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Third World Feminist Perspectives on Development, NGOs, the De-politicization of Palestinian Women's Movements and Learning in Struggle

by

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Abstract

This exploratory case study examines the proposition that development NGOs are playing an active part in the de-politicization of Palestinian women's movements fight for independence and liberation from occupation by advancing the "development project's" (McMicheal, 1996) push for Western conceptions and projects of democratisation and modernisation as being the key to economic and social development of Palestinian society, while disregarding the current state of occupation (Jad, 2003). The application of Third World feminist perspectives allows for the examination of structural and systemic forms of oppression that encourage women's struggles and names ways that women have taken action to make positive libratory social change in the face of systems of domination such as capitalism and western-led international development. Theoretical perspectives specifically focused on NGO – social movement relations shed light on the relations between women-led movements and NGOs in Palestine. Education and knowledge production are implicated in this process of NGO-led de-politicization (or NGO-ization) of Palestinian women's movements for liberation. Therefore, the role of popular education and learning in struggle in regards to this process of de-politicization (NGO-ization) are also explored.

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"Palestine may be conceptualized in monadic terms; that is a kernel of truth onto which is inscribed the ongoing history of an entire global system" (Collins, 2007, p. 4).

Introduction

This research examines the proposition that development NGOs are playing an active part in the de-politicization of Palestinian women's movements fight for independence and liberation from occupation by advancing the "development project's" (McMicheal, 1996) push for Western conceptions and projects of democratisation and modernisation as being the key to economic and social development of Palestinian society, while disregarding the current state of occupation (Jad, 2003). Education and knowledge production are implicated in this process of NGO-led de-politicization (or NGO-ization) of Palestinian women's movements for liberation.

The research is informed by the understanding that the current economic, social and political obstacles faced by the majority of people in the Third World have been brought about by the spread of neoliberal economic globalization and development. Neoliberalism as a hegemonic process orchestrated by the West (Song, 2006) is based on a set of economic principles inextricable from the ideology of coloniality itself, an ideology which Walter Mignolo says, "is alive and well despite the 'end' of territorial colonialism in the post-World War II era" (Mignolo, 2000, p. x). Colonialism and neoliberal development are also inextricably linked. V Y Mudimbe (1988) identifies three

critical aspects of colonialism: territorial expansion and the domination of physical space followed by the transformation of consciousness and finally the integration of the colonized economy and history into Western economy and master narrative. White (2002) suggests that development continues these colonial formations through "the language of development [which] is rooted in the colonial encounter, both literally and metaphorically" (p. 411). She offers a conceptual framework to connect the three critical aspects of colonialism to three dimensions of development: (1) its material outcomes, (2) its techniques of transformation, and (3) its modes of knowing. For White (2002), development is a transformative practice which reflects the colonial practice of the territorial expansion and domination of physical space. Development "is about the construction of roads, of hydroelectric and irrigation projects, of mines and oil-fields, of schools, hospitals and factories" (p. 412). Furthermore, the techniques and means to acquire these transformative material outcomes are accomplished through "bureaucracies, corporations, businesses and non-governmental organizations …[and] the extension and greater integration of markets and state structures, the extraction of raw materials, the expansion of science and technology, environmental degradation, the movement of populations and the transformation of the means and relations of production" (p. 412-413), thereby reflecting the colonial process of integrating the colonized economy and history into the Western economy and demonstrating that "development is increasingly being identified as a project of western capitalism," serving as an unruly "handmaiden to global capitalism" (p.410- 411).

The development experience of most Third world countries in the last three decades has been "unimpressive if not disastrous and tragic at times" as the end of the Cold War and the collapse of socialism, both ideologically and socio-politically, opened the way to western led socio-political and economic, liberal democratic capitalist domination "both as a superstructure and an infrastructure" (Dhaoudadi, 1994, p. 140-141). According to Dhaoudadi (1994), while the rise of western capitalism and subsequently the creation and spread of global capitalism has had a positive impact on economic, technological and industrial development for some in the West, it has meant, for the majority of the Third World (also called Global South in a less pejorative sense) the rapid increase in the gaps of inequality and the creation of separate worlds of wealth and poverty resulting in the "western capitalist colonization of the Third World" (p. 148).

Women around the globe are subsequently struggling to survive the economic and social impacts of classed, raced and gendered global restructuring on their lives. Policies such as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) designed and implemented by international financial institutions (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization) to ensure debt repayment, place the greatest hardship on women through policies and practices which re-colonize their bodies and labour in both public and private spheres (Mohanty, 1991a, 2003; Shiva, 1997; Stromquist, 2002).

As a response to global capitalism's damaging impact on the Global South and the implementation of global restructuring through the enforcement of

neoliberal development projects, policies and practices there has been a significant rise in the role of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as a neoliberal intervention tool (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Laurie & Bondi, 2005) to purportedly contain the damage incurred by such policies. Since the 1980's, NGOs have come to play an important role in the formulation and implementation of development policy becoming key actors in the political economy of development. Thus, as White (2002) has suggested, NGOs have become key players in the acquisition of material transformation in the Global South via the push for western defined development. With this growth has come both praise and criticism for the role of NGO's in the development project and even in relation to "people's empowerment" for social change/activism.

While some NGO advocates suggest that NGOs are important agents for development and democratisation and consequently modernisation (Kandil, 1995), critics suggest that NGOs are "the product of neoliberal policies…directly dependent on neo-liberal sources, and…directly involved in competing in the socio-political movements for the allegiance of local leaders and activist communities" (Petras, 1997, p. 10). For Palestinian academic Dr. Islah Jad (2003), "NGO proliferation is linked to global schemes for development, which in turn have their roots in the structural adjustment program implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in many Third World countries (including some of the Arab countries)…" (p. 2), which in turn has had implications for women's movements and organizations in Palestine through the process of "NGO-ization" – a term which Jad (2003) uses "to

denote the process through which issues of collective concern are transformed into projects in isolation from the general context in which they are applied and without taking due consideration of the economic, social and political factors affecting them" (p. 2).

As Escobar (1995) suggests, "the invention of development necessarily involved the creation of an institutional field from which discourses [were] produced, recorded, stabilized, modified and put into circulation" (p. 46). As a result international, national and local NGOs turned development into a lucrative industry whereby "the knowledge produced about the Third World [was] utilized and circulated by these institutions through applied programs, conferences, international consultant services, local extension practices, and so on" (p. 46), resulting in a business built upon the rescuing of people in impoverished countries (Third World) from *their* poverty. As stated by Rahnema (1986) "poverty, illiteracy, and even hunger [have become] the basis of a lucrative industry for planners, experts, and civil servants (p. 37).

According to Petras (2001), NGOs can be seen as agents/arms of a capitalist development project whereby "at least 50,000 NGOs in the Third World [are] receiving more than $10 billion in funding from international financial institutions, European, U.S. and Japanese governmental agencies and local governments" (p. 128). And while millions of people in the Third World are struggling to survive the impacts of policies and structures imposed upon them through global capitalist restructuring and the neoliberal agenda, managers of the biggest NGOs are managing million-dollar budgets, receiving salaries and perks

that are comparable to those of corporate CEOs and conferring with top business and financial directors that are making policy decisions that affect – "in the great majority of cases, adversely –millions of people, especially the poor, women and informal –sector workers" (Petras, 2001, p. 128).

Furthermore, as Smith (2007) suggests in her book *The revolution will not be funded: Beyond the non-profit industrial complex*, "the framework of funding, in which organizations expect to be funded by benefactors rather than their constituents, negatively impacts social movements" (p. 9). As a result, NGOs serve as depoliticizing agents of real and potential social movements by mystifying and deflecting the discontent created by "the egregious effects of structural adjustment policies on waged and salaried workers, peasants and small national business people" and focus "towards local micro-projects, apolitical 'grass-roots' self-exploitation and 'popular education' that avoids class analysis of imperialism and capitalist profit-taking" (Petras, 2001, p. 128).

With regard to women's struggles, Mojab (2007) suggests that NGOs are a part of a network of capitalist institutions that have "supported, funded and promoted patriarchy by turning the struggle of women to de-politicized and liberal notions of "gender mainstreaming" and "women's empowerment" (¶ 15). Consequently, women continue to be robbed of their freedom, disempowered, and blocked from accessing the resources and tools needed to fight the impacts of the global capitalist system such as gender oppression, colonialism, displacement and the neoliberal development project. "It is especially on the bodies and lives of women and girls from the Third World/Global South – the Two-Thirds World – that global

capitalism writes its script" and it is also these women of the Two-Thirds World who "have always organized against devastations of globalized capital … organized anticolonial and antiracist movements … [and] in this sense they have always spoken for humanity as a whole" (Mohanty, 2002, p. 514-516).

Palestine as a rich site for this research

The Palestinian context offers a significant site for examining the process of NGO-ization and de-politicization of women's social movements. Prior to the creation of the Palestinian Autority (PA), "palestinian nongovernmental organizations (PNGOs) … account[ed] for the majority of services in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Providing health care, education and training, agriculture extension, housing assistance, human rights and legal aid, charity/welfare, technical assistance, and so on" (Sullivan, 1996, p. 93). Since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) following the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, the relationship between PNGOs and the PA have become formalized whereby PNGOs have become co-opted into the formal bureaucratic structures of PA ministries acting as service providers "through the expansion of the apparatus of the PA" (Parson, 2005, p.178). This transition from NGOs as participants in the nationalist agenda to service providers within the PA structures has systemically resulted in the process of de-politicization of their roles within Palestinian society. This process is examined further in Chapter 2.

The struggles and resistance of women's movements in Palestine provides a comprehensive, although complex, example of how global capitalism, colonialism, and international development combine to create a deeply rooted system of

oppression in which women have been resisting against the violent, patriarchal and militarized occupation of their lives, their families lives and their land since the early 1900s despite the ever increasing push for the de-politicization of their struggles through such hegemonic processes. According to Collins (2007), "Palestine may be conceptualized in *monadic* terms; that is a kernel of truth onto which is inscribed the ongoing history of an entire global system" (p. 4). Collins (2007) goes on to say that "Palestine bears the traces of a range of global historical processes: the horrors of total war, culminating in Auschwitz and Hiroshima; the post Second World War decades of decolonisation, nuclear deterrence and violent superpower proxy wars waged throughout the Global South; and the gradual emergence of a global machine of 'pure war'" (p. 4). Within this context, women's struggles for freedom and liberation have been essential to the struggle for national liberation from occupation, colonization, and global capitalism.

Much has been written about the contribution of Palestinian women to their nation's struggle for liberation. "They have not only survived in an atmosphere of remorseless violence, but have also made remarkable strides in terms of their rights and development as women" (Holt, 2003, p. 223). However, little work has been done on the impact of the development project through the "NGO-ization of women's movements" (Jad, 2003, p. 2), an expression synonymous with de-politicization, following the first intifada. Furthermore, since the second intifada, which began in 2000, "history seems to have stopped in the media for anything related to the Palestinian women. It is amazing how little is written about women in the second uprising, except for few

efforts trying to make wild or mild guesses about her role. Somehow, her role is either completely undermined or largely misrepresented" (Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68-69).

According to a report by Amnesty International (2005) women have been excluded from the struggle for national liberation once again:

> Whereas in the first intifada women actively participated as a civil society movement, the current intifada has seen a more prominent role for armed groups. Women have little or no opportunity to challenge or participate in the decision-making process for the conduct of the intifada, which has far-reaching consequences on so many aspects of their lives. The breakdown of the economic and security situation caused by the conflict has imposed increased pressures and restrictions on women, and at the same time it has further curtailed women's ability to control their own lives (Conflict, occupation and patriarchy: Women carry the burden, 2005, p. 20).

The question, as posed by Johnson & Kuttab (2001), is "where have all the women gone?"(p. 21). Despite their seeming invisibility during the second intifada, women have indeed still been organizing and resisting, however, their movements have become divided and further challenged by the ongoing pressures of western imposed international development through the process of NGO-ization. While there are still many women's committees and feminist groups that are organizing and resisting injustice against women and against all Palestinian people, the Oslo peace process seems to have brought about a significant impact upon the solidarity work of women's movements (discussed later in Chapter 3). With this in mind, I have chosen to conduct my research on

the NGO-ization (de-politicization) of women's struggles, including the embedded role of education in this process, following the signing of the Oslo Peace Accord in 1993.

Purpose and methodology

The purpose of this research is to examine the political impact of NGOs on women-led social movements in the Palestinian context with a particular focus on methods and processes of popular education and informal learning employed in various NGO-led projects. The research also investigates the impacts of such education on women's political and social engagement in Palestinian society thereby exploring learning in NGO engagements with women's movements in the Global South.

The specific objectives of this research and analysis are to:

- Explore the impact of women-centered NGOs on the mobilizing potential of women's movements for liberation in Palestine; and

- Explore the role of popular education, knowledge learning and informal learning processes in "Third World" women's struggles in relation to NGO – Social movement engagements in Palestine.

This research deploys Third World feminist perspectives (hooks, 2000; Jad, 2007, 2003; Lazreg, 1988; Lorde, 1981; Mohanty, 1991a; 1991b; 2002; 2003; and Mojab, 2007) that examine the structural and systemic forms of oppression that encourage women's struggles and names ways that women have taken action to make positive libratory social change in the face of systems of domination such as capitalism and western-led international development (Escobar, 1995;

Mohanty, 2002; Mohanty, Russo, Torres, 1991). Theoretical perspectives specifically focused on NGO – social movement relations (Jad, 2007; 2003; Petras, 2001) that help me to understand and develop a comprehensive picture of the relations between women-led movements and NGOs are also pertinent. Third World Feminist theory is used as an analytical and political tool "to recognize and analytically explore the links among the histories and struggles of Third World women against racism, sexism, colonialism, imperialism, and monopoly capital" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 46).

In order to explore the processes and impacts that women-centered NGOs have had on the mobilizing potential and educational dimensions of women's struggles/movements for liberation in Palestine, I utilized a qualitative case study approach focusing on two NGOs in Palestine and one grassroots movement. While the NGOs provide a rich site for women's "empowerment" projects that operate within the parameters of developing "civil society" under occupation, the grassroots movement provides an excellent opportunity for investigating various forms of incidental learning and non-formal learning that have encouraged Palestinian women's movement's involvement in non-violent forms of resistance since the beginning of the building of the Separation/Apartheid Wall in 2003.

Significance

A great deal has been written about the contribution of Palestinian women to their nation's struggle for liberation. "They have not only survived in an atmosphere of remorseless violence, but have also made remarkable strides

in terms of their rights and development as women" (Holt, 2003, p. 223). However, according to Jad (2007), little work has been done to examine the role/impact of NGOs on Palestinian women's movement given the increased role of NGOs in state building/formation. This research develops a preliminary understanding of the relationship between NGOs and women's movements in Palestine with an emphasis on the educational dimensions of these relations, and offers exploratory research insights into the role of NGOs and the de-politicization of women's movements for national liberation.

While this research exposes some of the pressures being imposed upon social movements by international NGOs to 'modernize' their communities by reproducing "less 'participatory' elements of existing social and political culture" (Jad, 2007, p. 623), it also has potential to provide people and communities of struggle with strategies and hope for meaningful social change through stories of education for resistance, transformation, liberation and freedom. "It is these movements and activities that reach every aspect of Palestinian women's lives, and alongside education, play a role of paramount importance in their liberation process" (Velloso, 1996, p. 524).

"Precious little social change in the world has occurred that has not involved education, except that which has come from the barrel of a gun" (Hurst, 2002, p. 9). Education is the process by which people gain knowledge and understanding of their world, and it has the potential to empower people to make social change happen. Education can be used to maintain the oppression of people or provide a process for people's transformation and liberation against oppression. This

research I have conducted for this study provides insights into NGO/Social movement interactions and processes and their learning/knowledge dimensions, subsequently making contributions towards the literature on NGO-movement relations and to learning in social action/struggles.

I believe that through this research, I am able to offer insight into ways that education can be used to engage in meaningful social change in the face of neoliberalism, patriarchy, global capitalism and western-imposed development or, as a tool of western-imposed development for the creation of a illusive civil society under occupation in Palestine. Therefore, I hope that this research is able to provide people and communities of struggle with strategies and hope for meaningful social change through a critical examination of the role education plays in NGO – social movement relations. "It is these movements and activities that reach every aspect of Palestinian women's lives, and alongside education, play a role of paramount importance in their liberation process" (Velloso, 1996, p. 524).

Key terms and concepts

In this section I briefly outline some key terms that are pertinent to this study inclusing: (i) development, (ii) Third World feminist responses to development, (iii) non governmental organizations, (iv) grassroots organizations/ campaigns, (v) women's social movements, and (vi) learning in struggle/popular education to establish a rudimentary understanding of key terms employed in this research.

(i) Development

The Truman doctrine of 1949 set forth the beginning of "a new era in the understanding and management of world affairs, particularly those concerning the less economically accomplished countries of the world" (Escobar, 1995, p. 3). By 1951, the United Nations had prepared one of the most influential documents setting forth the policies and procedures "for the economic development of underdeveloped countries" (Escobar, 1995, p. 3). The document reflected Truman's doctrine of a complete restructuring of "underdeveloped societies" through the replication of "advanced" societies by implementing high levels of "industrialization and urbanization, technicalization of agriculture, rapid growth of material production and living standards, and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values" (Escobar, 1995, p. 4). According to Escobar (1995), while the goal may have been to create a "kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced the opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression" (p. 4).

(ii) Third World Feminist responses

Recognizing the many contributions to third world feminist writings and theory, Mohanty (1991b) sums up her definition of third world feminism(s) as

> (1) the idea of the simultaneity of oppressions as fundamental
> to the experience of social and political marginality and the
> grounding of feminist politics in the histories of racism and
> imperialism; (2) the crucial role of a hegemonic state in

circumscribing their/our daily lives and survival struggles; (3)

the significance of memory and writing in creation of

oppositional agency; and (4) the differences, conflicts, and

contradictions internal to third world women's organizations

and communities (p. 10).

Furthermore, third world feminism(s) recognize the "complex interrelationships

between feminist, antiracist, and nationalist struggles" (Mohanty, 1991b, p. 10).

As such, third world feminist theory can provide a critical anti-capitalist, anti-

colonialist analysis to understanding the impacts of the development project on

the Global South through it's commitment to building a third world feminist

politics "around the struggles of the most exploited people of the world"

(Mohanty, 1991b, p. 10) . As such, Third World feminist responses to

development participate in the project of decolonization and capitalist

demystification. Mohanty (2003) suggests that "Third World feminism" can be

used as an analytical and political tool "to recognize and analytically explore the

links among the histories and struggles of Third World women against racism,

sexism, colonialism, imperialism, and monopoly capital" (p. 46). This theoretical

lens provides this research with the necessary framework to deconstruct and

critically analyse the relationships between global capitalism/neoliberalism,

development, NGOs and the consideration of the de-politicization of women's

movements in Palestine where colonialism, racism, sexism, imperialism and

neoliberal globalization have resulted in Palestinian women's ongoing struggle for

liberation.

(iii) Non governmental organizations (NGOs)

The term non governmental organization is used to describe various forms of organizations ranging from large international organizations based in the global North such as Oxfam or Free the Children to smaller locally-based organizations in the global South. These organizations are considered to be spaces where private initiatives are implemented through a non-profit model. According to Desai (2008), "the term 'NGO' is understood to refer to those autonomous, non-membership, relatively permanent or institutionalized (but not always voluntary) intermediary organizations, staffed by professional or the educated elite" (p. 525).

Furthermore, Desai (2008) states that "NGOs play two main roles, either service delivery or policy advocacy" (p. 526). As policy advocates, NGOs seek social change by influencing attitudes, policy and practice as well as seeking to reform state services on the basis of NGO experiences and to lobby directly for the policy changes.

In specific regard to NGOs in Palestine, international NGOs and national NGOs have come together under one umbrella – Palestinian NGOs (PNGO) (Carapico, 2000). Although not all NGOs fall under this umbrella, it is correct to assume that the majority of NGOs operating in the Occupied Territories do. In addition, Carapico (2000) states that NGOs are further defined as Arab Women NGOs (AWNGO), Donor-Organized NGOs (DO-NGO), and Government-organized NGOs (GO-NGO). Under this framework of non governmental organizations, the development project is able to proceed with it's "neoliberal or

global-liberal private sector solutions to social problems, and more generally with the privatization of social services, institutions and investments" (Carapico, 2000, p. 14). As such, women, landless peasants and marginalized groups are categorized into special interest groups and encouraged to join the formal global capitalist economy in the name of modernization and development.

(iv) Grassroots organizations/campaigns

Grassroots organizations (GROs) are often created through "'independent' initiatives by local activists and not organized by the state or international institutions. Rather, they are often in vocal opposition to the development institutions of the state and international institutions" (Kamat, 2002, p. 4).

For the purposes of this research, the concept of a "grassroots campaigns" is taken directly from the Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (http://www.stopthewall.org/) called 'Stop the Wall'. Based on their definition, the grassroots campaign is a "call for a coordinated, popular, and grassroots effort to tear down the Wall" (http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml, ¶2), and resist Israeli occupation and colonization. . The campaign is made up of Palestinian popular committees from local towns and villages as well as Palestinian NGOs. The campaign operates on a local national and international level.

