoir aussi la qualité d'écouter les autres. Il doit,
comme notre frère vient= le président vient de le dire, il doit
être toujours disponible à écouter les autres et à analyser les
idées des autres et avoir comment on peut quand même ..
pratiquer certaines idées que les autres ont amené.

They went on to link all these qualities, along with a good reputation, with
the notion of a servant leader.

C.2.VA1 5m42s  Nákó bała-ara-ɛ, nákó ṃí òmatsé fú ënc atí bò ṃa.
Il doit soumettre, devenir serviteur aux autres.

C.2.VA2 ff.  Ó ṃí òmatsé, nn
Il devient serviteur, oui.

C.2.VA1 ff.  Òč ní õdáyé giği fó fú wa á ínɛč. Ënc yeɛ dzé ṣá ṣá, ó
wà ní kó dzé òmatsé fú enikëédzì-ɛ ni, nn!
C'est ce que Dieu lui-même nous dit. Celui qui est chef, il
faut qu'il soit serviteur aux autres, oui!

C.2.VA2 ff.  Ó wà ní kó dzé òmatsé giği ni, nn! C'est ça, se
soumettre. Eeh! Ó wà ní kó tse nam gbo, ilò-re, bon,
ńkò-re, avec bon, ñëɛɛg ñu ë, ñkò-re ní nò?
Il faut qu'il soit vraiment serviteur, oui! C'est ça, se
soumettre. Eeh! Il faut qu'il fasse chose aussi, bon
comportement, bon, un beau nom, avec bon, ça là, un beau
nom n'est-ce pas?
C.2.VA1 ff.  

Un beau nom. Oui, qu'il soit celui qui s'humilie. Tout cela doit rentrer dedans obligatoirement .. parce que s'il y a quelqu'un et s'il dit quelque chose, il veut que cela soit sans doute fait, alors ça.

Finally, as the last part of the extract above shows, discussion of the characteristic of not dictating also returns to the idea that a leader should model appropriate behavior.

C.4.ANA 4m  un bon leadership doit montrer comment faire et non dicter ce qu'on doit faire.

The fundamental characteristics of leadership among the Ifè thus reveal the importance of patience, faithfulness, competence, and high moral standards in intragroup interactions between leaders and followers. In addition, leaders ought to make decisions with the group, demonstrating humility. Without these qualities, relationships and thus the work are damaged. Secondary characteristics of the shared representation of leadership also are important in the maintenance of good relations and the accomplishment of the work; these are discussed next.

4.1.6 Some of the secondary features

Certain elements generated by the fundamental features of the representation were identified above. In this section, those themes raised by three or four groups will be discussed, as well as ones that, while cited by only two groups, were identified as highly important by one of them. These elements are considered secondary, less fundamental although still important components of the representation: caring, forgiving, literate, serious, and available.

4.1.6.1 Caring

Three French words were used in the interviews that I have combined under the term caring: amour, aimer (tout le monde), and *compassionner. These
qualities were identified as most important during the AVID, AMIADA and Itséré interviews. Both leaders in general and literacy leaders should care about the people they are over.

C.3.MK 3m25s il faut que la personne {chef}, premièrement,
*compassionne de tout le monde.

C.3.AmA 10m La deuxième qualité, il faut qu'il soit aussi amour il faut aimer le= il faut qu'il il faut que la personne {responsable} aime d'abord le travail qui est devant lui il faut qu'il aime aussi celui= cela cela qu'il veut gouverner, ceux qu'il veut diriger, il faut qu'il les aime. Donc, il ne peut pas travailler sans l'amour. Ça c'est la deuxième qualité.

Discussion of this quality in Ifè was lively during both AVID’s and AMIADA’s interviews, as some participants see this characteristic as an element of other qualities.

C.1.AgA 3m27s Ɛ̀kɛ́ɛ̀ta á, ó kó dzé e′nɛ yɛɛ naá dzáfɔ̃-ɔ̃nyá kpó.
La troisième, être celui qui aime tout le monde.

Si tu es fidèle, si tu es fidèle, tu aimeras tout le monde.

Tu peux être fidèle sans aimer tout le monde.

C.1.YMA ff. Ni ó kó wà tsòtí tô ńnɛɛ.
Alors là tu n'es pas fidèle.

C.1.AgA ff. N dzá si bè tâná.
Je m’arrête là en attendant.

From this extract we see that faithfulness and caring are closely related concepts for some Ifè. The following extract shows that caring has a tie to patience as well.

C.3.AmA 20m21s Nhú, àmúqő.
Et ensuite, l’amour.

C.3.MK ff. Àtɛ̀si è fee, òŋu àmúqő è... Je veux savoir, entre la patience et l’amour ...

Jamais, c’est différent.
C.3.SY ff.  Àtësi fee, nàa nyàa né àmúdqó fú ɔnyà tśi ò kàà né àtësi.
Pour la patience, tu peux aimer quelqu'un et ne pas avoir la patience.

C.3.AmA ff.  Oui!

C.3.SY ff.  Ó wà yé e bāyīi? Nàa nyàa, nàa nyàa, iwo ɔnyà mëédzì nákó wà kpàqè bë, tsi nákó wà tsàmúdqó fú ŋè, àmà bí ó wá a tó ŋñwèrè-itsè, nàa ké-ara-è. Ìmù ni dzë bë è, bí ó kë afó-kà wá, à kà gbàà si ŋné fùu.
Comprends-tu maintenant ? Tu peux, tu peux, toi tu te familiariser avec quelqu'un qui vous aime, mais s'il s'agit de travailler, ce dernier devient hautain. C'est lui qui se voit au dessus, alors si tu avance une idée, on ne l'accepte pas.

The Itséré men listed the quality of caring for both chefs and for literacy program heads. When they explained why it was so important for chefs, they indicated it would help them carry out one of their responsibilities without prejudice.

D.Rep. men 16s  Et s'il aime tout le monde aussi, même si ses ennemies viennent, il va bien juger.

The ADCIBA vice president also insisted that board members should care about each other in order for the association to succeed.

C.4.GĐ 21m55s  Ènɛ yèɛ dzɛ èwɔ-ɛgbɛ è, ó wà ni nààŋiri ŋà, ó wà ni àmúdqó kò wà nààŋiri ŋà, bí ó dzɛ ni àmúdqó kò wà, ɛgbɛ è kà lo.
L'amour est très indispensable entre les membres du BE, sans cela, l'association ne réussira pas.

He continued his explanation a bit later, showing exactly how the lack of caring, as demonstrated by a lack of listening to others, can bring about failure in the association:

C.4.GĐ 22m10s  Yàtò fú nyèŋɛ gbò ró è, bí ó dzɛ ní, nààŋirì ãŋà mëcɛtà nyèŋɛ, bí ó dzɛ ɔkpì-afò gbìgbò kò wà, fû ɔnyà-kà nààŋirì ilù è, tsi bódzè à wiìnyè gé, ènɛ nyèŋɛ gé ní kà gbò ɔkpì-afò fú ilù è, nàa tse tsí ilù è nàa kpì mëédzì. À nàà kpì torì ɔnyà nyèŋɛ tsi à kà nyàa tse ɛgbɛ è gbò ró.
Autre chose à remarquer, si l'un des membres du BE n'aime
pas ou n'a pas l'habitude de comprendre écouter les membres de l'association, ceci neutralise les efforts des autres et il y a division. Ils deviennent divisés à cause de cette personne puis ils n'arrivent plus à continuer la vie en association.

However, as is true with social representations, contrary cases are recognized (Moliner, 2002). When I asked the AMIADA participants if the four most important qualities they had listed for a leader were equally true for a traditional chief, one person said no, but another said yes, although he recognized that there are traditional chiefs that do not possess them. When I then asked the first person if he would have responded differently if I had asked for the qualities of a good leader, he affirmed that he would have.

C.3.MK 27m15s Bon, ça serait différent. {discussion of other qualities}
Donc. là-bas il faut .. premièremment, il y a des chefs dans bon dans le milieu qui n'ont pas l'amour.

C.3.AmA 29m Moi je vais aller un peu .. dans un sens contraire à ce que le frère vient de dire. Si. il s'agit d'un chef . du village, avant d'êlire un chef . dans un village, je vois que ces qualités aussi sont importantes .. à un chef d'un village. {discussion re: patience and availableness} {tongue click} Moi je veut dire automatiquement que selon moi, dans mon humble avis d'œil que, cet étape= ces trois= ces quatre qualités-là. .. sont aussi importantes à un chef du village . selon moi. Mais contrairement, on voit le côté opposé. . de chef . dans nos villages. Donc, normalement, il faut que ces qualités soient . dans le chef.

C.3.JR ff. Donc, si j'avais demandé les qualités d'un BON chef, est-ce que ça aurait changé votre..

C.3.MK ff. Oui, si on dit un bon chef, donc, automatiquement, ces sont ces qualités-là. Mais si on dit le CHEF, ça c'est vague. I= donc c'est un bon chef, automatiquement, c'est ça.

When I asked what the other two participants in VADEMI’s interview thought about this issue, they agreed; a good leader should have the attributes discussed, including caring, but examples of leaders in the area who do not practice these qualities are well known.
Je veux ajouter, un chef doit avoir ces qualités-là. Les quatre un bon chef doit avoir ça. Même si c'est un chef de village, il fait ces quatre qualités-là xx, et c'est fini.

C.3.SY 32m (interpreted) Il dit que, ce que les frères ont dit, que c'est vrai et souvent ces qualités on les retrouve dans des responsables des services administratifs. Et souvent ils essaient de les mettre en pratique pour que tous le personnel puisse bien travailler. Mais de l'autre côté, quand on voit nos chefs aujourd'hui, ils ne font que le contraire.

Practical examples of caring for subordinates are seen in the ACATBLI leaders. During one of the interviews, Mr. Agbémadon indicated that he was currently hosting a former literacy teacher in order to help him put some money in a bank account. This emerged during a discussion of their perceived strengths, one of which is a lack of pride, or haughtiness.

A.3.AgbA 34m49s Eh . notre force, comme je l'ai dit que . il n'y a pas d'orgueil, ça ce ça s'est fait voir au moment où ILS nous abordent .. et ils viennent à nous présenter leurs problèmes de la maison même. Donc, il y a une . confiance qui est là, qu'il peut amener son problème de la maison avec sa femme, ses enfants, bon, souvent on essaye de . les diriger un peu. [C'est ça.]

A.3.SK ff [C'est ça que] je dis même que actuellement avec nos moniteurs, nous ne sommes plus .. pour dire leurs chefs de travail, mais nous sommes devenus des frères. Nous sommes devenus des frères, n'importe qui vient maintenant à Atakpamé, veux voir eh va aller chez Akoété, va aller chez Kudjo, ou bien chez Akpovi. On est devenu des frères mêmes. On est trop lié.


In summary, the quality of caring is seen as important even though it is not practiced by every leader. Caring has links to other leadership attributes, notably
patience and faithfulness, as well as lack pride or haughtiness. If a leader cares about his subordinates and colleagues, he will listen well, judge fairly and give practical help. This is consistent with other research highlighting the importance of maintaining good relationships in Africa (Jahn, 1972; Maranz, 2001; Theimann, 2007; Theimann & April, 2007;).

4.1.6.2 Forgiving

Another area that manifests this overall societal importance of maintaining harmonious relationships typical in Africa is the importance of forgiveness on the part of leaders. Three groups listed this as important for leaders in general: the men and women of Itséré, and AVID, although none listed it as essential. The first person in AVID’s interview to mention this quality did so while the recorder was not working, so her comments are lost. However, another person did bring it up.

C.1.NK 0m25s il doit être aussi, comme la dame l'a dit, pardonner, savoir pardonner.

AVID members later gave the example of their management of a problem with a literacy supervisor. The fact that they in essence forgave him the problems he caused them with the police by not suspending him reveals the importance of this quality in their representation of leadership.

4.1.6.3 Literate

Since the context of the interviews was in meetings with literacy personnel, with even the village interview taking place after a literacy teacher meeting, it is perhaps not surprising that being literate came out as a desired characteristic for leaders. Interestingly, while being literate was given as an important quality for both leaders in general and for board members, it was not specifically listed as one for a literacy program head. This is likely because it is so essential to the role that no discussion is needed (Chhokar et al., 2007).
The importance of "knowing paper" is seen as very important in the modern world, and since leaders in this world must communicate with others, literateness is necessary according to ADCIBA members, the Itséré men, and the ACATBLI literacy leaders.

C.4.ANA 9m  Bon, aussi, une aptitude très important, c'est que celui-là pour ce nouveau monde, il doit être lettré {laughs}. Mais dans le cas contraire, il ne peut pas avancer. Il doit être lettré, c'est obligatoire.

One of the Beninese men noted, during a discussion of why literacy in the local language is important, that literateness is becoming a skill that outweighs other, usually more fundamental characteristics when leaders are being selected; an illiterate person is frequently no longer seriously considered for leadership positions even when he possesses the other qualities generally considered essential for a leader. It is particularly significant that this view was stated by one of the men who became literate through the literacy program, not through school.

C.4.KĐ 1h12m (interpreted) C'est vrai, aujourd'hui un dirigeant, quelqu'un peut avoir ces qualités et premièrement diriger un groupe, mais il a la lacune de ne pas avoir l'alphabétisation ou bien, il n'est pas lettré. Alors, les gens pensent que celui-ci, il peut le faire, mais voilà il est bloqué à ce niveau il n'est pas lettré, il ne connaît pas papier. Celui-là qu'on voit qui ne peut même, qui n'a pas ces qualités mais qui connait papier, c'est lui qu'on peut laisser à ce poste-là.

The Itséré men specified the reason that a leader should be literate; in order to write reports after a decision has been made.

D.Rep. men 22s  S'il est lettré, tout ce qu'il juge, il va faire ses rapports.

The ACATBLI literacy coordinator listed other reasons for a leader to be literate, which include being informed about laws and about new ideas for the development of the community.

SK 10 Oct. 07  Il doit être lettré pour mieux s'informer, habileté à assister à réunion, avoir accès à la lecture sur le développement,
pouvoir transcrire des innovations, lire les documents sur la législation.

While being literate is important, however, the level of literacy required for a board member is not necessarily a very high one. The coordinator of the Doumé zone explains why: too often, highly literate people seem to have no time to help others in their village.

C.4.ANA 25m10s Donc, comme ça c'est pourquoi c'est maintenant nécessaire, d'après l'évolution du monde, c'est vraiment nécessaire que le trio-là, président, trésorier, secrétaire, tous ce trois-là, sachent lire et écrire, tout au moins. On ne va pas exiger un diplo ou un haut niveau, puisque on n'a pas souvent la chance surtout dans les villages ou bien les localités rurales de trouver des gens qui qui sont vraiment lettrés, c'est-à-dire qui ont un niveau élevé, et qui vont se donner à faire évoluer les autres c'est-à-dire aider les autres. Souvent c'est des gens qui pensent déjà comment construire des grandes maisons comment acheter la belle voiture, et ceux-là n'ont plus le temps d'aider les autres. Ehen, donc ceux-là aussi pensent surtout déjà au grand salaire, donc, ceux-là n'ont plus le temps de faire face à l'évolution de leur localité, vous voyez. Donc c'est souvent des gens qui ont à peine le niveau euh primaire ou bien à peine, bon, à peine le niveau secondaire par exemple jusqu'au troisième ou plus en a, c'est c'est souvent des gens-là, parmi les gens-là qu'on trouve les gens qui se donnent au développement pour leur communauté.

In fact the AMIADA coordinator noted that many literacy program graduates have taken on leadership positions, in the church and in the community at large.

B.3.AmA 1h11m Que je vois que maintenant, grâce à l'alphabétisation et grâce à .. à ce travail que nous faisons d'alphabet= dans ce domaine d'alphabétisation, j'ai vu que .. euh beaucoup de gens occupent de petits, des petits postes des petits postes petits postes. C'est-à-dire que, par exemple, lui {indicating SY}, il est diacre maintenant dans une église. Il était inconverti quand on a commencé le travail. Mais, il a vu que
le travail-là c'est bon. Et il s'est converti. Maintenant, il est devenu un diacre dans son église. Et il est aussi aussi programmé prédicateur. Il prêche correctement et les autres interprètent dans d'autres langues. Ça c'est un fruit. Et il n'est pas le seul. Il y a aussi d'autres exemplaires. Il y a aussi d'autres gens plutôt que, on ne peut pas tous les citer. L'autre que vous voyez là-bas. {indicating someone seated at the back of the hall}. Lui, c'est un superviseur. Il est à Affolé, il est à la frontière {with Benin}. Quand il y a un projet qui concerne le développement, quand le projet arrive, on doit l'atteindre d'abord. Et c'est lui qui accueille les étrangers. C'est lui, quand on dit on veut évoluer, on veut on veut .. euh .. on veut travailler sur le développement au niveau de l'école, on veut avoir telle vision, telle vision sur le plan.

Among the posts acquired by literacy program graduates are literacy supervisor and board member. Two of these gave their testimonies as to the advantages being literate gave them, such as self-assurance and the abilities to figure out how to sound out French and to do math.

B.3.SY 43m (interpreted) Il veut, c'est toujours le même point sur le bien fait de ce que l'alphabétisation a produisie en sa vie, quoi. Bon, en temps que, les gens lui connaissaient comme illettré, analphabète, mais au travers de l'alphabétisation ifè, il arrive maintenant à lire et écrire, et déchiffrer certains mots français. Il peut lire certains mots, mais peut-être ne pas avoir bien le sens. Ça c'est déjà un point. Et c'est par la grâce aujourd'hui, de Dieu aujourd'hui, il arrive à commencer par lire français couramment devant les gens. Tous ceux qui sont retournés, se sont reculés, par cette lecture, cette expression en français, ça peut les faire revenir. Donc, c'est déjà un grand pas, donc aujourd'hui étant superviseur, partant de zéro atteint superviseur c'est un grand pas.

C.5.DO 48m (interpreted) Il dit que la l'alphabétisation est très important du moment où, lui-même il est d'abord un témoignage parce qu'il était complètement, il était illettré, à l'arrivée de l'alphabétisation il s'est impliqué et voilà qu'aujourd'hui il peut faire beaucoup de choses et qu'il est en train de faire d'ailleurs. Donc, ça l'a beaucoup aidé, ça l'a sorti de de
beaucoup de choses d'ignorance, mais il peut aujourd'hui calculer, si c'est de l'argent, dix millions, trente millions, il peut le faire. Il peut se tenir à la banque aujourd'hui, quand le caissier fait mal, fait un calcul, il peut lui dire que non, qu'il n'a que reprendre, parce qu'il est sûr de ce qu'il est en train de faire devant lui.

Board positions held by literacy program graduates include vice-president and advisor. These require the ability to read and write reports. The fact that these men are also living witnesses that it is possible to learn to read and write even as an older adult is perhaps an additional factor in their selection to these leadership posts.

4.1.6.4 Serious

Three groups stated a leader should be serious (sérieux). This representational feature was given by both AVID members and the men of Itséré for leaders in general, and by VADEMI participants for literacy association presidents. Sérieux has several possible translations (see www.wordreference.com/fren/serieux for examples); it seems that the way it was used during the interviews was taking one's work seriously, or being reliable. The reason AVID's leaders included this attribute was lost because of an equipment malfunction. The men of Itséré, however, explained that this quality precludes corruption.

D.Rep. men 11s s'il est sérieux, il ne va pas prendre de l'argent auprès de quelqu'un pour mal juger les affaires.

The reason literacy association presidents should be serious emerged in the discussion of what characteristics make a literacy organization function best.

C.2.VA4 39m55s Bon, exactement, le président de l'association doit être bien surveiller les classes. {3 second pause} Bon, il doit naitre qui= .. qu'il travaille beaucoup, à celui qui amenait . faire tout le monde a compris que tout le travail. Donc, il doit être bon, premièrement, sérieux et surveiller les classes des adultes.
It appears therefore that seriousness, or reliability, is a leadership attribute appreciated for the contribution it makes to the quality of a leader’s work. This characteristic assures that s/he gives the work the attention it should have.

4.1.6.5 Available

Availability (*disponibilité*) was considered to be an important quality for two groups, VADEMI and AMIADA, and was also mentioned during ADCIBA’s interview. This quality, like many others, is seen as crucial for the functioning of the group.

The president of VADEMI, who is also a village chief, indicated that the attitude of the chief towards meetings affects that of his followers.

The discussion among AMIADA members regarding availability led into a discussion about caring about the work and its relationship to availability, or making the time to participate in work activities.

C.2.VA3 3m Un chef doit être disponible puisque si on appelle une réunion c'est un chef, et si le chef dit qu'il est occupé, donc qui va aller ? Donc, le chef doit être disponible aussi.

The discussion among AMIADA members regarding availability led into a discussion about caring about the work and its relationship to availability, or making the time to participate in work activities.

C.3.AmA 21m19s  
*Kibí àa wá nóbé bááyí é, káfárà, tsí idza á kò wá njídzééló gbo kò wá. Bí à kpé kpáqé-ká gbo kò wá lo, bááyí bí à kó tse fáà tsí kée fú tsé é.*

Supposons, comme nous sommes ici aujourd'hui, excusez-moi, qu'on dise que lui type n'est pas venu, l'autre fois aussi, il n'était pas là. Quand on convoque une réunion, il n'y va pas, alors, comment peut-on te confier une tâche à faire.

C.3.MK ff.  
*Ọnú ní kpádzú gidì é.*
C'est ça qui est très important.

C.3.SY ff.  
*Ọnú ní dzé kó dzáfó-tsé,*
C'est ça aimer le travail.

*Nñín, ká dzáfó-tsé wá lò fú ayè ni, ó qí disponibilité fe, Ká né ayè-tsé, ayè-tsé kó wá. Ònyà nákó nyáa nè àmúqó fú tsé tsí kókó wá rí ayè tsí wá wá nè?*

Non, aimer le travail, ça marche avec avoir du temps, pour ce qui concerne la disponibilité. C'est avoir le temps,
disposer un temps pour le travail. L’on peut avoir l’amour pour le travail et ne pas avoir du temps pour y venir ?

C.3.SY ff. \( \tilde{\text{Nn}} \text{̀n} \text{̀ ni} \text{̀ ém} \text{i} \text{̀ n} \text{̀ w} \text{̀ à} \text{̀ w} \text{̀ i} \text{̀ n} \text{̀ k} \text{̀ à} \text{̀ d} \text{̀ zàfô-tsé} \text{̀ é} \text{̀ .} \text{̀} \text{̀ B} \text{̀ i} \text{̀ ó} \text{̀ dzhé} \text{̀ , ó} \text{̀ dzhàfô-tsé} \text{̀ fée, nààsokò-kà kpó, yëè ní tse tsi} \text{̀ n kò làkò ñnè à kò wà \text{̀ kò wà} \text{̀ .} \text{̀ Kà dzhàfô-tsé yàtò fù kà nè àmùsò fù tsé. Kà nè àmudô fù tsé fée, ó dzhé, itsé-àwa dzhó kà kpó, ó dji bò ó dzhé ó džàfô-itsé fée, bò ó dzhé iwo nìikà gidi nàà wà lo ñnè, n kò rí enikéèdzi-mi kò wà ñnè.} \text{̀ C’est pourquoi moi je dis qu’il faut aimer le travail. Si, réellement, tu aimes le travail, à tout moment, ceci empêche, ça ne pourra jamais te bloquer le chemin du travail. Aimer le travail, c’est différent de avoir l’amour pour le travail. Avoir l’amour pour le travail, c’est collectif d’une part, mais, si individuellement tu aimes le travail, même étant seul, tu vas y aller, « je n’ai pas vu mon second » ne sera pas dedans.} \)

C.3.AmA ff. \( \text{Nhù, fò tèc.} \text{̀ Oui, parle.} \)

C.3.MK ff. \( \text{Inè yèè n wà gbò ñnò-ti} \text{̀ } \text{̀ Ce que je comprends dans} \)

C.3.AmA ff. \( \text{Wiinyè kùkù wiinyè kùkù!} \text{̀ Parle à haute voix, parle à haute voix!} \)

C.3.MK ff. \( \text{Inè yèè n wà gbò, inè yèè n wà gbò nità yèè wà fò bâàyì è. Nàà nyàà dżàfô-itsé, tsi itsé yèèbè, à kèè sì ñnè è, džé ayè kò wà fèè, inè yèè tse è nbi wà làkóò è, itsé kè ní è là kò kàà tse è.} \text{̀ Ce que tu as, ce que je comprends en ce qu’il dit maintenant. Tu peux aimer le travail, et le travail devant lequel tu es laissé il faut que tu ais du temps, car là où tu vas, c’est le travail que tu vas faire.} \)

C.3.AmA ff. \( \text{Ô dzàfô-onyà gbò} \text{̀ Tu dois aimer aussi les gens.} \)

vois, avoir du temps pour le travail. Si tu aimes le travail, puis tu apprends qu'il y a un autre travail ailleurs et tu es parti, et si les gens viennent à ton absence, est-ce qu'on peut dire là que tu aimes le travail ? Tu n'aimes pas le travail. Donc, ce qui est là, c'est avoir le temps disposé pour le travail. C'est ça que les frères ont dit, trouver du temps pour le travail, c'est ça le quatrième {point}. La responsabilité est inclue, toutes les autres sont dedans.

In both groups, the point was made that if a leader did not make the time to participate in the work of the group, such as a meeting, his behavior would discourage others from participating. It seems, therefore, that availability is part of being an example to others, as a leader should model the conduct he desires from his followers.

ADCIBA’s participants, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of this quality in order to see that the work is carried out, and went on to link availability to the willingness to make sacrifices for the group.

C.4.KĐ 11m (interpreted) ce responsable de programme doit être disponible à tout moment. S'il y a une nouvelle, un travail à faire, il doit se donner corps et âme pour que cette occasion qui se présente ne soit pas .. comment là ? emportée. Il doit tout faire pour ramener les choses de bien à l'association. Et plus encore, il demande un service, ou bien un sacrifice, il doit se donner pour le faire, il ne doit pas attendre, qu'il va dire celui-ci n'est pas là, l'autre aussi n'est pas là, alors je les attend, au moment où ils seront là, nous allons commencer ensemble le travail, non. Un chef de programme doit se donner et doit se sacrifier pour faire le travail afin que, pour que l'association ou bien le programme puisse bien marcher.

This point of making sacrifices, also mentioned by AMIADA, was also taken up by one of the ADCIBA board members.

C.4.KĐ 12m (interpreted) Un chef de programme doit se donner et doit se sacrifier pour faire le travail afin que, pour que l'association ou bien le programme puisse bien marcher.
In fact, ADCIBA decided that availability and self-sacrificing commitment needed to be qualifications for election to the board. They realized this when the first board president chosen was later elected to a political position. After a long debate, they came to the conclusion that anyone who was chosen to be on the board must be available and committed to literacy work. Otherwise, the association would be stillborn.

Availability thus has to do with making time for the group, but also with listening to others and being willing to make sacrifices. All this has to do with the smooth functioning of the group, both in relationships and in attainment of goals, as do all the other fundamental and secondary features of the representation with the possible exception of literateness.

4.2 Features specific to literacy program leaders

Certain qualities and expectations were only brought up for one type of leader, that is, either a person with program responsibilities (executive, coordinator, or supervisor; un responsable) or a board member. Those that concern a responsable were rarely shared among the groups interviewed. On the
other hand, four qualities or expectations were shared for board members among two or more groups.

One quality, however, was shared by four groups for all literacy program leaders, whether board members or coordinators, supervisors, or program executives: creativity, or innovation. This has been identified also by Western research on leadership as an important characteristic of leaders (Duluc, 2008; Dym & Hutson, 2005). It first emerged in discussions of what qualities were needed by a board.

Later, when participants were asked to choose among five statements about how organizations should function, five people in two groups chose the statement, “The continuity of the life of organizations relies on the creative action of human beings” (Morgan, 1999; see appendix 5 for all five statements and the original French). The explanations of these board members as to why they chose this statement reveal that it is an important element in their representation of a leader in a literacy association.
d'autres choses, .. que . de savoir lire et écrire, on va se
demander à quoi nous sert bon de savoir lire et écrire , s'il
n'y a pas d'autres choses que on va encore faire .. à base de
savoir lire et écrire. Quand on a appris à lire et à écrire, on
va faire quoi avec ? Donc, il faut qu'il y a des idées, il faut
qu'il y a de créativité, il faut qu'il y a des choses qui puissent
démontrer que réellement, ce n'est pas partie de la base de
lire et écrire, on n'allait pas arriver ici.

C.2.JR ff.  Okay. Merci. {I look at next person}

C.2.VA3 ff.  Bon, ici c'est le cinq que j'ai choisi comme le pasteur a dit.
Par exemple, dans notre association, nous avons des
rencontres des moniteurs .. qui nous aident beaucoup. Bon
je vais dire comme on ne l'a pas encore fait . dans cette
année, ça nous empêche beaucoup . puisque . certains lieux
de rencontres pour tous les moniteurs, et ce que tu as
comme problème dans ta classe, tu vas exposer dans= ça
devant tous les moniteurs, et tout le monde .. va t'aider par
leur pensée, comment il a fait dans son village et ça marche
bien. Donc ça ici, on nous a= .. on a demandé que tout le
monde puisse donner sa contribution pour le
développement, donc, je vois que le cinq m'intéresse
beaucoup. Il faut avoir toutes les pensées de tout le monde
afin que toi aussi ailles de l'avant.

Both this extract from VADEMI’s discussion and the following one from
ADCIBA’s show how this creativity is particularly important not only for the
development of the program, but to bring economic and social development to
their people as well.

C.4.ANA 1h01m21s  Bon, cette idée, j'ai pour ça . je suis d'accord avec
ça, parce que vraiment j'ai senti que ... dans une association
. surtout pour mener c'est-à-dire pour trainer . des adultes à
un changement de comportement, ou bien, aller de l'avant
ou bien à sortir de.. aller sortir de l'ornière. Quand toi,
leadership, c'est-à-dire le conducteur ... tu n'es= tu n'as pas
vraiment= tu n'es pas animé d'un esprit créatif, on n'arrive
pas à mener à bien .. le programme. Puisque l'homme, étant
ce qu'il est .. il change toujours ... euh de je ne sais pas
vraiment, l'homme change vite. L'homme change à chaque
moment, devant chaque situation-là, l'homme change. Donc, toi le conducteur, si vraiment il y a . euh . devant une difficulté peut-être qui veut bloquer .. euh .. l'évolution ou bien, que vraiment dévier . ton objectif ou bien le but principal de l'association, vraiment quand on n'a pas .. on n'a pas .. l'esprit créatif, quand on n'est pas animé des idées créatives, vraiment, on ne peut pas surmonter. On ne peut pas vraiment mener .. à bien .. l'objectif, sinon le but, qu'on est= qu'on s'est fixé. Donc, c'est cette idée-là vraiment je l'apprécie. Ça ça ça m'intéresse beaucoup {smile in his voice} puisque j'ai vraiment des des cas comme ça, {laughter} j'ai vu que seul la créativité de de de certaines, de de certaines idées qui m'ont sauvé. {laughter}

One person from ADCIBA waxed philosophical about the need for creativity in order to evolve along with the rest of the world. His comments were followed by one of his colleagues who gave a very specific example of a change their association is in the process of introducing in order to attract students.

C.4.KD 1h07m (interpreted) Donc, de telle manière que tout ce que l'homme fait si nous voyons le monde au début, dès la création, il n'est= le monde n'est plus à ce stade. Le monde évolue. Et nous devons chercher aussi à évoluer. Il faut cultiver, il faut chercher de nouvelles idées, pour élargir le champ, et comment amener l'homme à agrandir, c'est-à-dire élargir notre intelligence, notre connaissance. S'il faut rester toujours dans le xx c'est que nous faisons depuis un certain temps, c'est comme ÇA que nous faisons. Quand les gens vont savoir que bon, quand c'est ça, aujourd'hui, nous faisons la même chose↓ demain c'est la même chose↓ . qu'est-ce que je vais aller encore chercher. Mais quand il y a des nouvelles idées, d'autres vont chercher à venir voir à découvrir ce qu'il ait de nouveau. Donc, c'est pourquoi lui aussi a choisi le cinquième formule.

C.4.JR ff. Okay. À ajouter ?

C.4.KL ff. Moi, je ne ferai que, répéter ce que les autres ont dit. Sinon, pour faire que, dans notre association nous sommes en train de . de créer .. bon . euh l'élevage de de volailles maintenant, selon, là donc, pour faire survivre surtout ceux
qui sont un peu ennuyés, ceux qui sont dedans, ceux qui étaient dedans il y a longtemps et il n'y a pas de changement donc, on a fait emmener ça là pour les faire réveiller encore de leur sommeil. Aussi pour faire plaire les autres qui ne sont pas encore là, que s'ils sont allés là, ils peuvent découvrir autres choses.

One of the ACATBLI leaders had listed it on the questionnaire of my previous research in this domain and mentioned it later as an asset of their team. In the questionnaire, he identified being open to innovations for development as a component of being faithful. In the interview, he claimed the sharing of such innovations as one of the ACATBLI literacy team’s strengths.

A.3.AgBA 28m Bon, je pense que {he taps the table} voilà, c'est nos forces, et ... fait que si= nous avons aussi .. bon ça rentre dedans quand nous avons des innovations .. des nouvelles idées, on partage toujours avec les autres.

His colleague picked up this idea in his continuation of the discussion.

A.3.SK 29m Je dirai que la vraie force encore, c'est que on a vraiment soif pour le peuple ifè de leur faire réussir. Ça fait que, nuit et jour, on a en train de réfléchir . qu'est-ce qu'on peut faire, comment nous pouvons passer . pour pouvoir faire sortir le peuple donc, de temps en temps, c'est pourquoi il vient de parler des innovations, on a des innovations d'encouragement, des idées de . d'encourager nos moniteurs, nos s= les villages à pouvoir continuer le travail.

His example echoed the reason given above by one of the ADCIBA coordinators, that it was only through creative solutions to problems that the literacy program has been able to continue, regardless of the area involved. Thus for these four groups, creativity, or new ideas, are essential for the effective functioning of the literacy program as well as of the associations, so that teachers, literacy learners and other people are motivated to participate in the effort to bring literacy and development to the Ifè.
4.2.1 Qualities of literacy program heads

While no qualities specific to a literacy program head were shared, all of the important qualities for this role also were important for any leader. Six groups agreed that patience was the single most important quality for a literacy leader. Three named faithfulness, caring about everyone, and respectful of work and of time as qualities expected for a literacy leader. Two thought that humility, and listening skills were important. Thirty-two other characteristics and behaviors were named, but each by only one group, and just nine of those were unique to literacy program staff. However, among the qualities shared by another leader type, two were deemed essential to literacy program leaders by at least one group: availability and enjoying the work. The unique qualities are a mix of basic personality traits and of skills or attitudes about the work itself.

Social representations normally circulate around a social object (Jodelet, 1989). The fact that there was little to no convergence of qualities for a responsable d'un programme d'alphabétisation other than those for any leader strongly suggests that this type of leader is not perceived as a social object. Given the relative newness of this position, and its embodiment in just a few persons, this is not particularly surprising.

4.2.1.1 Respectful of work and of time

Although this quality was not exclusive to literacy leaders, being respectful of the work and of the time of others in the execution of duties still was specifically mentioned by three groups for those holding positions of responsibility in a literacy program, and only once for any other leader. While punctuality is not often a high value in Africa, its presence here is likely because it is emphasized in literacy teacher and supervisor training.

The AMIADA advisor explained that when a leader respects his program and does what he said he would do, it brings joy to all members of the association, as they know they can trust his word.
C.3.SY 15m (interpreted) Quand un chef est là, il a établi un programme, il doit le respecter, il doit le compléter comme ça, ça fera de la joie à toute l’association, à tout le groupe. Parce que ils diront que non, notre chef, s’il dit quelque chose, il le fait.

C.3.OKD 24m57s Respect nákó nyáa gbàdzi – disponibilité
Le respect peut occuper la place de la disponibilité.

C.3.AmA ff. Kòkó nyáa nò idì-disponibilité, disponibilité nù wà nìikà,
c'est un temps, temps de travail nì, ìsòkò-ìtsè ǹnèè. 
Asòkò-tsè nákó nyáa wà nìikà. 
Ça ne peut pas faire perdre la place de disponibilité, la disponibilité, elle autre est à part, c'est un temps, c'est le temps de travail, c'est ça le temps de travail. Le temps de travail peut être à part.

C.3.CO ff. xx{speaks also}
C.3.AmA ff. Ò gbò ò kpi-è báàyiì? 
Me comprends-tu maintenant ?

C.3.OKD ff. O gbò afò yèè émigbo n wà fò è, bi ò respecter temps ò, ó kò yáa tse tsì nàa yáa lo ñtsè è. Bí n kò respecter nòmbò báàyiì, n kò kò wà; ó dzè n kò rì ayè fù tsè, mais n nélé respect fù ñèè yèè à fò è, fù ñwèrè yèè à qá à tsì n wà, ó wà rìì? 
Écoute ce que moi aussi je dis, si tu respectes le temps, cela vas faire que tu vas aller au travail à temps. Si je ne respecte
pas aujourd'hui par exemple, je viendrais pas, et c'est que je n'ai pas de temps pour le travail, mais j'ai du respect pour ce qui a été dit, pour le temps fixé, et je suis là, vois-tu ?


Nn ! N kò wà ko iŋc yëé ò wà fò è nàa. Ò rí fee, ó wà ní fee, bí ɔnyà-kà dzè ògá fee, tsì espirit de fidélité kò wà ıntë fee, ıtsë è kò bòkò rè.

Oui! Je ne refuse pas du fait ce que tu dis. Tu vois, il faut que, si quelqu'un est chef, ne possedant pas l'esprit du fidélité, le travail ne pourra pas marcher.

C.3.OKD ff.  

Tì fidélité ń kò kò.

Pour ce qui concerne la fidélité, je ne refuse pas.

C.3.MK ff.  

Nn! Nó sì bè. _ING yëé ò wà fò kpó nà á ò gbòó.

Oui, mets ça là. Tout ce que tu dis, tu comprends ?


Yëé ò fò è è kò dzè cinquième rubrique.

Celui que tu as touché sera pour la cinquième rubrique.

C.3.MK ff.  

_ING yëé è wà fò nà kpó këŋükëŋù nà á. Yëé è wà fò nà kpó è, ó wà ıntnè.

Tout ce que vous êtes en train de dire. Tout ce que vous dites est dedans.


Â nákó ríi, ó wò má kpó ıntnè. Ö wò má kpó këkëŋù lo nì. Ö wò nàrá ara-nà lo.

On peut le trouver, c'est un ensemble. Tout est combiné. C'est une interdépendance.

The above discussion concludes with the observation that all the qualities AMIADA members have discussed for literacy leaders are interrelated: patience, fidelity, caring, availability, and respect. This interrelatedness also appeared during the discussion among AVID members of the qualities of a literacy program leader, when they included working hard and caring about the work for the third most important quality for a literacy leader.
Two members of VADEMI also listed respect for literacy leaders, emphasizing the respect for punctuality. The second person who did so explained the importance of this attitude when teaching adults.

Respect for seniors thus plays a part in establishing this characteristic among those important for a literacy leader. This respect for those older than oneself is well-attested in African societies (Allen, 2006; A. Azoti, personal communication, Aug. 18, 2010).

ADCIBA’s president also explained why he sees this quality as essential for a literacy leader. As indicated earlier, leaders need to provide good examples.

It is clear that respecting work, which includes being on time in this domain, is linked closely with many other representational features already discussed. In effect, it seems that respecting the work and time is a way of
manifesting the qualities of being a good example to others, patience, fidelity, caring, and availability. Again, this has a high likelihood of being a learned quality. Its justification as a leader quality is created by tying it to other elements in the fundamental representation of leadership.

4.2.1.2 Teachable and able to teach

Not surprisingly for organizations involved in non-formal education, among the competences identified as important for literacy program leaders were the ability to teach as well as a willingness to learn. Most if not all of the coordinators and many supervisors are regularly involved in teacher training, as I observed during the teacher training session I attended. Moreover, the involvement of ACATBLI personel as well as that of coordinators and supervisors in regular training sessions was discussed in several interviews.

AVID’s participants, in fact, listed the ability to teach among the top three qualities of a literacy program leader, and linked it to specific content: knowing the rules of a good teacher.

C.1.NK 5m28s Ọ kó ma ɛkpa-akónc rere. Tsí ó kó máa kó nc,
Il doit connaître les conditions/règles d'un bon moniteur. Et il doit savoir enseigner à quiconque,

C.1.YMA ff. nókó máa tse ɛkó.
doit savoir présenter une leçon.

C.1.NK ff. nákó máa tse ɛkó. Ọ kó ma ɛkpa-akónc tsí ó kó máa tse ɛkó.
doit savoir présenter une leçon. Connaître les règles d'un bon moniteur, il doit savoir présenter une leçon.

This is not an abstract knowledge for a program leader, or just something a coordinator or supervisor has to know in order to teach others. For example, the AMIADA coordinator mentioned that he was the teacher for the transition to French class in his village.

C.3.AmA 1h15m30s La fois= hier il y a un frère qui est venu {his voice lowers} il fait l'internat c'est celui qui a fait tous ceci-là au tableau-là {the chalkboard is covered with mathematical
formulas) et ce matin j'ai j'ai enseigné nos élèves, c'est-à-dire ceux-là qui forment le troisième cycle ici à Adogbenou ici, c'est moi qui les enseigne.

However, the ability to teach is also tied to the transfer of competencies in order to provide a succession of leadership. This was a topic at a forum in Kara in 2008, and so impressed the AMIADA coordinator that he now makes a point of having his supervisors take on some of the training responsibilities.

C.3.AmA 41m49s Donc, quand je suis revenu de Kara le jour-là, je me dis Ah, d'accord je dois transférer ma compétence je dois avoir l'esprit de transfert de compétences aux autres, il faut leur partager le travail. Souvent quand on va aux réunions de moniteurs, bon, le coordinateur fait des enseignements pratiques. Donc, à partir de ce jour-là, quand on dit il y a une réunion de dans ce mois, il y a une réunion des moniteurs dans le mois prochain, je dis Ah, toi, prépare-toi, prépare un enseignement pratique que tu vas dispenser. Toi, le mois sur prochain, prépares un enseignement pratique tu vas dispenser et ce n'est plus moi qui vais tout faire. {chuckles}

The above extract was actually part of the response to a question about the responsibilities of subordinates. Teachability is thus a characteristic of leaders and of those who may become leaders. The VADEMI coordinator noted that the development of professional competences requires continuous training.

C.2.VA118m50s C'est quelqu'un quand même .. bon, je ne sais pas si on veut en venir là. Il y aura toujours besoin de formation parce que il faut certaines choses aussi pour que ce programme puisse évoluer. Bon, par exemple, en matière de gestion, des .. des personnes ou bien de gestion de finances, .. ce responsable de programme d'alpha doit être formé la-dessus. Il doit avoir ces qualités professionnelles, en matière de gestion des personnes et de gestion des matériels, de gestion de finances.

The ADCIBA vice-president, when explaining how he became qualified for his position, indicated, in fact, his desire to learn more, and used a proverb to reinforce his statement: “Lots of meat doesn't ruin the sauce.”
B.4.GD 14m (interpreted) Son expérience propre, c'est qu'il a commencé au niveau {de l'église} il a été élu le prés{ident gap} 
B.4.ANA ff. président d'une église .. locale 
B.4.GD ff. (interp.) Une église . locale, donc ça lui a permis aussi de faire des expériences et de s'en sortir de certaines {épreuves} et de plus, depuis que là on l'a choisi pour être membre de ce comité de d'association d'alpha {gap ad}ministration, ça là a aussi beaucoup aidé, et vraiment, comme les anciens le disent, beaucoup de viande ne gâte pas la sauce. {laughter of all} Alors, s'il peut avoir aussi l'opportunité d'en a[voir] 
B.4.ANA ff. [compléter] 
B.4.GD ff. (interp.) de compléter, ça le ferait du bien. 

Training of leaders and by leaders is part of capacity building. This training adds to and reinforces the competencies required for leadership and management. These and other areas where capacity has been and is being built in the Ifè associations will be further discussed in chapter 6. 

4.2.1.3 Other qualities 

Among the unique qualities listed, a few deserve discussion as they are not often found in the literature on leadership. These are a cooperative spirit, being ready to provide for program needs from one’s one funds, and knowing the personalities of those for whom one is responsible. 

The association members I spoke with were very much aware that they themselves need the help of others. They primarily look to ACATBLI, but most are also seeking to collaborate with other organizations, whether for additional training, particularly in the areas of income-generation, financial aid, and health. The AMIADA vice-president specified that a cooperative spirit was a quality a program head should have, in order to help the work expand. 

C.3.SY 15m (interpreted) un chef doit avoir l'esprit de . un esprit coopératif il doit avoir des relations avec d'autres associations et ça fera que son travail peut connaître d'épanouissement.
Even though no one else named this as a necessary quality, the idea of collaboration with other organizations was a theme in certain interviews. For example, as ADCIBA’s treasurer/co-coordinator clearly expressed, they are in a position to help other NGOs, through their knowledge of Ifè culture and orthography. In fact, they strongly desire that other development organizations collaborate with them, so that they can reinforce what has been taught and produce development-related materials in Ifè.

AVID’s members also discussed the importance of collaboration. The president noted his intention to collaborate with development NGOs in order to meet AVID’s goal of creating groups (groupements) that will engage in income-generating activities.
B.1.NK af1 10m Donc, nous savons que, SI nous arrivons à organiser une classe, par exemple, en groupement, donc pour nous comme on n'a pas la capacité, nous allons maintenant demander des appuis techniques auprès des ONG qui va intervenir maintenant dans notre programme pour pouvoir les aider, aider maintenant ce groupement.

The above extract mentions the lack of certain technical capacities. The lack of financial resources was another theme. ADCIBA’s participants, therefore, identified the need for literacy program heads to be ready to put their own funds at the disposal of the organization in order to make sure certain activities are carried out.

C.4.KĐ 12m12s (interpreted by ANA) quelque fois il arrive des moments où le responsable, sinon le leader dans le xx de programme d'alphabétisation met ses propres FONDS dedans. En attendant peut-être si la communauté ou bien les membres vont l'aider, vont à cotiser pour qu'il puisse remplacer. Si celui-là ne veut pas mettre ses propres intérêts au profit du groupe, ça ne marche pas. Il y a d'autres qui ne veulent pas vraiment prendre son propre argent pour aider le groupe, non. Quelqu'un comme ça ne peut pas conduire un programme d'alphabétisation puisque il arrive des moments vraiment, si tu n'aimes pas sortir l'argent de ta poche, ça ça risque bloquer du programme, ça bloque, donc il faut que ça soit quelqu'un vraiment qui a l'idée de faire progresser coût coûts ce programme.

As has already been stated, relationships are a strong value in most of Africa. The above can be seen as an example of the outworking of the value on group solidarity, which will be discussed further in section 4.2.2.1. Relationships are based on more than feelings of solidarity, however; the final quality given as important for literacy program leaders is that of knowing association members well in order to know how best to relate to them.

C.5.EK 8m Donc, moi je dirais que il doit s'efforcer aussi à connaître la situation de ses .. de ses membres. Bon, par exemple, dans un groupe donné, il faut savoir, qui est celui-ci, bon, qu'est-ce qu'il aime, qu'est-ce qu'il n'aime pas, comment faut-il aller
Although the qualities of a cooperative spirit, being ready to provide for program needs from one’s own funds, and knowing personally and well the members of one’s organization are not found in most literature on leadership, they are congruent with African emphases on the value of relationships and group solidarity (Booysen & van Wyk, 2007; Maathai, 2009; Maranz, 2001; Mbigi, 2007b; Theimann & April, 2007). Research participants also identified them as elements that will promote the smooth functioning of the literacy program and its development arm. As such, their importance to the representation of literacy program leadership among the Ifè should not be underestimated.

### 4.2.2 Qualities of board members

Board members are expected to share many of the characteristics of leaders in general: patience, faithfulness, humility, looking out for group interests, listening well. However, a few characteristics were listed only for board members. Those that were mentioned by at least two groups are solidarity, discretion, and the quality of not reacting to a situation immediately.

#### 4.2.2.1 Solidarity and discretion

Solidarity is frequently accorded a high value in African societies (Maathai, 2009; Maranz, 2001). It is among the Ifè; according to Affala (n.d.), “Dans cette communauté ifè, l’unité est ressentie comme un gage de sécurité et d’efficacité dans un système où la solidarité était l’unique couverture sociale devant les inconnus de l’existence” (“In this Ifè community, unity is felt to be a guarantee of security and effectiveness in a system where solidarity was the sole social protection in the face of the unknown”; p. 24).

Although it emerged without prompting in the second set of board interviews, I had explicitly introduced the notion in the first interview set.
Literature on organizational theory refers to the use of ritual and ceremonies in order to create and maintain organizational unity and/or loyalty (Bolman & Deal, 1996). I had therefore planned a question asking about rites or ceremonies in the organization (see appendix 5), but the first group of interviewees denied that there were any such things on the organizational level. So in the next interview, I modified the question, introducing it by “How do you promote the solidarity of your association, do you have rites or ceremonies…” (“Comment est-ce que vous promouvez la solidarité de votre association, est-ce que vous avez des rites ou des cérémonies …”). It seemed to me that the question of rites or ceremonies still was not well understood, so in subsequent interviews I merely asked how solidarity was constructed in the association. That may have influenced responses to the question about the qualities of board members in the second set of interviews. However, in the first set of interviews, the question was regarding the solidarity of the association; in the second, nearly all responses discussed solidarity among board members.

The primary reason given for the need of solidarity among board members is to be regarded well by regular members of the association and in the community as a whole in order to be able to make decisions and otherwise do their work correctly. In fact, solidarity is closely tied to the qualities of exemplary behavior and caring for each other, as the following extracts show.

C.4. GĐ 20m Tsí ó wà ní ònu gbo, sèkèrètèc gbo, tèrèSORIYÈ gbo aŋa kó nè ilò kàntso, ārū-la kó qè, arū-la kó dzè arū kàntso. Kó màa dzè ní bì à gbó ọtò ńdi présidàà ká kàà gbó ọtò ńdi sèkèrètèc tsí gbó ọtò ńdi tèrèSORIYÈ. Nyénè nàa tse tsí bí ṃma-ṣgbè ṃa kpé nyénè gbígbó, nàa tse ní à wà dzowú ní; ńǹsérè-onyà ḍuqù bì. Il faut que le président, le secrétaire et le trésorier aient le même comportement positif, être unis, que leurs paroles ne diffèrent pas les unes des autres. Ils ne doivent pas permettre que les paroles du président diffèrent de celles du secrétaire, de celle du trésorier ce sera très mauvais. Quand les simples membres apprennent de ces choses, ils disent
qu'il y a jalousie ou mésentente entre les leaders selon leur analyse.

In fact, *Jésus le Chemin* committee members, in describing a situation that they were in the midst of resolving, noted that unity through the culture is what keeps the association strong.

C.5.OK 22m Parce que nous voulons comme nous l'avons dit la fois passée, sauvegarder l'union par la culture et tout ce qui nous unit. Et surtout de cette manière nous sommes plus forts que d'être divisés. parce que notre association comme on l'avait indiqué la fois passée, ce qui fait vraiment notre force, c'est ce qui nous unit ensemble, que nous partageons ensemble et il est bien de préserver cela.

This problem of divisive elements that rupture solidarity or unity was raised several times. As expressed earlier by ADCIBA’s president (see pp. 133-134) as well as in the following extract from VADEMI’s interview, mutual understanding, an important component of solidarity, is essential for the good of the association. When it is lacking, divisions result and decisions made by the association cannot be successfully implemented. This counteracts the good work that has been done by the association and its members.

C.2.VA2 22m et .. comment, comment dire, {il faudrait qu'ils soient} unis et ho avoir l'idée aussi d'écouter ho l'association, les membres quoi de l'association et bon pour mettre en application ces choses ho leur décisions et bon, bon il faudrait mettre en application ce qu'ils ont pris comme décisions dans bon dans l'association que je vais dire. Et en bref, je vais dire que il faudrait quelqu'un aussi comme on l'a dit, qui se comprenne, qui n'a pas de tiralement et ainsi de suite quoi.

Another quality that seems to be closely tied with solidarity is that of discretion, or the ability to keep confidences. This is supported by Maranz (2001), who observes that Africans will avoid publicly shaming others, and especially family members, as a show of solidarity. This is true even when corrupt or scandalous behavior is involved, as this extract from AMIADA’s interview shows.
C.3.

The executive bureau must also have the quality of solidarity. It is necessary that the bureau have the solidarity of work because when we work here, what is missing, or what is a lot of things that come from where the leaks pass to influence or where the leaks come to prevent the evolution of work aspects of scandal, in order to overcome it we must be solidarity. If it has the spirit of solidarity in us, there, if there is solidarity, work will be quiet there are not enough problems.

This quality of discretion or keeping confidences was important for two other groups as well. For *Jésus le Chemin* participants, the need to keep confidences is the reason board members need to be moderate in all their actions, which was one of the qualities they gave also for a literacy program leader.

C.5.

On the other hand, they must treat with confidence, where the sobriety, confidence, the files of the group, it must be confidential. To the point that if we have treated a subject concerning... a church a third person that it is not use to occasion for already divulging the idea that we have constructed together. Therefore, they would have to keep them confidentially the files they are submitted in order not to create prejudices.

Solidarity thus is needed for the board to function effectively. A major source of board solidarity is the culture. The notion of solidarity includes the idea that board members must listen to each other and reach a mutual understanding before taking decisions collectively. They also must not reveal confidences that would harm or discredit others. Above all, their behavior must not divide the association, making it unable to perform the tasks for which it exists.

4.2.2.2 Study a situation before reacting

Another quality prized in boards is deliberation in making decisions. Whether discussion is oriented towards planning or towards problem-solving, decisions should not be made hastily.
C.2.VA1 20m43s l'executif maintenant doit avoir du temps pour étudier certaines idées avant de les mettre en exécution.

Later in same discourse:

Ils doivent toujours se fier à la volonté du peuple. Ce que les autres veulent, et c'est ça qu'ils doivent étudier. pour euh savoir comment faire pour aboutir à ce que EUX ils ont énoncé

As the ADCIBA vice-president noted, one reason for studying the problem carefully is to discern between truth and falsehood.

C.4.GD 18m Ó wà ní ènc yèé dzé ogá nòmí pèrésiødá-á, tàná kò wiinyè, ó wà ní kò rí òkpì-afò é gbó rere. Tori, ñbí ègbè wáá, iñé kpó nàa wà bè, otitò gbo òqòbò gbo nàa wà bè. Avant qu'un président ne convoque une réunion sur une affaire, il doit être sûr et bien étudier d'avance le problème. Car dans une association, il y a un peu de tout, le mensonge de même que la vérité.

When groups are faced with a problem, avoiding hasty reactions is particularly valued. During the explanations of how associations had dealt with specific issues, many references were made to taking time to gather information and to listen well to all those affected by the decision. Only after this process were decisions made. These actions all correlate also with the quality of patience, so necessary for Ifè leaders. While the relevant quotes are found in section 4.1.1, the problems and actions are summarized here, since a social representation is composed not only of ideas about an object, but behavior in relation to it as well (Dagenais & Jacquet, 2008; Jodelet, 1996; Kramsch, 2008).

AVID's participants discussed a problem with a supervisor who had not carried out his financial responsibilities. They learned this when he stopped supervising his classes. The first thing they did was to investigate why he had, and learned that the supervisor had not deposited the students’ registration fees with the association. Next they called him in and gave him a chance to explain. Recognizing his fault, he agreed to repay the money.
VADEMI’s board gave two examples. The first concerned a conflict regarding the choice of teachers in a village, when villagers wanted to deprive two successful teachers who were Ifè but not originally of that village of their position since they had learned there was some reimbursement involved. The first step the VADEMI board took was to see if the village leaders could resolve it. They met with the chief and others in the village to explain their point of view. The next step was to meet with all the proposed teachers of that village; after listening to everyone a solution was found and implemented. The coordinator summed it up like this:

C.2.VA1 32m50s Et voilà, bon, c'est ce qu'on a fait, et des fois on était sur place pour voir la situation écouter les autres et que par eux-mêmes on a essayé de trouver des solutions à ce problème qui est né.

As the above extract shows, part of the action of studying a situation before reacting includes giving others the chance to come up with solutions. The second example given by VADEMI participants is one common in literacy programs; either students or teachers do not show up for class. When the board is made aware of a problem, they go talk to the class and try to determine what is really going on before relaunching the class.

The AMIADA and ADCIBA boards both mentioned conflict occurring over use of association-provided transportation. In both cases, meetings to discuss the problem and give everyone a chance to present their point of view were held. The leaders were then able to explain why things were as they were, and hold out hope that additional transportation might be forthcoming in the next budget cycle, which calmed everyone down. A similar procedure was followed for another conflict ADCIBA experienced over per diems during teacher training.

The resolution of Jésus le Chemin’s problem with some of their zones seeking a greater measure of autonomy also required negotiation. This occurred over the course of many meetings. During these meetings, documents establishing the scope of authority ascribed to their regional zones were reviewed and presented to the members of areas who were making decisions that went
beyond their mandate. They noted that the original texts delimiting authority had been voted upon by all the membership, which gave them additional weight in the discussions. In addition, not only during these meetings but any time there is a problem, Jésus le Chemin leaders use the Bible to encourage a unified understanding of the principle under discussion.

To summarize, in the thinking of Ifè literacy leaders, a board should always study a situation before reacting. This ensures that all people have been heard and allows time for any underlying issues to emerge. Doing so facilitates the choice of a response acceptable to all, which in turn promotes solidarity in the association.

4.3 Representations of subordinates

As was mentioned during the discussion of leadership in chapter 2, followership can be considered a component of leadership. In fact, models developed from the perspective of contigency theories (see sections 2.1.1.3 & 2.1.1.4) take into account the characteristics and needs of subordinates. For this reason, the representations of subordinates that emerged from the interviews are examined here.

However, it should be noted that the meaning of the question translated as “What are the responsibilities of a subordinate or collaborator?” required an explanation. Only AMIADA’s board did not require such clarification; however, their responses also tended to focus on the responsibilities of leaders towards their subordinates more often than the other associations’, in the process showing the interrelatedness of the roles. My interpreter explained the term, in Ifè, to both Jésus le Chemin’s and VADEMI’s boards. In ADCIBA’s interview, one man asked who the subordinate in question was; one of the coordinators gave him a concrete example from the program.

C.4.GD 30m Ẹgbè náàyni-njc ẹ fee, ọ dzé ọ̀ṣu ẹgbọ̀ wà ń buróò nàmíí? Le subordonné dont on parle, est-il membre du BE ou comment?
C.4.ANA ff. Ká fóní kíbí iwo Lábíté wà bààyí é, êhêêê, kí wo dzú-tèc?
Kí ọ dólá tse. Fú èdè-ábíné bí é, iwo gbo ní wà sómá ògá á, kí ọ là wà ní ọ dólá tse, tsí kí ọ kò dólá-tse?
Supposons, tel que tu es avec Labité par exemple, il est coordinateur et superviseur, quelles sont tes devoirs en tant que subordonné à Labité ? Dans le domaine d'alphabétisation, c'est toi par exemple qui es après le chef, alors là que dois-tu faire et que ne dois-tu pas faire ?

In contrast, AVID's president and I worked together to make the meaning clear to the other participants.

C.1.YMA 13m29s Afúfènfó.
Le conseiller.

C.1.NK ff. Nºm! Subordonné, c'est-à-dire .. ká fó ní, ọ dzé responsable, èhè è dzé subordonnés-mi ọ, ịṣè yèèśị wodzú-subordonné è?
Non! Subordonné, c'est-à-dire .. disons je suis responsable, vous, vous êtes mes subordonnés, quels devoirs incombent au subordonné ?

C.1.JR ff. Les autres membres de l'association
C.1.NK ff. de l'assocation
C.1.JR ff. [quelles s]ont, quelles sont leurs responsabilités.
C.1.YMA ff. Là, {in Ifè, not transcribed}
C.1.JR ff. Ou bien, vous comme membres d'un village, et vous êtes sous un chef je suppose, quelles sont les responsabilités [de quelqu'un qui ]

C.1.NK ff. [Ọ rí nyèńè ě,] àa ti gba ẹkọ nyèńè wáa ọ. [Tu vois,] à ce sujet, nous avons été initiés déjà.

The president then goes on to list some of the responsibilities of a subordinate.

A subordinate was generally understood by participants to be someone directly under the authority of another. The person closest in the hierarchy to the head of a group often plays the role of a mediator, a role not uncommon in Africa, but not generally recognized in most North American cultures. Two members of ADCIBA's board brought up this point. Mr. Kpondza likens a subordinate to an ear.
C.4.KD 37m (interpreted) le premier responsable doit écouter, doit considérer son subordonné. En d'autres sens, le subordonné est comme son oreille, parce que, ici en le .. dans la race noire ou bien en Afrique souvent l'homme n'aime pas s'approcher du premier responsable. C'est son subordonné qu'on pousse, s'il y a quelque chose, c'est au subordonné qu'on le dit.

However, perhaps the strongest indication that the leader needs the group came from the discussion among ADCIBA’s board, when they were condemning leaders who were not open about their activities. An Ifè proverb closes the argument: “One person is close to death, but the group never dies from a single blow.”

C.4.ANA 39m40s si le chef .. n'aime pas que ses subordonnés connaissent ses activités, connaissent dans ce que lui il fait, sinon, une seule personne, on dit en en en chez nous, qu'une seule personne est: souvent .. c'est quelqu'un qui peut mourir: ou bien c'est-à-dire c'est quelqu'un qui est proche de la mort. Mais si on dit le groupe, le groupe ne meurt jamais d'un coup.

Eight themes for subordinates were found among more than one group, but never for more than three. Those found in the discourses of three groups were closely related: being willing to do what is asked, obeying, and collaborating. Those identified by two groups were listening to, respecting, giving a good report to, being in harmony with, and being attached to one’s superior.

4.3.1 Willingness and obedience

Willingness and obedience were closely related in the interviews, the one generally being followed in the discourse by the other. Willingness seems to be the general attitude expected of a subordinate, while obedience is outward expression of that attitude. As Jésus le Chemin’s moderator indicates, this is not always easy.

C.5.BK 16m Oui, le: le subordonné ou: celui sur qui on est établi doit affiché sa volonté en toute choses. Il doit être disposé . à .. à
être MEMbre. avec euh. tous ce que: tout ce que exige de lui= tout ce qu'on attend de lui à accomplir dans. dans l'œuvre qui nous tous ont signé. Donc, il faudrait qu'il soit disposé. C'est sa bonne volonté qui va lui prédisposer à faire à accomplir sa responsabilité. Donc, il n'est pas facile d'être subordonné mais, si on affiche la volonté, l'entière volonté, on on s'y met.

As Mr. Bassan’s colleague indicates, a prerequisite to this attitude is recognition that someone is over him or her; and then one must assume the tasks requested by this superior.

C.5.EK 17m le subordonné il doit aussi connaître que. il a un un supérieur. Il doit connaître qu’il a un supérieur, et toute la tâche qu’il va confier le supérieur, il doit les assumer.

The link between attitude and action was explicitly brought out by AMIADA’s vice-president.

C.3.SY 45m (interpreted) un subordonné doit être disponible de recevoir d'auprès de chef, et après avoir reçu, il faut qu'il exécute, il met en valeur ce qu'il a reçu.

VADEMI’s board also associated attitudes with action.

C.2.VA4 26m Ó wà ní kó wà rèti gbè-enc yèé wà ñwádzú fùu, nòmí enc yèé dzé ògá-ɛ è. Ó wà ní kó wà mú tsé ë kpe tsé kóyà kóyà.

Il faut qu'il obéisse à celui qui lui est établi chef. Il doit à tout moment accorder une grande importance à son travail.

C.2.VA2 ff. Ó wà ní kó wà mú tsé ë kpe tsé nègbé è.

Il doit considérer son travail dans l'association.

Submission to the wishes of the leader were a theme in the interview with AVID members. The president had listed it among the responsibilities of a subordinate. The coordinator added it a bit later as she made her contribution to the discussion.

C.1.AgA 14m45s que c'était notre chef, si il dit quelque chose, il faut= il faut que nous soumettre,
Subordinates, therefore, should have a willing, positive attitude towards work they are asked to do by the leader. The attitude is not enough, however; they must also submit to the leader, obeying him or her.

**4.3.2 Collaboration**

However, the transactions between a leader and subordinates in Ifè culture are not one way. This was captured through the notion of collaboration that came out several times, usually speaking of the responsibility of both parties to collaborate. As VADEMI’s coordinator indicated, not only should the leader be willing to collaborate, but the subordinates must accept that collaboration in order to meet their common goal.

C.2.VA1 26m30s  Comme il dit que le chef ou bien le responsable doit être quelqu'un qui collabore, il faut le sujet aussi accepte cette collaboration et qu'il se collabore avec aussi le responsable et que leurs idées soient les mêmes pour mener un même combat faire le réussit le projet qu'ils ont mis en place.

The same ideas came through during the interview with Jésus le Chemin’s committee. However, the advisor’s comments were related to the theme that Ifè leaders should not dictate.