(v) Women's Social Movements

Peggy Antrobus (2004) provides a comprehensive definition of women's social movements that provides a relevant framework for this study. For Antrobus (2004), a women's movement is:

1. A *political movement* – part of the broad array of social movements concerned with changing social conditions, rather than part of a network of women's organization;

2. Grounded in an understanding of women's relations to *social conditions* – an understanding of gender as an important relationship within the broad structure of social relationships of class, race and ethnicity, age and location;

3. A *process*, discontinuous, flexible, responding to specific conditions of perceived gender inequality or gender-related injustice;

4. An awareness and *rejection of patriarchal privilege* and control;

5. Born at the moments in which individual women become aware of *their separateness as women,* their alienation, marginalization, isolation or even abandonment within a broader movement for social justice or social change. In other words, women's struggle for agency within the broader struggle is the catalyst for women's movements (p. 14).

In addition, Kapoor's (2009a) offers the following elements to employ a working definition of social movements:

a) Movement as indicative of an articulation of concerns/issues;

b) Movement as defined by the maturity and growing unity of an organized presence/vehicle for such articulations (for example, emergence of movement organizations) that engages a critical

mass of people with a like-concern for core and evolving sets of

'movement issues'; and

c) Movement as organized action directed at oppositional

(colonizing) social structural and institutional forces that 'give

cause' for such movements in the first place (p. 77).

Both frameworks and analyses of social movements here are employed within

this research.

(vi) Learning in struggle/popular education

My understanding of learning in this study draws from Foley's (2004)

education and learning concepts: 1) non-formal education/learning, 2) incidental

education/learning.; and 3) informal education/learning, as well as an investigation

into processes of popular education (Brown, 2006; Freire, 1997, 2000; Haas,

2002; Hurst, 2002; Kane, 2001) that potentially permeate Palestinian women's

learning in struggle within NGOs and movements. My understanding of popular

education is strongly aligned with Hurst (2002) when he says,

> Popular education is at its heart the empowerment of adults
>
> through democratically structured cooperative study and action,
>
> directed toward achieving more just, equitable, and peaceful
>
> societies. It seeks to build people's capacity to create democratic
>
> social change through education. Its priority is the poor, the
>
> oppressed and the disenfranchised people of the world – ordinary
>
> people (p. 9-10).

In relation to Third World women learning in struggle, I draw from theorists such as hooks (2000) and Mohanty (2001) in which they share a common understanding that feminist engagement for change occurs from outside the centres of established political power or in the margins, as part of the whole, but outside of the main body and where "imagined communities of women" use education as a process for weaving together political threads of "opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systemic" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 4)

Chapter 2:

Development, Third World Feminist Critiques and Learning in

Struggle

Chapter Overview

This chapter examines the critical literature on the creation of the

development project in the Third World, feminist critiques of the development

project and the role of NGOs as agents of development and neoliberalism. The

literature reviewed in this chapter advances the proposition that Northern

NGOs as agents of development have played an active part in the de-

politicization of women's social movements for the liberation of Palestine

through the push for Western-focused/defined forms of democratization and

modernization as the key to economic and social development while disregarding

the political reality of occupation. In response to the masculinist enterprise of

development theory, a Third world feminist theoretical analysis of development

is provided as a backdrop for understanding the impacts of the development

project via NGO-ization on Palestinian women. A review of relevant literature

on popular education and learning in struggle will follow; highlighting the ways

learning and education create the possibilities for people to engage in social

change for liberation.

Post-war era and the creation of the Third World

In the post-war era, the United States became the model of a developed

society. "Its superior standard of living (with per capita income three times the

average of Western Europe), its anticolonial heritage, and its commitment to

liberalism in domestic and international relations gave it the trappings of an ideal society on the world stage" (McMichael, 1996, p. 29). The drastic income and living standard disparities between the First and Third World were seen to generate the vision of development that would kick start the economic growth, development and industrial progress of the Third World.

In 1949, the Truman administration took a particular interest in the condition of the 'underdeveloped' areas of the world. U.S. President Harry Truman offered a new development paradigm for the post-war era of development with his "seizing the moment" speech in which he proclaimed it was time for a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing through greater production as the key to prosperity and peace (Dodds, 2002, Escobar, 1995, McMichael, 1996, Peet & Hartwick, 1999). "While this intent was undeniably ambitious, the significance of this address lies in the manner in which Truman's geographical imagination transformed the post-war world into 'underdeveloped' and 'prosperous' areas" (Dodds, 2002, p. 3). As stated by Mexican intellectual, Gustavo Esteva (1992):

Underdevelopment began, then, on January 20, 1949. On that day, two billion people became underdeveloped. In a real sense, from that time on, they ceased being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified into an inverted mirror of others' reality … a mirror that defines their identity … (p. 6).

Central to this new paradigm was the idea of *modernity*. "Modern became the standard against which other societies were judged" (McMichael, 1996, p. 31).

Within this paradigm, the path to becoming a developed nation was through following the example of the modern world with the notion that progress in the most westernized sense would lead to the creation of the most modern nation-states. According to Thomas J. McCormick (as cited in Mason, 1997), the modernization project would "create new nations that would be sufficiently autonomous to be credible and yet would be politically stable market economies, integrated into global multilateralism. These new states would be showcases that would convince others in the Third World of the material rewards of development via world market rather than development state planning" (p. 21).

Ingredients of the development project

"The linking of human development to national economic growth was a key historical event" (McMichael, 1996, p. 31). Imposing an economic understanding on social life meant that the development project could be applied universally, unimpeded by cultural patterns. The enforcement of political organization into nation-states and economic change became the two necessary ingredients for the project of economic development where nation-states became the Western-imposed framework for the development project.

With regard to economic growth, development planning was the way to economic transformation. As a result of the United Nations Charter of 1945, in which a rise of the standard of living became the UN's global objective, the measure for successful development became a rising per capita GNP in conjunction with industrialization (McMichael, 1996, p. 32). Even though some

criteria for a rise in the standard of living included literacy rates and health, the main defining factor of progress towards a modern state was a rise on the economic scale.

According to western economists, Third World cultural practices of wealth-sharing within communities were considered an obstacle toward making the effective transition to modernity. "The solution was to introduce a market system based on private property and sustained investment" (McMichael, 1996, p. 34). However, the use of economic factors as the measurement for development was fraught with problems. Namely, economic indicators did not evaluate quality of life nor did they provide accurate records of rising consumption. In fact, as McMichael states (1996), there were a number of problematic key normative assumptions that were made about the prescriptions for economic development:

1- Living standards can be quantified, or measured, with a monetary index;

2- Monetization of a society is a common destiny, and an ever-expanding world of commodities is desirable;

3- Non-monetary, or non commodified, social systems of activity (people growing their own food, performing unpaid household labor, doing community service) are "backward" and are not an appropriate basis of social modernization;

4-   Development policy should aim at reducing the living

standards gap between the West and the Third World,

with the West as the standard.

5-   Each nation society should pursue these goals individually

(assisted with foreign aid) (McMichael, 1996, p. 35).

These assumptions have been heavily questioned and critiqued by Third World intellectuals and many critical development theorists, who have raised concerns about the environment, cultural hegemony, the creation of a global capitalist and neoliberal economic system, and the maintenance and perpetuation of systems of oppression such as patriarchy, racism and classism.

The global economics of development and development strategies

According to Escobar (1995), "Keynesianism and a revitalized growth economics provided the understanding and rationalization" (p. 67) for a global economic regulations plan that was to be directed by rich and powerful Europeans over the 'underdeveloped' countries. Singer (1989) suggests that there was a widespread feeling that Keynesian principles of macroeconomic management of the economy by governments should be extended to developing countries in order to implement full employment and growth as a response to a return to scarcity in the Depression decade and the "general problem of poverty" (Escobar, 1995, p. 74). Growth was seen as the remedy for poverty and unemployment. Capital accumulation and investment became central tools of economic analysis to help alleviate poor countries from their dismal situations.

Because it was soon recognized that poor countries seldom possessed sufficient amounts of capital to meet the investment required for rapid growth, "the emphasis on investment implied a focus on savings and opened the way for foreign aid and foreign investment" (Escobar, 1995, p. 74). Industrialization became the way for developing economies to attain the westernized goal of modernization and provide the necessary arena for investment by using large pools of unemployed and underemployed in developing countries to produce goods for consumption by the West. Industrialization was seen as the only way poor countries could undo the structural disadvantage they had faced in the "domain of international trade as primary producers confronted with higher process and productivity of goods coming from industrialized countries" (Escobar, 1995, p. 74). Through industrialization, poor countries would stop producing the 'wrong thing' and start producing items with a higher exchange value thereby resulting in the 'ideal' recipe for economic development with the major ingredients being: (1) capital accumulation; (2) deliberate industrialization; (3) development planning; and (4) external aid (Escobar, 1995, p. 74).

Coming out of the 1960's was a rise in neoliberal economics and the 1970s became known within the development arena as the era that gave rise to the debt crisis in the 1980s with the 'counterrevolution' (Peet & Hartwick, 1999) or 'financial revolution, which accelerated the formation of a global economic production system and redistributed economic growth in the world economy.

The impact of oil inflation in the 1970's led to higher energy prices, which were passed on in higher prices for food and manufacturing resulting in global

economic growth falling by 50 percent (McMichael, 1996, p. 117). With the First

World in recession, the global banks turned to the Third World where the

governments were eager to borrow and banks considered them unlikely to

default on their loans. As a result of encouraging massive borrowing, the banks

brokered the 1970s expansion in the middle-income Third World (McMichael,

1996) and, whereas the early 1970s bank loans accounted for only 13 percent of

Third World debt, banks held 60 percent of the debt by the end of the decade.

In 1980, the debt crisis began with the U.S. adopting a monetarist policy

of reducing the money supply. Development, which had been considered to be

"nationally managed economic growth, was redefined in the World Bank's *World

Development Report* 1980 as participation in the world market" (McMichael, 1996,

p. 111). With the overextended loans to the Third World in the 1970s and the

resulting debt crisis of the 1980s, the whole development project was reframed

through an external institutional structure focused on managing a global

economic system. This global infrastructure formed an institutional complex in

which global economic activity became organized much like the national

infrastructures of nation-states on a global level and included the following public

and private dimensions:

> First there are the networks established by transnational
>
> corporations (TNCs) and transnational banks (TNBs) conveying
>
> commodities and money around the world; second, there are the
>
> multilateral financial institutions (the World Bank and the
>
> International Monetary Fund). Finally, there are bureaucratic

entities – like states, regional free trade agreements, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) – that regulate the movement of goods, services, labor, and money through rules established in international forums (McMichael, 1996, p. 112).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)

The new policies that were put in place by the IMF to enable the indebted countries to continue paying back their loans are known as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). These economic and social policies began being implemented in the late 1970s with the apparent purpose of improving the overall conditions of developing countries. The purposes of SAPs were to steer economies towards better economic and social performance with the following basic elements:

- to open up the national economy to imports;

- to reduce the size and role of government;

- to eliminate subsidies to agriculture; to encourage privatization of many economic and social sectors; and

- to devalue the local currency (Stromquist, 1999, p. 18-19).

According to Peet & Hartwick (1999), "structural adjustment more basically meant changing the structure of an economy so that it mirrored the competitive ideal derived from the Western experience" (p. 56).

In the second phase of structural adjustment, adjustment measures were implemented to promote economic restructuring, efficiency and competitiveness. These measures included:

- export promotion and diversification;

- downsizing of the civil service;

- economic liberalization by relaxing and eventually removing many regulations and restrictions on both domestic and international economic activity;

- privatization including the selling-off of state enterprises and state-owned corporations (crown corporations); and

- tax reductions to create incentives for individuals and business to save and invest (Simon, 2002, p. 88).

The impacts of SAPs consequently had many negative impacts on the communities where they were enacted. "The adoption and implementation of an IMF-approved SAP became a prerequisite for obtaining financial support. The World Bank (WB), regional development banks and most Northern bilateral donors followed suit so that it became impossible for an indebted country to borrow from them without a SAP" (Simon, 2002, p. 88). Furthermore, the people that have been the most harshly impacted by the implementation of SAPs have been women. According to Stromquist (1999) in her evaluation of the impact on SAPs in Africa, "this gender blindness has contributed to the recent food crisis in Africa … and to the increased domestic subsistence burden of women" (p. 19).

In the late 1980s and 1990s, SAPs underwent a modification process supposedly "taking better account of local circumstances, social development needs, seeking to soften the negative impacts of specific measure, and by supporting continuity of policies and funding" (Simon, 1999, p. 88-89). As Jahan (as cited in Stromquist, 1999) points out, the World Bank 1989 *World Progress Report* noted that two of the eight SAP operations in 1988 and three of the 12 operations in 1989

> … included actions to help women contribute to macro-economic adjustment or to improve their future productivity. These measures … included providing nutrition programmes for pregnant and nursing mothers and healthcare for women and children, improving education opportunities for girls in rural areas, training women in construction and targeting credit to women (p. 20).

However, the amount of funding allocated to these measures was insufficient in comparison to the size of the groups that needed the assistance resulting in "largely palliative measures intended to soften the adverse impact, and not challenging the basic directions of SAPs" (Stromquist, 1999, p. 20). In 1999, SAPs were replaced with poverty reduction strategies as an attempt to refashion economic adjustment programs and introduce a new vocabulary and objective. However, the actual reforms of the programmes have been minimal at best with little substantive change.

Feminist responses to development theory

In response to the masculinist enterprise of development theory, feminists and development activists have made attempts at reformulating development theory that was centered around women's experiences and gender relations. The goal was to bring issues that were traditionally on the margins to the centre of analysis thereby viewing traditional areas of development through a different lens. For example, Third World industrialization did not just employ labour which is assumed to be male, but rather women workers. This shift in understanding women's role in the industrialization process "became essential to understanding productive activity" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 177) within feminist development thought.

As a consequence of a woman-centred focus, new aspects of development were brought into focus, including the informal and rural sectors of the economy and the relations between production and reproduction. Some feminist theory and development theory were integrated to inform the development of at least five perspectives including: Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), Gender and Development (GAD), Women, Environment, and Alternatives to Development (WED), Postmodernism and Development (PAD).

Women in Development (WID)

In 1970, Esther Boserup was the first (Western) feminist theorist to record the negative impacts of development on women in her book *Women's Role in Economic Development.* Boserup argued that "the modernization process, supervised by colonial authorities imbued with Western notions of the sexual division of labor, placed new technologies under the control of men, thereby marginalizing women, reducing their status, and undercutting their power and income" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 180). Boserup's work was the instigator for a new arena of development literature from feminist perspectives. Her liberal feminist work "helped to produce a distinctive feminist vision of the development process which challenged the assumption that the benefits of development would automatically trickle down to the poor" (Saunders, 2002, p. 3).

Shortly after Boserup's book, the term 'Women in Development' was adopted by the Women's Committee of the Society for International Development (SID) to call attention to Third World women's situations. With WID there emerged two powerful currents: the broader institutionalized field of modernization and development, and the feminist movement in the West in the 1970s.

In 1975, after the UN Conference on Women where development policies were criticized for ignoring women's participation in the development project, women were seen to be continuing the downward spiral into economic poverty due to their lack of involvement in development projects and programmes. The actual reality of the 'feminization of poverty' was rarely

addressed nor was it seen as an actual result of the impact of development on women. It was considered that women simply needed to occupy more of a central role in the development project to be able to accrue the same development benefits as their male counterparts, which clearly benefited the major development institutions. Moreover, the economists began to understand that women's productivity was being wasted because it was mostly part of the informal sector, which left women's work unaccounted for and unexploited in the world market. "In relation to women, the World Bank states that, 'no country can afford to underutilize and underequip more than half of its human resources'" (Simmons, 1997, p. 245). Therefore, the Bank's means of integrating women into development was through using women's labour and productivity on the world market. "Production for the world market was supposed to provide women with economic security and a better standard of living, the same argument that had been used for the previous three or four decades in relation to rural societies generally" (Simmons, 1997, p. 245-246). Despite its broken promises to achieve wealth and food security in the past, development experts continued to advocate for its expansion towards women's participation in development.

WID in fact accepted this prevailing notion of economic growth and modernization and argued, like the World Bank, that women simply need to be included in the development process and that modernization would liberate Third World women from household drudgery and seclusion and allow them to join the rest of the human race. By the mid-1970s, development agencies had

responded by implementing "intervention programs with the transfer of technology, extension or credit and services that would improve women's workloads" (Rathegeber, 1990, p. 490).

According to Caroline Moser (1993) five variations in the WID school reflected changes in policies in Western development agencies:

(1) the 'welfare approach' was the first approach to address itself to women's needs in the development enterprise. Prior to WID, it was an extension of Western ideologies of relief aid that addressed its needs to extremely vulnerable groups; women becoming major clients (Saunders 2002). Within WID, the welfare approach focused on women's reproductive roles and responded to population issues with birth control programs. This approach relegated women to the private and domestic world; (2) the 'equity approach' reflected the UN Decade for Women's call for equality which was met with considerable resistance from men; (3) the 'antipoverty approach' focused on women entering the workforce or having access to income-generating activities. However, women were still seen as occupying the private sphere, removed from political and economic affairs; (4) 'the efficiency approach' was aligned with the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programs and stressed women's participation in newly restructured economies; and (5) the 'empowerment approach' which reflected Third World women's feminist writing and

grassroots organization's demand for a bottom-up approach (p. 81).

In all of these approaches women were identified as victims and a "deficit approach" is applied. Moreover, Saunders (2002) states that Women in Development (WID) represents a hegemonic level of feminist development practices whereby "it is characterized by increasing legitimacy and deepening integration within major bilateral and multilateral development agencies" (p. 1). According to Simmons (1997) the attempt to integrate women into development is based on five false assumptions: (1) economic growth is synonymous with development and improved standards of living for all; (2) women were not part of the post-war development process; (3) all women want to be (and have the time to be) part of the international economy; (4) economic growth and the aims of women's movements are compatible; and (5) women in the developed world have progressed further than women in the Third World toward equality with men.

WID is also criticized for its paternalistic perpetuation of gender roles and dependence on patriarchal power of the state. For example, WID often perpetuated images of impoverished Third World women as helpless victims of patriarchy, thereby continuing the victimization and disempowerment of women.

Women and Development (WAD)

Unlike the WID approach, WAD argued that women have always been a part of the development project and that it is precisely the process of modernization that has impoverished women in the first place. According to

Peet & Hartwick (1999), "It was precisely how women were integrated into global capitalism by the core countries that explained their marginalization and oppression – for example, women used as cheap labor for multinational corporations in export processing zones" (p. 183).

The WAD approach has drawn much of its analysis from the neo-Marxist approach to underdevelopment and is closely linked with socialist feminist theory. "Issues such as the origins of patriarchy, the intensification of patriarchy with the spread of capitalism, and Engel's (1945 ed.) analysis of the rise of private property (alongside the agricultural revolution and the domestication of animals) formed the historical background for this school of thought" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 183). According to Saunders (2002), "WAD underscores the idea that global capitalism, with its inequitable gender relations and prioritization of global capitalist dynamics, is also inimical to Third World men" (p. 8), a position that has been criticized and challenged by the Gender and Development (GAD) approach.

Critiques of WAD include the charge that the approach tends to privilege class over gender "since gender inequities are framed in terms of the accumulation process of global capitalism rather than patriarchal domination *per se*" (Saunders, 2002, p. 8). However socialist feminist Maria Mies developed a classical analysis of women in the international division of labour, which addresses the privileging of class over gender. For Mies, "the historical development of the division of labor (the system of specialization in types of work) was a violent, patriarchal process in which a certain class of men, by virtue

of arms and warfare, established an exploitative relationship with women, other classes, and other peoples" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 183). The WAD approach became the primary adherence for the international network of Third World Women researchers known as DAWN.

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)

DAWN is a network of activists, policy makers and researchers from the Third World. In Sen & Grown's (1987) seminal book, *Development, crises, and alternative visions*, this group of women state that their network is "committed to developing alternative frameworks and methods to attain the goals of economic and social justice, peace, and development free of all forms of oppression by gender, class, race, and nation" (Sen & Grown, 1987, p. 9).

When DAWN was first established in 1984 in Bangalore, a group of women from different countries came together to discuss development strategies, policies, theories and research. "They questioned the impact of development on the poor people, especially women, particularly in light of the global economic and political crises, and voiced a sense of urgency regarding the need to advocate alternative development processes that would give principal emphasis to the basic survival needs of the majority of the world's people" (Sen & Grown, 1987, p. 9). Today, DAWN remains a primary reference in the record of southern perspectives.

Central to DAWN's critique is the emphasis on liberal capitalism and the marginalization of basic needs, which makes survival for Third World masses very difficult (Saunders, 2002). Furthermore, DAWN places strong emphasis on

the empowerment of women through critical reflections and building of a feminist analysis. They also see feminism as a heterogeneous school of thought in which multiple feminisms exist with the overall shared recognition and opposition to gender oppression.

Perhaps the key defining feature of DAWN's work that marks a crucial Third World difference is their concern with other forms of oppression interconnected with being a woman. Sen & Grown (1987) state:

> For many women, problems of nationality, class and race are inextricably linked to other specific oppression as women. Defining feminism to include the struggle against all forms of oppression is both legitimate and necessary. In many instances gender equity must be accompanied by changes on these other fronts. But at the same time, the struggle against gender subordination cannont be compromised during the struggle against other forms of oppression or relegated to a future when they may be wiped out (p. 18).

Moreover, from Third World women's vantage point it was clear how gender and class played an integral role in economic growth, and that development programs and strategies had a negative impact on women. "The existing economic and political structures, often the legacy of colonial domination, were highly inequitable between nations, classes, genders, and ethnic groups. Fundamental conflicts arose between women's economic well-being and mainstream development processes" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 184). This system was further enforced through the system of patriarchy in which women

were controlled through multiple forms of sexual violence. The forms of violence included men's domination in public spaces which made it hard for women to make a living in the formal public sector, the perpetuation of sex-biased stereotypes in modern education and mass media, and a series of interlinked crises (growing impoverishment, food insecurity, financial disarray, environmental degradation and demographic pressure) which worsened the problem, so that the majority of the world's people, especially women, found survival almost impossible (Peet & Hartwick, 1999).

Whereas Western governments and institutions failed to respond to this system of violence and imposed a top-down approach by enforcing short-term structural adjustment, Third World women were reorienting "development analysis to critical aspects of resource use and abuse, to the dominance of women's labor in satisfying needs, with attention focused on poverty and inequality, and pointing to new possibilities for empowering women" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 185).

In response to the short-term strategies of Western governments and institutions, Sen & Grown (1987) argued that short-term approaches to ameliorate women's position in society needed to be "combined with long-term strategies to re-establish people's – especially women's – control over the economic decisions that shape their lives" (p. 82). For Sen & Grown (1987), it was women's voices that needed to enter the definition and policies of development.

Gender and Development (GAD)

As stated above, GAD charges WAD with non-recognition or inattention to gender relations and divisions of classes. In comparison, GAD sees itself as centring itself around gender relations and classes, rather than women. This is a broader interconnected relationship through which women are subordinated in the division of resources and responsibilities. "Ideologically, one of GAD's most distinguishing characteristics is its socialistic (state welfare) orientation, which is to be differentiated from conventional welfarism" (Saunders, 2002, p. 11). Moreover, according to Peet & Hartwick (1999) GAD addressed some of the missing pieces that both WID and WAD failed to do. For example, "GAD argued that women were not a homogeneous group, but they were divided by class, race, and creed" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 187). For GAD theorists, the disadvantage of women came from the globally pervasive superiority of men. Moreover, women's roles in society could not be seen as autonomous to those of men and therefore a gender lens need be applied.

A final essential difference between GAD, WID and WAD, was that GAD saw a role for the state in promoting the emancipation of women. "GAD's multifarious approach distinguished between capitalism, patriarchy, and racism, and enabled feminists to identify places in official policies for strategic interventions" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 188).

Women, Environment, and Alternatives to Development (WED)

The WED perspective originated in the 1970s as "feminists drew parallels between male control over nature and men's control over women and connected masculine science and industrialization with assaults on the ecological

health of the planet" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 188). However the actual paradigm shift from a WID discourse to a WED discourse took place in the late-1980s and early 1990s. The WED approach mounts a profound critique of the whole development process and offers a critical analysis of the entire modernization process. "Proponents of the WED position … argue that development theory and practice founded on Western biases and assumptions, excluded both women and nature from its understanding of development and, in doing so, has contributed to the current economic and ecological crisis" (Harcourt, 1994, p. 3).

Therefore, the WED critique opens up "possibilities for the voices of non-modern, non-commodified, and usually non-Western women to be heard in a new way for their knowledge and ways of life to be taken seriously as potential alternatives to modernity and the commodification that comes with it" (Harcourt, 1994, p. 26). As such, ecofeminists, such as Vandana Shiva, who are concerned with the Third World have at times been identified with a radical feminist WED analysis of Western patriarchy and its relationship to the exploitation of nature. For Shiva (1989; 1997), science and development were not universal categories but were instead special projects of Western patriarchy that were killing nature.

In addition, the notion of 'sustainable development' became strongly connected with the WED approach. For WED theorists such as Wendy Harcourt (1994), sustainable development provided an opportunity to challenge the "development = economic growth" (p. 11) argument at the heart of the

development discourse. For sustainable development professionals, theorists and activists, the rise of the sustainable development discourse offered an opportunity to challenge the "poverty alleviation and basic needs approach development programmes [that were] not bringing about the hoped-for end to mass poverty and environmental deterioration" (Harcourt, 1994, p. 11). Women from the WED approach have participated in this dialogue between economic growth and sustainable development by arguing that the "gender bias of development thinking and practice prevents gender equity and ignores women's contribution to the economy and their role in the management of the environment" (Harcourt, 1994, p. 11). Overall the rise of sustainable development and shift to the WED approach in the late-1980s marked a shift in the thinking and practice of development and offered a direct challenge to traditional economics.

Postmodernism and Development (PAD)

"Much ink has gone into thinking about what development is and whether it is happening – development as not yet or in the process of becoming, or development as myth and illusion" (Saunders, 2002, p. 18-19). The PAD perspective criticizes the GAD view as "representing Third World women as 'other' or, in the case of WID, using three images, women as victims, women as sex objects, and women as cloistered beings" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 191). One of the most appealing things to PAD theorists is the postmodern emphasis on difference, which provides a space for marginalized voices to be heard and disrupts the "representation of women in the South as an undifferentiated

'other' (Mohanty, 1991a, p. 53). Specifically, the postmodern critique questions the centrality of a Eurocentric form of development and criticizes the lack of local knowledges, specifically that of women, in the analysis and theoretical approaches to the development project. Some of the themes coming from the combination of feminism, postmodernism, and development include:

> … a critique of colonial and contemporary constructions of the 'Third World' woman …; an enhanced deconstruction of development discourse, which [disempowers] poor women in particular; the recovery of women's knowledges and voices; the celebrations of differences and multiple identities; and the focus on consultative dialogue between development practitioners and their 'clients' (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 191).

> However, postmodernist theory is not without critique. As

Mohanty (2003) explains in her article *"Under western eyes" revisited* she has experienced a misreading of her ideas "in the context of a hegemonic post modernist discourse that labels as 'totalizing' all systemic connections, and emphasizes only the mutability and constructedness of identities and social structures" (p. 225).

Third World feminism and development

Unlike the history of Western (white, middle-class) feminism, historically locating Third World women's engagement in feminism is an exercise that has not been done thoroughly enough. "Constructing such histories often requires reading against the grain of a number of intersecting progressive discourses (e.g.,

white feminist, Third World nationalist, and socialist), as well as the politically regressive racist, imperialist, sexist discourses of slavery, colonialism, and contemporary capitalism" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 46). For Lazreg (1988) and Ahmed (1982) there is a strong and disturbing resemblance between colonial discourses and that of some contemporary Western feminists. Ahmed (1982), suggests that these resemblances lead to a devaluing of local cultures in the Third World, and assumes that there is only one path to the emancipation of women, namely the path of 'adopting Western models. Audre Lorde (1981) adds to this analysis when she states that "it is a particular academic arrogance to assume any discussion of feminist theory without … significant input from poor women… and Third World women" (p. 110) and thus "the absence of any consideration …of the consciousness of Third World women leaves a serious gap" (p. 111) into the inquiry of women's struggles for liberation.

According to Mohanty (1991b), "Third World women are represented in most feminist literature in development as having 'needs' and 'problems' but few choices and no freedom to act" (p. 8). Thus, Jad (2003) suggests that the subject of development and feminism must "be examined with care and taking into consideration that external aid, whether from UN agencies or foreign governments, is seen in many Third World countries as a small portion of what was historically stolen from them, a continuation of the colonial encounter" (p. 5).

Mohanty (1991a) believes that Western feminist discourses have rendered Third World women to one homogeneous and powerless group

"often located as implicit victims of particular socioeconomic systems" (p. 57).

Mohanty (1991a) states that the construction of Third World women through

the use of statistics and certain categories creates an image of an

> … average third world woman [who] leads an essentially
> truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually
> constrained) and her being "third world" (read: ignorant, poor,
> uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented,
> victimized, etc). This … is in contrast to the (implicit) self-
> representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as
> having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the
> freedom to make their own decisions (p. 56).

Moreover, by "constructing Third World women: as victims of male

violence; as universal dependents; as victims of the colonial process; as being

defined only through familial systems; as defining women through religious

ideologies; and as victims of the development process" (Mohanty, 2003, pp. 24-

32), Western feminist discourses have placed "women" as a category of analysis

into a position of objectification in which they become defined through the ways

they are affected or not affected by certain institutions and systems. As Amos &

Parmar (1984) "feminist theories which examine our cultural practices as 'feudal

residues' or label us 'traditional,' also portray us as politically immature women

who need to be versed and schooled in the ethos of Western feminism. They

need to be continually challenged …" (p. 7).

Marnia Lazreg (1988) argues that an understanding of "intersubjectivities" in the study of Third World women's struggles can help to shift feminist discourse to understanding Third World women as subjects of their various struggles in history and, in turn, this can help to dismantle ethnocentric notions of women's homogeneous struggles.

> To take intersubjectivity into consideration when studying … Third World women means seeing their lives as meaningful, coherent, and understandable instead of being infused 'by us' with doom and sorrow. It means that their lives like 'our' lives are structured by economic, political, and cultural factors. It means that these women, like 'us,' are engaged in the process of adjusting, often shaping, at times resisting and even transforming their environment. It means that they have their own individuality; they are 'for themselves' instead of being 'for us.' An appropriation of their singular individuality to fit the generalizing categories of 'our' analyses is an assault on their integrity and on their identity (Lazreg, 1988, p. 98).

According to Escobar (1995), the ethnocentric treatment of Third World women in the Western feminist and development discourses has profound political, economic and cultural effects on the world system and Western domination over the Third World. Therefore, in order to dismantle Western patriarchal systems of domination, feminism must be decolonized and the

economic system (capitalism) by which the Western development process is maintained, must be demystified.

Third World feminism provides the essential anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist analysis

to conduct this project of decolonization and capitalist demystification. Mohanty (2003) suggests that "Third World feminism" can be used as an analytical and political tool "to recognize and analytically explore the links among the histories and struggles of Third World women against racism, sexism, colonialism, imperialism, and monopoly capital" (p. 46).

According to Mohanty (2003), when constructing a Third World feminist analysis, it is important to understand Western feminism's "scholarship on Third World women via the discursive colonization of Third World women's lives and struggles" (p. 18). Colonization has come to denote a variety of phenomena in recent feminist writings:

> From its analytic values as a category of exploitative economic exchange in both traditional and contemporary Marxisms … to its use by feminist women of color in the United States to describe the appropriation of their experiences and struggles by hegemonic white women's movements … colonization has been used to characterize everything from the most evident and economic and political hierarchies to the production of a particular cultural discourse about what is called the Third World (Mohanty, 2003, p. 18).

Furthermore, adopting a global framework in understanding the exploitation of Third World women in the global capitalist arena is central to Third World feminist analysis.

To adopt a global frame surely means taking into account, as all third world feminists are obliged to do, the neo-liberal economic forces driving globalization, a process characterized by cross-border flows of finance capital and commodities, as well as by unprecedented migrations of cultures, ideas, and people, the majority of them poor labourers or refugees. It means taking seriously the repressive effects of that process, which stem from the operations of exploitive multinational corporations and transnational institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as the power of the world's wealthiest nation-states, the United States being at the top of the pyramid, of those that do their best to call the political shots on the international stage at the same time as exercising daunting control over flows of information and culture through vast media networks spanning the entire planet (Woodhull, 2003, p. 80-81).

Within this framework, one can enact the struggles faced by Third World women in a global construct by critically analyzing the gendered nature of the global capitalist system and its impacts on women's lives in the Third World. "The relationship to global processes of colonization and exploitation, and the specification of a process of cultural and ideological homogenization across

national borders … [is] a crucial aspect of any comparative feminist project"
(Mohanty, 2003, p. 141).

Therefore, a Third World feminist "analysis involves decolonizing and
actively combating the naturalization of corporate citizenship such that
democratic, socialist, antiracist feminist values of justice, participation and
redistribution of wealth and resources, commitment to individual and collective
human rights and to public welfare and services, and accountability to and
responsibility for the collective (as opposed to merely personal) good become
the mainstay of transformed local, national, and transnational cultures"(Mohanty,
2003, p. 9).

NGOs: Agents of development and neoliberalism

The role that NGOs play within this global capitalist framework of
colonization and exploitation must be considered when understanding third
world feminist resistance to the development project.

According to Escobar (1995),

> the invention of development necessarily involved the
> creation of an institutional field from which discourses are
> produced, recorded, stabilized, modified, and put into
> circulation. This field is intimately imbricated with
> processes of professionalization; together they constitute
> an apparatus that organizes the production of forms of
> knowledge and the deployment of forms of power, relating
> on to the other. The institutionalization of development

took place at all levels, from the international organization

and national planning agencies in the Third World to local

development agencies, community development

committees, private voluntary agencies, and non-

governmental organizations (p. 46).

As such, non-governmental organizations (amongst other groups and

agencies) have become agents of development in which "the knowledge

produced about the Third World is utilized and circulated by these institutions

through applied programs, conferences, international consultant services, local

extension practices, and so on" (Escobar, 1995, p. 46).

According to Kamat (2004), "NGOs are being integrated into global

capitalist relations…[and] the NGO phenomena must be theorized in relation to

the global economic and political process that involves an overall restructuring of

public good and private interest" (p. 156). Futhermore, "any discussion of the

limits and potential of NGOs must take account of the emergent international

economic order and its neoliberal notion of democracy" (Kamat, 2004, p. 156).

The end of the Cold War and the launch of the global free market

marked the distinct emergence of civil society and international development

discourse. "Prior to this phase, development policy and programmes in the Third

World followed a largely social democratic model that prescribed a central role

to the state in building democratic societies" (Kamat, 2004, p. 156). At this time,

the State was entrusted with the social democratic role of promoting the

common good and focussing on the public interest through the maintenance and

development of social welfare systems. "Conversely, civil society was used to refer to 'private sectarian interests' that were represented through religious organizations, business associations, trade unions and so forth" (Kamat, 2004, p. 157). Following the end of the Cold War, the role of civil society and of the State did a complete role-reversal. Today, civil society has become the promoter of public interests and the public good while the State has turned toward protecting and promoting neoliberal policies and economic interests therefore pushing for the privatization of the public sphere.

Dylan Rodríguez (2007) and Andrea Smith (2007) add to Kamat's (2004) analysis of the state's role in private vs. public interest by offering the concept and application of the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC). For Rodríguez (2007, 22-23), the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC) describes the symbiotic relationships "that link political and financial technologies of state and owning class control with surveillance over public political ideology, including and especially emergent progressive and leftist social movements, since about the mid-1970s" (p. 8). Smith (2007) further notes that the "NPIC manages and controls dissent by incorporating it into the state apparatus, functioning as a 'shadow state' constituted by a network of institutions that do much of what government agencies are supposed to do with tax money in the areas of education and social services" (p. 8-9). Furthermore, "the NPIC functions as an alibi that allows governments to make war, expand punishment, and proliferate market economies under the veil of partnership between the public and private sectors" (Smith, 2007, p. 9).

In line with Kamat (2004), Rodríguez (2007), and Smith (2007), Carapico (2000) states that "in an era of privatization and democratization, international policy makers hypothesize that NGOs can articulate political liberalism, complement private sector initiatives and extend a social safety net to supplement or replace government services" (p. 14). For Carapico (2000) NGOs use various tactics to "foster liberalization and reform without generating social unrest …[by] design[ing] projects to strengthen think tanks, human rights organizations, chambers of commerce, environmentalist societies, women's associations and community centres" (p. 14).

For Petras (2001), NGOs are not even 'non-governmental organizations'. In fact, "they receive funds from overseas governments, work as private subcontractors for local governments and/or are subsidized by corporate-funded private foundations with close relations to the state" (p. 132). According to Ahn (2007),

> [These] foundations are "*theoretically* a correction for the ills of capitalism. However, if we look at where the actual funding goes (including who governs these institutions), we can see that most of this country's [USA] 'charity' – whether individual, corporate, or foundation – is not directed toward programs, services, and institutions that benefit the poor or disenfranchised, and certainly not toward effecting social change. When wealthy people create foundations, they're exempt from paying taxes. Thus foundations

essentially rob the public of monies that should be owed to them

and give back very little of what is taken in lost taxes. (p. 65).

Therefore, in order for NGOs to access the hard currency for them to

exist and survive, NGOs must learn to 'work the system' rather than accessing

funds based on the needs of the local communities they are working with. Thus

the programs and projects that are developed are too often devised in a way to

address the requirements of the funder and not the requests or needs of the

local population. Petras (2001) suggest that in this way "NGOs foster a new type

of cultural and economic colonialism" in which,

> projects are designed based on the guidelines and priorities of the
>
> imperial centres and their institutions. They are then sold to the
>
> communities. Evaluations are done by and for the imperial
>
> institutions. Shifts of funding priorities or bad evaluations result in
>
> the dumping of groups, communities, farmers and co-operatives.
>
> Everybody is increasingly disciplined to comply with the donors'
>
> demands and their project evaluators. The NGO directors, as the
>
> new viceroys, supervise the proper use of funds and ensure
>
> conformity with the goals, values and ideology of the donors (p.
>
> 132).

Furthermore NGOs will learn to 'play the game' to acquire funding ways.

One tactic is based on where NGOs choose to set up their headquarters. For

example, some NGOs will set up offices in areas more accessible to international

visitors rather than to the local population they are supposed to be working

with. "In Jerusalem, for example, several Palestinian NGO headquarters are clustered near the World Bank complex far from the Arab quarter" (Carapico, 2000, p. 14).

In addition, there is a strong class dimension to the world of NGOs. NGOs are more likely to qualify for international funds if those operating the NGO "speak English, understand spreadsheets, or dress in appropriate business attire" (Carapico, 2000, p. 14). Not only does this reinforce a class system, but it creates the circumstances for the professionalisation of NGOs leading to a part of the process that Palestinian feminist academic, Dr. Islah Jad (2003) would term NGO-ization. This process will be examined in relation to Palestinian women's movements and NGOs in the following chapter.

Despite the fact that "NGOs are themselves globalised, and demonstrate widespread co-option, professionalisation and international hierarchies" (Nagar & Raju 2003, p. 2), it is important to recognize some alternative analyses of the non-governmental organization sector. Townsend, Porter & Mawdsely (2004), suggest there are two different types of NGOs –'compliant NGOs' and 'independent thinking' or 'alternative NGOs'. The majority of NGOs fit into the former where they are "set up in response to the funding opportunities that have arisen since the 1980s, and their primary intent is to sustain and increase their funding streams, and provide employment for their real beneficiaries, the middle classes" (Townsend, Porter and Mawdsley, 2004, p. 873). While these NGOs do make some difference in the lives of their clients through neoliberal development projects such as microfinance, a form of neoliberal poverty-

elimination, and women's 'empowerment' initiatives which promote further integration into the global economic system, they lack in the area of questioning "development agendas or articulate[ing] (subversively or openly) alternative visions, whether radical or reformist" (Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004, p. 873). This alternative process is found amongst the small number of 'independent thinking' or 'alternative' NGOs. These NGOs have often emerged from social groups interested in questioning state power and social inequality and often include feminist and other organizations that are interested in agendas other than implementing the development project devised from the west.

Therefore, although the main contention in the 21st century has been that NGOs have lost their critical voice and role, it may be argued that not all NGOs operate as neoliberal agents of development and, further, as suggested by Najam (1999), even NGOs in the area of the most narrow meaning of service delivery "and even in the most isolated project sense, is an essentially political—and, in fact, policy— mission" (p. 364), thereby rendering even the most neoliberal NGO political to some extent. For Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley (2004), "both NGOs and their clients are active subjects of the neoliberal project, not simply subjugated by hegemonic forces" (p. 872). As active subjects, members, and employees of NGOs may "employ a complex mixture if acquiescence, strategic subversion and resistance to achieve, in part, their goals and desires" (Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004, p. 872),

Those NGOs creating space for alternative visions of change and contributing to a discourse that engages in the critical questioning of the

neoliberal development agenda are considered to be 'independent thinking' or 'alternative' NGOs (Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004, p. 872). And while these independent thinking NGOs are largely outnumbered by 'compliant NGOs,' they are a space for those who want to come together to create and build an alternative vision for what is possible.