C.5.DO 32m (interpreted)  Et quand les subordonnés ou bien ses collaborateurs finiront par découvrir que non, notre chef, notre patron est en train de faire le .. il se faire de s'autoproclamer, ou bien il décide seul ce qu'il veut, finalement, ils vont désister ou bien se décourager, se retirer et le travail ne peut plus avancer. Là, il faut la collaboration.

Collaboration, however, requires a certain level of understanding. One of ADCIBA’s cooordinators made the point that in order for a subordinate to be able to work towards goals in the absence of the leader, that leader must be willing to share information with and even delegate tasks to those under him.

C.4.ANA 38m20s  eh: il faudrait que vraiment il y a la bonne compréhension entre les subordonnés . et: le chef. Surtout
d'une manière que le chef sache que ce qui celui qui est sous lui là aussi (register rises) doit comprendre, si possible même, connaître même ce que lui il est en train de faire. Comment il fait ? Puisque quand lui n'est pas là là, c'est: son subordonné qui doit continuer l'œuvre qu'il ait quand même la volonté de libérer . euh la tâche au:= à son subordonné.

The theme of collaboration, then, links representations of leaders with those of subordinates. Subordinates as well as leaders should be willing to collaborate in order to accomplish goals. It is also important that leaders be open to sharing information with their subordinates so that when they are not present, the work may continue.

4.3.3 Attention and respect

Understanding is also a component of another theme that emerged, attention, or listening to (écouter). This quality was named without elaboration in interviews with AVID’s and VADEMI’s boards in conjunction with respecting (implicitly understood as obeying) one’s leader. Understanding emerged immediately after these two qualities were identified by VADEMI’s participants as important responsibilities of a subordinate.

C.2.VA3 25m40s Ó wà ní kó wà rëtígbè-ògá-è.
Il doit écouter son chef.

C.2.VA1 ff. Kó rë sí ñhtá-ïnché yèé àfò fú è.
Il doit respecter ce qu'on lui a dit de faire.

C.2.VA2 ff. Ó kpi-afò gbígbó kó gbe ñnó-ɛgbé è fú ña.
Il leur faut la compréhension dans l'association.

AVID’s president, with the explicit agreement of the others, placed these qualities together with obedience and service.

C.1.NK 14m03s Le subordonné . aussi écoute .. son chef, le subordonné aussi .. eh . respecte .. son= le responsable, et .. lui soumet . ses idées, il soumet, il respecte, il écoute, et il lui rend service.
Being a subordinate involves listening to, respecting, and understanding one’s leader in order to serve him or her well. These are connected to the following interrelated themes, being in harmony with, and loyal to, one’s superior.

### 4.3.4 Harmony and loyalty

As has been noted before, relationships are key in sub-Saharan Africa to accomplishing almost anything. The relationship between a subordinate and his or her leader or boss is no exception. For this reason, being in harmony with one’s superior in an organization is important for achieving the project’s or group’s goals. This thought was expressed in two interviews by three people.

C.2.VA1 27m Donc, la responsabilité c'est .. c'est de d'être en communion avec l'exécutif ou bien avec le responsable qu'ils sont devant. Donc, le membre doit être en communion avec lui, il doit partager les mêmes idées que les autres pour que le projet puisse réussir.

C.2.JR ff. Autres choses à compléter, ajouter ?

C.2.VA2 ff. Sinon, ho, l'entente, s'il y a l'entente, donc le travail va bien évoluer. Donc, les décisions prises, qu'ils soient en entente et dans des ho avoir une même idée alors ça peut faire avancer le groupe et ainsi de suite.

C.4.KD 37m (interpreted) Donc, s'il n'y a pas une entente entre le premier responsable et son subordonné, le travail va marcher difficilement.

It is not enough to be in harmony with one’s superior, however. Subordinates should also care about their leaders, and truly be attached to them for their own good. One man began by citing a Bible verse to provide an example of the importance of being dependent on the leader.

C.3.SY 45m (interpreted) Là, c'est là où il donne l'exemple de l'évangile selon Jean, chapitre 15, et on a donné un exemple là-bas que, toute branche qui n'est pas attachée au tronc ne peut pas porter du fruit. Alors, s'il veut rester indépendant, il va noyer. Alors, il faut que les subordonnés aussi soit attachés
au patron pour profiter du bien que le patron détient, ou bien le chef détient comme ça eux aussi ils peuvent évoluer.

In the discourse among AMIADA members, the connection between caring about one's leader and advancing the work is made explicit. The importance of this caring and loyalty is described in a situation where the leader is the subject of gossip.

C.4.GD 33m (interpreted) Il doit aimer son responsable, il doit aimer aussi le travail qui lui est confié et être ami du responsable. En aimant le premier responsable et le subordonné aime le premier responsable, vraiment le travail peut avancer.

C.4.Interpreter ff. Et je pense que c'est ce que j'ai retenu, si j'ai oublié un côté, il faut me dire.

C.4.ANA ff. Moi, je vois que c'est un relais très important parce que quand on est sous quelqu'un les gens essaient de vouloir casser le lien qui est entre vous subordonné et le responsable. Quelque fois même on peut aller jusqu'à vous dire que, ah toi tu ne vois pas tel que ton patron est en train d'évoluer pourtant lui il est en train d'évoluer à ton détriment c'est ce qu'il doit te donner là et il ne te donne pas et il est en train de construire quelque chose et bien il est en train d'acheter tout ceci, donc, vas-y il faut grever contre lui, il faut revendiquer ce droit-là, il faut faire ceci, il faut faire ceci, oui, ça arrive souvent et si toi subordonné tu n'es pas.. patient, tu n'arrives pas à analyser bien, ces provocateurs-là tu risques de ton bien ou de bloquer le travail, c'est-à-dire ce qu'il vous attend. Vraiment que, c'est pourquoi il est nécessaire qu'il exige un un amour et vraiment, une bonne compréhension entre le chef et le subordonné ou bien celui qui est sous.

The above discourse also returns to the idea that understanding between a leader and his or her subordinate is necessary. Note also that the theme of patience, so important to the Ifè representation of leadership also resurfaces. It seems to play a role here in facilitating the defense of one's leader. Such loyalty,
which arises from positive emotions about the leader, and harmony between a subordinate and his or her leader assures that the group’s work will continue.

### 4.3.5 Report giver

A subordinate also has the responsibility of reporting back to the leader on what has been done. This point was raised by a number of people in two interviews. In that with Jésus le Chemin’s committee, it was named by the coordinator and agreed upon by the director of projects and of missions.

C.5.EK 17m Il donne un bon rapport à son supérieur.

C.5.OK ff. Voilà. Ça c'est ce que j'allais ajouter. Il a la responsabilité de rendre compte.

C.5. EK ff. C'est ça.

C.5.OK ff. de rendre compte

One of ADCIBA’s coordinators linked reporting to the representation of a leaders being able to teach. When a subordinate completes an activity, the leader should take the opportunity to instruct or correct as necessary. This leads back to the theme of collaboration.

C.4.ANA 40m Donc, comme ça là il faut vraiment apprendre à son subordonné comment il faut faire. Et même, leur laisser à le faire, et toi responsable maintenant, tu corriges. Au cas où c'est mal fait. Comme ça, eux aussi, ils sont plus, ils sont plus= ils ont plus le cœur gai de se rapprocher de vous responsable. Puisque tu les as confié. Une une session d'activité à faire, après avoir finir il doit tenir compte, et comme ça tu lui apportes les ajoutes ou bien: des *correctives que lui-même il aussi il sait. Ah, moi aussi je connais un peu ce que le chef fait. Donc lui aussi, ça ça ça le fait grandir, et comme ça, la franche collaboration peut exister.

However, returning to the idea that a subordinate is also a mediator between a leader and the larger group, s/he also should be able to report to the leader on what has been going on in the group.
C.4.KĐ 37m (interpreted) C'est son subordonné qu'on pousse, s'il y a quelque chose, c'est au subordonné qu'on le dit. Avec l'intention que c'est lui qui peut le rendre, qui [xx]

C.4.ANA ff. [xx]

C.4.KĐ ff. (interp.) qui peut rendre compte de ce que c'est qui est fait.

This is particularly important when rumors are going around, as a leader who is informed can better prepare to respond to criticisms.

C.4.GĐ 32m (interpreted) En ce sens que, quand il y a un problème, ou bien on l'a parlé du responsable par exemple la masse n'aime pas aller directement vers le responsable, le premier responsable pour l'accuser. Ces sont des rumeurs. Et le subordonné celui qui est sous le responsable, lui il est plus proche de la masse. Donc, étant éveillé, il peut écouter aussi la masse, et là, il peut recueillir les informations. Ces informations maintenant, à lui de les juger, les analyser et savoir comment les présenter au responsable et comment au travers de son subordonné le responsable aussi sera préparé.

The role of mediator goes both ways, however. A subordinate also should be able to answer questions from that larger membership about the activities undertaken by the leader.

C.4.KL 35m30s Donc, il doit être éveillé et suivre tout ce qui se passe. Et sera en mesure aussi de répondre quand il y aura des questions et .. par les membres qui ne sont pas dans le bureau.

Thus, reporting is an important responsibility of a subordinate. It allows the leader to know what has been happening in the group and respond to rumors. It also lets him or her know how well the subordinate is carrying out his or her activities and permits correction or further instruction of the subordinate. However, reporting also goes the other direction, as the subordinate keeps the rest of the group informed about what is happening.

In summary, a subordinate is willing to do whatever the leader asks of him. The role of mediator played by subordinates in this culture, and indeed in much
of Africa, requires an understanding of the leader’s thoughts that allows collaboration. Subordinates who understand their leaders also respect, listen to, and care for those leaders. This establishes harmony between them and develops loyalty. With these attitudes in place, subordinates are able to report freely to their leaders and accurately explain to the larger group membership the actions and thoughts of their leader.

4.4 Summary and discussion

The social representation of the Ifè concerning their leaders revolves around the following points. A good leader needs to be competent in his work. S/he should live an exemplary life by manifesting patience, faithfulness, and humility. In addition, s/he should care about (aimer) everyone, receive all that is said to him or her and choose the best idea among those proposed by the group. Above all, s/he should never impose his or her will, instead making all decisions with the group. This representation agrees with ideas of African leadership found in the literature, especially a participatory style of leadership based on respect for the other and the maintaining of harmonious relationships (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Malunga, 2006; Mandela, 1994).

The representations of subordinates support this view of relational leadership. Subordinates are supposed to listen well to and respect their leaders, being willing to do whatever is asked of them. However, in line with the theme that leaders should not dictate, a spirit of harmonious collaboration is expected between a leader and his or her subordinates. This is facilitated when the leader shares his or her thoughts, even teaching the subordinates, giving them insight and understanding regarding the leader and his or her plans. In this way, subordinates can better mediate between the leader and the wider group membership, communicating to each what the other is thinking or saying.

Nevertheless, the SR of a leader is a representation in transition. Globalization and the introduction of writing and of reading, whether it is in French, Ifè or another language in this traditionally oral society, has brought
several people to believe that today it is essential that a chief be literate. It is also possible that the introduction of Christianity and training of pastors at Bible schools may be in the process of changing the conception of a leader, more precisely to include the notion of a “servant leader”, which one pastor insisted upon in his group’s definition of a leader (C.2.VA1). However, I would have had to identify the religion of each participant (at least one non-Christian participated in the interviews) and ensure the representation of all religions currently practiced among the Ifè in order to verify this hypothesis.

Many researchers believe that SR are best studied by comparing and contrasting groups and their opinions (Moliner et al., 2002; Negura, 2006). In this study, the villagers of Itséré and Cycle 3 teachers from AVID and VADEMI’s zones were used to check how social representations among the Ifè may shift according to group membership. The groups in this case involved those in leadership positions in a literacy and development association versus teachers, ordinary villagers and class participants. Differences between the two groups do indeed exist between the representations of a leader and of a literacy leader.

However, there were areas of high consensus. Both groups agreed the patience was essential for both leaders in general and literacy program leaders in particular. They also agreed that faithfulness was important for leaders in general. However, the villagers did not list it as an important quality for a literacy program leader.

Four other qualities obtained a mid-level of consensus, with participants in two, three, or four other interviews also listing the qualities named by the villagers. These four, all of which applied to leaders in general, were caring for all, good behavior, managing well one’s family, and being literate. In addition, three boards agreed with the villagers that good behavior was also important for a leader.

Little to no consensus existed for two qualities of a leader in general and three qualities of literacy leaders that were given by the village group. Village men and women want their leaders to be forgiving, but only AVID’s board
mentioned this quality in their interview. The village men also want their leader to be serious, but only *Jésus le Chemin*'s committee gave this as an important quality during the interviews. Villagers believe that a literacy leader should care about everyone, but only AMIADA’s board brought that quality up for this position. The village men consider that a literacy program leader should be humble; the women that he should listen well. Neither of these qualities was listed specifically by any of the other groups for literacy program personnel, although they did arise for other leaders.

While the priorities given to qualities for leaders (*chefs*) were strikingly different between the men and women of Itséré (see table 4.1), it is not possible to generalize those results as typical differences between men and women. In part, this is because village dynamics that may have produced those differences are unknown; in part because the sample size was so small in any case; and in part because the only other woman participant in the interviews, AVID’s literacy coordinator, was present at the Itséré meeting and actually acted as the interpreter for the women during the interview, although AVID’s board had not yet responded to those questions. Gender-based differences in the representations of leadership are therefore an area for further research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1 Qualities important for a leader (<em>chef</em>): Itséré villagers</th>
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<td>Men (7)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Serious</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Exemplary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irreproachable</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Cares about everyone</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leader of his home</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forgives everyone</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Literate</em></td>
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* Ranked as top three most important qualities for the group
Because ACATBLI and *Jésus le Chemin* are overtly Christian organizations, and most research participants also are, with the VADEMI coordinator being the pastor of the other board members in that association, another question could be whether or not typical Christian values such as love for all or forgiveness influenced the responses. It should be noted that although most participants were Christian, most of the references to God or the Lord in the interviews were thanking Him or attributing to Him responses to requested needs. However, the importance of relationships to African societies has already been noted, and caring for others is generally recognized as fundamental to healthy relationships. Furthermore, the importance of the capacity to forgive in leaders has been noted by other researchers of leadership in Africa (Blunt & Jones, 1997). In fact, one ethnolinguistic group of northern Togo, the Moba, considers knowing how to forgive as a fundamental moral value and an essential qualification for leadership (B. J. Koabike, personal communication, Oct. 7, 2010). Indeed, Koabike states that, traditionally, no one would be chosen to lead a group unless that person had demonstrated the abilities to be at the same time exacting as well as capable of forgiving as necessary from a young age. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Christianity influenced the naming of forgiving or caring as a leadership quality in these interviews. Nevertheless, a control group of non-Christians was not included in the research design, which makes answering the question of the degree of Christian influence problematical. This would be another possible area for further research.
5: REPRESENTATIONS RELATED TO LITERACY

Nongovernmental organizations invest considerable resources in the training of people capable of managing an association and a literacy program, but my experience and that of peers working in other NGOs shows that often these leaders leave the literacy association when they have enough training to take a better-paid position. Mr. Agbémadon indicated, in fact, that he had had such an opportunity after he had been involved in the program for three or four years (A.1.AgBA af1). The impact this has on organizational capacity building indicates that it is therefore important to look at the motivations of those who stay with literacy programs and learn what gives them a passion for the work.

The representations of literacy and language held by Ifè literacy leaders seem to be a major influence directing their personal investment in this work, although several leaders are also involved for spiritual reasons. Norton (1997, 2000) theorizes that individuals are motivated, not because of an intrinsic personal trait, but from investment in their identity, which has been constructed over time by their social environment. This notion resonates with the strength of the representations presented in this chapter that have to do with the importance of literacy in Ifè to maintaining a unique cultural and linguistic identity; and with the importance of being literate in any language. This latter representation is particularly significant in the light of the number of participants who are newly literate themselves. An investment in a particular type of work also is an investment in social identity, in this case, that of literacy worker (alphabétiseur). Hence, it can be argued that the representations expressed here also justify the time, energy, and, sometimes, scarce financial resources these literacy leaders expend in providing literacy and development services to their communities.

Another reason these representations of literacy and language are significant to the purposes of this case study is the effect they have on decisions
about program direction, including capacity building. It is in this dual framework of importance to capacity building and to motivation through investment in identity, therefore, that representations of illiterates, literacy and language held by literacy program leaders are explored in this chapter.

It appears that the primary reason that the associations’ leaders believe in the importance of local language literacy come from changes in the environment. According to several interviewees, these changes are essentially the results of modernization and of globalization.

C.1.NK 31m36s L'importance de faire l'alphabétisation dans les langues locales. c'est que aujourd'hui, nous:= tout le monde, quelque soit le rang social de chaque communauté, que, la vie de nos vieux, de nos ancêtres, ce qu'ils ont mené est différent que celle que nous retenons aujourd'hui. Comme d'habitude on dit qu'il y a la mondialisation et tout ça là, donc tout est changé.

In addition, several people stated that today, the local communities themselves recognize the importance of literacy in face of these changes.

C.1.NK 32m12s Donc, on ne peut pas vivre .. sans connaître à lire et écrire maintenant, même nos parents ou bien les=. la communauté ifè avec qui nous travaillons aujourd'hui, reconnaît, ils voient l'importance maintenant de s'alphabétiser,

B.2.VA2 13m53s puisque tout le monde veut, peut xx connaître euh savoir écrire sa langue et parle couramment . et lire, c'est ça.

In this chapter, the discussion centers around the representations of illiterates, literacy and language as they emerged from the interviews. Certain representations seem to be socially constructed, as they are shared by nearly all the sources. Other representations have a much more limited distribution, expressed by only a few individuals. Regardless of how widespread the representations are, these are the ones that move these literacy leaders to continue to invest in this work, even when there is or has been strong community opposition.
5.1 Representations of illiterates

Although no questions were asked specifically about people who could not read in any language, representations of illiterates (*analphabètes*) were repeatedly evoked during the interviews. The majority of these were expressed when respondents were explaining why developing literacy in the local language was important, but others emerged when they were explaining their personal motivations for being involved in literacy work, or listing qualifications of leaders. Some came out during other parts of the interviews. As such, these representations can be seen as contextual features of the representation of literacy. Many of the views held are echoes of positions held in countries with long traditions of textual literacy, and most likely tied to the belief stated earlier, that literacy is needed for the modern world.

Although many generations of people around the world have lived happy, productive lives without needing to read and write, today the illiterate is frequently viewed with pity or scorn by the literate (Davies, Fitzpatrick, Grenko, & Ivanic, 1994; D. M. Smith, 1986). The research participants expressed the view that an illiterate is handicapped, without an understanding of the modern world, fearful, and even as a block to development. However, these beliefs have not generally been expressed by illiterates themselves in other places in West Africa, as during Cheffy’s (2006) research on conceptions of literacy in northern Cameroon. Nevertheless, these beliefs about those who cannot read and write have motivated not only the international community, as seen by the Education for All Initiative, but also individuals in the local communities to address this perceived lack of an essential skill.

5.1.1 Handicapped

A common view, expressed not only during these interviews but also during the research of others (see for example Cheffy, 2006; Doronila, 1996), is that an illiterate person is handicapped, incapable of doing what he or she should or needs to do.
En premier lieu, moi je vais dire que: c'est important parce que: eh le: quelqu'un. L'adulte. Qui: bon.. il est *handicap. Parce qu'il ne connait pas. À écrire et à lire.

One way in which someone unable to read or write is seen to be handicapped is that they are perceived as being unable to manage their affairs, and as a result are incapable of being self-sufficient.

Donc, le prédominant, c'est l'alphabétisation.. Quand la personne n'est pas alphabétisée, tu peux lui donner un million de francs, il va dilapider ça.

Quelqu'un qui ne sait pas lire et écrire, NE PEUT PAS s'autosuffire. Il ne peut pas s'autosuffire

The type of handicap is often expressed as blindness, or deafness. Cheffy's (2006) Cameroonian interviewees used the same two metaphors. One AMIADA member clearly stated that his behavior is motivated by his compassion for these people whom he perceives as being blind, deaf, and in a tunnel not of their choosing.

But il faut être patient et ait compassion de ces gens-là. Puisqu'ils sont comme des aveugles, ils sont sourds aussi ils ne connaissaient rien. C'est là, pourquoi moi j'aime toujours la compassion de ces gens-là et qu'i la personne vont voir que les gens qu'ils ne *connaient rien et c'est lui, c'est à lui de le faire sortir dans les tunnels où ils sont.

Another perceived type of handicap is the inability to be an informed participant in democratic processes. In Benin, where a democratic national government has been established for a generation, one coordinator expressed how the illiterate, nearly all of whom do not understand French, are effectively shut out of the accompanying processes, and unable to truly receive the benefits of democracy.
This view of those who cannot comprehend or create text as handicapped, whether blind, deaf, or simply incapable, is common to several people. The basis of this notion seems to be a perception that they are incapable of doing things that would allow them to function in the modern world and to join those who are improving their lives. This idea, as shown by the examples given, most likely arose from the experiences they and family members have had as they negotiate life in modern Togo and Benin, but may also have been fostered through literacy awareness-raising (sensibilisation) efforts run by their governments that reinforce this stereotype. This is true also for the following representations of illiterates.

5.1.2 In darkness and ignorance

A related idea to that of illiterates as handicapped, and particularly the perception that they are blind, is that they live in darkness and ignorance. The metaphors of darkness and light are also found in Christianity. While several church denominations in East Africa promote literacy to the point of requiring it for church membership (S. McLain, personal communication, 1995), and denominations in Central Africa may have departments of literacy and literature, in Togo and Benin most church denominations have been much less involved in promoting literacy. It is unlikely, therefore, that the Church was the source of these metaphors in relation to illiteracy and illiterates.

In Cheffy’s (2006) interviews in rural Cameroon, blindness and darkness were more often explicitly linked than in my interviews. However, in my interviews the view of illiterates as living in darkness and ignorance was clearly tied to life in a literate world.

C.1.NK 33m Donc, les gens ont pris conscience maintenant de connaître à lire et écrire, même savoir calculer maintenant pour gérer leur propre exploitation, leurs propres affaires, et maintenant, de ne pas être encore dans l'obscurité . de ce monde lettré.
A little later, this speaker continues on the same theme, and identified the media as one source of this particular view of illiterates being in darkness.

C.1.NK 34m10s même au niveau du média, tout ce qu'on dit maintenant sensibilisation, tout ce qui se dit que tout le monde doit sortir de l'obscurité et être maintenant ouvert maintenant, à ce monde lettré qui interpelle tout le monde. Voilà.

Another man testified how he was being mocked for spending his time trying to teach the illiterates of his village. One day, another man came to him and encouraged him to continue, as by teaching them he was helping to bring them out of darkness.

C.4.KL 1h15m50s Donc, aujourd'hui lui il vient m'encourager de continuer, qu'on faire év= que moi je vais les sortir maintenant . eh . de l'obscurité.

This encouragement gave him the strength to continue. Another person gave as his group’s reason to engage in literacy work that, in today's world, those who cannot read (literally, “do not know paper”) are inferior to those who can.

C.5.EK 41m Bon, aujourd'hui par exemple, si nous allons voir nos raisons par exemple, ceux qui connaissent papier .. ne sont pas égaux à ceux qui ne connaissent pas papier.

In fact, another participant in the same interview went further, expressing the view that only literate people are civilized. This is a direct echo of the colonialist discourse mentioned in the development history section in chapter 2, where Europeans justified their colonization of Africa on the basis of the perceived lack of civilization on that continent, and "offered" schooling to redress that lack.

C.5.BK 43m50s Je peut dire que l'alphabétisation a pour intérêt le la civilisation. Un homme alphabétisé est égal à un homme civilisé. Ça veut dire que, il a quitté, il a franchi les barrières locales et maintenant il peut être en contact avec l'extérieur. Pour le le le fait que le frère a expliqué. Donc, quand qu'il reçoit quelque chose de l'extérieur et qu'il arrive à gérer ça de lui-même, il est civilisé.
This view of illiterates as being inferior to others also emerged in another interview. One of the ADCIBA board members who became literate through the Ifè program described how illiterates are treated as though they are nothing but slaves or beasts, with few or no rights when cheated.

C.4.GĐ 1h10m (interpreted) Alors, ils étaient aussi comme des esclaves. ou bien je dirais même des bêtes, exécution avant réclamation. Est-ce qu'il avait même réclamation, d'ailleurs

C.4.ANA ff. non, tu ne comprends rien

C.4.GĐ ff. (interp.) pour toi devant quelqu’un qui est lettré, quand il te parle, c'est pour dire oui. Et tu exécutes, que ce soit bon ou mauvais, c'est lui qui a dit que c'est vrai ou pas, ce qu'il a dit, tu ne vois rien.

This board member later concludes his discourse by saying that this is why he does all he can to see that the program continues.

C.4.GĐ 1h11m (interpreted) Et c'est pourquoi, nuit et jour, il se force pour que ce programme puisse continuer.

The view that illiterates are in bondage is also seen in a Togo Presse article. The government’s regional head of literacy is quoted as thanking SIL for promoting local languages, “aidant ainsi le gouvernement à réaliser son programme d’émancipation des Togolais.” (“thus aiding the government to realize its program of emancipating the Togolese”; ATOP, Nov. 27, 2007, p. 7).

Yet another participant who sees illiterates as being in the darkness perceives part of that as a disorder in their thinking processes. When literacy enters their lives, they are able to reason more clearly and to take advantage of trainings in development.

C.5.BK 44m30s Donc, l’alphabétisation va amener les apprenants à être éclairés. Ils peuvent lire, écrire, transmettre tout ce qu’ils veulent de manière ordonnée, logique et ordonnée. Avant, sans le le l’alphabétisation, le raisonnement était .. flou, mais par= euh avec l’arrivée de l’alphabétisation, eux ils qui se sont appliqués, ils ont su exploiter cette formation.
Others also claim that the illiterate are unable to benefit fully from trainings. One example was given describing ignorance as the old norm, and crediting literacy with opening eyes, which recalls the view of illiterates being blind.

C.3 SY 1h21m (interpreted) Du moment où avant, dans le temps, on était .. tout le peuple était dans l'ignorance. Tout ce qu'on pouvait faire, de un lac (?) de temps, un petit temps pour gagner quelque chose on utilisait assez d'énergie et on ne gagnait rien. Mais à base de l'alphabetisation, les yeux sont ouverts, les gens ont compris,

Ignorance was also identified as the state of the illiterate by one of the Jésus le Chemin board members who became literate through the program.

C.5 ĐO 48m (interpreted) parce qu'il était complètement, il était illettré, à l'arrivée de l'alphabetisation il s'est impliqué et voilà qu'aujourd'hui il peut faire beaucoup de choses et qu'il est en train de faire d'ailleurs. Donc, ça l'a beaucoup aidé, ça l'a sorti de de beaucoup de choses d'ignorance,

The perception of those who cannot read and write as being in darkness and ignorance is a powerful motivator for literacy workers. They desire to help their parents, brothers and sisters14 improve their lives through coming out of this ignorance into the light of knowledge and reason. This view is fostered at least in part through the media. This aspect of the construction and dissemination of representations of literacy and illiterates will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

5.1.3 Distrustful

Another view of illiterates is that they are, with reason, distrustful of others, particularly literates. This belief emerged in the discussions of why literacy was important. However, the distinction between literacy and language was blurred; in

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14 Note that in most Niger-Congo languages (the largest language family in Africa), no distinction is made between siblings and cousins, so a “frère” (brother) or “soeur” (sister) could also be a cousin.
fact, it seems to be the schooled literates who use French, not all literates, whom the illiterate mistrust. Not only is this indicated by the following extract from AVID’s interview, but by numerous testimonies I have heard during my years in Africa (Central and West). Note the link again to the idea that those unable to read and write are in darkness.

C.1.YMA 30m Moi je vois l'importance si: il y a l'alphabétisation . et: nos: parents vont sortir de l'obscurité .. s’ils sont analphabètes . cela instruit, et de là, ils n'ont pas de méfiance. Si je parle de méfiance, si moi, lettré, si je lit mon livret choisir une de ces= bon, et si un analphabète, un illettré est avec moi ici, lui .. il va se demander qu'est-ce que je dis. Est-ce que je parle de lui. Mais si je dis « Egbé-kã=Egbé-kã yéé » donc, elle, lui aussi doit comprendre aussi ce que je voulais dire. Donc, c'est pourquoi je parle de méfiance. Il n'y aura pas de=de méfiance.

It was the ADCIBA interviewees who supplied a reason for this distrust: illiterates are not infrequently cheated by others. During the first interview with the ADCIBA board, an example of the program’s impacts was given of a seamstress who was consistently cheated by people who claimed they owed less on their account than she remembered. Since nothing was written, she could not take them to court to get her money. Once she went through both literacy classes, she was able to keep her accounts and prove what customers owed her (B.4.ANA).

Another ADCIBA participant and adult neoliterate made the following observation during their second interview:

C.4.ĐĐ 1h10m (interpreted) vraiment l'alphabétisation est très importante . du moment où, on les avait tellement trichés quand ils étaient analphabètes, dans le temps, quand ils ne connaissaient pas papier, ils étaient trichés . et leurs intérêts étaient vraiment bafoués.

The perception that illiterates are distrustful is another motivator for these literacy leaders. Reasons for the distrust have to do both with experiences of being cheated as well as with non-comprehension of French and the uncertainty
that that brings. Literacy and numeracy are seen as providing tools to combat deception and to develop self-confidence.

5.1.4 Blocks to development

The idea that development is not possible without literate people emerged frequently in the interviews. Furthermore, it is held by the ACATBLI literacy heads, who undoubtedly influence the others.

A.2.AgB 8m l'idée primaire c'est: tout développement n'est possible que .. la personne est lettrée.
A.2.SK ff. C'est ça. Tout le monde devraient être lettrés.

Development itself is seen as evolution and movement. So those who are not learning to read and write are standing in the way of such change and advancement.

C.2.VA2 42m12s et partant de là aussi, il sait que, bon s'on n'apprend pas, on ne peut pas évoluer.

B.1.NK af1 29m c'est au départ .. comme ça a fait que le nombre des ifè illettrés est très très très important dans notre milieu. Même aujourd'hui. Donc, ça a freiné beaucoup de choses. Vous savez, des .. les gens ne comprennent p= quand tu n'es pas lettré, ça fait que tu ne connais pas l'importance de de ton enfant, qu'il faut introduire à l'école formelle.

One graphic picture of illiterates, also linked to ignorance, was that they are at the bottom of a ladder (échelle), which, it is implied, they may mount as life improves through knowledge of reading and writing.

C.2.VA1 45m Et je peux dire .. dans le cadre de ... de ce= nos nos parents, comme nous le disons, puisque nous sommes dans notre .. cadre .. d'alphabétisation, ils ont= ils avaient beaucoup travaillé, mais ne sachant pas comment améliorer .. les techniques à: .. exploiter, ils ont été toujours .. eh restés au bas d'échelle.

One ADCIBA coordinator believed that the responsibility for these blocks to development actually lies with his government since it has not sufficiently
addressed the problems of illiteracy, and communicates important information too often in the official language.

C.4.ANA 1h18m32s Mais si ... un gouvernement veut vraiment que le développement soit réel, harmonieux, et que le bien, c'est-à-dire le fruit de l'effort d'un gouvernement soit reparti correctement, rationnellement, à tous les citoyens, il faut que ce gouvernement-là PENSE d'abord à l'alphabetisation. {5 second pause} TOUS les responsables qui tiennent réunions devant la population, ils leur SOIT ils les leur parlent leur langue, OU bien, ils cherchent un interlocuteur, ou bien interprète, pour pouvoir aller traduire. Même. {chuckle} voilà que, les choses publiées, dans les radios↓. dans les journaux↓. les populations ne sont pas impliquées c'est-à-dire les populations ne trouvent pas leur part dedans↑. Ils ne peuvent pas lire dans les journaux, ils n'écouter pas le français ils ne comprennent pas le français qui est parlé. dans les radios. Est-ce que l'information de ce gouvernement-là PASSE pour la grande majorité ? Non pour la petite minorité. {3 second pause}

C.4.JR ff. Donc

C.4.ANA ff. DONC, SANS QUE vraiment .. un gouvernement n'attache pas d'importance à l'alphabetisation, le développement dont on parle là, on va toujours parler de cela, mais ce ne sera pas réa= réaliste. C'est ce que moi j'ai compris.

This same person had stated in the first interview set that those who are unable to read and write often are unable to fully take advantage of learning opportunities because when they participate in such events, they can neither note down what was said, nor, if handouts were given, read them. As a result, they generally forget important details of development teachings. Since most of what he had said had been lost due to an equipment malfunction, during a supplemental interview I asked him and his co-coordinator to fill in what they could based on what had been recorded.