NGO – Social movement relations

According to Petras & Veltmeyer, NGOs are products of neoliberal policies, directly dependent on neoliberal sources, and directly involved in competing with the socio-political movements for the allegiance of local leaders and activist communities (Petras, 1997, Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001). For Petras (2001),

> NGOs emphasize projects, not movements. They 'mobilize' people to produce at the margins, not to struggle to control the basic means of production and wealth. They focus on the technical and financial assistance aspects of projects, not on the structural conditions that shape the everyday lives of people. The NGOs co-opt the language of the Left – 'popular power,' – 'empowerment,' 'gender equality,' 'sustainable development,' 'bottom-up leadership,' etc. (p. 133).

According to Martens (2002), NGOs are formal (professionalized) independent societal organizations whose primary aim is to promote common goals at the national or the international level" (p. 282). In contrast, as cited in

Chapter 2, Antrobus (2004) offers the framework to understand women's social movements. A women's movement is:

1. A *political movement* – part of the broad array of social movements concerned with changing social conditions, rather than part of a network of women's organization;

2. Grounded in an understanding of women's relations to *social conditions* – an understanding of gender as an important relationship within the broad structure of social relationships of class, race and ethnicity, age and location;

3. A *process*, discontinuous, flexible, responding to specific conditions of perceived gender inequality or gender-related injustice;

4. An awareness and *rejection of patriarchal privilege* and control;

5. Born at the moments in which individual women become aware of *their separateness as women,* their alienation, marginalization, isolation or even abandonment within a broader movement for social justice or social change. In other words, women's struggle for agency within the broader struggle is the catalyst for women's movements (p. 14).

In addition, Kapoor (2009a) uses the following elements to employ a working definition of social movements:

a) Movement as indicative of an articulation of concerns/issues;

b) Movement as defined by the maturity and growing unity of an organized presence/vehicle for such articulations (for example, emergence of movement organizations) that engages a critical mass of people with a like-concern for core and evolving sets of 'movement issues'; and

c) Movement as organized action directed at oppositional (colonizing) social structural and

d) institutional forces that 'give cause' for such movements in the first place (p. 77).

In direct relation to the politics of women's struggles within movements and NGOs, Mojab (2007) offers this differentiation:

Whereas women's movements "pursue long-term goals such as reform or radical change of patriarchal relations in both civil society and the state,…[women's NGOs] have a short-term agenda, and their contribution is often piecemeal, curative, limited, and dependent on the agenda of donors (p. 4).

Thus, the relationship between NGOs and social movements is tenuous at best. Under the analysis of the non profit industrial complex (NPIC), Smith (2007) argues that,

The NPIC contributes to a mode of organizing that is ultimately unsustainable. To radically change society, we must build mass movements that can topple systems of domination, such as capitalism. However the NPIC encourages us to think of social justice organizing as a career; that is, you do the work if you can get paid for it… In addition, the NPIC promotes social movement culture that is non-collaborative, narrowly focused, and competitive. To retain the support of benefactors [NGOs] must compete with each other for funding by promoting only their own work, whether or not their organizing strategies are successful (p. 10).

As a result of this process, people working for social change begin to define their successes based on criteria set out for them by funders rather than the local people involved in the struggle or issue. Consequently, organizations become rigid in their strategies for change and become more concerned with attracting funders than building a mass-based movement. The result is a loss of perspective on the core issue and a move toward "niche-marketing [which] encourages us to build a fractured movement rather than mass-based movements for social change" (Smith, 2007, p. 11).

Furthermore, as stated by Petras (2001), "NGOs and their professional staff compete directly with socio-political movements for influence among the poor, women, and racially excluded. Their ideology and practices divert

attention away from the sources of and solutions to poverty (looking downward and inward, instead of upward and outward) to speak of *microenterprises*, instead of the end to exploitation by overseas banks" (p. 133). Furthermore, Petras (2001) states that "contrary to the NGOers' image of themselves as innovative grassroots leaders; they are in reality grassroots reactionaries who complement the work of the IMF by pushing privatization 'from below' and demobilizing popular movements, thus undermining resistance" (p. 130). As a result, NGOs become reactionary political organizations that have "been built into the very structures upon which they are organized" (Petras, 2001, p. 132). For example, as Petras (2001) goes on to explain, NGOs are not real "non-governmental" organizations; NGOs are funded in large part by governments overseas, and "work as private subcontractors for local governments and/or subsidized by corporate-funded private foundations with close working relations with the state" (p. 132).

Two clear examples of grassroots programs that have been picked up by "hegemonic development institutions" (Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004, p. 874) are the co-option of empowerment discourse and microfinance. "Both scholars and activists have repeatedly expressed concern over the ways in which some of the 'small ideas' initiated in localized contexts by grassroots activists, such as *empowerment* and *microcredit* become 'big ideas' when appropriated by multi- and bilateral agencies and governments, and how this process can 'crowd out' alternative, locally derived strategies" (Nagar & Raju, 2003, p. 2).

Although microfinance and empowerment have two different origins, they share in a common process of co-option by the mainstream neoliberal development project. Both of these "small ideas" were created out of localized experiences of extreme poverty in the Global South, "only to be adopted by Washington, reworked and promoted as neoliberal 'big ideas'" (Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004, p. 874). Both microfinance and empowerment have been used by many NGOs employing the World Bank's neoliberal version of microfinance as "minimalist, entrepreneurial in intent, and centred on banking operations, while the neoliberal version of empowerment is about being 'given' shards of power, not about self-empowerment "(Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004, p. 874).

Petras (2001), goes on to suggest that NGOs also have the ability to co-opt former leaders of social movements, trade unions and popular women's organizations. They say, "the offer is tempting: higher pay (occasionally in hard currency), prestige and recognition by overseas donors, conferences, networks abroad, office staff and relative security from repression" (p. 134).

Despite their many critiques of NGO/social movement relations Petras & Veltmeyer (2001) do (to some extent) echo Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley's (2004) view that alternative/progressive NGOs do engage in some form of critique against the neoliberal policies that continue to perpetuate global inequities. In conclusion to his chapter *NGOs in the Service of Imperialism*, Petras (2001) suggests that "a major step forward for 'progressive NGOs' is to systematically criticize and critique the ties of their colleagues with imperialism

and its local clients, their ideology of adaptation to neoliberalism, and their authoritarian and elitist structures" (p. 137). One such process for the engagement in critiquing and analysing NGOs as neoliberal structures of imperialism is through education and learning. The following section will examine the role of education and learning in struggle in relation to NGOs and social movements.

NGOs, social movements, popular education and learning in struggle

"Precious little social change in the world has occurred that has not involved education, except that which has come from the barrel of a gun" (Hurst, 2002, p. 9). Education is the process by which people gain knowledge and understanding of their world, and it has the potential to empower people to make social change happen. As Foley (2004) suggests "learning is central to human life ... All human activity has a learning dimension. People learn, continually, informally and formally, in many different settings: in workplaces, in families, through leisure activities, through community activities, and in political action" (p. 4).

Guiding concepts for purposes of this research in relation to the educational dimensions include three of Foley 's (2004) concepts: 1)non-formal education/learning, 2) incidental education/learning.; and 3) informal education/learning. Non-formal education and learning occurs when people see a need for some sort of systematic instruction in a range of social settings (Foley, 2004; 1999). Incidental education and learning, "occurs while people perform other activities ... learning is incidental to the activity in which the person is

involved and is often tacit and not seen as learning – at least not at the time of its occurrence" (p. 5) and it also occurs while people engage in social action. And informal education and learning, occurs when "people teach and learn from each other naturally and socially in workplaces, families, community organisations and social action" (p. 7).

Kapoor's (2009a; 2009b) research with the *Adivasi* in Orissa state, India is informative as it demonstrates how learning and local knowledge can be central to the emergence, development and continued maturation of a social movement both as received wisdom from elders and as new learning generated through various acts of struggle and movement activism. This learning typology includes:

- *Critical learning* pertaining to the development of an analytical appreciation for the nature and process by which structured unequal relations of power play out in relation to lived situations of the oppressed;

- *Strategic learning* referring to the knowledge and learning crucial for the development of why a particular position or action should be taken during a given period of time;

- T*actical learning* referring to the development of ideas and learning to select from a host of possible and specific manoeuvres that the social movement would need to consider in relation to its strategic orientation (Kapoor, 2009a, p. 62).

Learning within women's liberation movements

With regard to learning in women's liberation movements, hooks (2000) poignantly states that feminist consciousness raising "takes place anytime anywhere any female or male resists sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression. Feminist movement happens when groups of people come together with an organized strategy to take action to eliminate patriarchy" (p. xi). Stromquist (2004) points out that there is no consensus on what forms feminist activism should take, while Mohanty (1991a) suggests that the term feminism is continually contested since there is no simple way of representing the diversity of struggles and histories amongst women.

However, despite these differences among and within women's struggles and movements, there is a common understanding that feminist engagement for change occurs from outside the centres of established political power or in the margins, as part of the whole, but outside of the main body (hooks, 2000; Stromquist, 2004). "Its activities are carried out by persons with little power whose legitimacy to represent others is often contested. The main source of their authority is not formal representation but resides in the attainment and transmission of new knowledge and the fostering of a new social vision" (Stromquist, 2004, p. 36). With regard to Third World women's struggles, Mohanty (2003), suggests the concept of "imagined communities of women with divergent histories and social locations, woven together by the *political* threads of opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systemic"

(p. 4). And, within these activities and imagined communities, "education is a primary tool in this process" (Stromquist, 2004, p. 36).

Popular education: A pedagogy for social change

Education as a tool for resistance, change, and the creation of new social visions takes on many forms and roles within movements, NGOs, GROs and communities. Popular education has become a major framework and philosophy for social movements that are struggling for justice and equality in the world. The distinguishing factor between popular education and " 'adult', 'non-formal', 'distance', or 'permanent' education, for example, is the belief that in the context of social injustice, education can never be politically neutral; if it does not side with the poorest and marginalized sectors – the 'oppressed' – in an attempt to transform society, then it necessarily sides with the 'oppressors' in maintaining existing structures of oppression" (Kane, 2001, p. 9).

The most recent evolution of popular education is heavily associated with the late Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, whose work has influenced popular education throughout Latin America and around the world such as the Consejo de Educación de Adultos de América Latin (CEAAL) in Santiago, Chile and the New Delhi-based Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), amongst others. As Hurst (2002) states, "one of popular education's strengths is that it has evolved virtually independently in many parts of the world" (p. 14).

For Brown (2006), "popular education aims to uncover injustice and build solidarity in opposition to injustice" (p. 42). Moreover:

Popular education is at its heart the empowerment of adults through democratically structured cooperative study and action, directed toward achieving more just, equitable, and peaceful societies. It seeks to build people's capacity to create democratic social change through education. Its priority is the poor, the oppressed and the disenfranchised people of the world – ordinary people (Hurst, 2002, p. 9-10).

Haas (2002) refers to popular education as:

… education for a genuine democracy. It provides tools for collectivizing knowledge and experience around shared problems, for analyzing power and structural dynamics, and for democratically devising solutions and actions to attain those solutions … [P]opular education must always include an action component, for it is only through collective action that social change can occur … and only through collective reflection and analysis of those actions that we continue to learn and build our movement (p.94).

Popular education is rooted within critical and transformative theories of adult education. "In transformational approaches, education is part of a movement for individual and collective liberation, which promotes learning for critical consciousness and collective action. Such education seeks to transform power relations in society, relations between teacher and learner, and relations among learners. In this sense it is radically democratic" (Burke, et al., 1991, p. 22).

Freire's work, through his core philosophy of the ideal of humanization, has significantly contributed to building the foundation of popular education. According to Freire (as cited in Roberts, 2005), "we humanize ourselves when we engage in critical, dialogical praxis; we *de*humanize others (and ourselves) when we actively impede their pursuit of this vocation" (p. 136). The process of knowing is incomplete and involves "striving to come closer to the essence that explains the object of study, while nonetheless, accepting that as reality changes, further reflection, investigation and relearning will need to occur" (Roberts, 2005, p. 136). Furthermore, the process of acquiring knowledge occurs through dialogue, human practice and engagement.

The process of a dialectical engagement, which exposes hegemonic discourse, involves understanding oppression as a concrete manifestation of dehumanization, which must be challenged by examining oppressive structures, policies, ideologies and actions. In this way, dominant hegemonic discourses are exposed and the process of liberation is actualized through the struggle to dismantle systems of oppression.

For Freire, education must play a role in resisting oppression and creating social change. The process of dialogue is central to Freire's vision of learning and knowing. "If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings" (Freire, 1997, p. 69). Dialogue is the social process of knowing, which begins with students' personal experiences and knowledge in the process of unveiling new knowledge. "If students are not able to transform their lived

experiences into knowledge and to use the already acquired knowledge as a process to unveil new knowledge, they will never be able to participate rigorously in a dialogue as a process of learning and knowing" (Macedo as cited in Freire, 2002, p. 19). It is also through dialogue that praxis, the process of action and reflection, is actualized and the learner's world is thus transformed and humanized.

Another crucial component to dialogue is critical thinking. True dialogue engages thinking which "discerns an indivisible solidarity between the world and the people and admits of no dichotomy between them – thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity – thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks it involves" (Freire, 1997, p. 73).

C*onscientization* (Freire 2002), which empowers the learners to transform their own reality and move toward liberation, is developed through the process of critical thought and dialogue. *Conscientization* (Freire, 2002) occurs when people shift "from a fatalistic or naïve consciousness to a critical consciousness, to a state of mind in which they are aware of themselves within their social context and capable of acting to change it" (Jesson & Newman, 2004, p. 258).

Building on this theory of popular education, Schugurensky (as cited in Stromquist, 2004) provides a comprehensive contemporary explanation of the characteristics of popular education which includes:

- a rejection of the political neutrality of adult education, recognizing instead the connection between knowledge and

power and between structure and agency, and the acknowledgement that adult education can play a role not only in reinforcing but also in challenging oppressive relations;

- an explicit political commitment to work with the poor and the marginalized and to enable social movements to attain 'progressive' social and economic change;

- a participatory pedagogy that focuses on the collective, originates from the people's daily lived experience, and promotes a dialogue between popular knowledge and systematized (scientific) knowledge; and

- a constant attempt to relate education to social action, linking critical reflection to research, mobilization, and organizational structures (p. 41-42).

The role of popular education in social action

When talking about Latin America, Kane (2001) states that:

popular organisations and movements have been, in effect, the principal 'schools' in which popular education has taken place…Their struggles and actions, their forms of organisations, their 'culture', in the broadest sense, constitute the starting point of popular education and its ongoing field of enquiry. Much of the discourse of popular education– 'starting/theorizing from practice', 'pedagogy of praxis', 'dialectical methodology', for

example – only makes sense within this conception of an educational process submerged in a social movement (p. 13).

Moreover, "since the 1970s, the most important feature of popular education – and perhaps the least understood … – has been its organic link to the 'popular movement'. If the purpose of popular education was to help the oppressed take action, collectively, and become 'subjects' of change, then the most effective way to do so was to work with the plethora of grassroots organizations emerging all over … and already taking action for change" (Kane, 2001, p. 12). As previously discussed, many grassroots organizations today are now funded through international non governmental organizations. Those grassroots organizations are "the thousands of small-scale 'development projects' funded by Non Governmental Organisations to improve the economic status of poorer communities" (Kane, 2001, p. 24). While it is well researched and argued that NGOs have become agents of de-politicization via the process of NGO-ization (Jad 2003). Kane (2001) suggests that some NGOs "understand the political nature of poverty and the importance of concurrently promoting community organization" (p. 24). In this way, NGOs do have the potential to relate immediate concerns such as clean water, health and housing to the broader and systemic issues rooted in politics and power thereby becoming spaces where popular education is used as a tool for social change.

Stromquist (2004) discusses the use of popular education in three women's NGOs in Latin America. According to Stromquist (2004), "the educational activities of the three NGOs have dealt with issues central to the

awareness of women's problematic conditions in such areas as reproductive

health, education, domestic relations, income and land tenancy – areas in which

women are placed at the greatest socially constructed disadvantage vis-à-vis

men" (p. 42). The non-formal education programs provided in these

organizations focus on building skills of self-development, leadership and lobbying

through a dialogic process thereby fostering "articulate and democratic subjects"

(Stromquist, 2004, p. 42). For Stromquist (2004), "the power of dialogical

learning identified by Freire (1970) and Habermas (1987) as fundamental to the

creation of active subjects, is evident in the educational actions of the women's

NGOs" (p. 42-43). As a result, women involved in these NGOs have acquired a

critical understanding of the economic and political institutions and structures

that perpetuate and maintain the inequitable systems in which they are struggling.

Women are then able to strategize and create ways to transform their lived

reality through the formulation of new critical discourse, building feminist

identities and engagement in political change through putting pressure on key

levels of government.

With regard to social movement learning and popular education, Kapoor

(2003) uses a case study of the Kondh Adivasis in Orissa to explore social

movement learning dimensions through the use of popular education. Through

"participatory, dialogical problem-posing education that is grounded in people's

experience, knowledge, and daily lived experience, [which] democratize and

reconfigure concentrations of power that are oppressive and dehumanizing …

[The] Adivasis begin to question underlying hegemonic assumptions used to

justify oppression …. This creates the possibility of praxis in the form of collective responses aimed at transforming oppressive power and asserting local aspirations (p.47). Furthermore, according to Kapoor (2009a), learning and local knowledge for the Adivasis "have been central to the emergence, development and continued maturation of this movement both as received wisdom from elders and as new learning generated through various acts of struggle and movement activism" and are unique examples of "contemporary anti-colonial political formations" (p. 56).

   While this discussion of learning through social action by no means provides an exhaustive list of the ways popular education is used in movements, grassroots organizations/campaigns and non governmental organizations engaging in social change, it helps to provide a foundation for exploring the learning dimensions within Palestinian women's movements and NGOs. As Foley (1999) suggests, "Women's organizations and struggles [constitute] important spaces for learning…Critical learning extends the learner, moves her beyond her current understanding.... Emancipatory learning involves generating emancipatory action" (Foley, 1999, p. 105).

Chapter 3

A Brief History of the Palestinian Women's Movements and the Process of NGO-ization

Chapter Overview

This chapter will provide a foundational analysis to begin examining how women have taken up the struggle for liberation in their personal lives, communities and national identity. Moreover, following the first intifada (1987-1992) and the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, it will be argued that a significant rupture and divide within the Palestinian women's movement allowed for the process of NGO-ization to infiltrate into parts of the movement consequently imposing the expansion of the neo-liberal agenda, and the formation of a "globalized elite" through the "professionalization" of the Palestinian women's movement, as well as the perpetuation of Western-imposed concepts of development that continue to embody and enforce colonial practices through the ongoing push for Western-defined forms of democratization and modernization. These processes and intrusions into grassroots women's movements have led to a de-politicization of women's resistance struggles, whereby an imperialist feminist scheme has infiltrated grassroots movements and re-defined women's activism through the increasing professionalization and internationalization of Palestinian women's movements (Kuttab, 2008, p. 99). Furthermore, according to Mojab (2007), women have now become "trained to lead NGOs, to participate in the political structure of conservative and pro-Western states, to engage in alienating, pacifying training programs for the

capitalist 'democracy' and join the army of workers to build 'civil society'. In this version of women's struggle, capitalist relations of power and the institutions of state and patriarchy are left untouched" (¶15).

The rise of women's participation in the struggle for liberation

The history of struggle for liberation in Palestine is a tale of ongoing "foreign occupation, oppression, violence, [and] anxiety" (Sayigh, 2007, p. 3-4). From the British Mandate to the Israeli occupation, Palestinians have been resisting against conquest, colonization and displacement since the 1920s, when Palestinian peasants rioted in Jaffa to resist the Zionist boycott of Palestinian labour (Sayigh, 2007). Thus the story of Palestine is one of being a "continual target of invasion, as a precious land coveted by others" (Sayigh, 2007, p. 4), and of the people struggling to hold onto their land in the face of various empires that held and imposed superior forces. As stated by Zayid (2002),

> The Palestine-Israeli conflict is frequently described as a very complex one. I want to submit to you that the problem is fundamentally a very simple one which was summed up in the words of a simple Palestinian farmer in Jericho – who [said] 'Our problem is very simple. A foreigner came and took our land, took our farms and our homes, and kicked us out. We have in mind to return. It may take a hundred years but we will return' (p. 4).

According to Sayigh (2007), "It is within the historical continuity of this struggle that contemporary militants place themselves" (p. 4), and therefore it is

necessary to historicize the participation of Palestinian women within this context in order to gain a clear contextual understanding of the current state of the women's liberation movement and process of NGO-ization and its impacts on this movement.

The recognized role of women in the struggle for liberation began with the British Mandate, when Britain held colonial control over historic Palestine. In 1929, the first Palestine Arab Women's Congress was held in Jerusalem, drawing over 300 delegates from around the country. According to Coobtee (2004), in a culture that has historically defined women's primary role as domestic and almost exclusively existent in the private sphere, this turnout of women was revolutionary. "These women left the traditional confines of home and fields to demand freedom for Palestinian political prisoners, an end to arms purchases by the Zionists, and independence for Palestine" (Coobtee, 2004, p. 1). Their revolutionary statement called for women to leave their homes and join their men in the struggle for national liberation.