B.4.ANA si2 5m10s Il y a des ONGs qui avaient tenté vraiment de d'aider, de venir en aide aux populations rurales. Et à cause de l'analphabétisme, puisque les gens ne savent pas écrire, ils
ont presque: jeté de l'argent parce que .. la formation qu'ils: l'auront donné ne les=. n'est pas à leur . euh motivation c'est-à-dire ils ne peuvent pas vraiment . euh maintenir cette formation-là et le mettre en pratique [KL: oui] strictement comme cela se doit pour qu'ils puissent bénéficier . [JR: Mmmh] de cela.

B.4.JR si2 ff. Okay. Okay..
B.4.KL si2 ff. Ils ont investi on a [fait la formation mais, ]
B.4.ANA si2 ff. IIs ont investi on a fait la formation]
B.4.KL si2 ff. la formation n'était pas reçue et mise en pratique.

Mr. Affonfééré repeated this idea in the next ADCIBA board interview.

C.4.ANA 1h21m50s TEL QUE l'espace cultural se réduit de jour en jour, on doit changer de comportement. Et le changement de cett= de ces comportements-là, SANS QUE l'homme ne puisse lire . sur papier, ou bien les noter sur papier, on ne peut pas suivre strictement. Pour pouvoir gagner, on a un petit portion . pour pouvoir cultiver. Tu n'as pas l'argent pour acheter un grand espace. Comment maintenir cet espace-là toujours riche pour pouvoir te donner euh un bon résultat, un bon rendement.. Je vois que, quand on va te dire ça oralement, dans la pratique, tu vas oublier d'autres choses et au lieu d'augmenter ton rendement tu vas encore .. diminuer ton rendement que tu avais là.

One of the main issues in the oral vs. literate culture debates has been the question of memory (Diagne, 2005; Furniss, 2004). The above extract, supported by evidence from Cameroon (Tadadjeu, 2008), indicates that verbatim memorization of material heard, or at least of new material, is indeed difficult even for non-literates from an oral culture. As a result, the lack of reading and writing skills is seen as a block to development. Participants remarked that the high rate of illiteracy in their own Ifè culture is one factor that has slowed their progress relative to other ethnicities around them. The Beninese participants stated their belief that their government should do more to tackle high illiteracy rates. However, sometimes the lack of effective communication of new
information is not due to a lack of literacy skills, but of comprehension of the language in which the information is conveyed.

5.2 Representations of literacy and language

In this section, various themes relating to representations of literacy, including those in relationship to language, are discussed. These themes were revealed both in the interviews and in articles about the Ifè literacy program from the official national newspaper, *Togo Presse*. The most fundamental representations are those that perceive literacy as openness and development, and mother tongue literacy as a way to preserve and transmit cultural knowledge and identity. Other dominant themes see literacy as the door to full participation in society and and mother tongue literacy as language maintenance and development. Two secondary themes, each shared by half the groups, concerned language: French as more difficult than Ifè, and biliteracy as a responsibility. Two other themes were developed by only one or two groups: literacy as access to another language and literacy as a qualification. All these representations motivate the leaders not only to work, but in their choice of program activities, including ones designed to enhance capacity.

The distinction between oral and written language was apparently not important to most research participants; frequently, examples purporting to demonstrate why literacy was important actually showed the importance of communicating in Ifè, whether orally or in writing. The reason for this may be, in the words of one participant, “*Puisque écrire aussi c'est parler*” (“because to write is also to speak”; C.4.ANA). In other words, writing is an extension of the communication that occurs through spoken language. This lack of differentiation is not unique to the Ifè, or even to Africans. I once asked a Korean-American student of mine during an introductory sociolinguistics course, who I knew spoke Korean, if she could also write Korean. Her response, surprising me at the time, was, “Yes, I am fully bilingual.”
The Ifè have much contact with other language groups, but for the participants of this research project, most of whom spoke French from having attended school, their own language holds a privileged position in the maintenance of their culture and identity. When speaking of the Ifè language, participants either used a possessive pronoun with propre langue (e.g., my own language, his/her own language) or the term langue maternelle (mother tongue). I will follow the same usage in the discussion that follows.

5.2.1 Literacy as openness and development

I first heard the idea that literacy leads to openness during a discussion towards the end of the Seminar on Literacy and Development that I was leading at the SIL training center; a Kabiye participant noted that while literacy does not automatically reduce poverty, neoliterates were more open to new ideas than they had been (L. Mouzou, personal communication, June 2, 2000). The conception of literacy as openness is found elsewhere in Africa as well. Participants in Ian Cheffy’s (2006) research in Cameroon also used this metaphor. Cheffy additionally noted that openness is perceived to be related to the “modern way of life” (p. 125), namely, acceptance of technological innovations and a scientific view of illness and mishaps.

Development-style activities have been a part of this program’s activities nearly since the beginning. This was largely due to the problem of water supply that interfered with the running of classes, since teachers and learners had to go long distances to obtain water for their household needs, especially during dry season. In order to assure the smooth functioning of classes, the program leaders facilitated the repair and/or construction of pumps/wells in those villages with classes (A.1.AgB af2). It is therefore not surprising that literacy is so closely tied to development in the eyes of many people. In fact, a number of the literacy workers recognize that they are considered development agents.

B.1.NK af2 16m Or, nous sommes= on se dit que nous sommes des agents de développement. Le développement . social et le
développement économique. C'est ça qui importe. Ça, ça me tient toujours à cœur.

In addition, several leaders indicated that their motivation is based on their desire to see improvement in the well-being of their people. One was AVID’s coordinator.

B.1.AgA 15m24s Mais moi. je CHERCHE le bien-être de mes frères.

When ADCIBA participants were discussing how they chose board members and literacy leaders, they were very firm about what these people had to want, having gone through the experience of having a board with members not having this desire: people who were committed to work through literacy for the development of their community.

B.4.KL 10m50s Maintenant ce dernier bureau qu'on a pris maintenant, on a dit, c'est CEUX. QUI. VEULENT. faire le travail, donc ceux qui sont .. aptes pour le travail qu'on a pris.

C.4.ANA 27m Donc, il faut que ça soit vraiment des gens .. qui vont se donner, qui vont se donner vraiment . qui vont laisser leur propre évolution en quelque sorte, et vouloir l'évolution du groupe, sinon de la communauté de toute la communauté.

C.4.GD 55m (interpreted by ANA) Donc, on a juré donc vraiment . on sera obligé d'élire ceux-là qui s'investissent déjà . ceux-là sur qui on a senti le ZÈLE .. de faire marcher vraiment l'alphabétisation.

Literacy is seen as a way to open minds and permit both personal and cultural development. This development is not limited to economic development, but also includes moral and spiritual development, that is a “développement intégral du milieu” (“holistic development of the environment”; ATOP no. 7910, 13 Nov. 2008). In fact, a number of people, including this next speaker, indicated that they believed that reading and writing are the basis for development:

B.1.NK af1 6m et nous, l'objectif visé que normalement, c'est d'abord, nous savons que tout développement dépend de .. de certaines connaissances. Donc, quelqu'un qui est dans
l'ignorance, ... dans l'ignorance d'une manière .. globale, mais spécifiquement, nous savons que dans notre milieu ifè, surtout dans les villages, les villages reculés, on n'a PAS été à l'école. Donc, ce .. l'alphabétisation, d'abord, est la base d'abord du développement, c'est ce qu'on avait compris.

Not only are reading and writing seen as the basis of development, but also as a requirement for a measure of self-sufficiency and even discipline that will help people escape poverty.

C.2.VA1 43m moi je dis souvent que ... la lecture et l'écriture .. font la base d'un développement . d'un individu, d'une association, ou bien d'une communauté parce que c'est très important de savoir lire et écrire. Ça c'est la base. Quelqu'un qui ne sait pas lire et écrire, ne peut pas s'autosuffire. Il ne peut pas s'autosuffire. Nous avons les moyens, mais parce que nous les, nous les connaissons pas, nous ne les utilisons pas, et la pauvreté gagne toujours le terrain.

A board member who became literate through the program in his area specifically noted that literacy helps people better manage their goods and money.

C.3.SY 1h21m (interpreted) Tout ce qu'on pouvait faire, de un lac {?} de temps, un petit temps pour gagner quelque chose on utilisait assez d'énergie et on ne gagnait rien. Mais à base de l'alphabétisation, les yeux sont ouverts, les gens ont compris, les consciences sont réveillées, les gens ont commencé par comprendre quelque chose et la discipline est arrivée.

Two village teachers at the Itséré meeting also stated that because of literacy and the teachings given, they were enlightened and eyes were opened. One teacher noted that he himself was unconvinced at first of the value of mother tongue literacy, but finally decided to become involved in the program and recognizes now how much he has learned.

D.H4 6m44s Èmi ɲu ɲí ɲí ɡbà ti ɲntá-ìwé-ìfè yèè ɗ kè wá fú wa á, ò tsódzú fú wa kpíkpò kpíkpò, ò tsi ɔdzú fú wa kpíkpò. lìjè
yèé tse tsí ó tsí odzú fú wa kó kpó ó ní wà dzé ní; kíbí èmi gbo ńwa’a wò ńnóo nógó àtsòtsé yèé à kékó é tsí ní wá n di-tiwa ńa bi é, èmi ń kék sí ńńtá-ara-mí ní ń, bon, ńlú-wa ni, èdè-ti àwa káa wá ni, ti ara wa ni « kòa », ñbí ñbòkó tse sükùrù é títí kó wáa gbé-mi tsí ń lo? Vòà nömbe báayí é ń rí ní ń wá gba nfeènó kpíkpó ńnó-è.

Moi, j'ai vu qu'au travers de l'alphabétisation ifè qu'on nous a apportée, ça nous a tellement ouvert les yeux, cela nous a beaucoup ouvert les yeux. La raison pour laquelle cela nous a beaucoup ouvert les yeux est que comme moi aussi j'ai intégré, la première année quand on a apporté l'alphabétisation aux nôtres ici, moi je me disais en moi-même, quoi, bon, c'est notre langue, c'est notre propre langue, c'est pour nous même quoi, je vais faire cette école pour qu'elle m'amène où ? Mais, de nos jours maintenant, je vois que j'apprends assez de connaissances au travers de cela.

One concrete example of how literacy can lead to development was given by the literacy coordinator of Jésus le Chemin. He testified that several market women, having become literate in Cycle 1 and so eligible to attend the math class (Cycle 2) have able to calculate prices and profits.

C.5.EK 43m   Et encore par chose, le commerce, par exemple, il y a certaines femmes qui m'ont donné témoignages la fois passée, qui ... à base de l'alphabétisation maintenant, elles sont dans la classes de cycle 2. Mais aujourd'hui elles arrivent à calculer. Elles arrivent à calculer. Quand elles vont à chose, au marché maintenant, si elles vendent quelque chose, c'est elles-mêmes qui calculent, elles n'ont plus besoin aller chercher quelqu'un, vient m'aider calculer ce que j'ai vendu ou autre là. Donc, maintenant, elles ont trouvé que c'est bon d'être alphabétisée. Donc, à base de cela, l'alphabétisation peut nous développer.

Another participant in the same interview reiterated the view that those who cannot read and write cannot engage with the modern world. He also expressed his hopes that literacy would permit the Ifè people to “emerge” just as the Chinese have to influence the world.
C.5.BK 39m30s Par nos actions, par les les classes d'alphabetisation qui va leur permettre d’être en contact avec le – euh – la vie actuelle, par la lecture, et: la capacité d’écrire. Donc, tous cela va permettre au peuple ifè d’émerger, comme d’autre peuple qui dans le temps. euh: se sont vus des restes. On peut noter le peuple chinois, dans les années au seizième siècle qui était un peuple, un des derniers peuples de la terre et qui par l’effort de. de s’appliquer, à étudier sa propre langue, a émergé et influence le monde entier aujourd’hui. Donc, nous espérons voir que, le peuple ifè va émerger et selon ce que Dieu voudra, d’ici là.

This representation of literacy as development is widely found. International and multilateral organizations such as UNESCO also promote this vision of literacy, where economic development still dominates but a concern for social and political development also exists (Burnett, 2006; Doronila, 1996). This discourse is found also at the government level in Togo and Benin, who prefer that literacy programs be functionally based, that is, lead towards economic and social development (Groupe Technique du Travail de MCAPLN, 2009; Yentcharé, 2007).

In line with that policy, one member of the ACATBLI leadership team identified their program as being a functional program.

A.1.SK af1 44m45s Je vois vraiment que .. l’alphabétisation parmi les Ifè est fonctionnelle. C'est-à-dire il y a des compétences dans la lecture, dans l’écriture, dans le calcul. et puis aussi avoir vraiment assez de réflexion, c'est-à-dire que l’alphabétisation amène les Ifè maintenant à mieux réfléchir sur leur situation de vie pour pouvoir les gérer. et il a y beaucoup de connaissances, c'est-à-dire, on veut voir l'application. intégrale de l’alphabétisation dans la vie des Ifè. parmi le peuple ifè.

This view is supported by the articles found in Togo Presse about the Ifè literacy program. In 2000, one article covering a teacher training session stated that “les participants ont été en outre entretenus sur l’alphabétisation fonctionnelle et l’environnement, l’aviculture, la chèvrerie améliorée, la bergerie,
l’hygiène corporelle et les plantes médicinales Africaines” (“Discussions were also held with the participants on functional literacy and the environment, beekeeping, improved goat-raising, sheep-raising, bodily hygiene and African medicinal plants”; ATOP, Dec. 6, 2000, page Préfectures). The AVID president also identified the media as one source of this message that literacy leads to development.

C.1.NK 32m45s donc il vaut mieux maintenant de profiter pour que . ils aussi soient ouverts maintenant et à la société . lettré . donc, tout le monde peut être ouvert maintenant à cette société lettré pour que tout ce qu’ils pensent, ils peuvent l’écrire. Tout ce qu’ils entendent, ils peuvent l’écrire. Tout ce qu’ils voient, ils peuvent lire, et cela va changer beaucoup de choses dans la conduite .. ho de chaque jour, dans leur programme dans leurs activités, dans leurs quoi je ne sais pas donc il y a maintenant beaucoup de choses qui entourent ce ce cette phénomène. Donc, les gens ont pris conscience maintenant de connaître à lire et écrire, même savoir calculer pour gérer leur propre exploitation, leurs propres affaires, et maintenant, de ne pas être encore dans l'obscurité . de ce monde lettré. Donc, c'est un peu près, selon les témoignages, ce qu'on voyait sur le terrain qui témoigne la volonté manifeste maintenant de .. des personnes analphabètes qui veulent être maintenant des néoalphabètes pour être maintenant ouvert à ce monde lettré . pour bénéficier beaucoup de choses, à travers les affiches maintenant, il y a beaucoup de choses qui se fait. même au niveau du média, tout ce qu'on dit maintenant sensibilisation, tout ce qui se dit que tout le monde doit sortir de l'obscurité et être maintenant ouvert maintenant, à ce monde lettré qui interpelle tout le monde. Voilà.

Indeed, the ACATBLI coordinator identified education as being the base of development.

A.3.SK 9m Ça veut dire que, la base du développement c'est l'éducation. Donc, on devrait dire le développement, c'est l'éducation
Literacy as openness and development seems to be a widely held representation. This view is related to life in the modern world, encompassing social, cultural, and spiritual domains as well as the more frequently considered economic field. The program leaders recognize that they are seen as agents of development. The program itself incorporates various activities and teachings in these areas, making it a functional literacy program. In this way, these participants hope to improve the lives of their people.

5.2.2 Mother tongue literacy as preservation and transmission of cultural knowledge and identity

One theme that frequently emerged was that Ifè literacy was essential to the preservation and transmission of cultural knowledge, which in its turn helps maintain cultural identity. Part of the reason for this is found in the belief among research participants that cultural riches are found in the language, and to maintain them, the language must be written. This is in line with the often cited “when an elder dies, a library dies with him.” The conditions in which cultural knowledge was handed down in the past – initiation ceremonies, regular evening gatherings of multiple generations around a fire while folktales and history were recounted – are disappearing in many areas. When this traditionally orally-transmitted information is not written down, it disappears; this “cultural wealth” vanishes. This was a recurring theme, particularly for ADCIBA’s members, but other participants also noted this challenge to the maintenance of their culture.

C.2.VA1 49m20s  Donc, moi je vois que c'est important. parce que surtout qu'il y a aussi des choses .. des richesses ... culturelles .. dans CHAQUE langue locale, qui sont exprimées . dans certains livres.

In fact, one ADCIBA person linked the lack of writing to the reduction of that cultural wealth.

C.4.ANA 1h31m37s  D'autre part, c'est que ↑ . les richesses culturelles sont cachées sous la langue PARLÉE de cette communauté-là.. SANS avoir appris cette langue, vous ne pouvez pas maintenir . ces richesses culturelles-là... Vous
ne pouvez même pas les exploiter... S'il n'y a pas l'écriture dans une langue pour une ethnie.. les richesses culturelles de cette ethnie-là diminuent de jour en jour... Voilà.

His thinking behind this was explained earlier in the interview.

C.4.ANA 1h22m50s Il y a toujours brassage maintenant des ethnies , des peuples. Et ceux-là, notre comportement, ils viennent rester chez vous, tout ça là, QUEL est: leur comportement original ? Toi, vous, toi-même tu as un comportement original, en tant que homme ifè par exemple ou bien en tant que homme fon, en tant que homme kabiyè, QU'est-ce que vous avez l'habitude de faire, qu'est-ce que vous ne de= vous ne faites pas dans votre ethnie ? .. On n'a écrit nul part ces choses-là. Ça diminue et ça fait que . chacun fait ce qu'il veut maintenant.

The saving of customs and other cultural information is a strong motivation both for literacy workers and literacy learners. This was explicitly started during AVID’s second interview.

C.1.NK 37m08s les gens s'intéressent parce qu'ils veulent garder leur coutumes.

One of the main ways literacy aids in the saving of cultural knowledge is because people are now able to write down things for the following generations.

C.2.VA3 47m15s Donc, moi je peux dire aussi que . d'autres . aujourd'hui qui peut écrire des choses .. au temps de leur vieillesse pour les enfants .. pour comme l’apata des héritages comme ça.. Et ils peuvent leur écrit en ifè. C'est déjà une: grâce pour eux.

One area in which this is happening is in religious beliefs. Since churches have often been established in the wake of literacy classes, many villages were reluctant to initiate literacy classes until it was understood that being literate in Ifè had nothing to do with which religion you followed. This was a direct result of awareness-raising campaigns. Both ACATBLI and AMIADA leaders testified to this.
Quand nous étions dans les villages, on a vu le chef, et nous sommes approchés pour le dire nous sommes là pour faire la sensibilisation, ouverture des CLASSES d'alphabetisation dans leur village. Il dit, vous êtes la bienvenue. Mais je voudrais vous mettre en garde. Que chez moi ici, dans ce village, on n'a même pas question d'église. Nous, nous sommes les païens, nous sommes les idolâtres, on ne peut pas entendre parler de l'église. Et si jamais j'entends cela, je vous mets à la porte. O: soit, il y avait quelqu'un qui était venu pour évangeliser le village, mais par la suite, il était mort. Et je l'ai dit, Chef, merci pour cet avertissement. Mais je suis venu pour vous parler de la langue ifè et non de christianisme. Et ici, je suis venu pour vous parler comment nous pouvons nous développer, comment nous pouvons développer notre village. Étant dit que moi aussi, je suis un enfant d'un parent .. idolâtre, je vais vous dit que, avant d'être un charlatan, il faut suivre la formation. Et la formation de charlatan fait que vous restez là au moins trois mois, et vous recevrez des enseignements. Et, je l'ai expliqué TOUT ce qui se passe là, et je l'ai dit c'est la même manièrë d'être alphabétisé parce que, chez les charlatans, ils ont leur écriture ce ne sont que les traits, et chez le .. l'alphabétisation, nous avons les traits, mais ce sont les traits bien préparés .. et .. plus jolies. Et je l'ai expliqué, il dit Ah, donc, si c'est n'est ainsi, allez-y.

In Mr. Agbémadon’s discussion above with the village chief, he highlighted the traditional notation system of leaders in the traditional religion and made a parallel with Ifè literacy. AMIADA’s coordinator stated that when they build literacy awareness in the communities, they point out that in the modern education system, it is being literate that counts, not your religion.

Bon, ça a vraiment un peu agi sur le travail au départ, mais avec le temps, eux-mêmes ont compris que Ah être lettré ce n'est pas affaire de la religion. Nous retravaillons la sensibilisation, encore nous les demandons est-ce qu quand vous envoyez vos enfants à l'école, est-ce que l'État ou soit les enseignants demandent à vos enfants inscrits s'ils
sont les chrétiens ou pas ? S'il n'est pas religieux, est-ce que c'est ça qui est l'objectif des enseignants. Leur objectif, c'est que, si tu es religieux ou pas, il faut être lettré. C'est ce qu'il nous réunit.

During AVID's board interview, the example one person gave led to another one, both having to do with féticheurs (those who work with fetishes), that is, local leaders in Ifè traditional religion. In that second example, the work the literacy workers do in awareness raising is evident. The entire sequence follows:

C.1.AgA 34m35s Et l'avant hier-là, un féticheur m'a dit . comme: .. ils ils savent écrire et lire maintenant, il va faire . un testament pour garder pour le fétiche. Si quelqu'un vient . il va regarder le fétiche-là si on veut tuer, eh . une poulet . un coq-là, tu vois= on fait comme ça, comme ça ça ça ça avant de tuer ça. Il faut prier il faut prier comme ça comme ça comme ça avant de faire c'est qu'il va écrire tout et garder sous {laughter} le fétiche avant de partir. C'est pourquoi il est en train de . de fréquenter.

C.1.NK ff. un un témoignage
C.1.AgA ff. un témoignage [c'est un témoignage.]
C.1.NK ff. [parce que] .. ça me mène aussi à dire un, un jour j'étais dans un village, et c'est: un: féticheur qui m'a posé la question que nous voulons leur apporter . la parole de Dieu . {AgA laughs} et je lui dit, même si nous= nous allons vous apporter la parole de Dieu, ce n'est pas une mauvaise chose. Toi, tu es maintenant: l'adepte de ce fétiche. Est-ce que, là où est l'origine de ce fétiche, tu le connais ? Il dit non Pourquoi tu ne le connais pas ? Que ces aîeux n'ont pas . écrit quelque chose déposée que: l'origine de ce fétiche c'est à tel à tel. Il dit Ahan. Comment on prie ? Les= tes aîeux priaient pour le fétiche, et tu le sais maintenant Il dit non, Tu connais même celui qui a= qui est parti chercher le fétiche Non Voilà c'est le pourquoi nous avons amené l'alphabétisation. Pour que, dès maintenant eh, ce que toi tu connais, tu le matérialises . comme ça, le jour où tu n'es plus celui qui viendra de succéder saura que Ah c'est comme ça que mon successeur priait, c'est comme
So although it is true that one of ACATBLI’s goals is to “help the churches to use Ifè well in reading, preaching and Bible studies” (ATOP, May 13, 2008, p. 9), it and the local associations promote the use of literacy in all domains for the preservation of cultural knowledge. In fact, VADEMI’s coordinator notes that one of their long-term goals is to establish cultural centers.

The ending of customs such as elders gathering children to tell folktales and relate other knowledge has left a void that literacy may fill. In addition, ADCIBA’s co-coordinator noted that these folktales teach things that promote the development of the Ifè.
Being able to read in Ifè is also a source of pride and ethnic identity for the literacy workers. In VADEMI’s board interview, this emerged after the activity with the organizational statements was done.

C.2.VA3 53m05s  moi j'ai pris le papier c'est l'ifè que j'ai lu en même temps . et je n'ai pas lu le français puisque je sais que je suis moniteur en ifè,

However, numerous villages in the VADEMI territory are shared with Fon and Kabiyè peoples. Later in that same interview, the coordinator related a concern some Fon individuals have expressed; that they would be “converted” to Ifè.

C.2.VA1 54m20s  Et bon, aujourd'hui même, certains mêmes, certains Fons qu'ils disent Ah, nous serons converti en ifè plus tard parce que bon ils parlent l'ifè aujourd'hui: ils xx en ifè, et puis ils écrivent en ifè

The elevated status of French means that some Ifè see no value in being able to read their own language. However, the AMIADA coordinator has fought that attitude by drawing attention to the fact that the French have to learn to read their own language, and so the Ifè should too.

B.3.AmA 37m  Et on prend les notes= on prend le papier maintenant, on écrit les phrases en ifè, on les demande de lire et c'est difficile pour eux, et nous les disons euhh, c'est comme ça, les blanches ils sont nées ils se sont exprimés en français mais ils vont à l'école, il y a les gens aussi qui sont âgées chez eux mais qui n'ont jamais mis pied à l'école, quand on les amène les notes, ils appellent les toutes petites, et les lisent. Anhan.

In other places, those who are literate in French have become aware that they are missing out by not knowing how to read and write their own language.

C.1.NK 36m40s  c'est que les gens veulent .. lire et écrire dans leur propre langue. Même quand tu connais une langue étrangère, et tu ne connais pas ta propre langue, ça te manque beaucoup de choses. C'est pourquoi dans nos centres dans nos classes,
vous allez voir que les gens qui ont fait les classes françaises et ils sont inscrits maintenant POUR s'alphabetiser

In contrast with this reinforcement of identity through literacy, the Beninese noted that although five *arrondissements* are represented in their association, there are actually six *arrondissements* that are historically Ifè. The link between language and ethnic identity is apparently a factor in the distancing of this sixth arrondissement from the other five.

B.2.KL si1 1m Mais, il y a un sixième qui ne veut pas se comporter ifè.
B.2.JR si1 ff. Ahan.
B.2.KL si1 ff. dans Savalo.
B.2.JR si1 ff. Ahan {surprised tone}.
B.2.JR si1 ff. Mmhmm. *Okay*.
B.2.KL si1 ff. Oui. Ils parlent ifè rapproché de .. comment appelle, itcha,
B.2.JR si1 ff. Mmhmm
B.2.KL si1 ff. Oui, leur ifè est rapproché d'itcha, donc, ils ne veulent se comporter ou bien accepter, ifè proprement dit.

Language is seen as a guardian of a rich cultural heritage, and literacy as a means of preserving that heritage for future generations. The knowledge implicit in that heritage can cover any domain, from personal reminiscences to traditional values to religious knowledge. In preserving their cultural heritage, their pride in being Ifè is reinforced.

5.2.3 Literacy as full participation in society

One benefit of literacy that is frequently mentioned in the literature is that newly literate people often gain self-confidence and are more likely to offer their opinions in group settings (Burnett, 2006; Doronila, 1996). In African settings, it is generally quite important that during group discussions, all points of view are expressed and discussed until consensus is reached (Aire, 1990; Ansu-Kyeremeh,
2005; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Malunga, 2006; Mandela, 1994; Mbigi, 2007b; Nzelibe, 1986; Silverthorne, 2005; Theimann, 2007; Ugwuegbu, 2001). However, when people feel that they are on society’s margins, they are much less likely to speak up even when they have the right to make their voices heard. So this aspect of becoming literate was quite important to interviewees, several of whom mentioned it.

C.2.VA2 41m30s Bon: ensemble, bon, de de= au cours de d’une réunion, il peut prendre la parole même si c’est sa langue locale, puisqu’il sait . ce qu’il veut dire. Il sait l’imp= IL Y A {intensely but softly}, il a appris, une idée donc l’importance des choses, il a appris ça, dans: dans dans l’éducation. Et comme ça, il n’est plus= il n’a plus peur de la population. Il se= le fait de aussi rester ensemble apprendre toutes ces idées va au tableau: et ainsi de suite tout ça là, c’est bon .. [on va dire que]

C.2.VA1 ff. [Il n’a plus peur] des autres.

C.2.VA2 ff. Il n’a plus peur des autres, quoi. Donc, ÇA c’est un avantage,

One man who became literate through the Ifè literacy program, when explaining why he thought literacy was important, gave a concrete example of what often happens during meetings as far as illiterates are concerned, and how that can change once they learn to read and write.

C.3.SY 1h22m (interpreted) Alors, aujourd’hui, ceux qui sont alphabétisés, ils peuvent prendre notes, ils peuvent être en contacte avec les documents, et lire eux-mêmes savoir et avoir le message qui est le contenu du message. À une réunion par exemple, les gens, quand ils= on va les convoquer, ils n’ont plus besoin de rester bras croisées pour attendre qu’un autre viendra leur faire le rapport eux-mêmes ils peuvent prendre le bic prendre notes de ce qui a été dit, écouter à la réunion.

Another testimony of how literacy enables people to do things they could not have before for the good of their community came from the husband of a graduate of the literacy program.
Another board member who became literate through the Ifè literacy program described how his newly found self-confidence helps him at the bank.

C.5.DO 48m (interpreted) Il peut se tenir à la banque aujourd'hui, quand le caissier fait mal, fait un calcule, il peut lui dire que non, qu'il n'a que reprendre, parce qu'il est sûr de ce qu'il est en train de faire devant lui.

One concrete example, which also addressed the issue of the language of literacy, came from one of the activities of the research process itself.

C.5.DO 50m (interpreted) Et la fiche de de questionnaire que vous venez de sortir là, la partie d'en haut c'était, c'est en français. Il dit que si ce qui était dit là-bas n'était pas traduit de l'autre côté, il serait complètement dans le noir. Donc, à base de ÇA, il arrive aussi à répondre à la question.

In addition, literacy opens doors to participation in society that were otherwise closed, namely, certain positions. One African author, in fact, expressed the view that illiterates cannot fully participate in “the social and civic life of contemporary Africa” (Busia, 1968). He also agreed with the point of view expressed in chapter 4, namely, that village chiefs and other elected officials must be literate. The Beninese gave examples of how literacy enables people to obtain positions of community responsibility in their area.

B.4.ANA si2 12m O, oui, oui, je disais que .. eh ça .. l'alphabet= grâce à l'alphabetisation, on a maintenant des gens . qui ont fait politique, et qui sont: eh élus, qui sont devenus maintenant
élus soit ils sont conseillers dans leur village, soit ils sont conseillers dans la commune, soit ils sont conseillers dans l'arrondissement c'est-à-dire chefs de villages dans leur village ils sont chefs de leur village et cetera. Il y a quelqu'un qui est chef de l'arrondissement maintenant, dans mon arrondissement de Doumé-là.

Another position that is open to the newly literate is development agent.

C.4.ANA 1h43m40s on a déjà traduit beaucoup de livres de médecine, historique .. qui peuvent vraiment aider les gens . dans le changement de comportement pour que vraiment les gens, on puisse renforcer les capacités des néoanalphabètes, afin de pouvoir augmenter le rang des actifs au développement communautaire . puisque nous avons besoin à l'instant-là . des actifs au développement de notre communauté.

Finally, being literate in Ifè also means one can obtain a position within the literacy program itself. This is a source of considerable pride, as Mr. Sâanya testified.

B.3.SY 43m (interpreted) Donc, c'est déjà un grand pas, donc aujourd'hui étant superviseur, partant de zéro atteint superviseur c'est un grand pas.

So a number of community roles are open only to those who are literate, regardless of the language of literacy. The neoliterate are also seen to acquire influence as they gain confidence to speak up at community meetings. In addition, they can read Scripture portions to encourage others. As such they are able to participate in all aspects of society.

5.2.4 Ifè literacy as language maintenance and development

One of the goals of ACATBLI is to pursue “la promotion et la valorisation de la langue Ifè à travers l’alphabétisation et la traduction de la Bible” (“the promotion and development of the Ifè language through literacy and Bible translation”; ATOP, May 13, 2008, p. 9). Not only did Mr. Agbémadon identify the promotion of the language as a common goal of all associations that helps unite
the Ifè people, he also gave it as one of his personal motivations to work in literacy.

A.1.AgBa af1 2m22s Et plus tard, j'aurais bien vu que, c'est plutôt un appel pour moi, de faire ce travail, parce que j'ai à cœur, mon ethnie. Il faut que quelqu'un développe la langue. Il faut que quelqu'un soit un pionnier pour que la langue soit reconnue national ou bien, a son poids.

In addition, he sees this common goal as a great asset for the associations.

A.3.AgBa 24s C'est de faire évoluer la langue ifè. Donc, et ils ont vu que, pour faire évoluer, la langue ifè, ils ne peuvent pas aller en rangs dispersés, il faut qu'ils se réunissent en association, pour faire développer ça. Et c'est ce qui a fait que les= cette motivation, ou bien le prestige de la langue, a fait que on sait maintenant, on a oublié nos différences, que tu sois musulman, que tu sois païen, que tu sois chrétien, que tu soit bouddhiste je ne sais pas, {brief laugh} que tu sois politicien ou pas, que tu sois de RPT ou du RPFC, non, c'est l'ifè qui nous réunit. Et c'est ça, c'est un grand atout pour la réussite de ces associations. Et, et partant de là, tous: les autres Ifè qui ne sont pas de l'équipe ici, tous attendent de nous que nous fussions quelque chose pour développer la langue. Et ils sont prêts au moins pour nous soutenir même s'ils n'ont pas l'argent. Et ils nous encouragent, à évoluer. À tel point que, quand un Ifè parle l'ifè, et quelqu'un d'autre entend un mot étranger-là il dit, non, ça ce n'est pas ifè, il faut parler l'ifè.. Voilà. Si bien qu'ils nous incitent à [fouiller {the doorbell rings}]

A.3.SK ff. {faire des recherches}

A.3.AgBa ff. même sur des mots, des mots même, fouiller des mots-là même s'il faut créer, il faut créer, qu'il se soit ifè. Là c'est c'est un atout.