Women played a central role in one of the best-known examples of non-violent resistance during the Mandate period, the General Strike of 1936. The 1936 General Strike was the longest strike in Middle East history, in which men and women workers carried out a six-month strike to protest the displacement of Palestinians by Zionist settlers. "Maintaining the strike for so many months required great cooperation and planning at the local level. It also involved the setting up of alternative institutions by Palestinians to provide economic and municipal needs" (Middle East Task Force, 2005, p. 1).

In 1948, after the partition of Palestine by the United Nations and the creation of Israel, nearly 90% of the Palestinian population was displaced from their homeland. Palestinian feminist Reem Alnuweiri describes the impact of the expulsion of women as follows:

> The Palestinian woman also became a refugee and her critical mission was keeping the Palestinian national identity intact. She had to heal the pains, re-unify the dispersed family, secure food on the table with her partner, and above all, keep the memory. … Palestinians raised by refugee families, who never saw Palestine, have a very clear picture of it, just from the memories of their mothers and grandmothers, and the transcendence through generations continues (Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68).

In the 1950s, Palestinian women were given access to education and higher education during the Nasir of Egypt Era. "Nasir opened the education system for all, for free, under the auspices of Arab National Unity. We started hearing of more Palestinian women writers, researchers, poets and early political participation" (Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68).

The Palestinian national liberation movement, the first intifada and women's participation

The 1960s marked the beginning of the Palestinian national liberation movement represented by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). During the war of 1967, when Israel forcibly expanded its borders to seize the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank, women began to expand their

participation beyond political involvement to include armed struggle. Women

such as Fatima Birnawy, the first female political prisoner, and Leila Khaled, who

took up armed struggle and hijacked planes, began to shift the way Palestinian

women saw their role in the struggle for national liberation. The women's

movement began to be more organized, with multiple organizations such as the

Union of Palestinian Women Associations, Union of Palestinian Working

Women and the Higher Women Council of the PLO. In addition, Palestinian

guerrilla organizations were formed within Gaza and the West Bank. "Guerrilla

schools provided military training for young girls. All the main resistance

organizations recognized that Palestinian women were one of the deepest

resources for the revolution and this "affirmed that the liberation of women was

fundamental to the liberation of Palestine" (Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68).

As Hanan Ashrawi, a Palestinian legislator, human rights activist, and

scholar states in an interview at Berkeley University in 2000,

> Historically, of course, the Palestinian women's movement is an
> old movement; it started in the twenties. But the gender-sensitive
> agenda started in the seventies, because that's when we decided
> to organize and start working on issues of bringing women's
> perceptions to politics, to social organization, to resistance,
> because we were part of the resistance and, later on, part of the
> Intifada under occupation. How to create appropriate alternatives
> or authentic institutional structures, how to help empower
> women, how to benefit from the experience of others—

Palestinian women are tremendously strong, it's amazing. Maybe that's true of all patriarchal societies and male-dominated societies, because the women have a big struggle. The battle for excellence, for credentials, has to be fought every day. You have to validate yourself as a woman wherever you are every day, and you don't have it easy because … women have to stand up to tremendous discriminatory practices, whether inherited traditions, whether imposed norms, male perceptions of power and control. The women always have to go through that and cannot take any privilege for granted (Keisler, 2000).

However, as women continued to participate in the liberation movement, the struggle within Palestinian homes continued. Women were not only struggling for national liberation, they were struggling for liberation from Palestinian patriarchal society which still maintained a strict gendered division of labour in which women were relegated to the private sphere in the home for the sake of the honour. "Women had to argue with their families to be allowed to go alone to political meetings, to take military training or to stand guard duty" (Coobtee, 2004, p. 2). As women continued to contribute to the liberation movement, the definition of their honour expanded to include their participation in national liberation.

The eruption of the 1987 intifada occurred in the context of more than a decade of democratic activism led by Palestinian mass-based organizations in the West Bank and Gaza and strongly

linked to the Palestinian national movement. These organizations mobilized large sections of the community, including students, women, workers and professionals, who in turn became the major actors in mobilizing and sustaining the intifada (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 26).

This was indeed the height of the grassroots-based Palestinian women's movement. Like other mass-based organizations, the women's movement was able to effectively mobilize and integrate national and social liberation through decentralized forms of organization and campaigns. "The Palestinian woman can fully claim the credit for utilizing the BOYCOTT weapon effectively. The woman shopped, the woman boycotted Israeli products, and the woman found alternatives to them. The woman snatched those detained by the Israeli army from them and freed them into the refugee camps. The Palestinian woman was the stone thrower and the breaker of stones" (Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68). Moreover, popular committees within the women's movement served as vehicles for promoting social and political consciousness, which enabled the maintenance of the Intifada while also mobilizing neighbourhood communities to meet their own needs, including "teaching children after schools were closed by military order, guarding neighbourhoods, encouraging home economy and organizing food supplies to those in need" (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 27).

One of the most significant achievements in the first Intifada was the establishment by women's committees of women's productive cooperatives in response to food shortages caused by army curfews and the boycott of Israeli

products. The cooperatives were run and organized only by women, who "were in charge of all stages of the production process and shared the profits" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 52). The goals set forth for the cooperatives were outlined by the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC), in which they asserted that "the objective of the committee's production project was to build the basis for women's emancipation by constructing economic projects" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 52). Two of the project's main principles were: "The transformation of women's traditional role in the domestic economy into a positive role in the national economy … [and the] provision of opportunities for the participation of women in economic enterprises as a basis for economic independence and social emancipation" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 52). The women's cooperatives helped bring women's issues onto the social liberation agenda and helped out with the bad economic situation of families whose husbands were in jail or unemployed.

The increase in women's social and political activity is therefore linked to the first Intifada in the following way:

> Women and girls played an active part in the struggle, and despite the limitations of their role as housewives, they 'did not sit back and ask the men to grant them freedom and equality; women in the Intifada went out and actually did things. They confronted the army. They built barricades. They threw stones. They helped prevent the arrest of men. They took on-the-spot decisions. Through such actions, and mainly through the creation and management of women's organizations and committees to deal with their problems

and needs, they gave up their traditional role" (Velloso, 1996, p. 528-529).

Furthermore, the implications for the politicization of women during the first intifada meant a raised awareness of their human rights and the mobilization of more Palestinian women than ever before. Their participation within Palestinian society and the Palestinian struggle for liberation went beyond demonstrations and extended into "organizational structures channelling their energies towards satisfying the needs of a society under siege" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 48). These structures of the decentralized mass-based organizations allowed for a participatory form of democracy in which democratization became the process by which "the development of values and structures … [gave] people a direct voice in matters that affect[ed] their lives and where the voices of ordinary people [found] increasingly organized expression" (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 27).

One such successful and significant example of these women-run decentralized organizations was the formation of the new Women's Work Committee. In response to women's increasing frustration with charitable organizations which, until then, had dominated women's activities in the occupied territories with a service-model approach that failed to teach women essential skills that would help women help themselves, the new Women's Work Committee implemented skills-training education programs. These programs were offered throughout towns, villages, and refugees camps and "involved classes in literacy, health education (including first-aid), and skills-training classes (for example, in embroidery, food processing, and so on) usually at member's homes or at makeshift

committee offices" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 49). In addition, these women's committees set up daycare centres for women, which enabled them to work outside the home. One of the greatest impacts of these programs and committees was the radical politicization of Palestinian women, whereby they "began engaging in political discussions, thus raising their awareness not only concerning the national question but also concerning the issue of women's rights in Palestinian society" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 50).

By the time the intifada had broken out, the Women's Work Committee had split into four different committees, each representing the factionalism within the national liberation movement. While the Women's Committee for Social Work (WCSW) returned to a service model approach, the other three committees maintained an education and skills-building approach with each committee focusing on different categories of women. The Union of Palestinian Working Women's Committees (UPWWC) organized with working women, the Federation of Palestinian Women's Action Committees (FPWAC) concentrated on housewives and the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC) tended to focus on educated, urban, middle-class women. Each of these four factions played a significant role during the intifada by mobilizing their own members, recruiting new members and concentrating their work on areas of their greatest strength. "They extended the schedules of child care centers to accommodate women active in the uprising, and geared health education classes to first aid as casualties mounted in the neighbourhoods, especially as a result of beatings and tear gas" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 50).

As such, the role of women in the first intifada was radically political and central to the growth and maintenance of the uprising. According to Kuttab (2008), "the women's movement provided the backbone of the resistance in 1987 during the first intifada, when, together with other mass-based organizations, they acted as the local authority and offered their support to sustain the community's steadfastness in crisis" (p. 103). It was the women's committees that leant their organizing and leadership experience to the growing popular committees. "Women's committee activists would join local popular committee members in organizing relief or emergency services after Israeli army raids, paying solidarity visits to the families of martyrs and detainees, and providing material assistance whenever necessary" (Hiltermann, 1991, p. 50). However, this significant role in women's participation would change with the signing of Oslo in which a "new mode of thinking that assumed liberation and independence" (Kuttab, 2008, p. 104), replaced the radical space of struggling against occupation and militarization.

Transition: From intifada to signing the Oslo Peace Accords

With the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, the decentralized framework of mass-based organizations and grassroots organizing committees suffered an erosion which resulted in an elite leadership disconnected and no longer responsible to specific constituencies of people, and therefore seeking legitimacy "for its symbolic role as guardians of national liberation and historic role as representatives of the Palestinian cause" (Johnson & Kuttab, 1991, p. 27). This transformation left women, in particular, with diminishing avenues for political engagement within the national liberation struggle. This "new political terrain

presented the women's movement … with difficult dilemmas in developing a strategy that both addressed gender issues in the emerging state and linked to the very real conditions of occupation and colonialism that men and women faced as daily realities" (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 28).

The signing of the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords between Israel and the PLO included an interim agreement whereby Israeli troops would withdraw from areas of the West Bank and Gaza and be replaced with a Palestinian self-rule government. Furthermore,

> The agreement left 'final status issues' to be decided at a future date. These issues included the artificial border between a future Palestinian state and Israel, the right of return for Palestinian refuges who were expelled in 1948, and the elimination of rapidly increasing Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. The Oslo accords provided no relief for Palestinians who continued to live under Israeli occupation. However, it gave Israel the ability to acquire and control Palestinian lands both militarily and financially (Coobtee, 2004, p. 3).

According to Palestinian feminist Alnuweiri (2002), Oslo was signed by wealthy Palestinians in the Diaspora who wanted a home for their wealth, and in return they agreed to apartheid as a solution with the hope for more in the future. Under the guise of "peace," Palestinian society began to function with great class division and a widening in income disparity. "We started hearing of new phenomenon that never existed in Palestine, from suicide to drugs and rape, large numbers of divorce cases, extreme poverty. Women received the lowest wages

and worked graveyard shifts (very foreign concepts to Palestinian women)"

(Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68). Small businesses began to shut down as larger businesses

and mass production offered cheaper products. The Palestinian authority benefited

from the occupation with joint business ventures and partnerships.

As a result of Palestine's social upheaval, the women's movement became

further fragmented, with different factions taking different positions over national

and social struggles. While some groups became extremely depoliticized and

believed it was time to focus on research and high level normalization of

relationships with Israeli women's organizations, which were largely funded and

had general approval from the West and the Israeli society, including NGOs

whose funding relied on and continues to rely on "economic development

programs connected to Israel structurally" (Smith, 2007,p. 177), others believed

the occupation still existed and that national liberation and women's liberation

should go hand-in-hand (Alnuweiri, 2002, p. 68).

Post-Oslo: From grassroots women's movements to the rise of NGO-ization

The Palestinian poltical, economic and social reality shifted to

accommodate the new conditions of the "peace process." While the pre-Oslo

period characterized the women's movement as revolutionary and democratic,

emerging from a decentralized framework "to respond to the needs of the

national struggle and to promote women's consciousness around national and

women's issues" (Kuttab, 2008, p. 103), the post-Oslo women's movement saw

the framework of decentralized structures replaced with weakened internal

democratic structures and a growing hegemony brought on by the Palestinian

Authority. "Oslo helped set the framework for what is and is not acceptable.

Pre-Oslo, or during the first intifada, political movements were still strong,

organizaing within Palestine … But Oslo isolated the Palestinian issue as

unrelated to larger Arab-Israeli conflicts and transformed the movement by

shifting its focus from liberation to statehood and from decolonization to peace"

(Smith, 2007, p. 176). Within this context, women's participation in the national

liberation struggle was largely reduced and replaced with a women's

"empowerment" discourse that targeted "individual women rather than the

collective" (Kuttab, 2008, p. 104). This liberal discourse was introduced and

imposed upon Palestinian women by the donor community, international

development insitutions,and international non-governmental organizations.

As a result of this political shift in Palestinian movements, "The mass

activism that marked the women's movement's experience in the intifada [was]

largely … replaced by an NGO model of lobbying, advocacy and workshop-style

educational and developmental activities …" (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 25).

But, while this transformation from a largely grassroots women's movement

toward a more formalized NGO-led politics has provided the women's

movement with "tools and resources for legal reform and lobbying initiatives, it

has taken away some of its ability to mobilize—and to represent—women in

various settings and strata of society and even its claims to nationalist

'authenticity'" (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 25). Furthermore, Mojab (2007)

would characterize this political change in the women's movement as a shift to

the right. For Mojab (2007),

The right turn in the feminist movement coincides with three

decades of cooptation, fragmentation of women's movements

through the instruments of the UN, World Bank, International

Monetary Fund, and a vast network of non-governmental

organizations (NGOs). These capitalist institutions have

supported, funded and promoted patriarchy by turning the

struggle of women to de-politicized and liberal notions of

"gender mainstreaming" and "women's empowerment" (p. 3).

As a result, there has been a loss of feminist conciousness where feminism

promoted by "NGOs is far weaker than the liberal feminism being practiced

today in the Middle East" (Mojab, 2007, p. 9)

The NGO-ization process of de-politicization

According to Johnson & Kuttab (2001), during the interim period

between the emerging Palestinian state and Israel's continued colonial

oppression, "a 'post-independence' strategy largely dominated with initiatives for

legal reform, anti-discrimination in government regulations and practices,

integration of women into ministries, lobbying and advocacy for more schools

for rural women, women's health projects and other developmental issues,

democracy workshops and addressing specific social issues like domestic

violence" (p. 28-29). While good work was accomplished during this period, "a

fundamental de-politicization of women's activism also occurred" (Johnson &

Kuttab, 2001, p. 29). The push toward a more limited and de-contextualized

process of state-building and the replacement of discourses about struggle,

independence and participatory democracy with neoliberal notions of

development and modernization created the space for the growth of NGOs as

vehicles for the new development project. While to some this growth has been

seen as a sign of real "bottom-up" democracy, others consider NGOs as the

signifiers of another form of growing dependency on the West. According to

Palestinian feminist and academic Dr. Islah Jad (2003),

> The current debate on NGO proliferation is linked to global
>
> schemes for development, which in turn have their roots in the
>
> structural adjustment program implemented by the World Bank
>
> and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in many Third World
>
> countries (including some of the Arab countries), from the late
>
> '70s through the '80s, typically involving a variety of reforms in
>
> monetary, fiscal, trade, regulatory policies, and public sector
>
> management. These reform programs were based on the
>
> assumption that if sufficient economic incentives are provided to
>
> producers they will expand existing production and invest in new
>
> productive activities, thus providing the engine for sustained
>
> economic growth. These economic policies were in line with a
>
> pluralist definition of democracy in which the emphasis was on
>
> "civil society" as a neutral terrain, where organized interests try
>
> to influence the state and its policy choices (p. 2).

For Jad (2003), "The increase in Arab NGOs in general, and of women's

NGOs in particular, has unleashed a heated debate on their ties to their donors,

their ideology, the utility of their roles in development and social change, and their links to their national states. In brief, they have been viewed as a new and growing form of dependency on the West, and as a tool for it to expand its hegemony" (Jad, 2003, p. 2). Mojab (2007) pushes this analysis further by unpacking and connecting the process of Western hegemony through the use of NGOs to the implementation of foreign policy. For Mojab,

> NGOs in general are increasingly becoming policy instruments for the implementation of the foreign policy of the U.S. (and other Western states), ostensibly at "arm's length." … This occurs through funding arrangements and through the co-optation of progressive and/or elite women into NGOs. The cultural ideology of neoliberalism is promoted through this hegemonic process through which the notion of democracy is limited to civil society and the market is not inclusive of political rights (p. 4).

As a result, programs and projects led by NGOs are not, in fact, accountable to the local people, but instead are accountable to their overseas donors, who evaluate the success of the programs based on their own criteria and interests. Sullivan (1996), states that Palestinian NGOs "are almost entirely dependent on foreign aid from a range of sources, including the European Union and various European states, Japan, the United States, UNICEF, United Nations Development Program, INGOs such as Oxfam, Christian Aid, the Welfare Association (a Geneva-based Palestinian organization), and the Arab Trust Fund (Kuwait)" (p. 94).

NGOs and the Palestinian Authority: Exploring the non profit industrial complex

According to Sullivan (1996), Palestinian NGOs have been an important part of the struggle against the Israeli occupation through their "collective efforts to deliver, often free of charge, an array of relief and developmental services not provided by the Israeli government" (p. 93). By 1995 it was estimated that 800-1200 NGOs existed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Hammami, 2000). Hammami(2000) suggests that "the scope and size of the sector attests to the importance of NGOs as a response to occupation and statelessness, while the variability in their structures alludes to their varying historical trajectories" (p. 16). With exception to the largest and oldest charitable organizations sector in Palestine, most of the Palestinian NGOs had their roots in the Palestinian Liberation Organization's (PLO) "mass mobilization or national front strategy which emerged following the 1977 Camp David Accords" (Hammami, 2000, p. 16). At this time organizations were organized from non-factional grassroots mobilization comprised of women's, student's and worker's groups. By the early 1980s these Left organizations had divided themselves by factions and begun to engage in the processes of institutionalization and professionalization as funding became available for activities (Hammami, 2000). While the PLO provided funding for their allied factions, international donor bodies also began to provide funding. By 1991 many of the popular grassroots initiatives and committees which had been the backbone of the 1987 Intifada "had transmogrified into

professionally based, foreign funded and development-oriented centers"

(Hammami, 2000, p. 16-17).

Following the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in 1994,

pursuant to the Oslo Accords between the Palestine Liberation Organization

(PLO) and the government of Israel, Palestinian non governmental organizations

(PNGOs), still provided the majority of services in the West Bank and Gaza.

However, the Oslo peace process and the creation of the PA did present a new

situation for NGOs. "Many feared that, in their scramble to support Oslo,

Western donors would divert monies from NGOs to the emerging government

sector" (Hammami, 2000, p. 17). As the PA began to establish it's state presence,

many NGOs worked to thwart increasing PA authoritarianism and ongoing

attempts to co-opt the NGO sector into government structures. Although,

some PNGOs did cease independent operations. For example, "the Health

Services Council … which ran as many as sixty-two clinics throughout the West

Bank and Gaza Strip until 1994, merged its resources into the structure of the

PA, and its director, Anis al-Qaq, joined the PA as deputy minister of

international cooperation. Several dozen other PNGOs followed suit" (Sullivan,

1996, p. 95-96).

Despite such co-optation by the PA, by 1995 the NGO sector had

managed to become a vocal lobby group and when the World Bank created a

$15 million Palestinian NGO trust fund, the PA could no longer consider the

NGO sector a mere irritant but rather a genuine threat to PA authority and

rule. Consequently, "the PA thus developed a multi-pronged strategy for

silencing, co-opting or marginalizing these threats. By creating 'governmental NGO networks' it attempted to organize 'loyal' institutions to compete with the PNGO over control of the World Bank fund. This was consistent with the general PA policy of funding new NGOs in order to widen the regime's patronage base" (Hammami, 2000, p. 18).

The relationship between NGOs in Palestine and the Palestinian Authority are indicative of Smith's (2007) notion of the non profit industrial complex (NPIC) whereby, "the NPIC controls dissent by incorporating it into the state apparatus, functioning as a 'shadow state' constituted by a network of institutions that do much of what government agencies are supposed to do with tax money in the areas of education and social services" (p. 8-9). Prior to the emergence of the PA, the West Bank and Gaza Strip were among the few areas in the Middle East where a political space was available for the emergence of a strong and pluralistic infrastructure of NGOs" (Hammami, 2000, p. 16). However, with the creation of the PA and the signing of a relatively benign NGO law in 2000 requiring that NGO registration be governed through the ministry of the interior where the intelligence services reside, NGOs have increasingly become incorporated into the Palestinian state apparatus thereby losing autonomous power and experiencing co-optation, de-politicization and embodying a state enforced political, social, and economic development agenda. As a result, NGOs are no longer seen as political spaces for organizing and mobilizing the grassroots. NGOs were unable to challenge the "growing 'Arafatization' of Palestinian political life, nor have they been able to mount a

single sustained campaign against ever-expanding Israeli control over Palestinian land and movement" (Hammami, 2000, p. 27). There is a sense of urgency amongst veteran NGO activists and progressive NGOs to re-build an independent political movement necessary for the political democratization of Palestine. However, using NGOs as catalysts for social movements has yet to be determined as an effective mobilizing strategy. History has shown, as will be discussed in the following section, that NGOs and social movements are fundamentally different in their structures, organizational strategies and mandates. Furthermore, as stated by Hammami (2000), "clearly, social movements cannot be jump-started but must emerge organically from situated communities and social groups" (p. 27).

The NGO-ization of women's movements in Palestine

Mojab (2007) contrasts the role of women's movements in opposition to this type of NGO-ization when she states that whereas women's movements "pursue long-term goals such as reform or radical change of patriarchal relations in both civil society and the state," women's NGOs "have a short-term agenda, and their contribution is often piecemeal, curative, limited, and dependent on the agenda of donors" (p. 4). Mojab (2007) goes on to position women's NGOs within an "imperialist feminist scheme, [where] women [are] trained to lead NGOs, to participate in the political structure of conservative and pro-Western states, to engage in alienating, pacifying training programs for the capitalist 'democracy' and join the army of workers to build 'civil society.'" In this version of women's struggle, capitalist relations of power and the institutions of state

and patriarchy are left untouched (Mojab, 2007, ¶15). Consequently, as

suggested by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID,

2008), women's organizations have become professionalized and removed from

the grassroots, thereby maintaining and perpetuating what Mojab (2007) calls the

imperialist feminist scheme:

> The need for women's organizations to be professional,
>
> productive and efficient has meant that they have
>
> transformed the way they work. A lot of voluntary work
>
> that depended heavily on local participation and local
>
> donations of money has been transformed into
>
> professional work and this has affected the old ways of
>
> doing advocacy work in favour of a new NGOized society"
>
> (AWID, 2008,¶4).

A concrete example of this process of professionalization can be found

within the Palestinian context whereby the prevailing structures of NGOs

includes "that of a board of between seven and twenty members, and a highly

qualified professional and administrative staff whose number is small, depending

on the number of character projects being dealt with" (Jad, 2003, p. 7). This

structure is further removed from the participants of the projects and programs

when one examines the decision-making process. Thus, whereas for the

grassroots mass-based movements of the past success "lay in organizing and

mobilizing the masses, and was based on their skills in building relations with

people" (Jad, 2003, p. 7), the new decision-making structure of the NGO

relegates the power of decisions to the board, which is often in turn passed off to the director of the organization. This director's power relies on her ability to successfully fundraise for the organization (and her salary), to be convincing and presentable, and to be capable of providing the necessary written reports to donors to ensure proper "accountability." Thus the director's job most likely requires communication and English language skills, thereby systemically excluding those local acitivist/citizens who have not had the privilege or access to gaining such skills. According to Jad (2003), "The highly professional qualities required of administrative staff for better communications with donors may not directly affect the links between an NGO and local constituencies, but most of the time it does" (p. 7).

Furthermore, through the hiring of staff, NGOs are also able to control and assert their political agenda. For Palestine, this becomes highly problematic when the Palestinian struggle has demanded a right to return for all Palestinian refugees and for Palestine to be returned as a whole, since "almost all NGOs and foundations call for a 'two-state solution' that insists Israel, as it's currently constructed, must exist as is, and that Palestinians must learn to accept colonization and occupation" (Smith, 2007, p. 173). Moreover, the "largest coalition of organizations that work on Palestine do not insist on US divestment from Israel or devote organizing resources into achieving this agenda" (Smith, 2007, p. 173).

Furthermore, the NGO-ization of the sector has put pressure on non-profits to operate within the confines of developing civil society, thereby

depoliticizing the struggle for Palestinian liberation in the name of sustainable economic development. Within this dominant NGO framework, NGOs change the issue from Israeli colonization and occupation to the need for Palestinians to be trained to develop "civil society" and learn to cooperate with Israel. As a result, funding is often focused on developing joint Israeli-Palestinian ventures and projects rather than addressing the problem of occupation.

Moreover, since 80% of the infrastructure in Palestine is funded by international granting agencies, they stifle critiques of capitalism and try to normalize the free market economy in the occupied territories. Part of this process is training the Palestinian elite to integrate into the global economy. "Now maquiladoras are being constructed in the Gaza Strip, with the elites in Palestine negotiating with Israel to develop these economic units. The result is the development of an economic elite that will become invested in the well-being of Israel" (Smith, 2007, p. 177).

The result of the process of NGO-ization on Palestinian women's movements has been a total fracturing of grassroots organizing and mobilizing, whereby some actors have remained committed to the liberation struggle and others have joined civil society organizations in their work to develop a "democratic," "free" and "civil society" based upon Western notions of democratization and modernization. According to Jad (2003) and Mojab (2007) it is essential to maintain a clear differentiation between women's NGOs and women's movements. For Mojab (2007), "movements encompass a diversity of positions and relationships to the state, are often politically charged, and allow

for more critical assessment of external involvement" (p. 3). Furthermore, for Jad (2003), social movements wield power with large numbers and a broad base of social networks "and cultural symbols through which social relations are organized" (p. 9). In contrast, "women's NGOs are mobilized by the state and external actors to weaken, depoliticize or even crush the women's movements" (Mojab, 2007, p. 3). Mojab (2007) goes on to say, "The term 'Non-Governmental Organization' can be best understood in connection with the term 'state.' In theory, NGOs are counter posed to the institution of the state which, both ancient and modern, has engaged in systemic violence against the people it has ruled. It is claimed that, in the Middle East or Latin America or Asia and Africa, the state can be tamed by the proliferation of NGOs—that is, NGOs instead of and against social movements and against revolution" (p. 10).

The women's movement in Palestine has gone through a drastic transformation in the post-Oslo era. However, despite the ongoing pressures of development and neoliberalism and NGO-ization, women in Palestine are still organizing, educating and mobilizing. One must not lose sight of the fact that today women are still playing an incredibly important role within the struggle for liberation. In today's Palestine, efforts are focused on slowing-down, sabotaging and/or stopping the building of the apartheid wall (also called the separation wall), which the Israeli government began constructing in June 2002 between the West Bank and Israel. According to the Middle East Task Force (2005), the wall's "path will isolate 47% of the West Bank, and it will create a series of isolated Palestinian enclaves connected only by a system of tunnels controlled by the

Israeli military. In many places the Wall already separates Palestinian farmers from their lands, isolates Palestinian villages from important natural resources and water sources, and facilitates the expansion of existing Israeli settlements and the building of new settlements in the West Bank" (p. 9).

Women have been a powerful force in organizing resistance against the building of the wall in many different areas of Palestine. In 2003, the women of Tulkarem organized a demonstration of more than 200 women to protest the wall and the occupation. In Salfeet region, women held a founding meeting and photo exhibit documenting the devastating effects of the occupation and the wall on Salfeet and neighbouring villages in 2003. Today they have become the Salfeet Women's Committee Against the Wall. And, as a final and more recent example, through the support of the Tulkarem Women's Committee, a group of women in the village of Ni'lin, just 26 km west of Ramallah, held a demonstration to resist the military zoning around their land and the building of the wall.

Despite the fracturing and de-politicization in many areas of the Palestinian women's movement, pockets of radical political movements led by women still exist. By identifying and exposing the ability of Palestinian women to organize for freedom and liberation through their ability to mobilize, educate, and the share knowledge amongst feminist communities, they demonstrate how Third World women enact forms of collective resistance in their everyday lives, build strong leadership and develop important strategies to use their collective power in the fight for feminist and national liberation. "It is by paying attention to and theorizing the experiences of these communities of women and girls that we

demystify capitalism as a system of debilitating sexism and racism and envision

anticapitalist resistance" (Mohanty, 2002, p. 514).

Chapter 4

Theoretical Framework: Third World Feminist Theory and NGO –

Social Movement Relations within the Development Project

Chapter Overview

This chapter names the theoretical framework and methodology

employed in this exploratory qualitative case study. Theoretical perspectives

specifically focused on NGO/social struggle relations (Jad, 2003; 2007; Petras,

2001) have helped me to understand and develop a comprehensive picture of

the relations between women-led movements and NGOs. Third World Feminist

theory is used as an analytical and political tool to recognize and analytically

explore the links among the histories and struggles of Third World women

specifically in Palestine against occupation, patriarchy, colonialism, imperialism,

and monopoly capital (Mohanty, 2002, p. 46). The research process is discussed

as are some of the limitations and delimitations of this study.

Using qualitative case study analysis

This study employs qualitative inquiry using exploratory case study

research.   As suggested by Stake (2005), case studies are used to allow the

research to deepen one's awareness and understanding of a particular issue,

problem or theory. Wellington (2000) defines the "case study" as "a detailed

examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of

documents, or one particular event" (p. 90). For the sake of this research, the

case study is "bounded" (Stake, 2005) by using two Palestinian NGOs and one

grassroots campaign to being to explore the processes and impacts that women-

centred NGOs have had on the mobilizing potential and educational dimensions of women's struggles/movements for the liberation of Palestine. The "texture" of the reality captured within this case study is built through the use of semi-structured interviews and document-analysis, thereby making up the case record" (Wellington, 2000, p. 94).

While the use of case study research does come with some potential weaknesses including an inability to reproduce or repeat the exact study, being atypical of a certain situation or scenario or not providing information or outcomes that lead to possible generalizations about a particular theory or issues, the outcomes of this case study have allowed the researcher to combine the use of literature, document analysis and interviews to illustrate the impacts of NGOs on women-led social movements as well as provide some preliminary insight into NGO – social movement relations in Palestine. As such the use of exploratory case study research has provided a useful model for this research. In addition, the use of Third World Feminist theory provides a useful methodological framework for exploring the structural and systemic forms of oppression that lead to women's struggles and names ways that women have taken action to make positive libratory social change in the face of systems of domination such as occupation, capitalism and western-led international development (Escobar, 1994, Mohanty, 2002, Mohanty, Russo, Torres, 1991).

Using Third World feminist theory and methodology

My choice of using Third World feminist theory fits into what Lather (1991) would call "praxis-oriented research" (p. 51) and is premised upon a

"'transformative agenda'" with respect to both social structure and methodological norms" (Lather, 1991, p. 51). As many theorists have stated, no education is neutral and no research is neutral (as cited in Lather, 1991, p. 50). The research conducted for this thesis attempts to employ research as praxis that will lead to an emancipatory social science. According to Lather (1991), "such a social science would allow us not only to understand the maldistribution of power and resources underlying our society but also to change the maldistribution in ways that help create a more equal world" (p. 50-51). Within this critical social science, I have attempted to commit my research "to critiquing the status quo and [contribute to] building a more just society" (Lather, 1991, p. 51) through the use of Third World feminist theory and critical research methodology that examines NGO – Social Movement relations and learning interactions.

In addition, adopting a global framework in understanding the exploitation of Third World women in the global capitalist arena is central to Third World feminist analysis. Third World women and girls bear the brunt of the impacts of global capitalism, and therefore,

> To adopt a global frame surely means taking into account, as all third world feminists are obliged to do, the neo-liberal economic forces driving globalization, a process characterized by cross-border flows of finance capital and commodities, as well as by unprecedented migrations of cultures, ideas, and people, the majority of them poor labourers or refugees. It means taking

seriously the repressive effects of that process, which stem from the operations of exploitive multinational corporations and transnational institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as the power of the world's wealthiest nation-states, the United States being at the top of the pyramid, of those that do their best to call the political shots on the international stage at the same time as exercising daunting control over flows of information and culture through vast media networks spanning the entire planet (Woodhull, 2003, p. 80-81).

As a response to global capitalisms impact on the Global South and the implementation of global restructuring, there has been a significant rise in the number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and in their importance as agents of development. Since the late 1970s, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have come to play an important role in the formulation and implementation of development policy by becoming key actors in the political economy of the Western-led development project. As such, NGOs now play a significant role in global capitalisms impact on and the implementation of global restructuring in the Global South (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001).

Within this framework, my research attempts to enact the struggles faced by Third World women in Palestine in a global frame by critically analysing the gendered nature of the global capitalist system through the process of development via NGO's and its impacts on women's lives and political activism in the Third World. The case of Palestinian women's struggles through a Third

World feminist lens provides a concrete example of women's struggle for liberation challenged by occupation, colonization, and the push for westernized development via the proliferation of NGOs. This example highlights "the relationship to global processes of colonization and exploitation, and the specification of a process of cultural and ideological homogenization across national borders … [which is] a crucial aspect of any comparative feminist project" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 141).

Specifically, the proliferation of NGO-ization within Palestinian women's liberation movements highlights these global processes. As a result of western-led pressure to develop Arab civil society through the process of 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' (Jad, 2003, p. 1), Arab women's movements have increasingly evolved into the women's lives such as health, education, legal literacy, income generation and right advocacy" (Jad, 2003, p. 1). This process has led to the de-politicization of Arab women's movements replacing grassroots women-led communities of resistance and struggle with the prevailing structure of NGOs in which the professional administrative staff is often disconnected to the grassroots and the power of decision making is often left to undemocratic practices and focused on catering to funders and the neoliberal development agenda rather than the local community.

As the process of NGO-ization has rapidly increased amongst women's movements in Palestine, the content, style and role of education has also changed. My research examines the impact of NGOs on women-led social movements in the Palestinian context with a particular focus on methods and

processes of popular education and informal/non-formal and incidental learning used to mobilize and engage women in various NGO-led projects. This research also investigates the impacts of such education on women's political and social engagement in Palestinian society thereby exploring learning in NGO engagements with women's movements in the South (Third World).

The specific objectives of this research using Third World feminist theory and analysis are as follows:

- Explore the impact of women-centered NGOs on the mobilizing potential of women's movements for liberation in Palestine; and

- Explore the role of popular education, knowledge learning and informal learning processes in "Third World" women's struggles in relation to NGO – Social movement engagements in Palestine.

I believe that my choice of theoretical framework adheres to the spirit of Third World feminist theory through establishing women's intersubjectivities. Marnia Lazreg (1988) argues that an understanding of "intersubjectivities" in the study of Third World women's struggles can help to shift feminist discourse to understanding Third World women as subjects of their various struggles in history and, in turn, this can help to dismantle ethnocentric notions of women's homogeneous struggles.

My research is situated within the transformative paradigm by creating a space for these women's voices to be heard and their narratives to be told. "The transformative paradigm stresses the influence of social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, gender, and disability values in the construction of

reality…Thus what is taken to be real needs to be critically examined via ideological critique of its role in perpetuating oppressive social structure and policies" (Mertens, 2005, p. 23). The recording of women's active struggles for liberation in Palestine and connecting them to systems of occupation, colonization and imperialism creates a praxis illuminated by lived experience and "illuminated by their struggles" (Lather, 1991, p. 55). Furthermore, according to Mertens (2005), the underlying principles of feminist research which is situated within the transformative paradigm focuses on "gender inequalities that lead to social injustice" (p. 17) and connect such injustice to systems and structures that maintain and perpetuate such injustice. The research I have conducted examines the structural and systemic forms of oppression that lead to women's oppression and names ways that women have taken action to make positive liberatory social change. By using critical qualitative methods within a transformative agenda I will take into account power and oppression in constructions of reality.

Methodological process of the research

This research explores the impact that women-centered NGOs have had on the mobilizing potential and educational dimensions of women's struggles/movements for liberation in Palestine. Interviews with two NGOs provided information and insight on the particular projects and education being employed via the NGO sector. Organizers from the grassroots organization/campaign provided insight into alternative forms of engaging local Palestinians on social and political struggles. Furthermore, the Palestinian feminist academic specializing in women's participation

in Arab movements provided a scholarly analysis on the impact/relationship between NGOs and women's movements in Palestine.

Research for this qualitative case study was conducted via semi-structured and open-ended interviews, and document analysis from organizations and groups during the months of April to June 2009. As stated by Wellington (2000), "the intrinsic case study [is] used to provide insight into a particular issue or to clarify a hypothesis" (p. 92). With regard to this research, I used an exploratory case study to investigate the process of NGO-ization of Palestinian women's liberation movements and the associated learning dimensions.

In addition to these interviews, I used document analysis, and written documentary and web-site materials (on-line papers/sharing from movements and NGOs) to analyse the relations between NGOs and women's liberation movements in Palestine.

The interview process

Fontana and Frey (2000) describe interviewing as "one of the most powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings" (p. 645). According to Wellington (2000), "interviewing allows a researcher to investigate and prompt things that we cannot observe. We can probe an interviewee's thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings and perspectives" (p. 71). Both of these observations proved to be true for my engagement in the interview process. Choosing to conduct semi-structured interviews also allowed for flexibility over the range of questions asked and allowed for both the interviewee and the interviewer to 'go with the flow' of the discussion rather

than enforcing rigid guidelines and not allowing for any deviation from the original set of questions. This flexibility allowed the researcher to further probe interviewees on topics and subjects that interviewees might have felt particularly passionate or knowledgeable about. Rubin and Rubin (2005) call this "*responsive interviewing* because the researcher is responding to and then asking further questions about what he or she hears from the interviewee rather than relying on predetermined questions" (p. vii).Furthermore, the semi-structured process allowed for the interview to "be dictated as much by the respondent as by the questioner" (Wellington, 2000, p. 75).

Gaining access: Strategies to recruit participants

"Whatever plans we might make in educational research, they are almost certain to be compromised – or in some cases completely scuppered – by the problem of gaining access to what we want" (Wellington, 2000, p. 63). Taking Wellington's observation into account, and his suggested guidelines for gaining access (p. 64), I identified two potentially major barriers to gaining access to participants. First, as suggested by Wellington (2000), "the researcher needs to become aware, as early as possible, of any sensitive or controversial issues which might arise – for an individual or for an organization" (p. 64). Given the social and political context of Palestine in which Palestinians have been living under Israeli Occupation since 1967, I knew there were potential risks in asking participants to share their stories and experiences. Understanding this context, I committed to assuring each participant that their interviews remained confidential and pseudonyms were used at all times for both participants and

organizations for the sake of safety and respect to participant's privacy. Furthermore, the use of a Third World feminist and NGO/Social movement theoretical framework necessitates an approach that is intended and designed to work with the participants for the mutual benefit of researcher and the participants in the field, which implies that I am ethically bound by this perspective to put the well-being of the participants first.

Secondly, as Wellington (2000) points out, "a researcher may be viewed in a selection of different ways… Attitudes towards the researcher are likely to vary from suspicion, mistrust or cynicism, to awe, trust or friendship" (p. 64). Considering the geographic distance between the researcher (in Canada) and potential participants (in Palestine), gaining and building trust between the researcher and the participants presented a challenge in establishing first contacts. This challenge was addressed through the researcher's choice to take a preliminary trip to Palestine and forge initial relationships with potential participants. Upon return from the trip, the researcher was able to gain access to all desired participants for the research. As such, purposive sampling based on the researcher's previous contact with the potential subjects was used to select participants. Participants for this study were contacted by the researcher via email at which time members of the organizations, campaigns and university were invited to participate.

Conducting interviews

Between April 2009 and June 2009, I conducted five interviews via skype and email. Participants that were asked to participate in this research had to be

involved with one of the non governmental organizations, institutions or grassroots organizations that I was interested in. My initial contact with each of the participants occurred in January 2009 when I travelled to Palestine. At that time I was able to explain the research I was engaged in and ask if they would potentially be interested in participating in the research. I was able to attain all of their necessary contact information in order to contact them when I returned to Canada. Once my ethics was approved in April 2009, I was able to contact each participant and invite them to participate in my research. All five participants agreed.

Preference for female participants or participants with experience working with Palestinian women was given, but was not mandatory provided they had knowledge of their organization's programs and involvement with women (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

This criteria ensured that the data collected addressed the objectives of the research including being able to:

- Talk about women's roles/involvement in organizing for freedom and liberation;

- Talk about the projects and roles that NGOs or grassroots organizations/campaigns play within national Palestinian society with specific regard to women's issues and liberation movements;

- Talk about their organization's roles in working with women in Palestine;

- Share insight into the education (popular knowledge and learning engagements and informal) used to work with Palestinian women.

In accordance with my responsibilities to the ethics process I ensured that each participant was given a letter of information and they were asked to "sign" the consent form. Participants were ensured complete anonymity and confidentiality throughout the research and writing process. Given the long distance between the researcher and the interviewees they were requested to provide verbal approval in replacement of written consent as was approved in my ethics application.

As previously stated, I used a set of interview questions six interview questions to guide the interview. Each interview lasted no longer than 45 minutes and was recorded. Most times, all six questions were not formally asked since the interview would often turn into a dialogue between me (the researcher) and the interviewee until I felt all questions were sufficiently addressed.

As a whole, the interview process proved to be very engaging for the participants and the researcher. Interviewees were eager to share their experiences and understandings of issues surrounding Palestinian women's struggles, social movements, the role of NGOs and their understandings of learning in struggle. The outcome and analysis of this data is examined in the following chapter.

Document analysis

In addition to using primary sources via interviews, I also chose to include complementary secondary sources via document analysis including written documentary and web-site materials (on-line papers/sharing from movements

and NGOs) to analyse the relations between NGOs and women's liberation movements in Palestine. Wellington's (2000) typology of documents and his discussion on the focus and approach in regards to document analysis are useful here. First, I used and acquired two types of documents – Published 2 which includes documents "available free on application or via the internet" (p. 112), as well as Published 3, which includes documents that are "freely distributed to every household, school, college etc." (p. 112).