He notes here that others expect them to not just rediscover but in case of need, to create words. One example of a modern object, which has, at present, two Ifè names, according to dialect, is the cell phone. I discovered this by chance.
while the AMIADA coordinator was explaining why they require even teachers for the French classes to be Ifè. My interpreter, who is from a different dialect area, and knowing that I was interested in increasing my Ifè vocabulary, participated in the discussion.

C.3.AmA 1h24m50s Si vous n'êtes pas Ifè, on dit ceci s'appelle portable. Comment vous allez appeler ça en ifè pour les autres ? Ça ne peut pas bien aller.

C.3.JR ff. Est-ce qu'il y a un mot ifè pour portable ?
C.3.AmA ff. Pardon ?
C.3.JR ff. Est-ce qu'il y a un mot ou un phrase en ifè
C.3.JR ff. Bon, c'est quoi ?
C.3.AmA ff. {laughter} On appelle ceci .. Òkpákù
C.3.JR ff. Òkpákù.
C.3.AmA ff. Mmm. {7 second pause}
C.3.OKD ff. xx
C.3.MK ff. Il faut mettre kpimi dedans.
C.3.MK ff. Kpimi à xx {wind obscured his words}
C.3.Interpreter ff. xx Chez nous, nous avons surnommé Òkpákù àtapforí fo, c'est-à-dire, téléphone sans fil.
C.3.Interpreter ff. Ce qui est ça, ça c'est dans l'air.

The theme of literacy leading to revival of the language and rediscovery of unused words emerged also in the ADCIBA board's second interview.

C.4.KĐ 1h29m (interpreted) vraiment l'alphabetisation, c'est un, je disais, un signe de réveil. Ça a réveillé vraiment le peuple ou bien c'est ça qui continue pour nous réveiller. Pourquoi il le dit, il dit comme ça, parce que, il y a certaines . certaines expressions, certains mots . en ifè qui sont là que nos vieux parents, nos aïeux utilisaient. Aujourd'hui, ou se trouve soit illettré ou celui qui va à l'école formelle, on n'arrive plus ces ces ces expressions ou bien ces noms ne sont plus conservés. Tout est oublié. Mais au travers de
l'alphabetisation, les gens ont fait des recherches pour retrouver ces mots-là, retrouver ces expressions, et ils nous les a emmené aujourd'hui donc lui qui s'intègre s'adhère à l'alphabetisation, il est automatiquement, il va redécouvrir ces expressions et ces termes-là et ça fait que la vie ce qu'il est, la source même, on retourne à la source, et la langue serait gardée sur la plan.

C.4.ANA ff. original

C.4.KĐ ff. (interp.) original ou originel, s'il faut le dire.

In another interview, the theme of promotion of the language helping to unite distant groups of Ifè emerged. AMIADA’s treasurer told about how Ifè near the frontier with Benin were brought to cooperate with the group at Oké in spite of the distances involved.

B.3.MK 14m où je peux un peu ajouter, c'est que auparavant là, les moniteurs sont éloignés de nous ici. Et avoir leurs vélos pour les atteindre, on a laissé le sein de l'association de se rencontrer pour les atteindre vite, jusqu'au beau milieu, là s'appelle Patala. Puis, en ce moment-là, comme ils n'ont ils n'ont pas obéi, ils ne sont pas obéi.. ou bien, savoir ce que nous voulons faire là, ils= quand vous allez dire de venir d'ici là, ça sera difficile de déplacer du même temps .. puis qu'on les approchait, et nous, on se déplace ici, pour aller là-bas les rencontrer, et puis c'est là-bas centre, et ils viennent vite. Leur, comme on les approche, ils viennent, ils nous donnent des idées et des outils ils sont intéressés, que donc notre propre langue que là ça ne va pas échouer donc on va évoluer.

Literacy in the mother tongue plays a significant role in unifying different groups among the Ifè. The program explicitly works to develop the language through the pedagogic reading materials and other literature. In addition, Ifè literacy is also a means for reviving old terms, and spreading newly minted ones. In so doing, it maintains the distinctiveness of the Ifè language.
5.2.5 French as a more difficult language than Ifè

A persistant theme in several interviews was that Ifè literacy was needed because French is a difficult language and a barrier to communication. However, as noted earlier, the examples were often drawn from oral situations, as in the following quote.

C.1.AgA 29m15s Si nous exprimons dans dans nos langues, on comprend . bien, mieux que, d'autres langues. Si je parle ifè maintenant . euh . une personne ifè, en tant ce que je suis en train de dire en ifè, elle va comprendre mieux . de lire .. ou de de par= parler autre langue.. Eux-aussi, si on écrit en ifè, bon .. ça nous arrange, on lit bien. Mais en français pour expliquer aussi, le français-là, mêm. Ça tourne comme ça, donc tourne comme ça mais ça nous dit la même chose .. et dans autre langues aussi c'est comme ça si c'est en ifè, c'est en ifè si on dit maintenant en ifè tsaka tsaka, c'est tsaka tsaka ça n'a pas changé. Si on dit okpa, c'est okpa.

A number of people compared Ifè and French. Several of these comments came as an unintended result of the activity earlier in the second board interview, when participants were asked to read five statements and choose one to comment on. I had had the five translated into Ifè, and each participant was handed a sheet that had the French statements on the top half, and the Ifè equivalents on the bottom half. When later asked about the importance of Ifè literacy, or about the importance of French literates learning to read their own language, four participants referred to this activity.

A common theme was that the Ifè was comprehensible, unlike the French. One man who does not speak French observed that he understood the Ifè, which allowed him to participate in the activity.

C.3.SY 1h21m (interpreted) De nos jours, lui par exemple, le document qu'on vient de nous remettre, la fiche de renseignements, avant de ça, c'est une partie en français, l'autre est en ifè, mais il a laissé la partie française il a lu ce qu'il est en ifè il a compris et il arrivait aussi à donner son opinion à propos de ce qui a été demandé
Three of the VADEMI participants commented on their participation in the activity, and the effect the language they read had on their contribution. The first one’s remarks correspond with the theme of comprehension. He said the French ones were hard to understand, but the Ifè was clear.

C.2.VA1 48m10s parce que tout de suite quand vous avez présenté ce papier. le français est écrit en haut, j'ai lu ces cinq déclarations en français, et que je n'a PAS PU en même temps saisir le sens de tout ce que vous voulez on veut dire dans chaque phrase. Et en même temps je suis descendu en bas. J'ai lu en ifè, et, automatiquement, j'ai tout compris. Et c'est un= voilà donc c'est de ça qu'on va parler ici. Et puis vous allez voir en français on a fait presque: une seule ligne, mais en ifè c'est jusqu'à trois lignes ce qui veut dire qu'on veut expliquer beaucoup de choses. Et j'ai en même temps compris.

The next person to speak was sorry he had based his answer on what he had read in French. He brought out the point that often, those who can read French do not understand it as well as they think they do.

C.2.VA2 51m Franchement: bon comme moi aussi j'ai pris le papier, moi, parce que si j'ai lu ça en ifè, vraiment c'était c'est très clair et je vois que c'est vraiment important. Et des deux, si tu sais quelqu'un qui se croit lettré hein.. il dit bon je connais déjà le français pourquoi apprendre encore ma langue locale même si on écrit moi je peux lire. Il se trompe. Sinon: franchement moi: bon: je disais ça, que bon, si je prends: bon le fra= l'ifè je peux lire. Et je lis, j'ai des difficultés, de fait même si je ne comprends pas la langue je ne peux pas lire. Donc, si je lis ça il ne sonne pas bien donc c'est comme ça il faut tourner, et j'ai= avant le tourné, j'efforce, et ça sonne. Donc je ne savais pas que, donc les flèches là ça va dire ceci, {someone snorts softly with laughter} dire comme ça et ainsi de suite {soft snort of laughter}. Or je n'ai pas rédigé. OR, réellement comme il vient de le dire, il y a certains, qui peuvent lire sont forts dans les mathématiques
et c'est comme ça mais ils n'ont pas les verbes faciles. Parce qu'ils n'ont pas d'humilier ils n'ont pas beaucoup de verbes. Mais dans notre langue locale, on a les verbes faciles, donc l'exprimer c'est facile, donc on peut même rédiger la remarque. ça nous permet bon, on dit maintenant bon, si les Ifè bon. On va avoir beaucoup de choses. Puisque quand de temps disaient xx aisément faire sortir dans ta langue locale. Sinon c'est très important si même, le mieux même, les lettrés sont mieux placés que même: bon je veux dire que que les: ceux qui ne comprenaient n'ont pas l'importance du papier.

The third participant, continuing the theme of better comprehension in Ifè, added that being able to read and fully understand what was read was a source of joy for him.

C.2.VA3 53m15s il n'y a rien qui peut me je vais lire s'il demandait l'interprétation encore, j'ai lu, j'ai tout compris. et: c'est une joie pour moi puisqu'il y a des choses que je vais lire en français ici et je n'arrive pas. {chuckle} à bien comprendre les mots.

The VADEMI coordinator has to work with French extensively in his other role as a pastor. Nevertheless, he had quite a bit to say about the difficulties he has in reading and writing that language. He began by discussing his sermon preparation, and how it helps if the Scripture portion he plans to use exists in Ifè.

C.2.VA1 48m55s Il y a certains: eh quand même.. portions de la Bible traduites déjà en ifè. et que quand je veux préparer mon sermon moi je suis pasteur. je lis en français, et ça m'aide beaucoup s'il y a cette portion en ifè.

C.2.VA2 ff. en ifè oui

C.2.VA1 ff. Quand je prend en ifè et je LIS. eh= eh= vraiment, c'est c'est.. ça m'a dirigé à beaucoup de choses.

He references portions of the Bible because the Ifè New Testament was only distributed six months after our interview, having been published that year. A bit later in the interview, he focuses on the general difficulties of reading.
comprehension in French, as a reason why those who can read French should learn to read in their own language.

C.2.VA1 49m35s et que: tu= moi je sais lire seulement le français, et que je ne sais pas lire= tu ne peux pas lire ma langue . maternelle, je PERDS {softly but with emphasis}. Je perds parce que en lisant la langue maternelle, on comprend . en même temps . ce qu'on lit, et en français il faut encore des dictionnaires↑, il faut les chercher↑, il faut= cer= certains mots sont: pour la première fois venus et puis, on est embarrassé et certaines phrases sont formées de plusieurs manières . dans la langue française .. une seule= une seule phrase est formulée de plusieurs manières ↑et que tu vas lire la même phrase et on va écrire dans l'autre manière que tu ne peux pas comprendre . que c'est la même chose qu'on veut dire. Alors qu'en ifè, il n'y a pas de quoi te dire on peut changer n'importe comment, comme tu lis, tu comprends.

Finally, he highlights the difficulties of writing in French, comparing it with the ease of expressing his thoughts in Ifè.

C.2.VA1 50m23s et surtout .. et= et quand je veux rédiger par exemple . un TEXTE .. je le rédige . en français, mais:↑ je mets mes idées en ifè. Et des fois↑ . ce que je PENSE je n'arrive même pas à l'exp= met sur le papier, parce que je manque des mots↓ . je manque d'expressions↓ . pour l'exprimer entre alors que si c'était en ifè, j'allais les transmettre en même temps directement et que, ceux qui veulent lire peut me comprendre en même temps.

The representations in this section deal with the comparison of Ifè language and literacy with French. Ifè is perceived as being far easier to comprehend, whether orally or in writing. It is also easier to write since all the vocabulary and grammar is already well-known by Ifè speakers. French, on the other hand, is seen as difficult, requiring research to learn the meaning of words read or heard, or to find the right expression when writing. Even then, the meaning of a French discourse, oral or written, is difficult to grasp. The participants here seem to think that this is true for all literates who learned French
in school, and thus a reason for these people to learn to read and write in their mother tongue.

5.2.6 Biliteracy as responsibility

Another reason that those who have learned to read and write in French should learn to read and write Ifè is that they have responsibilities that they cannot carry out if they fail to learn Ifè literacy skills. One participant used a proverb to make his point that those who are literate in French ought to learn to read and write their mother tongue.

C.4.ANA 1h31m Moi je dis même que c'est obligatoire qu'il sache lire et écrire sa propre langue. parce que d'une part, on dit chez nous que, si tu ne sais pas. mettre au propre ton ménage c'est-à-dire ta maison, faut pas te hasarder aller balayer la rue. {interpreter laughs} Mm↑. Toi qui ne sais pas. lire . écrire . en ta propre langue et tu fais: le pédant en une autre langue, .. c'est que tu t'injuriais d'abord.

This view that the educated have a responsibility towards their own people is congruent with the African notions of solidarity discussed in chapter 4. It is important to note that here, educated Ifè are perceived as hurting themselves when they do not know how to read and write their own language, even when they express themselves well, perhaps even teach, in another language. This indicates that becoming biliterate may be a responsibility they have towards themselves.

Another speaker observed that one consequence of people not being able to read their own language although they speak it is that, when they make errors in interpretation, people will think and speak badly of them.

C.3.AmA 1h26m Donc, il est important à celui-là qui connait déjà le français de connaître aussi à lire dans sa propre langue. On entend ce problème surtout= ce problème-là, c'est on les rencontre beaucoup dans les églises. Dans les églises c'est difficile. Il y a le pasteur qui parle le français. Si euh: . l'interprète est Ifè, il ne sait pas lire l'ifè, c'est difficile ça ne
passe pas bien l'information. L'information, ça ne sent= ça ça ne pénètre pas les membres. Quand le l'interprète interprète mal, il y a des rumeurs, il y a des jurons, les gens xx o non non non, lui il n'interprète bien ce que le pasteur lui dit. Donc, quand celui-là qui sait déjà lire le français doit se ressourcer un peu en ifè . pour pouvoir faire bien .. passer son message ou soit faire bien passer ce qu'il a reçu, quoi. C'est nécessaire, c'est très nécessaire.

Yet another consequence of those who can read French but not communicate in Ifè is that they cannot share their ideas effectively, and thus are prevented from helping their people develop. This theme, which has strong links to the fundamental representation of literacy as openness and development, emerged in multiple interviews. This view applied both to literates who have stayed close to their home communities and those who have left. Mr. Saanya pointed out that oral messages given in French will not help the community; they must be given in Ifè.

C.3.SY 1h28m (interpreted) Quelque soit le niveau de ton français, tu as eu ton bac, ta maitrise ou quoi que ce soit, les gens aujourd'hui sont là ils ont bien maitrisé le français, ils viennent, ils donnent, ils font un exposé, ils peut faire l'exposé en français, on leur demande de transmettre le message dans leur langue maternelle, ils sont bloqués. Ils ne peuvent pas le faire. Là, c'est une lacune. Alors, à ce moment, il est important que toute personne, quelque soit son niveau de connaissance en langue française, il faut qu'elle revienne pour étudier sa propre langue, le maitriser et donner les messages là-dedans et c'est plus pénétrant quoi.

Another participant observed that people who want to help by providing reports of meetings, either those held in French or in Ifè, in the other language, are prevented from doing a good job if they cannot read and write Ifè. This view ties in with the representation of literacy as language maintenance.

C.4.GD 1h27m (interpreted) Pourquoi, par exemple il y a certains noms en ifè . que, si quelqu'un= si vous indiquez quelque chose à quelqu'un par exemple en ifè et qui veut aller rapporter .. ce
nom, si la personne connait le nom en ifè il peut faire un bon rapport. Par exemple quelqu'un qui a appris seulement et qui connait français, il se parlait un peu la langue, mais quand vous lui parlez, vous lui donnez ce nom.. en ifè arriver maintenant, quand il veut faire le rapport en français ou bien il prend la rapport en français arriver il veut rapporter ça en ifè, là au niveau-là il est bloqué. Il ne connait pas le nom. C'est pourquoi il est important que, quelque soit son= ton niveau, en français ou en telle langue, il faut retourner à l'origine. pour étudier sa langue maternelle, à lire et à écrire, comme ça ça va aider même à avoir les termes originaux. C'est ça l'importance.

One of the responsibilities of biliterates, especially those who have left the area, according to several participants, is to provide books and their translations.

C.5.DO 49m (interpreted) Donc, il demande, il souhaiterait, que les frères qui sont devant fournissent encore d'effort d'amener les livres d'autres livres dans d'autres langues, à les traduire en ifè, et comme il y a des bonnes choses dedans, ils peuvent aussi profiter.

This was, in fact, a dominant theme for ADCIBA's coordinators.

C.4.ANA 1h32m Maintenant on dit que il y a .. de de nouvelles techniques culturales.. Il y a des livres qui sont déjà édités soit en anglais soit en français. Il y a des livres qui traitent= qui parlent de beaucoup de maladies en anglais, en français.. Toi maintenant .. qui comprends bien . l'anglais, même, tu as évolué tu comprends deux langues comme ça anglais français. Tu veux . aider . ta population. Tu veux aider ton peuple.. Comment tu pourras le faire.. Ton peuple est bien= bel et bien alphabétisé voilà que toi-même tu ne sais pas écrire . cette langue. Tu ne sais pas la lire. Est-ce que tu peux faire la traduction ? Je dis non.

After going on to give the example of how the Bible translation project would never have proceeded without Ifè willing and able to read and write in both French and Ifè, he continues with his plea for the educated to help. Not only does
he appeal to ethnic solidarity but he chides those who need an interpreter even to talk with their parents.

C.4.ANA 1h33m41s  Donc moi je vois que c'est même plus important pour ceux-là qui connaissent déjà le français ou bien l'anglais ou bien d'autres langues étrangères. De VITE rattraper. Ceux-là doivent vite rattraper pour que vraiment on puisse s'unir pour aider notre population sinon notre communauté. C'est ceux-là qui trouvent comment ça se passe ailleurs, souvent. C'est eux qui ont eu la chance d'évoluer peut-être dans les pays des autres mais, soit en France aux États-Unis, ou bien qui ont beaucoup la chance de voyager beaucoup qu'on trouvait des nouvelles idées, de nouvelles pratiques, de nouveaux comportements, qui vont maintenant vouloir l'écrire dans leur langue pour vulgariser cela dans leur communauté, et quand vous ne savez pas écrire votre langue, ce serait fiasco vous ne pouvez pas. Vous pouvez avoir bel et bien la volonté d'aider votre peuple mais, vous ne pouvez pas.. Que TOI natIF d'une ethnie ou bien d'un peuple.. d'une langue et que tu trouves encore d'interprète, moi je trouve que c'est {tongue click}.. c'est vraiment mauvais de sa part {laughter} que tu trouves que tu cherches d'interprète afin de pouvoir aller parler à tes parents, vraiment ce n'est pas bon.

He goes on to say that the educated should be able to communicate new ideas in such a way that they seem less strange for the community. He also emphasized that literacy work will be blocked if the educated abdicate their responsibility to learn to read and write their language, on a very practical, personal level: they will be unable to directly communicate with their parents and therefore give their own family any advantages.

C.4.ANA 1h35m45s  Et c'est souvent des gens qui ont eu la chance de comprendre autres langues, c'est ceux-là que, s'ils trouvent une idée ils peuvent le développer vite. Ils peuvent développer l'idée-là, la petite idée que les vieux vont dire là, eux-autres peuvent le développer ça et rendent ça plus.. euh: usuelle.. un↑.. puisque c'est plus facile à utiliser= à être utilisé pour les autres selon le monde d'aujourd'hui, selon
l'évolution du monde. Donc, sans que nos frères qui savent lire et écrire dans une autre langue ne reviennent pas... apprendre leur propre langue, vraiment l'alphabetisation encore serait bloqué d'une manière que, si ton parent veut t'écrire... voilà que lui il ne comprend pas français, il sera obligé d'aller voir quelqu'un d'autre que, dont il ne voudrais pas qu'il... il sache ce qu'il voudrais te dire. Même s'il t'écrit en sa langue= en ta langue tu pourras pas lire... là où tu es en France peut-être ou bien aux États-Unis. Alors que c'est lui qui t'a mis au monde, tu ne comprends pas sa langue... quand il s'agit de l'écrit, mais ça c'est gauche! {chuckle} Si toi tu veux écrire à ton papa ou bien à ta maman... qui comprennent ta propre langue, tu seras obligé de l'écrire en français.. Et c'est un autre, {snaps fingers twice} le fils d'un autre ou bien d'une autre mais qui va lire, qui va comprendre ce que toi tu es en train d'apprendre à ta maman ou bien à tes parents, et qui peut-être... dit autre chose, traduit autre chose et allais mettre ça en pratique dans sa propre famille d'abord. Et ta famille sera obligé de tricher auprès de lui. Est-ce que, ce n'est pas s'injurier ? Je vois que vraiment et je suis en train d'exhorter nos frères nos grands frères qui... C.4.KL 1h37m46s Chez moi, ceux qui savent lire... déjà le français, ceux qui... euh ceux qui connaissent le papier déjà, et: il est très important à eux aussi de revenir... apprendre à écrire et lire leur propre langue. Sinon, nous qui faisons maintenant aujourd'hui l'alphabetisation nous faisons l'alphabetisation de BASE. Mais, Si CEUX-là qui sont évolués en études ne reviennent pas apprendre encore la langue avec nous, nous ne pouvons plus évoluer nos pas, ne pouvons plus évoluer...
plus que nous sommes aujourd'hui nous serons toujours comme ça. Mais eux autres ils ont déjà étudié ils sont déjà allés à haut niveau. Donc, comme ça, s'ils apprennent aussi à lire et écrire, ils peuvent FAIRE développer aussi notre langue, pour que nous aussi nous puissions évoluer et même travailler.. faire tous ce que eux autres font en langue étrangère aussi dans notre langue.

C.4.JR ff. Mmhm
C.4.KL ff. Oui, donc c'est pourquoi il est aus= il est très important que eux autres reviennent apprendre .. eh à lire et écrire la langue. Oui. Sinon bon, nous maintenant qui sommes acteurs aujourd'hui, nous= nous pensons, nous rêvons

C.4.ANA ff. Mhmm
C.4.KL ff. que notre langue ce soit une langue .. administrative ..
C.4.ANA ff. dans notre [communauté toute au moins]
C.4.KL ff. [dans notre communauté toute au moins].
Donc, SI eh: ceux qui sont évolués ne= bon, voilà, nous nous n'avons pas un niveau élevé, donc, c'est ceux qui ont beau= bien étudié qui peuvent revenir, traduire eh:

C.4.ANA ff. les textes
C.4.KL ff. les textes, et nous aussi nous pouvons évoluer.

In the view of these participants, and especially the Beninese, those who are literate in French and perhaps even in English have a responsibility to learn to read and write their mother tongue. This will enable these literates to function well in the domains of church service interpretation, meeting reports, communication with family, and translation of development-oriented ideas and materials. In this way, they will demonstrate their unity with their people and their desire to help their home communities develop.

5.2.7 Literacy as access to another language

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5.2.7 Literacy as access to another language

One of the most common reasons for participation in a literacy class heard by those of us who work in literacy in West Africa is in order to gain access to another, usually the official, language. Over the years, I have heard various anecdotes about people who, once literate in their mother tongue, figured out on
their own how to read another language. As one coordinator pointed out, once you know the letter and sound correspondence for one language’s writing system, you can often decipher the writing system for another, when the same graphemes are involved.

C.5.EK 52m15s  Bon, si nous prenons maintenant, chose-là en langue locale ifè, si nous prenons la lettre a. Donc, en langue, on dit aa. Déjà ce a en français. Donc nous voyons que c'est la même lettre. Quelqu'un qui a fait euh l'alphabetisation, en voyant déjà en français la lettre a, reconnaît en même temps que c'est la lettre a et il peut lire. Donc, si nous voyons dans les lettres-là, bon, il y a plusieurs lettres qui se sont bon, qui sont les mêmes. Par exemple, la lettre b aussi, bon. Plusieurs dans le= dans l'alphabetisation. Oui. Donc, je sais vraiment qu'il y a une relation dans des autres langues aussi.

One of AMIADA’s board members even testified that, once he became literate in Ifè, he was able to decode French, reading in public even though he does not always understand what he is reading. This has motivated others to reconsider the value of taking Ifè literacy classes.

B.3.SY 43m (interpreted)  Bon, en temps que, les gens lui connaissaient comme illettré, analphabète, mais au travers de l'alphabetisation Ifè, il arrive maintenant à lire et écrire, et déchiffrer certains mots français. Il peut lire certains mots, mais peut-être ne pas avoir bien le sens. Ça c'est déjà un point. Et c'est par la grâce aujourd'hui, de Dieu aujourd'hui, il arrive à commencer par lire français couramment devant les gens. Tous ce qui sont retournés, se sont reculés, par cette lecture, cette expression en français, ça peut les faire revenir.

However, it is more common for the newly literate to take a course for learning, and learning to read, the official language. The French course for newly literate Ifè was being piloted during my research. Courses were being held in three districts at the time, once the first four classes had successfully made
progress. As the AMIADA coordinator said, this third-level course met a desire of their students.

Interestingly, this course has not only helped the students, but also the teachers. This is related to the earlier theme of French being difficult to understand, and is probably a reflection on the quality of teaching available in the typical African village located far from the large towns.

B.3.AmA 6m Et aujourd'hui maintenant, c'était la semaine passée qu'on a entamé une troisième cycle parce que sur là qui ont appris l'ifè à écrire et à lire, et aussi à faire le calcul et la rédaction, eux qui sont un peu parfait dans le cours, on a souhaité qu'on ait un troisième cycle pour pouvoir nous aider à xx un peu en français. Et c'est ça qui a été le désir de nos apprenants.

B.3.AmA 1h14m50s Les rapports que j'ai recueillis sur le troisième cycle {tongue click}, que .. le cours= le cours français qu'on vient de commencer là {tongue click}, ça donne assez de lumière .. d'abord .. aux moniteurs .. qui: ont fait la classe formelle ils disent que, c'est maintenant même qu'eux autres comprennent . le sens des grammaire, le vocabulaire, l'orthographe .. le son, les sens des mots son orthographe vocabulaire bon qu'ils ont ils ont beaucoup de lumière sur ce cours . par rapport à ce qu'on leur avait appris sur le banc. La fois= hier il y a un frère qui est venu {his voice lowers} il fait l'internat c'est celui qui a fait tous ceci-là au tableau-là {the chalkboard is covered with mathematical formulas} {then explanatory aside about how he teaches the 3rd cycle class there} Il les a beaucoup .. il a beaucoup apprécié les documents que, c'est maintenant que, {tongue click} il semble que, c'est nous qui sommes .. sur la vraie étude quoi. Que, le document, ça va, ça va, ça ça va plus clair, plus abordable que par par rapport à ce que on a enseigné . à l'école .. formelle . et nous nous principalement, nous qui représentons↓ nous qui sommes moniteurs pour enseigner .. les les gens pour troisième cycle, vraiment ça nous a beaucoup apporté PLUS de lumière. Ça on ne peut pas tout dire. {chuckle} Ça nous aide.
One of the very practical reasons people want to make the transfer to French is for contact with outsiders, and particularly the soldiers who guard the border, who generally do not know Ifè. Indeed, this course has even been a draw for former literacy teachers.

B.3.AmA 31m Il y a des anciens moniteurs même, qui ont beaucoup travaillé au départ, et ils se sont repliés, retirés, et quand ce troisième cycle arrivait maintenant, ils disent que Ah comme ils ont souhaité troisième cycle depuis ça on n'a pas réussi, c'est pourquoi quand ils vont, ils vont voyager, ils voyagent, ils arrivent au niveau des frontières, les soldats les posent des questions en français là, ils n'arrivent pas à s'exprimer là, c'est ça qui fait que eux ne pouvaient plus continuer le travail avec nous en tant que tel. Donc, heureusement que le cycle trois est là, ça va les aider un peu.

A sub-theme that emerged in the AMIADA board interviews was that of teaching children to read and write in Ifè. The topic of multilingual education had been discussed at the previous year's literacy forum in Kara. The AMIADA coordinator summarized what had been taught, and revealed the impact it had had on him.

B.3.AmA 52m09s Quand je suis arrivé= mon enfant a quatre ans j'ai dit qu'il aura cinq ans, il va aller à l'école formelle de fois, quand je trouve un peu de temps, je je l'ai je l'initie un peu sur {l'alphabetisation dans} la langue maternelle. Pour les deux {?}, quand il va arriver à l'école formelle, ça va vite passer quoi.

However, it seems others had also observed the impact of French schooling on their children. The AMIADA vice-president had already stated his hopes that ACATBLI leaders would help them insert the teaching of Ifè literacy in schools, and explained why he believes it is necessary to do so.

B.3.SY 49m (interpreted) Il nécessitera l'engagement des alphabétiseurs au niveau des écoles formelles afin d'entretenir les élèves, pour que les enfants dès leur bas âge commencent par étudier la langue qu'ils arrivent déjà à parler. Comme ça à l'écrire. Et arriver, en évoluant, ils n'auront plus de blocage.
Parce qu'ils ont constaté aujourd'hui que, quand les enfants commencent avec le français, à un certain moment, on fait revenir des idées qu'ils leurs demandent d'aller faire des recherches encore de leur naissance, ils sont bloqués en ce moment, alors, s'ils avaient fait ça dans le bas âge, ils ne seraient pas bloqué à ce niveau. Il faut qu'on fasse de ces enfants, des enfants faits des hommes faits dès le bas âge parce que, à six ans déjà, l'enfant commence l'école formelle, et d'abord l'îfe n'est pas encore il n'est pas ancré dedans, et avec l'école française, ou bien l'école formelle, ils évoluent, ils ne comprennent pas bien l'îfe, ni bien français et ils sont entre l'étai et, comment là, l'enclume et le marteau, et ne savent plus quoi faire. Quand on leur demande de revenir au plan îfe, on leur dit certains mots, ils n'arrivent pas à comprendre, voilà qu'ils ont aussi les difficultés un jour alors il faut une bonne fondation que le bâtiment soit bien posé.

So whether one is an adult or a child, Ifè literacy is seen as a good place to start in order to obtain access to a second language, usually French. The new French class for new literates is greatly appreciated for its role in helping Ifè acquire this language. It also has helped those with some knowledge of the language to understand it better, besides motivating some teachers and students who had left the program to return.

5.2.8 Ifè literacy as a qualification

AMIADA participants seem to have a final representation of literacy, that of qualification. They have used literateness in Ifè as a barrier to those who wish to take a position in the program that might earn them some money, but who otherwise have not shown any interest in learning to read and write Ifè. The first position they mentioned was related to the income-generating project of beekeeping.

B.3.AmA 38m30s Maintenant, les gens ont appris dans les villages, ils sont spécialistes dans l'élevage pour l'élevage des abeilles mais ils ne se sont pas alphabétisés. Et ils nous viennent solliciter auprès de nous qu'on va les impliquer
The second role where literateness in Ifè was required was teacher for the third cycle.

C.3.AmA 1h23m40s Deuxième aspect, il faut que son moniteur ait un niveau de deuxième cycle. Niveau d'alphabétisation deuxième cycle. Parce que tout ce que vous allez rencontrer en français, il faut transmettre en ifè. Il faut oui, il faut il faut transmettre ça aux autres en ifè.

They also use literacy in Ifè as a prerequisite to participate in the Cycle 3 class, forcing those who want to join it to prove that they have passed second level first.

B.3.AmA 41m17s Bon, déjà ma aspect le troisième cycle maintenant qu'on vient de la dire qu'on vient de dire maintenant, il y a les gens quand ils ont compris que c'est le français, ah ils ne font que me gêner. Ils ne font que gêner les superviseurs et les superviseurs viennent me dire tout. Et la critère, la barré que moi j'ai mis, et que si quelqu'un n'a pas eu son diplôme, du deuxième cycle, il ne doit pas s'inscrire au troisième cycle. Pas question. Ils peuvent venir avec des présents, pas question.

So for the AMIADA coordinator, Ifè literacy is a qualification for participation in the program, whether for a paid position or to learn French. This stance has the possibility of providing those who do want to participate in these activities a reason to join classes.
5.3 Summary and discussion

In this chapter, many of the representations that motivate the participants of this study to invest their time and energy in the literacy program were discussed. These representations are largely contextual, tied to the role of these literacy leaders and drawing on their experiences with literacy, languages and the illiterate. These leaders reveal in their discourses that they are motivated largely by their concern for the status and well-being of their people and their language. The most widely shared representations, found among nearly all participants, were those centered around illiterates, development through literacy, and literacy in the Ifè language.

Those who cannot read or write text in any language are seen as being handicapped, ignorant, distrustful and blocks to development. The acquisition of literacy creates an attitude of openness that permits development. This development may be economic, social, cultural, or spiritual. Mother tongue literacy also promotes the maintenance and development of the Ifè language, and the preservation and transmission of their cultural heritage and identity.

Literacy in Ifè is not the only textual literacy available, however. A number of people discussed the presence of oral French and French literacy in their environment. For the non-schooled, the use of French by those around them reinforces feelings of distrust and insecurity. To combat these feelings, the program has begun a French course for those who have passed the first two years of the regular literacy and numeracy curriculum. This has been very popular and is motivating those who have had no interest in learning their mother tongue to join Ifè classes, probably because it is seen as increasing cultural capital, since French is so valuable socially and economically in the wider society. In certain zones, people who are already literate in French are considering learning to read and write in Ifè in order to be accepted as teachers of that course. This investment could provide them with a small income, at least under the funding system in place at the time of my fieldwork. Meanwhile, those who are teaching it find that their own grasp of French vocabulary and grammar
has improved. Even so, those who do know French have difficulty in fully understanding what they read and in easily expressing themselves in writing.

People who have acquired competence in French have a responsibility to learn to read and write their own language. Much of this has to do with community solidarity. By becoming literate in Ifè, they proclaim their identity as an Ifè and their willingness to help their ethnic group develop. According to the interviewees, the primary way in which they can do this is by supplying and/or translating works into Ifè that communicate new ideas helpful to the community. In addition to demonstrating solidarity, literateness in Ifè will allow them to communicate with family back in the village without relying on an intermediary, and permit them to participate in community life through interpretation done well. This last will prevent gossip harmful to their reputation.

For one association, literacy is used as a barrier against those who desire (remunerated) positions within the program but who have not been open to learning to read and write Ifè. In this way they attempt to reserve the development function of literacy for their students and graduates, ensuring that a link between literacy and development is visible. It also affirms the investment of time and effort these literacy leaders have put into learning to read and write Ifè themselves as well as their investment in the local associations.

Many of these representations are found in public discourse such as the media. This is consistent with the theory of social representations and how these representations are formed in a society. In Togo and Benin the radio is the most widely accessible media form, because radios generally require batteries but not necessarily grid electricity, and because they do not require that their hearers be literate. In addition, radio programs are more likely than other media forms to be available in languages other than French or English. However, national newspapers from the coastal cities do make their way inland and are another source of dissemination of representations. Additionally, where electricity, from grids or generators, is available, televisions may be found and thus also influence thinking about such things as literacy and illiterates.
All these representations of literacy not only motivate literacy program workers to persevere in the face of uncertain finances, of community opposition, and of program difficulties, but also affect decisions about capacity building. The decision to initiate a third year course that teaches French has already been discussed. The influence of the representations of literacy as openness and development, and those pertaining to mother tongue literacy, also influence decisions about program activities, including curriculum development and post-literacy publications. These decisions and activities are the focus of the next chapter.
6: ENHANCING CAPACITY

In this chapter, the relationship of representations of leadership and of literacy to capacity enhancement decisions will be explored. Decisions leading to improved capacity in an organization or community may seem sensible, but are often also controversial, as such decisions change the way things are done. Social representations help members of a group determine how to respond to such practical and controversial issues (Py, 2003). The SR of leadership and of literacy discussed in the previous two chapters affect the Ifè responses to such issues, providing justification for decisions made (Abric, 2001a; Bonardi & Roussiau, 1999; Py, 2003) that enhance the capacity of the Ifè community and organizations.

The principle raison d’être of most capacity building efforts in non-profit development organizations is long-term sustainability, so that an organization’s or community’s goals may be achieved, positive outcomes maintained, and negative effects ameliorated. As Drucker (1990) says, “[The] product [of a non-profit institution] is a changed human being” (p. xiv, italics in the original). Therefore any examination of growth in capacity must look at the sustainable attainment of this end goal. However, all discussions must also take into consideration the fact that the enhancement of capacity is a process, and a long-term one at that (Eade, 1997; Gubbels & Koss, 2000; Indieke, 2003). As one aim of this study is to identify factors that promote or hamper healthy development of community-based literacy organizations, this long-term view of capacity building is essential.

Nkasa & Chapman (2000), in their study of six Ghanaian communities involved in externally initiated educational development projects, have outlined a number of models of project sustainability. The first model focuses on economic sustainability: the project is able to continue after external funding ceases,
because participants are able to generate funds themselves. Another model is based on socio-cultural factors: project personnel are able to continue the project because the required capacity in knowledge, skills, and structures has been developed. Yet a third model is based on sustainable development theory, focusing on ecological concerns: project needs are met in such a way to ensure the existence of resources to future generations. The fourth model they describe as one based on innovation and diffusion: a project is sustainable when the community has embraced ownership, since the project is consistent with community values and beliefs; has participatory mechanisms; and has effective leadership. The final model they propose, which is the one I use here to assess which factors have helped or hindered the implementation of a multiple-association strategy to ensure access to literacy throughout a large language group, is a synthetic model: a project is sustainable when both management components and socio-cultural components are in place. Management components include planning, transparency, leadership, and participation. Socio-cultural elements include social cohesion, community skills, resources (both economic and skill-based), and a strong value for education.

A major aim of this Ed.D. thesis is to provide insights into what drives and affects capacity building choices and efforts. In examining the capacity enhancement choices made in the Ifè literacy program as expressed in interviews and revealed in archival documents, it became evident that the capacity building occurring in and through this program and its associations can be divided into three areas: personnel, where training leads towards greater professionalization; organizational, where capacity building has focused on helping the associations become more structured and businesslike; and at the community level, where efforts aim to enhance the villagers’ ability to improve their standard of living and to empower them in other areas. In each, the influence of representations of leadership and literacy are seen in the choices made and in the management of their implementation, and can be used to identify factors for the development of sustainable organizations and of strategies capable of serving a large population. With this information, literacy practitioners,
policy makers, technical advisors and donors will be able to make more informed decisions.

6.1 At the personnel level

Capacity building of personnel is concerned with adding to or enhancing the knowledge and skills of people working with the organization (M. de Pree in Drucker, 1990; Edoho, 1998), whether employees or volunteers (M. de Pree in Drucker, 1990) and often includes developing certain attitudes as well (Edoho, 1998). Literacy program personnel typically include literacy center teachers, supervisors, trainers, and coordinators. They may also include writers, editors and printers. In a literacy and development-focused organization, training covers the literacy, development, and management domains (Leduc & McAdam, 1988).

The literacy domain includes typical educational topics tailored for the level needed. Village adult literacy teachers, who in my experience in sub-Saharan Africa are rarely educated beyond the third year of secondary school, and usually have no more than a primary school education, are taught such things as how to write on a chalk board and how to teach the method used in the primers during large group workshops. They are also often given practice in reading and writing their own language, and in working arithmetic problems. In adult literacy programs, it is also common to focus on andragogical principles, as the only experience with classrooms most teacher trainees have had is schools for children. However, treating adults as one would children is almost guaranteed to have a deleterious effect on literacy class attendance. Thus, andragogical principles encourage teachers to adopt certain attitudes towards students, particularly respect. All these topics feature in the Ifè teacher training (SIL, 1996). In addition, the Ifè teacher training includes a unit on the principles of community development (ibid.).

The Ifè program has also worked to develop authors through writer’s workshops. These have included participation in SIL-sponsored workshops with outside facilitators as well as internally-run workshops with the ACATBLI literacy
personnel as facilitators (Agbémadon & Devine, 2008; Devine & Gardner, 2008; Projet de langue ifè : Activités de janvier 1996 à décembre 1998, n.d.). Some workshops focus on creative writing, while others concentrate on translating/adapting factual material. The long-term goals are to build writing fluency in the Ifè community and to produce publishable, post-literacy material. However, due to overwork from having to oversee all zones at once since the initiation of the major funding project that modified the original strategy, fewer of these are being held (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, July 2009), to the dismay of at least one ADCIBA board member (B.3.SY). Additionally, the ACATBLI team does not have the necessary time to edit for publication the manuscripts already produced (A. Agbémadon, 2009).

While teachers and writers generally are taught in a workshop format, much of the capacity building for leaders that has occurred in this program has been through the mentorship model, first with the men originally hired by SIL, and then with the supervisors and coordinators of the local associations (A.3.AgBA). In a mentorship model, learning is primarily done first through observation, followed by doing the task under supervision, receiving feedback, and finally by doing the task unsupervised. In the Ifè associations, this type of training has been used in both the literacy and management domains. Mr. Agbémadon’s first mentor was Ms. Boëthius, who taught him first how to write the initial literacy materials (syllabaires), then to supervise classes, and later to run the program (A.1.AgBA af1 & af2). I also mentored Mr. Agbémadon to lead training sessions for supervisors and program coordinators in Kara. Mr. Sétodji was mentored jointly by Ms. Boëthius and Mr. Agbémadon in his initial program-level role as supervisor (A.1.SK af1). SIL members working with the Ifè project mentored both men in strategic program planning.

The coordinators of the local associations, several of whom also have or had another role on their respective boards, have been, as noted, primarily developed through mentorship in the program management domain. The mentors in these cases have been the ACATBLI literacy head, coordinator, and supervisor. The literacy program tasks that the coordinators learned in this
manner range from awareness-raising and class creation through teacher training, class supervision, evaluations, and leading teachers' meetings (A.1.SK af1 & af2; A.3.AgB & SK; B.1.AgA). The AMIADA coordinator expressed a desire to learn more concerning program coordination (B.3.AmA). The ACATBLI leaders do have that on their agenda (A.3.AgB & SK).

The ACATBLI literacy leaders as well as the association coordinators and a few board members have also participated in various training events organized by SIL in Togo. Since 1997 these have covered such topics as program management (including situational leadership styles), post-literacy possibilities, literacy and development, andragogical principles, basic reading theory and literacy methods, and principles of orthography development. The head of the literacy work has, in addition, participated in a variety of seminars and courses held in other countries, among them a REFLECT trainers' seminar and an English course, the latter to assist him in communicating with funders. In addition, he was part of a group that visited Ghana in 1999 to observe a literacy and development program there and talk with the development and women’s work coordinators of GILLBT (Ghanaian Institute of Linguistics, Literacy, and Bible Translation). His second was scheduled to be a part of that group, but we had a transportation issue and had to down-size our group. Mr. Agbémadon also was one of a small group that attended a course on fund-raising in Lomé in 2003. Both Mr. Agbémadon and Mr. Sétodji have also been able to attend one of the biannual Pan-African Conferences on Reading for All, Mr. Agbémadon (accompanying me) in 2003 and Mr. Sétodji in 2007.

The association coordinators and boards have primarily received training in the management domain. They too have benefited from targeted workshop and seminar training, mostly as part of the Swedish-funded organizational capacity building project. The main topics of this have been handling money and program planning (A.3.AgB). In addition, several of them were prepared for their board role through their involvement with other associations or their churches (B.4.ANA & GD; B.5.DO). However, several board members expressed a desire for further training on the roles and responsibilities of board members (B.2.VA1 &
This was a particularly strong desire both for VADEMI’s and AMIADA’s boards.

Donc, c'est pourquoi ils ont xx demander à même temps il faut= nous avons besoin de formation, nous avons besoin de des d'autres choses pour pouvoir bien situer les choses.

Quelqu'un veut ajouter ? {3 second pause}

Pour ajouter, on veut suivre la formation. Sinon on a besoin de la formation, pour gérer une association il faut la formation. Donc, on a besoin quand même de la formation.

AMIADA’s president specifically noted that although they learned several significant things through the training they have had, it was inadequate. Therefore, one of their expectations of ACATBLI is that they will receive further training in this domain.

Bon, s'il vous plait, en 2006, l'ACATBLI est venue nous former. Le rôle du président . le rôle du secrétaire, le rôle du trésorier. Mais la formation-là, c'est bien, mais elle nous est insuffisante. Et nous réclamons que, il faut que l'ACATBLI revient encore nous former

This willingness to learn as well as the willingness to teach are among the themes of Ifè representations of leadership for literacy program leaders. Other leadership themes are also seen in this area of capacity building, such as the need for competence, developed during participation in the various workshops and seminars, and the need to be literate, fluency in which is built during both the teacher training sessions and the writers’ workshops. The mentorship model is one in which certain themes in the Ifè representation of leadership, those impacting relationship quality, probably have a strong impact, notably those of patience, faithfulness, an exemplary life, caring, forgiving, cooperative and knowing the situation of your subordinates.

Representations of literacy not only motivate leaders to invest their time and energy in the program, but also influence certain choices made in the program. Teacher and writer training is done in the Ifè language, thereby
promoting the value of the mother tongue and enabling those who are literate in Ifè to assume a respected position in society. The aim of the writers’ workshops is to develop a literature that will contribute to the maintenance and development of the language and of the Ifè culture and community. Writers’ workshops that have focused on translation of development and/or religious literature are linked to the representation of literacy as openness and development, as well as demonstrating the responsibility of biliterates to their brothers and sisters who only know their own language. Finally, the establishment of Cycle 3 with the French grammar and vocabulary review afforded to the teachers of this level, as well as the occasional French to Ifè transition classes, demonstrate the representation of literacy giving access to another language.

However, in the discussion of literacy and development issues in chapter 2, the question of who is making decisions was identified as a major concern in these domains. As can be inferred from the above information, the overwhelming majority of decisions as to which capacities to develop when in the program leadership were made not by local people, but by expatriates, myself and the funders included. Although the topics addressed in SIL’s trainings in Kara are based on expressed desires of former participants, the actual choice is made according to a combination of those desires, what we expatriates see as major needs common to the programs we serve, and available expertise and resources.

Areas where program leadership are making decisions regarding training do exist. The most important is in the area of literature development, as writer’s workshops are completely under the control of Ifè leadership in the program. In addition, although the teacher and supervisor trainings were originally developed by expatriates, as areas of concern are seen, these are modified to address those concerns. Questions of timing for training of supervisors and teachers as well as the start of each year’s classes are also in the hands of local leadership. Finally, while program leaders make recommendations as to the frequency and duration of classes, each literacy class chooses the days and times when it meets.
6.2 At the organizational level

Capacity building at the organizational level aims to develop or enhance skills of employees and board members, to improve procedures to obtain greater efficiency, and to strengthen the organization’s ability to function in general (Eade, 1997; Edoho, 1998). It also, particularly in contexts where a community-based association is developing, aims to promote viability and autonomy (Gubbels & Koss, 2000). Most often, the focus is on strengthening structures and communication, enhancing planning and decision-making, and ensuring that all recommended management tools are in place, as occurred during the workshop series I attended during the research period. Another area of emphasis necessary to healthy functioning is the establishment of sustainable financing practices (Eade, 1997). However, as Gubbels & Koss (2000) note, “Organizational capacity is a complex and context specific phenomenon. Due to these complexities, enhancing organizational capacity takes time to achieve and requires a coherent, long-term strategy that goes far beyond tools” (p. 6). Thus, while the goal of an enduring organization is the same regardless of what or where it is, efforts at capacity building should not take a “one-size-fits-all” approach.

In nonprofit organizations relying on volunteers, the dynamics of a healthy organization may lead to a slightly different capacity building emphasis than that which is usual for businesses. Specifically, the mission and ethos of the organization are key, as they are what attracts both volunteers (Edmunds, 1978; Imdieke, 2003; Tandon, 1988) and funding (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Eade, 1997). However, growth and/or funders’ requirements often create a push towards greater professionalization (Fisher & Cole, 1993) and a more businesslike organization (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Ilsley, 1990; Lacey & Ilcan, 2006; G. Willis, 2000), leading to capacity building initiatives that focus on structures and management procedures.

While training focused on the areas noted above is important, as Max de Pree states in Drucker (1990), “when you take the risk of developing people, the
odds are very good that the organization will get what it needs" (p. 38). In fact, several associations’ boards identified their only abundant resource as their people (B.1.NK af1; B.2.VA1; B.5.OK). It is not just the skills of the people, however, but their relationships that are important to the health of an organization: “Organizations are only as strong as the relationships between the individuals who claim to be members, paid or unpaid staff, and supporters of them” (Imdieke, 2003, p. 94). ACATBLI and its affiliated associations have strong relationships within and between themselves (B.2.VA1), but several of the associations’ interviewees acknowledge the need to develop additional relationships with financial and potential technical supporters (B.3.SY; B & C.4.ANA).

The long-term survival of a community-based organization is dependent upon a number of factors. Four of the factors identified by Gubbels & Koss (2000) have to do with finances: the ability to meet core costs, the ability to continue working when external financial aid has ceased, access to a wide variety of funding sources, and effective financial management. They note, however, that a viable organization needs to be purpose-driven, not donor-driven. In addition, leaders must be able to plan strategically, and develop relationships with other organizations. While Johnson & Thomas (2007) agree with these last two points, they also emphasize the importance of having an organizational culture that promotes learning, not just in individuals but for the organization itself. This relates to the key point of Kinsey & Raker (2003), which states that the organization must continually strive to improve the product or service it provides in addition to attention to all the points mentioned previously.

As noted in the previous section, a workshop on the roles and functioning of the board was given to several associations’ boards by ACATBLI leaders with funds from Sweden. During this workshop, the board members learned such things as the basics of operating a cash box, and the role of each board member (A.3.AgB.A; B.3.AmA). However, AMIADA’s president-coordinator rather forcefully stated his association’s need for additional training in leadership roles.
VADEMI’s coordinator also noted that they needed more training on board roles and responsibilities.

Training in role responsibilities was not the only felt need, however; the need for additional training in association management was also frequently expressed (B.2.VA2; B.3.MK & SY; B.4.ANA; B.5.OK). When participants identified which aspect of management was most needed, they gave financial management. VADEMI’s secretary explained why: to avoid losses.

During their first interview, AMIADA’s president gave a concrete example of a type of financial management knowledge, related to use of the cash box, they had not had before the first board management training they received.
ACATBLI’s leadership recognizes this area as one that needs strengthening, and identified it as a major area to develop before each association is granted full autonomy (A.3.SK).

This desire for additional training in financial management was not a universally felt need, however. The officers of AVID, the oldest association, had at one time managed their own finances, and felt that they still had the necessary competence to do so again. In his discourse on this point, Mr. N’tchou made the important point that without financial autonomy, no association can claim to have autonomy; essentially, that those who hold the purse strings are the true decision makers.

Drucker (1990) notes that one of the main functions of a non-profit’s board is fund development. Association board members repeatedly stated that this is an
area in which they need much more help and direction from ACATBLI and SIL (B.1.NK af2; B.4.KL & ANA; B.5.EK). ADCIBA’s president specified that they not only wanted to learn how to write funding proposals, but also to be assisted in finding financial partners.

B.4.KL 26m Moi je veut dire surtout {recording gap} demande à faire un demande de formation, pour la formation de {recording gap} eux {recording gap} pour le demande de fonds, on l'attend, on attend d'eux et aussi nous orienter vers des partenaires.

In 2009, the Swedish funders sponsored two weeks of capacity building workshops for ACATBLI’s board and the local associations’ coordinators (three of whom are also on ACATBLI’s board), with the goal of promoting organizational sustainability. This workshop series covered the topics of identifying strengths and weaknesses of their association, the creation of an association, strategic planning, management tools, finances and budgeting, and communication techniques. The local association coordinators were expected to share this content with their own boards. An additional capacity building seminar funded by Sweden was held in Kara for literacy associations throughout Togo and Benin later in 2009 (L. Dozeman, personal communication, Apr. 2009). This included the topics of conflict resolution and of transition programs to basic French, both of which had been requested by program leaders, and building teams, including legal aspects such as statutes and by-laws as well as identification of what makes a healthy team. During the 2010 literacy forum held in Kara, a discussion on effective time management strategies addressed organizational capacity growth (L. Dozeman, personal communication, Dec. 4, 2010).

When a Swedish NGO began funding the program and the associations were all brought under ACATBLI, they were all, with the exception of the very newest association, put on the same footing, regardless of previous experience and established competence, primarily in order to prevent jealousy (A.3.SK; although see Mr. N’tchou’s quote above for resulting resentment from one long-established group). Responsibilities have been gradually handed over to the associations, as their members demonstrate under supervision that they are
capable of handling the task. Before the associations are declared to be autonomous, their officers will have learned to raise and manage their own funds. In addition, each organization will need to demonstrate its viability through its membership numbers, by having obtained legal status with the government of its country, and by the establishment of at least one income-generating activity (A.3.AgbA & SK). See figure 6.1 for a summary.

Figure 6.1 Steps towards autonomy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other requirements (no order)</th>
<th>Responsibilities to be assumed (in order)</th>
<th>Comments*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal recognition by the state</td>
<td>Community awareness-raising and mobilization</td>
<td>Already delegated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of viable income-generating projects</td>
<td>Organization of classes</td>
<td>Already delegated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate membership numbers</td>
<td>Teacher training</td>
<td>Already delegated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervision of classes</td>
<td>Already delegated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student evaluations</td>
<td>Already delegated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leading teachers’ meetings</td>
<td>Delegated to all except Espoir pour l’Avenir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organization of diploma ceremonies</td>
<td>Delegated to all except Espoir pour l’Avenir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Payment of the supervisors’ monthly stipends</td>
<td>Done by the assn. literacy coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Payment of the year-end stipend/bonus (Fr. <em>gratification</em>) to literacy teachers and supervisors</td>
<td>Done by the assn. literacy coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Planning and management of all activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Management of funds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fund-raising</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These were true as of July 2009.

The establishment of sustainable financing systems, while not the sole indicator of organization sustainability, is still a critical element. Eade (1997)
outlines a number of financial strategies, most of which are feasible in the Ifè situation. One is limiting administrative costs through ensuring only necessary use of equipment and services such as the telephone, and through keeping the paid staff as small as possible. Another is linked to budget creation, keeping the administrative budget and the program budget separate, but including an administrative overhead in all grant proposals. A third strategy is to generate enough income to cover administrative costs. It is important to note that she expects program activities to require outside funding.

So both internal and external fund generation is important for long-term sustainability of these organizations. While it is unlikely that enough funds can be generated in the environment of the local economy to maintain current levels of service, a low-level of service can be provided when an association has some activities that generate income. During the capacity building seminar mentioned earlier, the ACATBLI leaders noted they were weak in generating funds internally through membership dues. However, several years ago the ACATBLI literacy team received training in sheep-raising through a veterinarian on their board, and in bee-keeping through an SIL community development specialist (Devine & Agbémadon, 2007). So among ACATBLI’s on-going projects for literacy activity support are storage for resale of grains and beans (stockage), sheep-raising, and bee-keeping for sale of honey. In addition, they were able to buy a plot of land in Oké, and build a training center with a meeting room, six bed chambers, showers and toilet facilities on it. When the literacy program is not using it, other organizations may rent it. Fruit trees have also been planted on this land and can be used to generate income through sale of the fruit. This diversification of IGAs has provided a measure of protection against financial losses, which have happened from insect infestations, special government-imposed price controls on grains, fire, drought, and disease.

Internal funds for the local associations have main two sources: member dues (B.1.NK af2; B.2.VA1; B.3.AmA; B.4.KL si1; B.5.OK) and income-generating activities (IGAs; B.3.AmA; B.4.ANA), although sometimes board members put in their own personal funds to meet urgent needs (B.4.ANA). The
associations benefit from development trainings given during teacher trainings and meetings to develop IGAs. However, three associations expressed a desire for further practical training in this area, especially in animal husbandry (B.1.NK af1; B.2.VA1; B.3.SY; B.4.ANA si2).

All of the associations have obtained, through purchase or gift, anywhere from one to five hectares of land. In 2008, funds were given to purchase enough teak trees to plant one hectare in each zone (one for each association except ADCIBA, which has two zones; B.1.NK af1; B.3.AmA; B.4.ANA). This initiative gives all the associations a future source of income, as the trees can be harvested every five years (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, 2009). In addition, three associations have food storage projects to generate income, and one has plans for a chicken-raising project (B.3.AmA). Another has attempted a micro-credit project, but the rate of repayment has been poor (B.1.NK af1); and in any case in 2009 the Togolese government tightened its regulations regarding this type of activity, effectively shutting down small loans by local NGOs (L. Mouzou, personal communication, July 2009).

Another possible source of funds is one common to many West African groups: the hometown or ethnic group association. My first experience with this type of association occurred during my orientation to living in Africa, when I lived in a Cameroonian village for three weeks. During that third week, current and former residents of that area met near the chief’s compound for a day of speeches, feasting, and most importantly, donations that were then used to improve the area. Warren et al. (1996) note the importance of Nigerian hometown associations to development efforts. In the early years of the Ifè project, the Ifè association based in Lomé made a donation to the literacy work, which has from time to time been repeated (A.2.AgB). However, this potential source of funds has not been fully exploited.

In fact, the minimal development of relationships with other organizations, including hometown associations as well as other development associations and government bodies, is factor that may be hindering the effectiveness of ACATBLI
and its affiliated associations. AVID’s president, for example, noted that they need help from other NGO’s in order to help literacy classes transition into mutual aid groups (*groupements*; B.1.NK af1). While some interest was expressed during a few interviews for mother tongue education in schools (B.3.SY; C.4.KĐ), this is unlikely to happen without associations in the Ifè program developing relationships with appropriate ministry officials. The recent structural change in Togo that moved adult literacy from the Ministry of Social Affairs to the Ministry of Education has meant the ACATBLI literacy team, who has good relationships with officials in the former ministry, needs to develop relationships with officials in that organ. This has proved difficult as the regional director of education is rarely at his office, since he frequently travels to visit schools or to see his superiors in Lomé.

The main collaborative relationships the Ifè associations do have are with each other and with SIL (B.1.NK af1, B.2.VA1 & VA3, B.3.AmA & SY, B.4.KL & ANA & GĐ; B.5.EK). Although ACATBLI and AVID had had a good relationship with SOTOCO since 1994 when the SIL Ifè project began supplying materials and training to the SOTOCO program that formerly had been strictly in the official national languages and French, with the ending of that organization’s literacy work, that collaboration has also ended (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, July 3, 2009). AVID had a good relationship with DED until that organization decided to refocus its activities (B.1.NK af2). AVID’s president particularly noted that this lack of relationships has handicapped them in the achievement of their development goals as well as in obtaining their legal status (B.1.NK af1 & af2). This accords with the observation in Lewis (2001) that in Africa, relationships with power brokers, even second degree ones, can make a significant difference in the amount of impact an NGO has, particularly in the area of policy advocacy.

One aspect of organizational capacity building that often does not receive much attention is the development of physical resources. Literacy supervisors and coordinators need some form of transportation to be able to reach all classes for which they are responsible in a timely fashion. This need is being met in the
Ifè with motorcycles and bicycles, obtained through outside funding (B.3.AmA; B.5.OK; C.1.NK).

Another felt need of each local association is to have a building for offices, meetings, and trainings (B.1.NK af1; B.2.VA1; B.3.AmA; B.4.GD; B.5.OK). A building gives a certain amount of credibility to an association, implying it has sufficient access to resources to be permanent (B.3.AmA), and ensuring that people can find the officers (B.1.NK af1). In addition, AMIADA’s coordinator noted that the dormitory at the ACATBLI training center in Oké was too small to house the number of trainees at ACATBLI's sessions (B.3.AmA). However, many donors currently perceive construction more as a luxury than a necessity when it comes to organizational capacity building, although it can be appealing because it does not require a long-term commitment.

Office equipment is another area of felt need for some local associations; none owns a computer although one coordinator had been using his personal one for desk-top publishing to benefit literacy work in his area (B.4.KL & ANA si2). Given that in today’s funding environment, donors expect electronic communication from their recipients (M. Tademana, Atelier sur le renforcement des capacités, Atakpamé, Apr. 20, 2009), this appears to be a serious lack.

However, many aspects of useful physical infrastructure are outside the control of ACATBLI and the local associations. In chapter 1, the fact was noted that much of the Ifè area is not on the national electric grids. While most board members have cell phones, they are dependent on access to generators, batteries, or visits to towns on the national grids to keep them charged. Without access to an electric grid, running a computer is problematic. Internet cafés now exist in most towns with regular electricity and phone lines, but frequent use is beyond the budget of most people. The state of the roads continues to make travel difficult and maintenance of bicycles and motorcycles costly.

Like capacity building at the personnel level, much of the organizational capacity building that has occurred has done so under the direction of people or organizations other than the Ifè and their associations. Nevertheless, the
requests for capacity building show that representations of leadership still play a role in what is desired in this area. Foremost is competency in work; board members truly want to be able to fully carry out their responsibilities. Another is the need for literacy leaders to be creative in their ideas of how to sustain the organization and its activities; several participants said that they had ideas, but needed help from ACATBLI or others to develop or implement them (B.1.NK af1; B.2.VA3 & VA2 & VA1; B.3.AmA & MK). AMIADA’s treasurer noted that this is an area that shows that they are developing well as an association, but notes also that they need more training.

B.3.MK 1h09m15s Si je peut ajouter aussi, c'est ce que .. euh .. personnellement, nous, l'association, quand nous allons aussi, par avant, c'est que les supérieurs vont venir pour nous dire faire ceci .. pour aller .. suivre les moniteurs maintenant aller faire les services sont techniques au niveau xx qui vont venir nous guider. Faire ceci. Faire ceci. Donc, à notre niveau . maintenant, nous avons, nous aussi, nous-mêmes nous avons des idées qui .. qui .. et ces idées-là ne viennent pas .. c'est .. de de nos .. superv={tongue click} de nos supérieurs et nous-mêmes qui avons des idées que nous lançons déjà avant et puis faisant des choses et les mon= les apprenants et les moniteurs nous voient PLUS et on sait que donc notre association AMIADA c'est ça qui déroule maintenant, ça qui travaille, et puis nous .. nous amenons des rapports, des choses savoir qui donc, aussi, là où nous sommes aussi, nous allons faire quelque CHOSE. Puis nous voyons bon que là où nous sommes maintenant, ça va. Ce qui nous MANQUE, c'est ça qu'on avait déjà demandé ça nous encore former plus plus de là nous allons évoluer.

The solidarity within each association is another area where representations of leadership play out. In line with the earlier quote from Imdieke (2003), as relationships become ever stronger, these in turn strengthen the associations. One board member, when discussing solidarity in the association, used a proverb to indicate that it must be intentionally developed.
The leaders build their association’s solidarity through caring for each other, ensuring good communication, and meeting regularly (B.1.all af1; B.2.VA1 & VA2; B.3.SY & AmA; B.4.KL & ANA; B.5.OK & BK). This sense of solidarity increases as each feels responsible for the work (B.1.NK af1) and as all members see it bear fruit (B.2.VA2). These all relate to the representations of leadership described in chapter 4.

A final theme relating specifically to board leadership is having a spirit of cooperation. As noted above, the local associations have strong ties with ACATBLI and with each other. They cooperate with each other in various areas such as holding joint training sessions. However, this theme was not expressed by many groups, which may explain why only one group explicitly expressed a desire for cooperation with additional groups (outside of possible funders). This group desires to do so in order to fully carry out their vision of development (B.1.NK af1).

The local associations do have control of a few areas of organizational capacity building. The most important is the development of each organization’s vision and mission statements, which have been influenced by the representation of literacy as openness and development. The focus for each is slightly different, with some having more of an economic focus, others more of a social focus, and others having a very holistic view of development. ADCIBA also has the challenge of representing the Ifè community to the national and regional governments of Benin. As the associations take on more responsibility in the process towards organizational autonomy, they will have increasing opportunities to exercise and develop their own leadership.
6.3 At the community level

Capacity building at the community level is generally concerned with equipping and empowering people, individually and collectively, to bring about changes they desire to see in their communities (Eade & Williams, 1995, quoted in Eade, 1997; Imdieke, 2003). It may also be seen as a means to bring about a more equitable society (Eade, 1997), or to control the environment for the benefit of individuals and society (Edoho, 1998). All this can be seen as leading to community development.

In the early 1990’s the following three community felt needs among the Ifè were identified: 1) Health services and family planning; 2) small scale businesses to make them less dependent on agriculture by diversifying their income; and 3) water supply in villages where it is inadequate (Boëthius et al., 1991). The various associations working in Ifè literacy seek to meet these needs, both directly and indirectly, through literacy and development activities, including mobilization and awareness-raising (*sensibilisation*). They also work to make the agricultural sector more productive. While they do not have the technical competences to intervene directly in many areas, they have been able to be a catalyst for change in the Ifè area through literature production, teaching, and mobilization. As Carroll (1992, cited in Lewis 2001) indicates, this is one of the true evaluation indicators of the worth of the Ifè literacy program.