Second, I used these documents at two stages of my research – the exploratory stage in which documents and internet research were "used to open up an area of inquiry and sensitize researchers to the key issues and problems in that field" (Wellington, 2000, p. 113). At this beginning stage I spent time conducting internet searches on Palestinian NGOs specifically focussed on women's issues. I was able to access published research documents on the state of women's lives in Palestine, as well as develop a list of NGOs that were working on numerous women's issues. This preliminary research proved to be very useful when I travelled to Palestine. I was able to connect with people in organizations that I had already become somewhat familiar with through my on-line research. This allowed me to create an immediate feeling of comfort and trust between me and potential participants since I was already somewhat familiar with the mandate and objectives of the organizations. In addition, during my trip to Palestine, I collected more documents including books, pamphlets, DVDs, and posters. Although some of these resources were only available in Arabic, it allowed me to see what sort of informal learning was occurring

through various NGOs and to what constituency of women such informal learning and education was addressed. As will be discussed in the following chapter, some projects focussed on women in the home while others focussed on the increasing role of women in the public sphere.

I also used document analysis in the complementary stage thereby "enrich[ing] [my] study throughout the research process" (Wellington, 2000, p. 114). For the most part, I used this complementary stage as I was analysing the data I collected through the interviews I conducted. This allowed me to dig deeper into the work being done and promoted in both NGOs and the grassroots organization/campaign I was researching. In addition, documents provided complementary data as I was researching the types of learning and education that were taking place within the NGOs and grassroots campaign.

Analysing the data

Dealing with qualitative data can be overwhelming, lengthy, and messy. While there are many ways to analyse data, Wellington (2000), offers a helpful set of principles and guidelines to be followed when processing and analysing qualitative data. I found Wellington's (2000) five stages of data analysis to be quite useful in my analytical process. First, Wellington (2000) suggests total immersion into the data. "This involves getting an overall sense or feeling for the data, e.g. listening to tapes or reading and re-reading transcripts. It involves note taking, active reading, highlighting and annotating transcripts" (p. 135). Following this stage, my first step in data analysis was to transcribe all of the interviews I conducted with my subjects. This process allowed me to remember and re-

familiarize myself with the interviewees and the organizations and campaigns they were involved with. I was then able to review the transcripts and highlight the areas I felt were particularly pertinent to my research.

Second, Wellington (2000) suggests reflecting on the data. This involves taking a step back from the data and allowing for the data to settle in one's mind. For me, this is a very "active" reflection process. I found the best way for me to "sit" with the Data and reflect was to take long bicycle rides or go for long easy runs. Often this would allow me time to clear my mind and I would begin to make connections and see themes arising from the data I had processed.

Third, I took apart the data in order to break up pieces and place them into categories of analysis and themes. I was mostly able to connect the raw data I had transcribed to themes I had previously researched and written about based on document analysis and literature reviews. This process seemed intimidating at first. However the "pieces fell into place" in a natural way once identified and named some recurring themes. These themes included: a) Understanding NGO-ization; b)gender mainstreaming and the illusion of civil society; c) professionalization and de-politicization of the women's movement; d) learning in the Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC), the Middle East Non Violence and Democracy Organization (MEND) and the grassroots movement to stop the building of the apartheid wall.

Fourth, I was able to synthesize the data (Wellington, 2000) and integrate it to formulate a recontextualized analysis that allowed me to compare and contrast my data with existing works produced by other people. This led me to

the fifth stage of relating and locating my data (Wellington 2000). "The process of locating and relating … involves the use of constant comparison and contrast" (p. 138). This is an important process in making sense of one's data as well as providing new information to an area of research. While this process did result in future questions and future possibilities for research, time and geographical constraints lead me to Wellington's (2000) suggestion of needing to know when to stop. For the sake of this research I did not go back to collect more data, but rather chose to work with the existing interview data I had collected along with document analysis and literature review.

The final stage of the data analysis process is presenting the qualitative data (Wellington, 2000). This is arguably the most important stage in which the data is presented in a fair, clear and coherent manner (Wellington, 2000) and is addressed in the following chapter.

Limitations and delimitations of research

My decision to conduct research on Palestinian NGOs and women's movements comes with various limitations. As stated above in the "gaining access" section, one potential barrier that I had identified prior to making any preliminary contacts with potential participants was the political situation in Palestine. This barrier came to fruition one time in particular while I was meeting with a potential participant in Ramallah. In the middle of our conversation, this potential participant was called by his father in Jerusalem where some soldiers from the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) arrived at his door demanding information

about his son. Needless to say my contact had to leave abruptly. Fortunately he was later accessible via email and skype for an interview.

Similarly the potential for random border closures created a potential limitation for contacting potential participants. As such, I chose to limit my choice of organizations and potential participants to Ramallah where I was staying. However, once I arrived in Palestine I had the privilege of visiting other towns and villages. I did manage to connect with other potential participants, but still chose to remain with the Ramallah-based organizations. Given that I was in the West Bank during the January 2009 war on Gaza, many people commented that the border closures were more lax because of resources and the focus on Gaza. This did create the opportunity for more accessibility to various regions in the West Bank.

A further limitation was time and language. While it was incredible to have the opportunity to travel to Palestine and meet with potential participants face-to-face, I only had 5 weeks in the West Bank. This limited my ability to meet with numerous potential organizations and social movement organizers, and thus later on, constraining the number of interviews I would be able to conduct. In addition, since I do not speak Arabic, I was restricted to speaking with people who spoke English and only reading documents available in English. As a result I limited my research to two NGOs and one grassroots campaign. Furthermore, I only used interviews and document analysis in my research due to the time and language constraints. Had I had more time, an ethnographic study or participant observation on the NGO-ization of women's movements in Palestine would

have provided more in-depth and rich data regarding complex processes of de-politicization.

Finally, although there were numerous grassroots projects and movements underway in most areas of Palestine, I had to limit my focus due to time constraints and access to some areas, movements and organizations in Palestine. As such, I made a choice to focus on two NGOs and one grassroots campaign. As a result, I recognize that the data produced and analysed is limited to a small fraction of work being done in Palestine. In particular, gaining access to various women involved in social movements was very difficult due to language barriers and women's primary role being within the private sphere, therefore further limiting access.

While time, access, political climate, cultural and language barriers did create limitations to this research, factors including access to well-developed English websites, the accessibility to skype and email in Palestine, and my ability to meet face-to-face with potential participants allowed for the production of some very rich data which is analysed in the following chapter. Furthermore, because I was able to travel to Palestine and meet with potential participants, a level of trust and personal connection was made between me, the researcher, and the potential participants. In addition, while I was in Palestine I was able to accumulate various documents for my research.

Overall, the quality of data and analysis produced for this thesis is rich in personal experience and knowledge although limited due to the reasons identified above. Further exploration into the learning dimensions of social

movement – NGO relations needs to be conducted. In addition, time spent with women who were involved with the first intifada and continue to struggle for liberation would add to the depth of this research. Therefore, while this research provides preliminary analysis into the NGO-ization of women's movements in Palestine and the associated learning dimensions of this process, there is much room for further research development in this area.

Chapter 5

Exploring NGO – Women's Movement Relations in Palestine:

Learning in Struggle, Popular Education, De-Politicization and the

"Illusion of Freedom Under Occupation"

Chapter Overview

Relying on research and analysis of data collected between April and June 2009, this chapter elaborates on the processes of de-politicization through an exploratory qualitative case study in the occupied territories focusing on Palestinian activists and NGO members working on women's issues to begin to understand their shared and divergent objectives, and to unpack NGO – social movement relations and associated learning dimensions within the Palestinian social and political context. The analysis of primary data and the review of associated literature addresses the following research objectives:

- Explore the impact of women-centered NGOs on the mobilizing potential of women's movements for liberation in Palestine; and

- Explore the role of popular education, knowledge learning and informal learning processes in "Third World" women's struggles in relation to NGO – Social movement engagements in Palestine.

Semi-structured interviews and document analysis provide insights into the interactions and processes and learning/knowledge dimensions of NGO – social movement relations, subsequently making contributions towards the literature on NGO-movement relations and to learning in social action/struggles. This is accomplished by a) introducing the NGOs and social movements who participated

in this study and from whom data was collected in 2009; b) sketching the contours of the process of NGO-ization in Palestine; and c) using primary data collected between January and April 2009 to examine and analyse NGO – women's social movement relations and learning in social action.

Introducing three key organizations used for this research

The organizations and people for this research were chosen based on several criteria. Most importantly I needed to access organizations that would be willing to talk with me. After conducting some preliminary research online I managed to make a list of possible organizations I could visit while in Palestine. Therefore priority was given to organization with offices in Ramallah. These organizations had websites in English, provided some information on their mandate and programming and ran at least one program that focused on women. From this list I sent out introductory emails introducing myself to the organizations. Given the tense political climate in Palestine, I had relatively low expectations of the number of organizations that would contact me. I had been warned by other people who had visited Palestine that the uncertainty of the political climate directly impacted people's ability to work consistently.

Within three days of sending my first email I was pleasantly surprised that a number of chosen organizations and participants responded to me. Upon receiving a response, I then began giving preference for female participants or participants with experience working with Palestinian women. This was not mandatory provided they had knowledge of their organization's programs and involvement with women. I also corresponded with potential participants to

ensure that they would be able to address the objectives of the research

including being able to:

- Talk about women's roles/involvement in organizing for freedom and
  liberation;

- Talk about the projects and roles that NGOs or grassroots campaigns
  play within national Palestinian society with specific regard to women's
  issues and liberation movements;

- Talk about their organization's roles in working with women in Palestine;

- Share insight into the education (popular knowledge and learning
  engagements and informal) used to work with Palestinian women.

As such the Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC), the Middle

East Non Violence and Democracy (MEND) organization and a grassroots

organization involved in a growing campaign to resist the building of the

apartheid wall were chosen. The following is a description of each organization.

Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC)

The Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC) is a non

governmental organization that was established in 1992 in Ramallah, Palestine

and is a coalition of seven women's organizations, three women's centers and

individual women activists. WATC was established in 1992 as a coalition of three

women's organizations and a number of individuals. The WATC is structured as

a partnership organization in which it claims to embrace "the full agenda of the

women's movement and welcom[es] broader membership within WATC"

(http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=11, ¶1).

Furthermore, the WATC has started to decentralize and "the networking model which is used for the executive committee, where member organizations work together as one body, is being duplicated at the regional level … [In addition] WATC's executive committee was restructured to be less exclusive and be more accountable to the General Assembly" (http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=11, ¶2).

An interesting defining characteristic of the WATC is that it claims to be "uniquely positioned in that its member organizations derive their strength from grassroots organizing across the nation, while as political parties also have representation and influence at the national level" (http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=11, ¶3). The website goes on to say:

> While WATC member organizations may embrace divergent political visions, they are united in their mission regarding women. WATC, as a coalition, fulfills the mandate of coordinating and implementing goals which the member organizations hold in common, which each member organization continues its unique and specific programs. WATC's task is also to develop the capacity of member organizations to make a significant contribution to the national struggle and to social change (http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=11, ¶3).

The WATC's mission is to

seek to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, to develop the role of women in society, and to empower women to assume decision-making positions. The coalition pays special attention to marginalized and less privileged women, particularly women in rural areas and refugees, as well as focusing on women leaders and young potential leaders in order to facilitate their role in the process of national struggle and social change (http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=9).

As a non governmental organization, the WATC runs programs, projects and training for Palestinian men and women. According to WATC's website (http://www.watcpal.org) their programs and projects focus on "human rights, elections law, assertiveness, leadership, campaign management, and a range of other topics" (¶ 1). The rationale for such programs comes from the organization's understanding of the current context within Palestine. The organization states "where men have lost jobs in Israel, families have lost land which sustained them economically, salaries go unpaid and nearly 10,000 men languish in Israeli prisons, women have been forced to assume new roles as heads of households and income earners whether they like it or not" (WATC, 2009, ¶ 1). As such, WATC's programs seek to empower Palestinian women through building skills that "not only equip her to sustain her family, but to actively engage her vision for her community and for her nation" (WATC, 2009, ¶ 1).

Having researched the WATC's website, it is clear that the organization seeks to create change in the lives of Palestinian women through the building of a civil society where women are equal.

On the local level, WATC equips women with skills to assess their needs and assists them in organizing together to meet their needs and realize their goals. WATC's impact on women's involvement in the political process spans right from the level of ordinary women in rural village, whom WATC empowers as voters as candidates for local council elections, and as local councilwomen, to the national level where WATC has campaigned successfully for legislation establishing a 20% quota for women in local councils and on national party lists for the Palestinian Legislative Council. WATC works actively to provide feedback to the PLC on the impacts of draft legislation on women, an initiative which has been well-received by the PLC (WATC, 2009, ¶ 2).

The work of WATC is realized through nine training programs. These programs include: Pparticipatory leadership, gender, gender reading of law, gender reading of budgets, organizational assessment from a gender perspective, gender in media, training of trainers, capacity building for institutions and CBOs, computer and internet skills (http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=174#).

Middle East Non violence and Democracy (MEND)

Established in 1998, Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (MEND) is a Palestinian non governmental organization founded and directed by Lucy Nusseibeh, European international. MEND addresses issues related to nonviolence and democracy through a variety of projects focused primarily on training and utilizing innovative media techniques. According to the Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy website (www.mendonline.org), MEND promotes active nonviolence and encourages alternatives to violence among youth and adults throughout Palestine. The organization is primarily focused on introducing and developing innovative tools for individuals to deal with many of the difficulties that confront them whether in the work place, the larger political arena, or in family life. MEND works to achieve it's mission of: a) promoting the principles and practice of nonviolence through training and awareness building; and b) promoting the principles and practice of democracy within Palestinian society by working to empower underprivileged groups and to increase their civic participation through four organizational principles: (1) capacity building, (2) outreach, (3) media, and (4) education.

The following excerpt from MEND's website (http://www.mendonline.org/aboutus.html) in the "about us" section provides an explanation of the organization's pedagogy applied via the four organizational pillars as well descriptions of the main programs employed to promote democracy and nonviolence:

While MEND works holistically towards peace, and more specifically towards empowering Palestinians, both individually and collectively, towards raising awareness of choice and towards rekindling hope, the work is based on four organizational pillars, capacity building, outreach, media, and education, around a core pillar of nonviolence education. The capacity building is an essential component in working to promote democracy and nonviolence, as it helps people to fulfill their potential and to function better together in a more participatory way: MEND's trainings and community centres/libraries and also the work with schools, fit within this context. MEND trains in the method of participatory video, which increases self- awareness and crucial planning capacity, at the same time as imparting video skills.

MEND is a member of the Society of Organisational Learning. Outreach is essential through publications and media in order to reach the many and increasingly isolated communities in this tiny country; because of the actual physical barriers (many population centres are completely enclosed by the "separation barrier") that prevent people leaving their places of residence.

For the same reason, media is essential in order to reach the entire population as effectively as possible; by working with media to raise awareness both inside the country among Palestinians on

issues of nonviolence, gender, etc., as a source of help and support in times of crisis, as an example, and also outside the country to articulate the needs and concerns and the humanity of the Palestinians. For instance, one of MEND's most successful campaigns has been with bumper stickers in Arabic and English, and in Hebrew and English, with the same slogans in each language, which reach across the common human concerns of both peoples; e.g. "What about our Children?"

Finally, it is only via extensive work with the education system that future generations will be given the best chance of taking an active part in creating the future they would like to live. MEND's materials are distributed via the Ministry of Education and the UNRWA and all our training work is coordinated with these key educational institutions. All these are organized around the core values of self awareness and empowerment (http://www.mendonline.org/aboutus.html, ¶14-18).

Grassroots Organization/Campaign

According to the website (http://stopthewall.org) under the "campaign" section the Palestinian grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign is a coalition of Palestinian non governmental organizations and popular committees that mobilize and coordinate efforts on local, national and international levels. These efforts are focused upon stopping and dismantling the Apartheid Wall, and resisting Israeli occupation and colonization" (¶1).

On October 2, 2002 a call from popular and grassroots committees within the Palestinian Environmental NGOs Network (PENGON) called for the creation and establishment of a coordinated grassroots campaign to tear down the apartheid wall. As a result, the Campaign was created and began its work on three levels: "acting as the voice of communities locally; mobilization and coordination nationally; and additionally as part of the global struggle against colonization, war and racism" (http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml. ¶2).

Furthermore, "since its inception the Campaign has been the main national grassroots body mobilizing and organizing resistance against the Apartheid Wall" (http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml. ¶3). According to one of the primary organizers of the grassroots campaign, the Campaign is a new and innovative way of organizing resistance. He says:

> What we are trying, this is a contradiction, something new for the work of NGOs, we don't consider ourselves as an NGO, but part of our component is NGOs, our Board and general assembly. So one of the things NGOs do in outreach in international community and try to advocate for Palestine is mainly with donor organizations. For us in the campaign in the beginning, we believe donor organizations can't do much for the state of Palestine cause as a political issue simply because this NGOs advocacy to their governments and parliamentarians will be very limited to this target. They have a ceiling with how far they can go with this because they take their money from this

governments and maybe political parties. So they participate in power and they are limited in what they can do based on politics of governments and parties.

So from the beginning, we are totally different, we will target the grassroots we will be part of social movements. We have to target people on the ground. That's where we believe strongly that something can be done for Palestine. That's where we have to mobilize. Since then I can claim that the campaign has had a big influence and has opened NGOs eyes that there is another way to do that, focusing for the cause. Because they see in a very small period of time like 2 years the way the campaign has come involved in the international community, activism and big conferences around the world like world social forum for example and how much influence you can do and fights you can have there, especially when they started to send a delegation with the Campaign delegation (39-49).

As the Campaign has grown, so has its responsibility to the people from affected communities thereby requiring affected people to be more involved in the decision-making process of the Campaign. As a result, the Campaign has created structures independent from PENGON in which it presently coordinates the work of 54 popular committees in communities which will be (and are being) destroyed by the Wall.

According to the Campaign's website (www.stopthewall.org), the

Campaign has four guiding goals which are "firmly grounded in the context of

the struggle against Israeli Colonization, Apartheid and Occupation, and for

Palestinian rights and self-determination"

(http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml#CampaignParticipantsandOrganization, ¶7).

These goals are:

1. The immediate cessation of the building of the Wall;

2. The dismantling of all parts of the Wall and its related zones

already built;

3. The return of lands confiscated for the path of the Wall;

4. The compensation of damages and lost income due to the

destruction of land and property in addition to the restitution of land

(http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml#CampaignParticipantsandOrganiz

ation, ¶6).

The campaign seeks to attain these goals through various strategies and

levels of organization. The Campaign works to do the following:

- Mobilizes and coordinates local and national efforts to support
  communities in their resistance to the Wall;

- Supports people's steadfastness in their lands despite the
  devastating effects of the Wall;

- Raises awareness on the international level about the implications
  of the Wall on Palestinian towns, and mobilizes solidarity for the

communities affected by the Wall, through coordination with international organizations and movements;

- Mobilizes the Arab world community, civil society organizations and unions to increase political solidarity and support within the Arab world for the Palestinian struggle in general, and for the community struggle against the Wall;

- Calls for international boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel. This is seen as the most effective way to force Israel to comply with the ICJ decision;

- Links the Palestinian struggle against the Wall and Occupation to the world-wide struggles against war, globalization, and colonization;

- Activates international organizations, movements and actors to support the Campaign (http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml#CampaignParticipantsandOrganization,¶8-9).

The following organizational pieces of the Campaign make up its structure:

- Popular Committees: the Campaign includes committees that are representatives of affected communities on two levels: the district level and the local village/city level. The committees' work includes organizing mobilization and resistance and collecting data. These committees are the basis of grassroots mobilizing, and representatives of their villages' demands and struggle;

- General Assembly: the Campaign's general assembly is constituted of 21 non-governmental organizations and popular committees*. The general assembly decides on the vision, goals, and main strategies of the Campaign, in addition to its by-laws and financial administration;

- Coordinating Committee: consists of 7 members elected from the general assembly: the regional coordinators, representatives of the member NGOs, and the Campaign coordinator. This body decides the action plans and implementation of strategies and work plans, and supervises the Campaign's work;

- Head Office: the Campaign office located in Ramallah, implements all Campaign work under the supervision of the coordinating committee;

- Hosting Organization: the hosting of the Campaign rotates yearly between member organizations; the hosting organization provides the Campaign with all logistics needed for work. This year [2009] the campaign is hosted by the Union of Health Work Committees (http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml#CampaignParticipantsandOrg anization).

The Campaign's activities are discussed in the learning dimensions section of this chapter.