In addition to the above means of community development, the ACATBLI literacy leaders are not infrequently asked to help with local problems. When that happens, their response is to work with the community to come up with solutions that the community can implement.

A.1.AgB'A af2 40m  Et ce que nous faisons, souvent c'est que, on voit le problème ensemble avec eux, et on les donne des approches de solutions. Et comme on n'a pas d'argent, quand ils mettent ça en pratique, ils peuvent régler le problème.
Later on in the same interview, Mr. Agbémadon and Mr. Sétodji described a bit more fully how community development most often occurs as a result of their encouragement, emphasizing how community members work together to solve their own problems.

They are therefore following the best practices of organizations who work in community development, including participatory development strategies towards empowerment (Bwenge, 1998; Hope & Timmel, 1995a; Landy, 2008). In the process, they are also meeting Ifè expectations of leadership, showing they care by listening to all and coming to a consensus about what should be done.

The literacy leaders all identified numerous, wide-ranging impacts of the literacy program. The community development impacts most frequently noted (by 6 to 9 individuals, some more than once) were increased agricultural production, which has meant both more to eat and more to sell; increased literacy rates; much greater openness to literacy and education with concurrent participation in nonformal and formal education; and an increase in the number of churches, along with spiritual growth by individual Christian believers as they read Scripture. Also often identified (by 3 to 5 participants) were better business practices, better familial relations, better health practices, greater attention to the ecology of the area, better quality of civic participation, growth in the number of leaders, increased access to (clean) water, and the increasing status of women.
Other fruits of the program identified by some people were the formation of mutual aid groups (*groupements*), better relationships between villages and adherents to different faiths, more active political participation (in Benin), and increased openness to the outside world. These impacts support the claims of UNESCO that literacy leads to many of these societal benefits (Burnett, 2006).

Income-generating activities that directly support the associations were discussed earlier, but there is also a thrust that has the more general goal of economic development in the villages. Small businessmen and -women benefit from the math lessons. However, most efforts focus primarily on the agricultural field, as they build on knowledge and skills already present and require little to no new capital. The literacy materials used in the program include, for example, a book about a farmer who learned how best to manage his fields. This has improved the agricultural practices of many literacy teachers and graduates, leading to better yields. In addition, through teacher trainings and meetings during the literacy cycle instruction is given on topics such as animal-raising, bee-keeping, preparing for old age, family management, and planning field work. When feasible, experts in these fields such as veterinarians are brought in. These meetings are open to the whole village. Finally, literacy classes are encouraged to organize themselves into *groupements* in order to undertake income-generating activities. However, as noted in the section on organization capacity building, AVID’s leaders would like more instruction on how to facilitate this from other organizations (B.1.NK af1).

Deforestation and access to water are both environmental issues in the Ifè area. As a result, program leaders decided to start a reforestation project in the early 1990’s. They first educate literacy teachers on the need to plant trees both for food and for environmental benefits such as avoiding drought. The teachers then pass this information on to their classes. ACATBLI personnel then take orders and money for seedlings, and then buy and transport seedlings from the nurseries in the large towns to the villages (literacy teachers are given two seedlings). Many villagers are now earning some income from the sale of the fruit, and the deforestation rate has slowed. Meanwhile, communities are
encouraged to do what is necessary to ask for governmental help to get wells and pumps for clean water that will be available throughout the year.

One of the most significant impacts of the Ifè program in community level growth is in the openness to literacy and education, which has led to a growth in educational opportunities for Ifè children and youth. Several interviewees noted that as parents became literate, they became open to the idea of sending their children to school, and began to actively support them in their studies.

B.2.VA1 18m Nous reconnaissons aujourd'hui, tout a changé avec l'ACATBLI qui essaie de donner des informations, essaie de leur donner des communications comment faire les sensibiliser, on va payer tout a changé. Et surtout les enfants aujourd'hui vouent à l'école plus qu'avant. Le taux d'instruction dans les écoles formelles a augmenté. Et il y a maintenant des écoles qui sont nées récemment un peu partout. dans des villages, il y a des écoles pour les enfants aujourd'hui, et les enfants essaient d'y aller. Et les enfants aussi acceptent aider les enfants = et les parents acceptent aujourd'hui aider leurs enfants à l'école sinon, avant, il dit non {claps hands}, ça nous donnera rien, l'enfant n'a qu'à rester pour aller au champ. Mais maintenant, ils acceptent envoyer leurs enfants à l'école, ils acceptent acheter du pétrole que les enfants puissent apprendre à la maison. Parce qu'il a abordé, certains parents m'ont dit, Aah pasteur, je ne savais pas que c'est ça! Avant comme mon enfant échoue à l'école, ooo {very high tone}, je prends le bâton. Je dis qu'il est paresseux alors quand il revient de l'école, je lui dit faire ceci faire cela je ne lui donne le temps d'apprendre. Mais quand même, moi-même, j'ai été alphabétisé, j'ai su que, AH, si on n'apprend pas à la maison, on ne peut pas réussir à l'école. Donc à partir d'aujourd'hui, je vais aider mon enfant à apprendre ses leçons à la maison afin de réussir. Donc, on a vu que, nous sommes en train nous sommes sur la bonne voie. ee, dans le milieu ifè.

Both VADEMI’s coordinator above and AVID’s president below noted that parents who send their children to school are making financial sacrifices, a point that is sometimes overlooked in the push for universal primary education. The
financial investment goes beyond school fees, uniforms and loss of help in the house and fields to such things as buying fuel for lamps and paying living expenses when youths must live in town to continue their studies.

B.1.NK af1 31m Donc, ceci nous a fait dire que, nous nous fait voir que, AH, les gens maintenant ont compris le BIEN de l'alphabetisation parce que ça leur fait beaucoup de choses. D'abord, POUR leur propre vie, pour la vie de leurs enfants, et les gens ACCEPTENT maintenant envoyer leurs enfants à l'école. Imaginez. Une femme, une femme disons paysanne qui va accepter emmener ses enfants ici en la ville, et c'est elle-même qui va transporter de charbon, la nourriture pour mener à son enfant, avant, la femme ne va pas le faire! Qu’est-ce que l’enfant viendra le faire. Et elle autre a souffert surtout. Aujourd'hui c'est les femmes mêmes qui vraiment qui se mobilisent pour chercher de places à leurs enfants à l'école ici.

Another area of impact in the community development arena is through raising of the status of women and empowering them to take charge of various aspects of their lives. This is best seen in areas that have had Ifè literacy classes the longest. One area in which the literacy work increases the status of women is to encourage and accept them as literacy teachers. This in turn increases the participation and confidence of women in those classes. The visibility of Mrs. Agayi as a leader in the literacy program has also had an impact on the attitudes of women in her area.

B.1.AgA af1 37m20s Maintenant, nous sommes fières, parce que nos femmes aussi veulent être comme moi aussi, aller au bureau {laughs} partout, partout, elles intéressent .. et eux aussi, sont en train de .. faire d’effort pour arriver là. {laughter}

The president of her association makes the point that it truly is her visibility that is influencing attitudes, including the acceptance of sending girls to school.

B.1.NK af1 1h04m Bon, parce que . il y a un changement, au niveau d'abord . du groupe de population de base . qui nous alphabétisons. Il y a un changement . {FA answers his cell phone} au niveau même des des individus.. On avait parlé
comment: les gens maintenant vraiment:. luttent pour la la la vie de leurs enfants dans les dans les les les .. dans l'école classique. Que ce soit filles ou bien garçons.. D'abord, là on a vu vraiment .. les avancés que nous avons fait. Au sein même de nos moniteurs , il y a maintenant du *bousculage. Les gens luttent maintenant pour être moniteur. Les gens luttent pour être monitrice. Parce que ils savait que AH↑ les femmes aussi peuvent être monitrices ? Parce que nous avons vu .. notre formatrice, la supervi=. notre superviseure. Elle est femme comme moi mais pourtant elle est pilote . de vélo, elle est sur la moTO↑, elle est venu de chez moi aussi je peux l'être. Donc, déjà on a vu que, au moins en partie, on a ces changements .. bon.

However, few African women have leadership roles outside of women-only groups. Women in Africa have many household responsibilities, and often these take precedence over involvement in other activities. I assume this was the reason VADEMI’s treasurer, a woman who was expected for both interviews, did not arrive to participate in the research. Women who do not have the strong motivation that Mrs. Agayi have, or who do not have the approval of their husbands, are unlikely to take on leadership positions. Never-married women, however, may not have sufficient community standing to take on leadership positions. Mrs. Agayi, who is the sole female coordinator, when asked why she had been chosen to be the coordinator, said:

B.1.AgA af1 15m  {chuckles} Parce que, dans notre association, il n’y a pas de femmes, qui ont .. leur qui ont leur vision sur l’alphabétisation ou bien travailler volontairement comme ça. On cherche ce qu’on va manger aujourd’hui, nous dire, chez nous, nos femmes, mais moi, je cherche le bien-être de mes frères.

So although equality for women is often touted as a benefit of literacy (Burnett, 2006), other, more deeper attitudinal and cultural changes as well as economic improvement must take place before this is a reality among the Ifè, or for that matter, anywhere in sub-Saharan Africa.
Improved relationships are another impact identified several times during the interviews. The fact that some villages have shared literacy classes has helped them “sow peace” and resolve problems (B.4.ANA; report during the Itséré teachers’ meeting, Apr. 17, 2009). The same improvement has been true for relations between Muslims and Christians (A.1.Agba af2 & A.2.Agba). One of the supplementary reading books for the second year of the literacy program addresses family relationships. Numerous people credited this with improving the relationships within families, and even their own family.

C.3.SY 1h11m (interpreted) Il y a un autre document aussi qui s'appelle ɔ̀nyaɖɔ̀ tsoko nààrimáa dzɛnɛ̀. c'est-à-dire comment gérer un foyer. Lai= ne pas laisser abandonner son mari a d'autres femmes et cetera comment il y aurait entente entre la femme et son mari entre le mari et sa femme, comment éviter des désordres, et il dit que, à base de ces documents, vraiment les foyers, ou bien la vie au foyers sont améliorés et là où il y avait des difficultés, aujourd'hui il y a l'entente, il y a l'amour, il y a le développement qui a commencé. Donc, c'est ainsi que on a ajouté un plus à la vie du peuple ifè.

{3 second pause with soft talking in background}

C.3.OKD ff. Pour ajouter encore, xx ceci-là, à base de des ces documents, maintenant, ça a changé beaucoup dans ma vie.. Avant, moi je veut que ein on circule avec la femme seulement. [others: hah] Mais comme je suis devenu encore moni= devenu moniteur maintenant j'ai appris qu'il faut beaucoup de patience, si la femme circulait maintenant moi je le regarde comme elle ne save pas ce qu'elle dit. {others laugh softly} Et voilà qu'actuellement . dans ma vie ça ça faisait beaucoup de choses.

The literacy classes have enabled both men and women to improve the health of their families as well. For example, ADCIBA was able to publish some leaflets regarding infant nutrition that helped mothers adjust their practices to better nourish their babies (B.4.ANA). Also, ACATBLI held a session during one teacher training on efficacious remedies from traditional medicine, and produced a booklet in conjunction with that which has helped participants treat their own families for things like diarrhea without recourse to more expensive Western
medicines (B.3.AmA). However, this is an area where capacities have much room to grow. VADEMI’s board in particular has this as a target area for community development (B.2.VA1), while AMIADA’s officers would like to see the establishment of a health clinic in Oké, perhaps on their property so that people using the training center do not have to be transported to health centers in other locations when they fall sick (B.3.SY). Easier access to reading and prescription glasses, which directly impacts literacy learners and neoliterates, and therefore the program, is an additional felt need (B.3.SY).

Another area where the literacy program has had an impact is in the fostering of civic responsibility and an improved understanding of formal democratic practices. The Beninese in particular have worked on this area. One of ADCIBA’s coordinators noted that a number of neoliterates have been elected to positions of responsibility in their communities. He went on to say that teachers, supervisors, and board members of ADCIBA have actively worked at helping class members understand their civic rights and responsibilities.

One ADCIBA board member who became literate through the program gave an example of how politicians can improperly seek to influence others, and how the literacy program personnel were able to prevent that from happening during election time.
Mr. Gúqú goes on a bit later to say that among new skills of neoliterates is the ability to analyze, at least somewhat, the claims of politicians.

The final area of community level growth in capacity is for Christian churches. Although the program itself does not contain evangelistic elements, among the books offered for sale at graduation ceremonies have been portions of the New Testament (A.1.AgbA af2). A number of people have become Christians after having read them and having had the chance to observe the conduct of the ACATBLI leaders and other Christian leaders in the program. This has led to the establishment of churches in communities that had never had them. In addition, believers who become literate have taken on leadership roles in their local churches.

Three representations of literacy held by program leaders have had a great impact on the community-level capacity building that has occurred through the Ifè program. The most evident is literacy as openness and development. This has guided all of the program’s activities to increase the ability of the Ifè people to meet their needs economically, socially, and spiritually. The representation of mother tongue literacy as transmitting cultural knowledge is seen through the health lessons using traditional remedies, as well as in the reading material used in the literacy program, which frequently uses proverbs. Finally, literacy as full participation in society leads to the acceptance of any adult literate Ifè as a teacher in the program, not just men.
The impact of the literacy program in terms of social change has much to do with the degree to which Ifè representations of leadership are exemplified by the literacy leaders. In discussing factors significant to effecting change, Fullan (2003) identifies the importance of being able to trust leaders who are willing to listen to criticisms and are change agents themselves, and of the quality of knowledge being co-constructed and shared for the common good. The Ifè literacy leaders’ relationships with their communities reveal faithfulness, patience, competence in the literacy domain and in management, willingness to listen and to work together with a group to find solutions, respect for others and especially traditional authorities, caring, and solidarity. They also live exemplary lives, avoiding adultery (e.g., sleeping with the wife of another), theft, arrogance, aggressiveness, drunkenness, fighting, and endebtedness. They have not only proven themselves trustworthy, but worked for the benefit of all Ifè.

6.4 Discussion

As the discussion of social representations in chapter 2 indicated, social representations are an interpretive framework, generated by and circulating in a group, for a social object (Py, 2003). This framework not only helps a person recognize and interact with that object (Gajo, 2000), but also motivates and influences actions and attitudes of members of that group (Abric, 2001a; Moliner, Rateau, & Cohen-Scali, 2002; Py, 2003). The literacy associations’ decisions and practices related to capacity building are thus influenced, to varying degrees, by the representations of leadership and of literacy circulating among their members.

In examining the representations that have impacted capacity building decisions, two have influenced decisions on all three levels discussed in this chapter: literacy as openness and development, and leadership as caring. The vision and mission statements of each association, as well as the names of all except Jésus le Chemin, reflect the representation of literacy as openness and development. Literacy is not seen by these Ifè leaders as an end in and of itself: it leads to changed attitudes that open the door to transformation in the lives of
individuals and of the community. These transformations include economic, social, and/or spiritual ones. Thus the monthly teachers’ meetings, which are open to all community members, have become a site for practical, development-oriented lessons. Additionally, teacher training workshops include health, agricultural, and animal-husbandry topics in addition to the expected ones concerning teaching and literacy skills.

The representation of leadership as caring has also affected capacity building in all areas. Caring enhances mentoring relationships, making that aspect of personnel training all the more effective, particularly in Africa where relationships are key to effective action (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Chhokar et al., 2007; Lewis, 2001; Littrell & Baguma, 2005; Maranz, 2001; Mbigi, 2007a; Theimann, 2007). It also is a way of building solidarity within each association as well as between the ACATBLI leaders and members of the local associations, from board officers to literacy center instructors. The caring demonstrated by Ifè literacy program leaders also is undoubtedly a factor in the acceptance of the program and its activities in local communities, which in turn has allowed the program to impact various aspects of community life that might otherwise have remained unchanged, such as attitudes towards schooling and the importance of reforestation.

Other representations have also influenced at least two areas of capacity building in the associations studied. Among these, themes found for representations of leadership in general are competence, patience, faithfulness, and having an exemplary life. These enhance both capacity building for personnel and in the community, as they facilitate the establishment of trusting relationships. These are essential for effective mentoring relationships among the Ifè, and have been factors in the acceptance of the literacy work into communities that were traditionally closed to anyone not of their village.

Representations specifically pertinent to literacy leaders and boards that affect how capacities are developed include the willingness to learn and to teach, solidarity, creativity, and knowing the situation of one’s subordinates. Willingness
to learn encourages participation in workshops and the monthly teachers’
meetings. Willingness to teach ensures staff for those workshops and mentors for
new workers. Both this representation and that of literacy as openness and
development motivate the opening of teachers’ meetings to the whole
community. Solidarity on the board as an element of organizational capacity was
discussed above in connection with the theme of caring. Literacy leaders attribute
creativity with helping them to have fresh ideas to strengthen the program and
their association, making each more attractive to the local community even as
these ideas aid in community development. Finally, knowing the situation of one’s
subordinates plays a role in the effectiveness of the mentorship relationship
involved in teacher and supervisor training.

Three representations of literacy also play a role in capacity building
decisions on both the personnel and community levels. The representation of
literacy as full participation in society ensures that participation in the literacy
program, whether as a learner, a teacher, a supervisor, a coordinator, or a board
member, is open to all community members, regardless of gender or religion,
although in some associations, certain roles are open only to Ifè. This latter
restriction seems to be linked to two other representations, that of mother tongue
literacy as preservation and transmission of the culture and identity, and that of
Ifè literacy as language maintenance and development. The literacy program
works to promote the value of their language and culture, working towards the
development and maintenance of literacy skills in Ifè for both those who cannot
read or write in any language as well as for those literate in French. Another
outworking of this last representation is the use of Ifè during all workshops and
meetings, whether for the training of teachers, board meetings, literacy
awareness-raising or practical teachings for the community.

As has been seen above, representations of leadership and of literacy
have played an important role in shaping the Ifè literacy program, through
choices of goals, strategies, and activities and through the development of
relationships that strengthen the associations. The final research question to
answer is what factors present, either in the representations themselves, in the
decisions and actions taken, or in the interplay between representations and decisions, have promoted local association development in such a way as will permit them to achieve the ACATBLI literacy team’s vision of all Ifè being able to read and write their own language.

One important factor in local association development has been the involvement of highly motivated people. For various reasons, these leaders have chosen to invest time, energy, and even personal financial resources in order to meet the goals of their associations. Many of these reasons relate to social representations of literacy, but spiritual reasons are key for some individuals. “The acid test of effective leadership is the ability … to mobilize ordinary people to accomplish extraordinary goals” (Edoho, 1998, p. 251). The ACATBLI leadership has been able to mobilize the Ifè population to accept the value of literacy and education; to stimulate the formation of local associations to develop the work of literacy and development in their zones; and to inspire individuals to volunteer their time, energy, and ideas in order to help others. They have been able to attract others, now leaders in the local associations, who have the same passion for their people and are willing to work towards the common goal of the promotion of the Ifè people and language, whether in Togo or Benin. Thus, the leadership of the Ifè program meets Edoho’s acid test for effective leadership, which is the most significant management component of Nkasa & Chapman’s (2006) model for sustainability.

However, one aspect of sustainable leadership is the assurance of succession, which AMIADA’s president brought up (C.3.AmA). He is working on transferring his skills and knowledge to assure a successor. AVID has already twice been through a major change in leadership. ACATBLI, however, has not yet had to face this issue. While the ACATBLI literacy leadership is a strong, complementary team with a tremendous amount of collective knowledge, skills, and passion, if any member of this team were suddenly to be no longer available, no obvious successor exists to fill that team spot. In addition, SIL and ACATBLI have already had to request that the church denomination of which two coordinators are pastors forego transferring them for several more years, as
without their presence at this stage of their development, these two newest associations would surely fail (P. Devine, personal communication, Feb., 2009). So attention to leadership development is another factor to consider in assuring the development of sustainable local associations.

Other management components are also in place, in most instances. These relate to the representation of leaders not dictating to the group they lead, but instead listening to all group members when decisions must be made. ACATBLI’s board engages in yearly planning and self-evaluation with input from the representatives of the local associations. They then report to members on plans and activities during their annual assemblies. The planning done to this point by the boards of the local associations, on the other hand, is generally informal. They report on their activities, however, to their general assemblies, which mostly take place on an annual basis (A. Agbémadon, personal communication, Dec. 16, 2010). The Ifè culture itself values participatory decision-making, so that is a feature of the governance of all the associations.

Another major factor in local association development is the attention to financial considerations. All internally-generated income is useful for being able to assure continued, if limited, service to the community in case external funding is slow in coming (as sometimes happens when financial calendars are different between organizations) or ceases. This happened to AVID in the late 1990’s (see section 1.3.2.1). Because they only had one IGA, when it failed in a subsequent year, all activity ceased. ACATBLI’s attention to establishing a variety of income-generating projects in order to overcome this limitation is a model, therefore, for the local associations, and is related to the literacy leadership theme of creativity. The teak plantation project, in addition to the grain storage projects already in place, should strengthen the resource base of the local associations, although the ideas some have for additional IGA’s, if implemented, will provide extra insurance against failure in any one project.

However, as in most service-oriented work, external funding will likely be a constant need (Eade, 1997). Thus capacity building in the area of writing grant
applications and building relationships with current and potential donors is a significant need, and is an expressed felt need of several of the associations’ board members interviewed during this research project (B.1.NK af1 & af2; B.4.KL & ANA; B.5.EK). The existence of, and relationships with, hometown associations, is also a factor to consider when seeking funds for projects.

One major favorable factor in the development of the local literacy and development associations is the program’s attention to the felt needs of the population. The program’s content and activities have evolved as needed, to encourage those unable to read and write to participate in the program as well as to meet physical needs, such as for nearby access to water, which may be hindering those with the desire to learn from attending class. Additionally, the program has put time into the creation of new literature, which both gives the newly literate something to read and provides a reason for those who cannot read their language to invest the time needed to learn to do so.

Other factors may hinder the development of sustainable local associations, however. Nkasa & Chapman’s (2000) model for sustainable projects include the socio-cultural elements of social cohesion, community skills, resources (both economic and skill-based), and a strong value for education. The strength of these vary from association to association. As has been noted several times earlier, the literacy associations have actively sought to make the program a force for social cohesion through a focus on the language and ethnic identity. Additionally, education is becoming a high value for the Ifè through the work of the program. However, several indicators of acceptance of literacy as a community value, such as a literate environment and the establishment of literate practices outside the church context (Barton & Hamilton, 1999; Burnett, 2006; Doronila, 1996), are weak or lacking, which indicates further need for growth in this area. Community skills and resources are also areas in which growth is still needed, as was discussed earlier in this chapter.

Infrastructure is a factor that may help or hinder the development of multiple local literacy and development organizations. The leaders of the
umbrella organization and the local associations need to be able to contact each other. The growing number of cell towers and the increased availability of cell phones in Togo and Benin has facilitated this communication for the Ifè project. However, without regular, reliable, or affordable Internet connections, those associations located in communities without such access are hindered from communicating with donors who insist on this rapid form of written contact.

Factors that seem to be essential in the development of local associations consist of committed leadership that exercises authority and makes decisions in ways congruent with local representations of leadership; attention to issues of leadership succession; acceptance by the community of the value of education; and social cohesion, or solidarity. Other factors that may help or hinder development of sustainable local associations include the degree to which community needs are met through the association’s activities; the amount and content of reading material to be had; the existing literacy practices in the community; and infrastructure availability. However, the development of multiple local associations and concurrent capacity building takes time; it has taken the Ifè program 20 years to reach this point in its personnel, its organizations, and its communities. So regardless of the presence of the above favorable or unfavorable factors in a given situation, a time frame that ensures adequate mentoring of the leadership for each new association as well as time to discover, develop, and establish locally viable income-generating activities is of primary importance.

In the case of the Ifè, what has already been done in organizational and personnel capacity building should permit literacy efforts among the Ifè to continue, given the committed leadership in each association, and assuming attention to a variety of income-generating activities as well as the development of long-term financial partners. The continuation of the program will in turn promote economic and social improvements to the benefit of the Ifè people and of their neighbors, as well the preservation and development of the Ife language and culture.
7: CONCLUSION

In my years of working in Central and West Africa, I have interacted with leaders of at least 25 different literacy programs. A common challenge of large or widely-dispersed language groups is providing access to mother tongue and/or transition literacy instruction to all speakers of the language without excessive – and unsustainable – dependence on outside funding. My initial motivation for doing this case study therefore was the hope that a clearer, more complete understanding of the Ifè literacy program’s strategy of creating local associations to carry on the work of literacy and development might help other West African literacy programs develop a similar strategy tailored for their particular situations.

My initial hypothesis was that the key to the success of the Ifè strategy would be found in the leadership, and that therefore a study of the social representations of leadership found among the Ifè would be beneficial for understanding how it works. As an adjunct to that facet of the study, theories of leadership were explored for what they might contribute to an understanding of the dynamics of leadership in the local associations. In addition, since the associations are engaged in literacy and development activities, theories in these domains informed my research.

The bulk of my data came from a series of interviews with representatives of the boards of the umbrella association and its daughter associations. However, I also had access to the project archives, which facilitated the construction of a rich description of the Ifè literacy program necessary to case studies. I examined the history of the program and each association, in the process also looking at how each organization functions. My expectation was that knowing these things will help my organization, an international development NGO, better tailor its training programs and technical support for national literacy personnel and their programs. During the process of data analysis, I realized that the question of
motivation was also extremely important, which is true for all organizations that rely on volunteers. Representations of illiteracy, literacy and language seem to be the primary source of motivation for the people interviewed. I came to appreciate the importance these representations also have in the decision-making of program leadership vis-à-vis program activities and emphases.

However, due to a massive influx of external funding a few years prior to my visit, the original strategy of developing one local association at a time had been abandoned by the time of my arrival in Togo to carry out the research. This was not recognized, even by the ACATBLI literacy officers, until my first interview with them. The goal is still to have local associations carry out the bulk of the work. However, now, all associations, regardless of their stage of development, have been put on the same footing. While this makes my original evaluation plan impossible to carry out, the situation did reveal other aspects of the management and leadership of large literacy (and development) programs dependent on external funding that may help guide other programs.

In this final chapter, the answers to the research questions will be summarized. Next, contributions to theory will be summarized, and several implications for policy and practice will be highlighted. Limitations of the study will then be described. After that, directions for future research will be indicated before my closing comments.

7.1 Summary of findings

The main thrust of the research questions were to determine first, what representations of leadership and literacy circulate among the Ifè; second, to determine what types of capacity building have occurred in and through the literacy program and, according to participants, that still need to happen; and finally, to determine the impact those representations have had on the capacity building in the Ifè literacy program. These findings will have implications for theoretical development and lead to suggestions for policy and practice.
7.1.1 Representations of leadership

A significant degree of convergence was found in the representations of general leadership that emerged in the interviews. For the Ifè, it is essential that a leader be patient and faithful to his group and his work. He must listen well, receive all that is said and then be capable of synthesizing what is said in order for the group to make a decision together, but never dictating what should be done. This, along with other aspects of group management is part of the competence he is expected to display. This competence should also be seen in how he manages his household. He must also be a model citizen, exemplifying the values of Ifè society. Most Ifè interviewed also want their leaders to care about everyone, and to be humble and available. Some Ifè also expect their leaders to be forgiving and serious about their work. Finally, in view of current societal needs, many believe leaders should be literate.

Literacy program leaders should manifest all of the above characteristics while also possessing other qualities necessary for the effective achievement of program ends. The most important one is creativity, which is needed for all those with program responsibilities (*responsables d’alphabétisation*) as well as for literacy association board members in order to overcome challenges encountered.

Representations for literacy program heads – coordinators, supervisors – do not seem to be socially shared, implying that a *responsable d’alphabétisation* is not (yet) a social object. A few characteristics were nonetheless shared between groups. For instance, literacy program heads are expected to be respectful both of time and of work in order to build trust between themselves, subordinates and students. They also should be teachable and able to teach, as they are both participants in and providers of continuing education, as well as developers of future leaders. Two other qualities listed pertain to relationships: a cooperative spirit and awareness of the personalities of one’s followers. A final one is a willingness to sacrifice even one’s personal funds for the good of the program.
Board members also are expected to have the characteristics listed above for all leaders. In addition to these and creativity, three other qualities were specifically listed by more than one group for a board. Foremost is solidarity, a common value in sub-Saharan Africa. Possession of this quality helps a board to be well-regarded in the community and be able to function smoothly. Discretion, likewise, is important for the reputation and effective operation of the board. A final quality valued in boards is deliberation in making decisions, as this prevents hasty reactions that would damage relationships unnecessarily.

The representations of subordinates also offer insights into leadership, as a leader cannot exist without followers. In these interviews, a subordinate was generally understood to be a person immediately under the authority of a leader, thereby putting him or her in the role of mediator between the leader and the larger group. This requires that the relationship between the two be close: the subordinate must be attached to the leader, obedient and respectful, and listening closely to him or her. The resulting understanding generally promotes harmony and a collaborative relationship. It also facilitates the subordinate’s role as mediator, reporting to the leader on activities and on the thinking of the group, and reporting to the group on the activities and plans of the leader. As a subordinate exemplifies these qualities, projects will advance. However, some participants stressed that the leader must be willing to share with and teach his or her subordinates in order for these qualities to develop or to be maintained.

7.1.2 Representations of literacy, illiterates and language

The representations of literacy, illiterates and the language of literacy held by literacy workers also are significant to leadership of the literacy associations, providing these workers at all levels with the motivation needed to commit to the program regardless of whether or not remuneration occurs. Many of these representations are formed through personal experience, although some are also circulated through the media.
Links between literacy and development were seen in many of the representations that emerged during the interviews. Literacy is seen as creating an attitude of openness that permits development, whether economic, social, cultural or spiritual; as a correlation, illiterates are perceived as blocks to development. They are presumed to be living in darkness and ignorance. Literacy is assumed to free them from this bondage and the distrust it generates, and permit full participation in society. One aspect of this participation is that certain roles in the community are now open primarily, if not exclusively, to the literate. This includes some roles, including leadership positions, that in the past did not require competence in text literacy.

Acquisition of mother tongue literacy is perceived to be important for all Ifè. First, mother tongue literacy is seen to promote the maintenance and development of the Ifè language. Second, it is viewed as encouraging the preservation and transmission of their cultural heritage. It also allows communication between Ifè living away from their hometown and their families still in the area. Those Ifè who know French well are urged by interview participants to learn to read and write their own language in order to be able to translate works that will help their rural brethren develop, thereby fulfilling their responsibility to and demonstrating their solidarity with their people. Biliteracy is also deemed to help interpreters do a better job, so that they can maintain good standing in the community and communicate more accurately the original message.

French in both its oral and written forms is considered to be a much more difficult language to learn than Ifè. Ifè is seen by research participants to be far more comprehensible, even among those Ifè who speak French fairly well. The use of French in the villages reinforces feelings of mistrust and insecurity among the non-schooled population. However, since it is a prestigious language and practical for use outside the language area, many people are motivated to learn it. Literacy is thus also seen as access to another language, whether one’s own mother tongue for those literate in French, or a language spoken in the region, whether French or Ewe.
One association also regards literacy in Ifè as a prerequisite to participation in some aspects of the program. They have used it to reserve paid positions in the development activities for Ifè program graduates such as beekeeper and shepherd. Also, they only allow those who can produce their diplomas for Cycle 2 classes to enroll in the French course. These conditions to program participation provide motivation to villagers who otherwise see no reason to invest time and money in learning to read Ifè, as well as creating a visible link between literacy and development.

7.1.3 Capacity building and representations

Capacity building in the Ifè program occurs at three levels: personnel, organizational, and community. Representations of leadership influence many of the choices made at each level. Competence was a common theme to all areas, as training in the program has respectively sought to develop competence in the literacy, management, and development domains.

Qualities important to the development and maintenance of relationships, such as patience, faithfulness, caring, and an exemplary life also influence capacity building at all levels. Training of personnel occurs both in workshops and through mentoring. This last, to be effective, requires that leaders have a good relationship with those whom they are mentoring.

These relational qualities are also of primary importance in the building of organizational and community solidarity. Organizational solidarity is important for the healthy functioning of the board. The building of community solidarity helps to validate the leaders and program in the eyes of the Ifè community. As this solidarity is built, trust develops. It is this trust that has allowed the program to enter individual villages formerly reluctant to permit it access, and as attitudes are changed and skills developed, to have the desired impact. Other representations of leadership that facilitate the building of trust between Ifè literacy program leaders and local communities are respect and a willingness to listen and to find together workable solutions to problems faced by the group.
The representation that leaders should be literate leads trainers to include time during training sessions for participants to build reading fluency. Supervisors and teachers, although not the primary decision-makers in the program, are seen as community leaders and future program leaders. The representation that literacy leaders must be teachable and able to teach supports all training that occurs in and through the program whether in literacy classes, at teacher training workshops, at writers' workshops, or during the practical lessons given at teachers' meetings, which are open to the community.

Finally, the theme of creativity is seen as a key component of leadership in organizational capacity building. This is needed for all literacy program leaders as they seek to develop strategies to carry out their association's vision. It also helps them adjust to changing realities in their environment. Most importantly, this quality assists them in finding ways to motivate illiterates to learn to read and write their own language, as well as to keep new literates motivated to build on their skills.

Although representations of leadership affect the effectiveness of the associations, capacity building choices seem to have been more obviously impacted by representations of literacy. In the area of organizational capacity building, the representation of literacy as openness and development affected the development of each association's vision and mission statements: each chose a focus that was broader than literacy per se, encompassing economic, social, cultural, and/or spiritual development.

This representation of literacy as openness and development has also influenced the strategies and activities chosen at personnel and community levels. For instance, explicit training in agricultural and health topics is offered both to teacher trainees and to community groups during teacher meetings. The program's reforestation efforts are also undertaken largely because of this representation, although the scarcity of water also plays a role in this particular decision. The representation of literacy as openness and development has also
affected the topic choice of several writer’s workshops where the focus was on translating or adapting development and/or religious literature.

Writer's workshops are one of the ways in which the representation of mother tongue literacy as a means to maintain and develop the language is manifested. This representation is also shown in the use of Ifè in all training and meetings hosted by ACATBLI and its daughter associations. In so doing, they also demonstrate another representation of mother tongue literacy, that of it preserving and transmitting Ifè culture and identity. This representation has led to the use of cultural material such as proverbs in reading books, and to the teaching of traditional herbal remedies during teacher trainings, which are then passed on to literacy students.

Literacy is also viewed as providing access to other languages. Those who are literate in French are periodically offered a class that would help them transition to Ifè. In addition, this class offering reveals the representation of mother tongue literacy as preservation and transmission of culture and of identity. It also builds on the representation of biliterates having a responsibility to help develop those who do not have access to materials written in global languages such as French or English.

Access to other languages goes beyond French to the mother tongue. Those who become literate first in their mother tongue often desire to learn to read and write a more socially and economically advantageous language. In fact, a number of testimonies have emerged over the course of the program of new literates figuring out how to read Ewe and/or French on their own. This representation of literacy as access to other languages has caused the program to offer a course to their graduates that, building on the literacy skills in Ifè already acquired, teaches French, oral and written.

The final representation of literacy that has had an impact on capacity building and other decisions in the program is that of literacy as full participation in society. Participants noted a number of community leadership roles that new literates have taken. These include leadership roles in the literacy program itself,
which are open to all literate Ifè, including women. Other roles include elected community positions and church positions.

7.2 Contributions to theory

This study used the theory of *représentations sociales* in order to study representations of leadership and of literacy among the Ifè. This theory, not yet well-known outside of francophone academic circles (Duveen, 2000), has the potential to provide useful insights to researchers seeking to develop or refine theories of leadership and literacy. Social representations are specific to a social group and object, being constructed in and studied through discourse (Moore, 2004; Moore & Py, 2008; Py, 2003). Although this theory has been used in the field of formal education, to my knowledge, this is the first time this theory has been applied to a study of leadership or of literacy as conceived by leaders of a nonformal education program. It certainly has never before been applied to this particular social group. It is also one of the few available in English.

Leadership theories were also discussed in this project. Current theories of leadership are based primarily on Western institutions, with some input from Asian and African business leadership studies (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Burke, 2007; Drucker, 1990; Dym & Hutson, 2005; Theimann & April, 2007). This study provides valuable data for those theoreticians desiring to develop a theory of leadership useful across cultures and outside the business environment, giving as it does information on representations of leadership and followership in non-profit organizations in a little-studied West African group. It should also enrich theories that examine traits and skills, as these figure prominently in Ifè representations of leadership, particularly as some qualities prized by the Ifè, such as patience and faithfulness, do not figure in lists developed through study of Western leaders. This project also reveals many situational constraints common to literacy organizations serving minority groups, and thus may help theoreticians working on contingency theories to more adequately account for such constraints in their models. Since contingency theories also consider the needs and characteristics of subordinates (Dym & Hutson, 2005; Northouse,
2007), the information on representations of subordinates in this group may also prove valuable.

However, most, if not all, theories of leadership fail to take into account one of the most important dynamics of non-profit leadership: the relationship to stakeholders. Stakeholders include employees, volunteers, the governing body, clients or beneficiaries, funders, technical advisors, and even governments. This case study, with its descriptions of problems faced and solved by local associations (see section 4.1.1), of the impact of massive outside funding on a program that had been running for well over a decade, of the effect of inadequate rural infrastructure, and of the influence of government policy on primer content, provides data that may assist in the development of such a theory component.

As noted in section 2.2.1.3, the theory of social representations has much in common with the view of literacy as social practices prevalent in situated literacy theory. This case study supports Cheffy’s (2008) contention in his study of literacy in rural Cameroon that situated literacy studies should go beyond social practices to examine conceptions of literacy because of their power to motivate and influence. It is this power to explicate that interpretive framework, which motivates and influences actions and attitudes, that makes social representations so valuable to the study of literacy in its social context, as has been seen in this study linking representations of literacy to aspects of capacity building in the Ifè literacy program.

This study may also be helpful as researchers theorize the relationship between literacy and development. The Ifè literacy work has incorporated development activities since the early years of the program, which has facilitated its access to communities traditionally closed to outsiders, including Ifè from different areas. In addition, the literacy program has been a catalyst for opening the Ifè community to accept, or at least to consider, new ideas and ways of doing things. This project and its impacts as perceived by program leaders support the view that the relationship between the two is recursive, with activities in literacy
supporting development efforts and development activities providing uses for literacy.

Finally, the theory of investment (Norton, 1997, 2000), seems to have been primarily applied to language learners, including those acquiring a specific type of literacy (Angélil-Carter, 1997), in order to explain their relationship to the target language. Although to fully apply it to the context of literacy workers would have required additional, personal interviews, it seems to have relevance in this context as well. Substituting literacy worker for (language) learner and literacy acquisition and literacy work for target language in her explanation of this notion yields “The construct of investment conceives of the [literacy worker] as having a complex history and multiple desires. An investment in [literacy acquisition and literacy work] is also an investment in a [worker’s] own social identity, which changes across time and space” (Norton, 1997, p. 411). This extension of the theory may prove useful to other researchers seeking to understand motivational forces for those working in volunteer and other organizations.

7.3 Implications and recommendations

Various implications and recommendations for the Ifè program and its associations, for other literacy programs attempting to serve a large, dispersed population, for donors and other partners, and for government policy makers may be drawn from this study. These will be addressed in turn.

7.3.1 Recommendations for associations of the Ifè program

This literacy program has been blessed by having many dynamic, passionate leaders committed to the development of their people and willing to work as a group, in solidarity, to achieve their goals. It has helped that the program has had the means to provide benefits to their teachers, supervisors and coordinators through development training and small remuneration amounts at various times, which contribute to the motivation of these volunteers. Additionally, the Ifè literacy program’s training strategy is a strength, meeting the needs of relationship development and of personnel development.
The diversity of ACATBLI’s income-generating activities is another strong point, but the local associations need to grow in this area to reduce dependence on outside funding. However, external funding will be needed for some time to come in order to maintain the current level of service. Thus, if possible, several leaders across the local associations should receive training in grant-writing and be mentored through the process.

All the associations, the umbrella association included, would benefit from stronger relationships with Ifè who have left the rural areas and joined the educated cadre of their respective countries, whether they are professionals or civil servants. This group has the potential to be a resource of both financial and technical aid. All associations also ought to strengthen their ties with the ministries attending to adult literacy in their area as well as with NGOs with complementary interests, even becoming active partners with them in service provision as the occasion arises.

A final recommendation for the Ifè program is in the area of leadership succession. This issue should be addressed by those associations that are currently dependent on only one or two strong personalities. It is one that is made easier when a large pool of leadership candidates is available, so these associations should also examine how they might expand their membership base.

7.3.2 Implications of lessons learned for other literacy programs

In order to determine the usefulness of the zone strategy for other large language communities desiring to provide literacy access to all adults, several factors must be considered. It seems that the foremost factor is not the strategy per se, but the involvement of creative, motivated personnel, willing to invest substantial time and effort for uncertain financial rewards, who also fit their own culture’s definition of good leaders. These people will need to be found and trained for each area where a local association is needed to carry out the literacy work. Attention should also be given to factors that will encourage them to invest
themselves in the association, in order to ensure the continuation of their involvement. Also, decision-making procedures must be put into place that are congruent with the local culture’s norms of governance.

Financial considerations are the next factor to consider. While small funding projects are beneficial for limited purposes, a donor organization who will commit to paying, at a minimum, salaries and transportation costs for the umbrella organization’s leaders over several years, until a stable source of internally-generated funds has been established, appears to be crucial to the establishment of literacy work throughout the language area. However, a careful assessment of potential donors’ priorities and reporting and other requirements should be made to ensure that these mesh with current needs and priorities of the program and with the capabilities and energy levels of program leaders.

The search for viable income-generating activities ought to begin early and be on-going, regularly providing opportunities for participation in these projects by local community members. Two significant reasons for having multiple IGAs exist. The first is to spread the risk; in case of financial loss due to environmental catastrophes or other causes for one activity, income may still be generated by the others. The second is to increase the income-earning potential for local people who learn from the example of and through participation in these activities. However, these IGAs generally will require a certain amount of seed money, or initial capital; thus someone associated with the program will need to learn early on how to approach potential partners, whether members of their group’s elite, national organizations or international organisms.

Both leadership development and funds development require significant amounts of time to make the progress necessary to sustainability. Therefore, programs seeking to develop multiple local associations should plan to spend several years, not just three or four, in establishing these associations. This is particularly important for financial stability, as rarely can several locally viable income-generating activities be started at once, and successful procurement of external funds is never certain.
One factor that is generally outside the control of local people but that needs to be considered when determining program strategies is the infrastructure available, from roads to telecommunications. Poor roads and communication services may make a multiple association strategy very attractive, but also require stronger, well-trained local association leadership from the outset, as local leaders may need to act independently more quickly. An umbrella association located in a town with e-mail and Internet access may need to be the primary seeker of external funding if the communities where local associations are headquartered do not have this access, at least until such services become available in or near those communities.

Finally, capacity for literacy includes the generation of a literate environment. It has frequently been said during education and literacy conferences and courses that in order to want to learn to read, there must be things for a person TO read. The Ifè program has an uneven track record in this area, but with the publication and distribution of the New Testament in 2009 in addition to the booklets and leaflets on various topics various that have been produced through the years, interest in learning to read Ifè has increased dramatically. Any literacy program desiring to inspire their target population with a desire for mother tongue literacy therefore should consider literature production to be an integral part of the overall program and strategy, and encourage the use of this literature in multiple community institutions, such as health centers, churches, and, where government policy permits it, schools.

7.3.3 Recommendations for external partner organizations

As noted in chapter 2, partnerships carry risks. In order to reduce the risks for the local associations, their partners should endeavor to give priority to local concerns where possible, letting the local partners lead. During decision-making, the weight of local associations’ primary concerns should influence the priorities of external partners, even when the former are not on the radar of the international community. International partners in particular ought to be prepared to adjust their expectations of what ought to happen and how long it should take.
They should communicate regularly, not just in order to receive progress reports, but so that they may listen and learn from their field partners. Among things local partners may reveal are changes in the environment of the program, unexpected obstacles, and negative as well as positive side effects of the programs. Open, regular communication facilitates adjustments to the partnership parameters, which should improve relationships and offer additional security to the local associations, assuming the external partner has made a long term commitment. These parameters should include appropriate follow-up to initial activities. As the ADCIBA coordinators noted, without proper support to sustain learning, outside NGOs are essentially throwing their money away (B.4.ANA & KL si2; see section 5.1.4 for the complete discourse around this point).

In addition, financial partners should be aware of the workload their expectations are putting on the local actors and particularly the program leaders, remembering that communities also have time- and energy-consuming expectations of these same people. In the Ifè program, for example, the ACATBLI leaders frequently are requested for help in acquiring official documents such as birth certificates, or for help in setting up bank accounts. They spend time and energy meeting these requests because elements of the Ifè representation of leadership, specifically caring and solidarity, require that they do so. So, if yearly goals are frequently not met, this might be an indicator that cultural leadership requirements are overriding donor requirements. In this situation, it may be prudent to consider either providing for the salary of another part- or full-time worker, or eliminating certain goal(s) from the plan.

Another area of capacity building that is often inadequate is in the area of funding development. Most non-profit organizations, even in financially wealthy countries, require some level of external funding. Organizations that partner with local associations in developing countries should provide training for these leaders to assist them to discover and to develop ties to additional organizations that have the resources necessary to make progress towards the vision of their associations. Additional strengthening in the area of financial training to international standards is also helpful. This is particularly useful in sub-Saharan
Africa where cultural norms are often contrary to those standards (Maranz, 2001), creating conflict for leaders and a need for strategies and tools that can help them resolve this conflict.

Finally partner organizations involved in providing leadership training should be sensitive to local conceptions of what constitutes good leadership. This may mean doing a preliminary survey of representations before beginning a course, to decide how the underlying theory can be adapted to the situation. Alternatively, trainers may design a course that leads participants to identify those representations, to decide how to maximize their strengths in and develop other competencies of leadership, and then to discern how to apply them in the context of their particular context.

7.3.4 Recommendations for government policy makers

Economic and social development has been a goal of most, if not all, governments in sub-Saharan Africa. However, as one of the literacy coordinators interviewed said, if a government truly wants an equitable and rational development for the benefit of all its citizens, it needs to think about literacy (C.4.ANA). Policies that support mother tongue literacy and education facilitate the involvement of all citizens in education and development initiatives, which may make them better citizens. Additionally, policies and funds that promote the creation and maintenance of rural infrastructure would aid the work of both government and private or community literacy and development workers. In particular, attention to road building and maintenance, and extension of access to national electric grids and of telecommunications would be of great help to those working to improve the standard of living, access to markets, and access to information of rural populations. Policy makers who are able to promote these objectives would be rendering a great service to their country.

7.4 Limitations of the research

While my relationships with several of the program leaders and background knowledge of the linguistic and environmental situation in Togo and
Benin proved to be a major strengths, a number of constraints affected what I was able to accomplish during this research project. Foremost was my lack of Ifè language skills. These added a filter that affected communication. On-the-spot interpretation, for instance, often missed nuances and occasionally even content that transcriptions and written translations revealed. However, due to the limited amount of time that I had in the language area and that my translator had available to work on transcription, a significant portion of discourses in Ifè were neither transcribed nor translated. Some were, however, verbally reinterpreted and noted after he and I listened to the recordings together. The lack of complete fluency in French on my part and on the part of most participants also at times hindered communication and may have affected analysis.

Another limitation of the research was the smallness of its comparison group and the lack of female participants. Finances and time were the primary constraints here. It would have been better if I could have had access to additional villagers or other Ifè speakers, preferably including several who were not involved in the literacy program. The research proposal had however only called for one such comparison group, and the time necessary to gain approval from the SFU ethics committee for a modification made such an addition unfeasible. Additionally, I was paying a gratuity to research participants and had neither budgeted for such an increase, nor for the amount needed to pay for transportation to another site outside of Atakpamé. I would have had access to a larger group of teacher participants had I learned that my proposal had obtained ethics approval just after my arrival in Atakpamé. That would not, however, have provided me with any participants with no program responsibilities, such as I had in Itséré.

Finally, although the Ife live in both Togo and Benin, all research took place in Togo, again for time and financial reasons. In order to travel to Benin, I would first have needed a visa for that country, which would have required travel to Lomé, a minimum two-day stay there, purchase of photographs and payment of a fee. Then the practical difficulties of travel to Doumé or Tchetti would have arisen; there are no direct taxis between Atakpamé and the Savalou Region, and
renting a taxi would have been prohibitively costly. So instead, the ACATBLI leaders suggested and I agreed to ask the ADCIBA board members to meet me at a point more or less halfway between us in Togo, which they did. I had visited Doumé in 2003, though, so felt I had some knowledge of the area and situation of the Ifè there. However, it would have been potentially enlightening to have had a separate control group of Beninese as part of the research project.

7.5 Directions for further research

In this final section, I will address areas in which further research would be helpful to theoreticians of leadership and of literacy, and to literacy practitioners. These include research among the Ifè on aspects of leadership and literacy and research among other groups of West Africa on social representations of leadership.

As was discussed in the chapters concerning representations of leadership and literacy, certain facets of these were not explored, as they required a larger sample than was available to me given the circumstances of my time in Togo. The first aspect to explore is the apparent differences between men and women in the representations of leadership. Were these differences anomalous, or would they hold up with a larger sample, particularly if women in leadership positions as well as those who are not were interviewed?

Another area noted was that certain leadership themes seemed to have much in common with those promoted in Christianity. A second research project that ensures representative participation of all three major religious persuasions found in the area could shed light on whether Christianity has influenced these representations or whether they have deep roots in Ifè culture in general.

Research on representations of leadership in other ethnolinguistic groups of Africa would also contribute to knowledge and practice. Research projects of this type would provide additional information to those seeking to develop models of leadership applicable to Africa, which would potentially be more useful for leadership training on the continent than what tends to occur now. They would
also be valuable to those attempting to develop theories of leadership that take cultural elements into account.

The representations of literacy and of illiterates were solely derived from interviews with literacy leaders. It would be valuable to discover whether current students or those with no interest in learning to read and write would construct the same representations, or whether, as in Cheffy’s (2006) research in Cameroon, significant differences in the conception of literacy and its usefulness exist between the groups. If there are significant differences, this could affect awareness-raising activities as well as other program content and activities.

I also did not have the time or resources to explore actual uses of literacy beyond the examples that emerged during the interviews. A research project that focused on the actual personal and communal uses of literacy in all languages used in the community would contribute to theories of situated literacy and has the potential to suggest future directions for literature development in the community. Such a project could also explore the culture’s change in position along the continuum of oral-literate practices in this culture where many people are the first in their family to learn to read and write in any language.

7.6 Closing comments

This research project satisfied my yearning to understand better the Ifè literacy program and how it has developed over the years. Certainly my relationships with the various association leaders have benefited from my time with them, as did my understanding of the particular constraints of the Ifè context. In addition, it has contributed to a better understanding of how leadership, literacy, and capacity building is viewed and practiced in this West African group while opening up further avenues of research into issues of leadership, literacy and development.

Practically, I expect to use this knowledge in the development and revision of future training courses with my African colleagues when I return to West Africa. Knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of the Ifè strategy should also be of
benefit in my role as a consultant, as I work with other mother tongue literacy programs who are struggling to serve a dispersed and/or large population. The awareness of the importance of representations in mentoring relationships will also serve as an excellent reminder to me of qualities to focus on as I enter into or continue these types of relationships with African colleagues.

Finally, this case study has shown how mother tongue literacy programs can be a catalyst for community development. Through the Ifè program, rural communities have been empowered to affirm their identity and to choose their own path towards the future. May communities throughout Africa do the same.
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Location of the Ifè

Appendix 2: Interview coding

Interviews with ACATBLI: A

- First part A.1.[individual’s code] af# time stamp
- Second part A.2.[individual’s code] time stamp
- Supplementary interview A.3.[individual’s code] time stamp

Interviews with the local associations, focus on organizational history: B

- AVID B.1.[individual’s code] af# time stamp
- VADEMI B.2.[individual’s code] (si) time stamp
- AMIADA B.3.[individual’s code] (si) time stamp
- ADCIBA B.4.[individual’s code] (si#) time stamp
- Jésus le Chemin B.5.[individual’s code] (si) (time stamp)

Interviews with the local associations, focus on representations: C

- AVID C.1.[individual’s code] time stamp
- VADEMI C.2.[individual’s code] time stamp
- AMIADA C.3.[individual’s code] time stamp
- ADCIBA C.4.[individual’s code] time stamp
- Jésus le Chemin C.5.[individual’s code] time stamp

Village group interview: D

- D.[representative/literacy teacher’s number] time stamp

NB: During the first interviews with ACATBLI and AVID, I stopped the recording prematurely and had to start a new file. Therefore, there are two audio files for each of these interviews, which are indicated by af1 and af2 followed by the time stamp.

Supplementary interviews are indicated by si. I had two supplementary interviews with ADCIBA, hence theirs are followed by si1 and si2.

For the first interview with Jésus le Chemin, the recording button was lit but the microphone was not turned on. This was discovered after the conclusion of the interview,
but before anyone had left. The data for this interview are therefore summaries of what participants said, based on my notes, their recapitulation of important points, and my translator’s memory (this last particularly in relation to his translations of Mr. Ðedzi’s responses). In consequence, there are no time stamps for this interview. However, the recording system functioned during the supplementary interview, so the time stamp is used for that.

**Individual codes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SURNAME and Given Name(s)</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGBÉMADON Akoété</td>
<td>AgbA</td>
<td>ACATBLI head of literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SÉTODJI Kodjo</td>
<td>SK</td>
<td>ACATBLI literacy coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’TCHOU Kowouvi</td>
<td>NK</td>
<td>president, AVID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGAYI Ama</td>
<td>AgA</td>
<td>coordinator, AVID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FONTCHÉ Akoété</td>
<td>FA</td>
<td>advisor, AVID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAOU Messan Afadja</td>
<td>YMA</td>
<td>secretary, AVID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMOUSSOU Akoété</td>
<td>AmA</td>
<td>president and literacy coordinator, AMIADA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SÁÀNYÀ Yàwùfí</td>
<td>SY</td>
<td>vice president and supervisor, AMIADA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODIN Kossi David</td>
<td>OKD</td>
<td>secretary, AMIADA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAFON Kokou</td>
<td>MK</td>
<td>treasurer, AMIADA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFONFERE Novignon Abdel</td>
<td>ANA</td>
<td>literacy coordinator and head treasurer, ADCIBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÚDÙ Ðzègbó</td>
<td>GD</td>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} treasurer, ADCIBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONKITI Léon</td>
<td>ML</td>
<td>vice president, ADCIBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOUMONDOJO Labité</td>
<td>KL</td>
<td>literacy coordinator and president, ADCIBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPONDZA Jean</td>
<td>KĐ</td>
<td>advisor and supervisor, ADCIBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDOH Koffi</td>
<td>EK</td>
<td>literacy coordinator, \textit{Jésus le Chemin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASSAN Komla</td>
<td>BK</td>
<td>moderator, \textit{Jésus le Chemin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÐEDZI Omanolá</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>advisor, \textit{Jésus le Chemin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODAH Kodjo</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td>Project and missions director, \textit{Jésus le Chemin}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NB: The members of VADEMI opted for anonymity. Therefore, they each have a number, based on the order of their first responses, as follows:

VA1 – literacy coordinator
VA2 – secretary
VA3 – president (who is also a village chief)
VA4 – advisor

In addition, the literacy teachers in the village group were each assigned a number according to the order in which they first responded to the questions. However, for the village discussion groups on leadership qualities, the representative for the men is indicated as Rep. men.

Finally, where I am the speaker, my initials appear: JR.
Appendix 3: Summary table of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization/village</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Togolese</th>
<th>Beninese</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACATBLI</td>
<td>7*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVID</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jésus le Chemin</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMIADA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADCIBA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VADEMI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itséré teacher’s meeting</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This total includes ACATBLI board members present during the capacity building workshop discussed in section 3.2.3.1. It should also be noted that the Beninese have one representative on ACATBLI’s board, but he is counted under ADCIBA here.
Appendix 4: Transcription conventions

The following symbols were used to indicate nuances in the transcriptions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xx</td>
<td>Incomprehensible passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. or .. or ...</td>
<td>Pauses of various durations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word,</td>
<td>Short pause with prosodic intonation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>Lengthened syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>False start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPITALS</td>
<td>Emphasis (with the exception of acronyms such as the names of the associations, government departments, or political parties)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-la-la</td>
<td>Separate enunciation of each syllable in a word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Overlapping words/phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ }</td>
<td>Comment on the transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑ ↓</td>
<td>Rising or falling intonation (markèd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Non-standard word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5: Interview protocols

Guide des entretiens
Interview guide

Entretien A: les co-coordinateurs de l’organisation chapeau
Interview A: the co-coordinators of the umbrella organization

Quand avez-vous commencé à travailler avec l’équipe de la SIL ?
When did you begin to work with the SIL team?

Pourquoi avez-vous choisi de faire ce travail ?
Why did you choose to do this work?

Qu’est-ce que vous avez apporté à ce travail en qualifications personnelles, éducationnelles et expérimentielles ?
What did you bring to this work in the way of personal, educational, and work experience qualifications?

A quel moment étiez-vous chargé des responsabilités ?
When did you take on a role involving responsibility for the program?

Comment étiez-vous préparé pour vos responsabilités au programme ?
How were you prepared for these program responsibilities?

Quand et pourquoi la stratégie des associations affiliées a-t-elle été conçue ?
When and why was the strategy of developing affiliated organizations conceived?

Qui était l’auteur principal(e) de cette stratégie ?
Whose idea was this strategy?

Quels sont les étapes que vous faites pour chaque association ? (en préparation, pour l’entreprendre, pour la développer)
What are the steps you take for each association? (in preparation, to start it up, to develop it)

L’argent de Folk et Språk* a-t-il modifié votre stratégie ? Si oui, comment ?
Did the money from Folk et Språk change your strategy? If so, how?

Depuis le commencement du programme d’alphabétisation, qu’est-ce qui a changé dans l’environnement ifè ?
Since the beginning of the literacy program, what has changed in the Ifè environment?

* a Swedish development organization
Comment avez-vous fait face à ces changements ?
*How have you managed in the face of these changes?*

Quels imprévus, défis et opportunités y avaient-ils ?
*What unexpected events, challenges and opportunities have there been?*

Comment définissez-vous la réussite pour les associations locales ?
*How do you define success for the local associations?*
Entretien B: les membres du conseil administratif de chaque association locale : première rencontre

*Racontez-moi un peu de l’histoire de votre association.
Tell me a little about the history of your association.

Quels sont les buts de votre organisation ?
What are the goals of your organization?

Comment réalisez-vous les buts de votre organisation ?
How do you work towards the goals of your organization?

*À quel moment étiez-vous impliqué dans cette association ?
When did (each of you) become involved in this association?

*Comment le C.G. a-t-il été choisi ? Et les rôles pour chaque personne ?
How was the board chosen? How were positions decided upon?

Comment étiez-vous préparé par vos responsabilités au programme ?
How were you prepared for your responsibilities in the association?

*Quels étaient les défis
- au commencement ?
- au moment de la transition à moins de soutien de la SIL/ACATBLI ?
What were the challenges
-- in the beginning?
-- at the time of transition to less support from SIL/ACATBLI?

Quels défis votre association a-t-elle actuellement ?
What challenges does your association currently face?

Racontez-moi un moment où vous avez dû surmonter un défi dans votre association.
Tell me about a time when you overcome a challenge in your association.

Quel soutien attendez-vous de l’ACATBLI ?
What support do you expect to get from ACATBLI?

Quel est votre relation avec la Direction de l’alphabétisation et l’éducation des adultes ?
What is your relationship with the Office of Literacy and Adult Education?
Avez-vous des relations avec d’autres associations ou ONGs dans votre zone? Si oui, veuillez les décrire.

Do you have any relationships with other associations or NGOs in your zone? If so, please describe their nature.

Quelles sont les ressources de votre association ?

What are the resources of your association?

Comment gérez-vous ces ressources?

How do you manage these resources?

Afin de progresser, de quelles capacités avez-vous besoin ?

In order to move forward, what capacities do you need to acquire?

Comment définissez-vous la réussite pour votre association ?

How do you define success for your association?

À qui appartient la responsabilité pour la réussite de votre association ? (à votre président, à ACATBLI, à tous les membres de l’association ou à toute la communauté)

To whom does responsibility for the success of your association belong? (to your president, to ACATBLI [the umbrella organization], to all the members of the association or to the entire community)

Quels rites (cérémonies) votre association a-t-elle ? (par ex. : reconnaissance des succès, de transition, …)

What rituals (ceremonies) does your association have? (for example: recognition of success, of transition, …)
Entretien C: les membres du conseil administratif de chaque association locale
Interview C: the members of the board of each local association

Thème 1: Le leadership

A. Comment définissez-vous un chef, quelles sont les qualités les plus importantes qu’il doit montrer ?
How do you define a leader, what are the most important characteristics he should show?

Quelles sont des qualités les plus importantes d’un responsable d’un programme d’alpha ? Pourquoi ?
What are the most important characteristics of a literacy program leader? Why?

Quelles sont des qualités les plus importantes d’un conseil administratif d’une association ? Pourquoi ?
What are the most important characteristics of an association board? Why?

Quels sont les responsabilités les plus importantes d’un subordonné ou d’un collaborateur dans une organisation ? Pourquoi ?
What are the most important responsibilities of a subordinate or of a colleague in an organization? Why?

B. Racontez-moi un temps quand vous avez dû résoudre un conflit lié à l’association (impliquant des membres du conseil, de la communauté, des moniteurs, des superviseurs, et/ou des apprenants).
Tell me about a time when you had to resolve a conflict in your association. (involving board members, the community, teachers, supervisors, and/or students)

Thème 2: La théorie organisationnelle et le renforcement des capacités
Theme 2: Organizational theory and capacity building

C. Veuillez choisir une de ces affirmations, soit parce que vous vous sentez en accord ou en désaccord. Expliquer :
Would you please choose one of these statements, either because you find yourself in agreement with it or because you disagree? Explain:

1. Une organisation qui a une hiérarchie bien structurée est la meilleure à diriger un programme d’alphabétisation.
   An organization that has a well structured hierarchy is the best for directing a literacy program.

2. Un programme d’alphabétisation réussira le mieux lorsque tous les membres ont leur mot à dire lorsqu’il faut prendre les décisions.
   A literacy program will best succeed when all its members have a say when decisions must be made.
3. The president of a literacy and development association should watch out for the well-being of all the members of the association as well as that of class participants.

4. A literacy and development association should build the capacities of all the individuals who participate in the activities of the program.


D. How do you improve life for the Ifè people?

E. What is the point of developing literacy in local languages? Why is this important for you? How does this go along with the learning of other languages, such as Ewe, Yoruba or French?
Entretien D: les alphabétiseurs et/ou membres de la communauté linguistique

Interview D: literacy workers and/or members of the language community

Partie I: discussion en plénière

Part I: large group discussion

Thème 1: Le leadership

Comment définissez-vous un chef, quelles sont les qualités les plus importantes qu’il doit montrer ? Pourquoi ?

How do you define a leader, what are the most important characteristics that he should have? Why?

Quelles sont les qualités les plus importantes d’un responsable d’un programme d’alpha ? Pourquoi ?

What are the most important characteristics a literacy program leader should have? Why?

Quelles sont les qualités les plus importantes d’un conseil administratif d’une association ? Pourquoi ?

What are the most important characteristics of an association’s board?

Thème 2: Le renforcement des capacités [seulement pour les alphabétiseurs]

Theme 2: Capacity building [only for literacy workers]

Décrivez la formation en alphabétisation ou en développement la plus importante que vous avez suivie.

Describe the most important literacy or development training that you have taken.

Décrivez la formation en alphabétisation ou en développement le plus inutile que vous avez suivie.

Describe the most useless literacy or development training you have taken.
Appendix 6: CD-ROM data

Electronic files listed below and appended as supplemental files or as a CD-ROM form part of this work.

On-line readers will need to unzip the following ZIP file in order to view the files: ETD6706_JeDeneReeder_Appendix 6.zip

The DOC files, created in Word 2003, may be opened in Word or in Open Office Writer.

The PDF files may be opened in Adobe Acrobat Reader. All photographs were taken by JeDene Reeder unless otherwise noted.

DOC files

- ETD6706_JReeder_Authorization form 32 KB
- EDT6706_JReeder_English translation of interviews 334 KB

PDF files

- ETD_6706_JReeder_Ifè environment photos 851 KB
- ETD_6706_JReeder_Ifè capacity building photos 1,961 KB
- ETD_6706_JReeder_Ifè literacy program activity photos 2,588 KB
REFERENCE LIST


Bourdieu, P., & Spire, A. (2002). « Si le monde social m'est supportable, c'est parce que je peux m'indigner » [If I can bear the world, it's because I can be indignant]. Paris: Éditions de l'Aube.


Groupe Technique du Travail de Ministère de la Culture, de l’Alphabétisation et de la Promotion des Langues Nationales. (2009, Apr.). *Document cadre du mise en œuvre de la stratégie du faire-faire au Bénin (Options, mécanismes, procédures et outils d’opérationnalisation)* [Framework document of the implementation of the outsourcing strategy in Benin (Options, mechanisms, procedures and tools of operationalization)]. Unpublished manuscript.