Defining NGOs and social/grassroots movements: Perspectives from the Field

In my experiences in travelling to Palestine and engaging in academic research in the area of NGO-ization of women's movements, I came to learn that there is a very critical and poignant analysis of the differences between NGOs and grassroots movements and campaigns within the Palestinian context. Fatimah, one of the participants in this research, differentiates between NGOs and grassroots movements with the following statement:

The grassroots work is on a different level. The grassroots see you as an individual and they want to recruit you as an individual and so they will see what you need. For example, maybe you need a kindergarten because you have kids and you can not leave the house for a demonstration and activities, etc. Okay, so we will establish a kindergarten by your house so women in that area can leave their house if we ask them to join a demonstration or sit in or whatever. So the target is well defined and it's persistent. They establish what Gramsci says is organic links with you because they want you, not because they want to vomit some curriculum or training to develop you and turn their back. No they want you as you are because they want you to join in the activities for national liberation (84-93).

Fatimah's comments related to her experiences with NGOs and social movements in Palestine are blunt and honest. Her comment with regard to

Gramsci's organic links refers to Gramsci's rejection of the need for an outside

intellectual versus an organic intellectual in the role of political education and an

analysis of hegemonic position of the working class which would only be

challenged through the political education of the masses. This political education

of the masses would only be accomplished through the development of an

"organic relationship with the working class that would allow a dialectical

connection, not only with working-class aspirations, but also with the objective

interests of the class" (Morgan, 1987, p. 302). Gramsci believed that the political

education of workers could only succeed through the development of "a class

consciousness capable of criticizing and replacing the existing forms of economic

and social domination (Morgan, 1987, p. 301). This educational development

would require a dialectical process in which the teacher and pupil could forge a

reciprocal relationship beyond scholastic education into an "organic educational

movement in genuine dialectical relationship" (Morgan, 1987, p. 303) thereby

leading to a social liberation movement of the working class.

Fatimah's comments point to her view of NGOs as "intellectual"

proponents of education, disconnected from the living reality of the oppressed

and enforcing a form of education and training that, by Gramsci's terms, were

bound to fail due to their idealist practices of "go[ing] out to the people"

(Morgan, 1987, p. 301) rather than building the movement from the grassroots

through 'organic' relationships and links.

What is NGO-ization?

Fatimah goes on to describe the process of NGO-ization.

[NGO-ization]…entails structural changes, the structure of the organization. The structures [in Palestine] before NGO-ization were different. The move from unions and grassroots movements into NGO-ization entails limited structure, it's closed, it involves being members of the structure. This is on the organizational level (4-8).

On the cultural level it also introduces a lot of changes. The values that used to exist in mass organizations of grassroots and unions are completely different than the values with the NGO structure. For example, in the first one you have the insistence on the team work, networking, respecting the different lives of women. The NGOs, it's focussed on professionality, efficiency, putting the population as a target group. It's on respecting the hierarchy within the organization. And then the financial question. The grassroots, the financial issues used to be done through collective organizing, accepting donations, putting people in linkages, family to family network. In NGOs the focus is on fundraising. So there are lots of differences. The most important thing is changing the culture, the change in the values in the mobilization of the women's movement is the most dangerous change (9-19).

In her interview with the researcher, Fatimah makes some major

distinctions between social/grassroots movements and NGOs. These are

represented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Distinctions between social/grassroots movements and NGOs

Social/Grassroots Movements:	NGOs:
• insistence on team work, • networking, • respecting the different lives of women, • financial issues used to be done through collective organizing, accepting donations, putting people in linkages, family to family network. • The issues of struggle are created from the people being impacted and the grassroots campaign takes a supportive role in resistance to occupation, not a leading role.	• professionality, • efficiency, • putting the population as a target group • respecting the hierarchy within the organization • focus is on fundraising • NGOs change the issue from Israeli colonization and occupation to the need for Palestinians to be trained to develop "civil society" and learn to cooperate with Israel.

Fatimah's comments are echoed in an article written in April 2008 by the

Association for Women's Rights in Development (2008). In this article, AWID

(2008) states that "the global phenomena of NGO-ization of women's

movements has had many serious effects on the way that women organize and

the agendas that are put forth. NGO-ization has had serious implications on the

way that women's movements in terms of structure, agenda, autonomy and

accountability" (¶1 and 2). Therefore, as a result of increasing pressure by

international donors to become structured development organizations,

autonomy is replaced with reliance on external funding and national or

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international influence in setting agendas, and thus "lines are blurring between women's rights and the women's movement in terms of development interventions" (AWID, 2008, ¶3). As a result, women's movements based on grassroots level organization, defined through advocacy work for women's rights, have become pressured to adopt a service model approach in which women's development is often defined by external donors who control the funding of the organizations and define international development by economic growth cost efficiency in the production of goods and delivery of services (Edwards & Hulme, 1996, p. 961).

The Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC) hosts a number of programs funded by international donor agencies which adopt a service model approach and highlight AWID's analysis. For example, WATC's Sanabel: Empowering rural women project is supported by the Ford Foundation and seeks to

> empower rural women to lead reform and to advocate effectively for policies and legislation which do not discriminate against women by raising their awareness of their rights, equipping them with skills, and mobilizing them as agents of change in their communities and in their own lives. Sanabel provides training for awareness and skills in areas such as leadership, gender, independent decision-making, self confidence, conflict resolution, problem solving, communication, effective outreach, women's rights, networking and advocacy.

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The project also aims to mobilize women during elections as voters, organizers and candidates for local and national leadership. Sanabel also encourages rural women to participate in the projects and reform and advocacy work conducted by WATCand other women's committees (http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=31, ¶8).

This program also highlights Johnson and Kuttab's (2001) concerns that, "the mass activism that marked the women's movement's experience in the intifada [has] largely [been] ... replaced by an NGO model of lobbying, advocacy and workshop-style educational and developmental activities ..." (p. 25). While the Sanabel project does equip women with skills, to become mobilizing agents of change in their communities and in their own lives, the program also clearly demonstrates the NGO-ization process of de-politicization by shifting the focus of Palestinian liberation to statehood (Smith, 2007). The establishment of projects such as the Sanabel: Empowering rural women project has largely reduced women's participation in the national liberation struggle and social movements and replaced it with a women's "empowerment" discourse (Kuttab, 2008, p. 104) as well as perpetuating the liberal discourse which was originally introduced and imposed upon Palestinian women by the donor community, international development insitutions,and international non-governmental organizations.

Gender mainstreaming: the creation of an illusion and the process of

NGO-ization

As discussed in chapter 3, Mojab (2007) characterizes the political change

in the women's movement as a shift to the right. For Mojab (2007),

> The right turn in the feminist movement coincides with three decades of
>
> cooptation, fragmentation of women's movements through the
>
> instruments of the UN, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and a
>
> vast network of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These
>
> capitalist institutions have supported, funded and promoted patriarchy by
>
> turning the struggle of women to de-politicized and liberal notions of
>
> "gender mainstreaming" and "women's empowerment" (p. 3).

Mojab's (2007) comments reflect one of the major concerns dividing

social movements and NGOs in Palestine: the issue of gender mainstreaming and

women's empowerment.

I visited the WATC, earlier this year (2009), and found that the WATC

was funded by some of what Mojab (2007) would define as *capitalist institutions*,

including: USAid, CIDA, UNDP, UNESCO, and the World Bank. Furthermore,

each program offered by the WATC is specifically funded by one or more

international donors. In an interview with a member of the WATC I had a

chance to discuss WATC's work with Palestinian women. When asked about

what the WATC does, Amira, a member of the organization offered the

following explanation:

What we do, is we want to be equal between men and women and focus on law. We have a lot of programs where we try to give power to women and look at how women can get a good education and have the capacity and ability to be active in society. For example for many years we are working with women in villages in camps and sometimes in the cities, but more in villages. This program works mainly with women in villages to give power to women about women's issues about how they can get involved in the elections or help women candidates. And also if there is a small organization or centre for women, we help them, not with money but help connect to others, give them information. Another thing is with law, how to make the law more fair for women (2-10).

According to another informant, Fatimah, focusing on the gender agenda "conceals to a great deal what comes usually under the national agenda" Fatimah goes on to say:

I mean look at us now, look at Ramallah, there is a huge NGO presence and a *huge* attack on the Palestinian people in Gaza is taking place. And what is taking place here, there is no mobilization and why? Because many people are putting their efforts in running NGOs and the other part is the weakening of political parties (77-83).

As a result, "there has been a loss of feminist conciousness whereby feminism promoted by NGOs is far weaker than the liberal feminism being practiced today in the Middle East" (Mojab, 2007, p. 9).

Fatimah then goes on to state that the beginning of the NGO-ization process in Palestine can be connected to the signing of the Oslo Peace Agreements in 1993.

> [NGO-ization] developed immediately after the Oslo agreement you know in 1992 we started to witness a mushrooming of these kinds of NGOs that did not exist before, and the influx of donor aid to the West Bank and lesser extent to Gaza enhanced the development of this phenomenon (26-29).

As a result, Oslo meant the further division between the "gender/women's development" agenda of NGOs and the liberation struggle of social movements in Palestine. While NGOs worked to develop Palestinian society under the occupation, National Movements continued to focus on the liberation of Palestine first before *developing* Palestinian society. "Oslo created this illusion of the end of the Occupation and starting to build a new State. It did not end the occupation. It diverted attention to ending the occupation to attempting to build a state under the occupation which is impossible. The NGOs played major role in widening this illusion" (Fatimah, 26-29, 2009).

However, according to the founder of the Middle East Non-Violence and Democracy (MEND) non governmental organization, NGOs do not have "to

respond to the idea that international NGOs are depoliticizing the agenda"

(114). Anna believes that grassroots can drive the agenda. She goes on to say,

> I think that there has been a growing culture of dependence
>
> and an increase of NGOs that don't even know what they
>
> are doing. There is a lot of workshops, 'democracy' a lot of
>
> empty talk and. I think both sides are to blame. One side
>
> throws money for things and the other side wants to survive
>
> so they go after things without necessarily the full
>
> knowledge that's needed for this and I think it's had a bad
>
> effect because people think they're doing things they're not
>
> doing (116-121).

Professionalization and de-politicization of the women's movement

Mojab (2007) states that women's NGOs are positioned within an

"imperialist feminist scheme, [where] women [are] trained to lead NGOs, to

participate in the political structure of conservative and pro-Western states, to

engage in alienating, pacifying training programs for the capitalist 'democracy' and

join the army of workers to build 'civil society.'" In this version of women's

struggle, capitalist relations of power and the institutions of state and patriarchy

are left untouched (Mojab, 2007, ¶15). Consequently, as suggested by the

Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID, 2008), women's

organizations have become professionalized and removed from the grassroots,

thereby maintaining and perpetuating what Mojab (2007) calls the imperialist

feminist scheme:

The need for women's organizations to be professional,

productive and efficient has meant that they have

transformed the way they work. A lot of voluntary work

that depended heavily on local participation and local

donations of money has been transformed into

professional work and this has affected the old ways of

doing advocacy work in favour of a new NGOized society"

(AWID, 2008,¶4).

A concrete example of this process of professionalization can be found

within the organizational structures of the Middle East Nonviolence and

Democracy (MEND) organization and the Women's Affairs Technical

Committee (WATC). MEND is governed by a Board of Trustees, all of which

hold extremely professional and prestigious postions. Three of the seven

members hold PhDs, while others hold titles such as "former Minister of

Housing" and "Director – Ministry of NGO Affairs". In addition, the language

used on MEND's website (www.mendonline.org) to promote its work is directly

reflective of Mojab (2007) and AWID's (2008) observations of the push towards

a professionalized industry. On such example is found on MEND's "About us"

page in which it is stated "We work with many experts on a contract basis and

have built up a wide and highly professional network over the years of both

Palestinians and internationals" (http://www.mendonline.org/aboutus.html, ¶11).

Although the WATC claims to derive some of its strength from the

grassroots (See WATC's structure at www.watcpal.org), the governing body of

WATC is the executive committee which is also made up of elite and prestigious members. In addition, as previously mentioned, WATC receives almost all of its funding from external international donor agencies. It is commonly known that many of these donor agencies such as USAID, Oxfam, Ford Foundation and Canada's CIDA, have strict funding and reporting guidelines which must be adhered to in order to secure and continue funding.

One disturbing example of the power funding agencies have over the work of non governmental organizations comes from the feminist organization INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. According to one of INCITE!'s organizers, Andrea Smith (2007), the Ford Foundation, which had originally offered INCITE! a funding grant for $100,000, unexpectedly sent a letter on July 30, 2004 "explaining that they had reversed its decision because of … [INCITE's] statement of support for the Palestinian liberation struggle" (Smith, 2007, 1). Ironically, the Ford Foundation has been funding WATC's Sanabel: Empowering rural women project since 1997. In regards to the process of de-politicization of women's struggles in Palestine, this example alone highlights the very legitimate concerns that some activists, academics, local communities and feminists have in regards to the NGO-ization and de-politicization process.

Exploring the learning dimensions of two Palestinian NGOs and one grassroots organization

Each organization and campaign uses forms of education and learning to address the needs and goals of their respective work. Therefore, this section will seek to examine and explore the role of popular education, knowledge learning

and informal, non-formal and incidental learning processes in "Third World"

women's struggles within the context of Palestinian NGOs and grassroots

mobilization.

Learning in the Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC)

"The women's movement has relied mostly on creating anti-hegemonic

consensus through non-formal education (NFE) (Stromquist, 2001). At times it

has relied on informal education (Foley, 1999), by using its own media to convey

an understanding of issues of importance to the women's movement and to raise

awareness about the need for prompt collective or national government action"

(Stromquist, 2004, p. 37). Examples of this informal education can be seen with

the work WATC has carried out in raising the society's awareness of women's

issues and achievements through campaigns, radio and TV programs, theatre, and

through the bi-monthly newspaper supplement distributed by Al Ayam

newspaper for which WATC is perhaps best known, *Voice of Women.*

The women's radio program and newspaper produced through the

WATC has been ongoing for over twelve years. According to WATC's website

(www.watcpal.org),

> Voice of Women (*Sawt An-Nissa*), a bi-monthly periodical which is
>
> also published as a segment of Al Ayam newspaper, has been
>
> supported by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung since1997. Its mission is
>
> to promote justice for women and encourage them to participate
>
> fully and effectively in society. Each issue features the concerns,
>
> accomplishments, experiences and perspectives of women in

various communities and sectors of Palestinian society. Voice of Women has had the longest circulation of any publication devoted to women in Palestine. It provides a platform for free expression for all Palestinian and Arab women and has attracted many distinguished writers. It has gained a reputation as a reliable resource for research on women's issues.

The idea behind both programs is to educate women about women's issues and provide a space within the media to put women's issues on the national agenda. In an interview with Amira, a worker with the WATC, she describes the role of the media in WATC's work:

In the media department we have a weekly radio show and a newspaper for 12 years. I think in the media department we are speaking directly about women's issues that you can't find in other media like TV and newspaper. We use the radio because we think a lot of women can't buy the newspaper and the TV is for men and children, but the radio is very cheap so women can use it. Also we broadcast in the morning because this is when women are at home. There is 15% of women in Palestine that don't read and write well, so now we can use local language just to speak(18-25).

According to Stromquist (2004), while "significant informal learning occurs through the activities women undertake as they manage their own organisations … there are three major additional sources of informal learning: campaigns on a specific topic, demonstrations and feminist media"

(p. 45). WATC's work with women and media allows for women to transmit

information and research through radio and newsprint thereby educating

other women on issues that affect their daily lives in Palestine.

In addition, the WATC provides training for other organizations that

want to help women acquire more training in the media. As Amira also

shares:

> I work with the women's centre to help women get more
>
> training in media. We want women to be more in the media,
>
> how women can be in the media more. This is volunteer work
>
> for me for 3 years. I am a journalist and this is my work to
>
> figure out what is the vision of women in media. There is a lot
>
> of bad things sometimes and nothing about women, very little.
>
> There is no strategy or plan to talk about women in the
>
> newspaper, so we work with journalists to help them to work
>
> more with women issues. Right now it is just sports and politics
>
> (42-48).

Within these programs at the WATC, a political space for women to

develop political knowledge and skills allows "spaces where women can develop

these skills away from a controlling masculine gaze, and where they can hone

skills that enable them to intervene more effectively in society" (Stromquist,

2004, p. 47). However, while the media programs with the WATC do provide an

opportunity for the development of feminist political knowledge and action, one

must understand that the WATC's mandate – to develop women in society – is

placed within the central development mission to build a civil Palestinian society while still under Israeli occupation. One must therefore ask if programs such as these further perpetuate the illusion of women attaining equality while still under a system of occupation or whether they do indeed provide an opportunity for women to gain the critical insight, knowledge and skills to continue struggling for liberation from occupation and patriarchy. Amira believes that the training and education offered through the WATC does indeed lead women to become more active in social movements. She states:

> Before they don't think about women's issues and society but when I go talk to them in university they begin to think about things differently. I did a 3-week training program with media students in Birzeit University. They didn't read the newspaper. At first, the students would say there was no problem for women. But then we start talking, about statistics, facts and violence against women etc…then we can talk about issues and get boys and women to think. And also with the boys, they need to see there is a problem. When you give them the facts and talk about the law, then they realize. We open their minds for these people to watch things more. When we have a campaign or election the students help us out. You can notice a difference in them between now and 2 years before (Amira, 84 – 93).

Learning in the Middle East Non Violence and Democracy Organization

(MEND)

According to the European (non-Palestinian) born executive director and founder of MEND, the organization was created in 1993 because she saw a "major need for different influences in education that would open up possibilities of choice and encourage awareness of the potential for non-violence. People use non-violence, but they don't necessarily know the full potential of it" (Anna, 7-9).

The Middle East Non Violence and Democracy Organization (MEND) provides an example of informal education in their *Choose a Future* project in which video was used to help girls reflect on their images of themselves and of others, as a tool to encourage them to stay in school. The *Choose a Future* project with MEND was a project in which the United Nations provided "big funding with United Nations volunteers for a big project to work with girls to encourage them to stay in school" (Anna, 20-21). The project worked with four schools in Jericho and three schools in the West Bank. Anna goes on to describe the project:

> We worked with the Ministry of Education to select the most
> conservative schools where girls were being taken out early and
> not allowed to continue their education. This was a major project
> it involved training teachers in a wide range of schools. We
> produced a curriculum that went with it. We trained 150 girls via
> the teachers in conflict resolution, human rights, media awareness,
> participatory video which is now being used by B'tselem in their

video project. We were starting to develop this idea that if you train people to film what is going on around them and you see your own image and the image of the people you are working with it is very powerful. It is transformative (Anna, 24-32).

In addition to MEND's training in the above mentioned areas, UNV gender specialist Gabriela Elroy (2000) was sent from Sweden to work with the project to "conduct gender training for the teachers who [were] teaching the *Choose a Future* curriculum to the girls, and to take part in the adaptation and editing of the curriculum" (¶7) to include gender mainstreaming education. Furthermore, in an interview with UNV Programme Manager Jean-Luc Bories, Elroy further explains the objectives of the Choose a Future project and her role as a gender specialist:

> The ultimate objective of *Choose a Future* is to strengthen the self-confidence of 120 teenage girls residing in the rural areas around Ramallah and Jericho, and empower them to make individual life choices. The girls are going through a six-months after school programme, known as *Choose a Future*, which is being implemented by 14 teachers working in the seven participating local schools. My role is to provide gender training for the teachers now training the girls, to participate in the development and editing of the curriculum and to follow-up on the gender parts of the project. We are using videos and the Internet as

means to connect girls with strong female role models and to publish their experiences (UNV, 2000, ¶11).

According to the 2001 UNV report, "using videos and the Internet to connect girls with strong female role models, the 'Choose a Future' campaign combined the resources of UN Volunteers with those of local time-givers to produce a sustainable, highly successful programme for local empowerment" (UNV, 2001, p. 20). A more direct outcome from the *Choose a Future* project is related to the outbreak of the second intifada in September 2000 when some of the girls from the project "set up an emergency clinic in their village (Silwad) and arranged for donations of medicines and doctors' time" (MEND, http://www.mendonline.org/Projects.html, ¶6). The actions of the girls in setting up the emergency clinic provides an example of how the informal learning provided through *Choose a Future* provided skills and education for girls in rural areas in Palestine, resulting in political action and solidarity.

Another project that MEND engaged in was funded by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) called *Empowering Women Against Violence*. According to MIFTAH (2005),

> The Palestinian Society is in a state of denial that gender-based violence against women exists within it. To date, there is no national documentation or data showing the number of cases where violent acts have been committed against women. The only cases which have been documented are those which were

recorded through studies conducted by neutral organizations or individuals who work with victims of violence (p. 2).

Furthermore,

> The results of a survey conducted by Bisan Center for Development and Research in 1995, showed that 35% of Palestinian surveyed women had been subjected to mental and verbal violence repeatedly; 21% to physical violence; 9% to severe physical violence; 7% of the girls interviewed indicated that they had experienced sexual abuse by one of their brothers; and 4% raped by the father (MIFTAH, 2005. p. 2).

As such, education regarding ending violence against women in Palestinian society has become a central area of interest for many non governmental organizations. In 2002, UNIFEM provided funding to MEND to implement a participatory video project with Palestinian women in Bethlehem. Here, Anna describes the project *Empowering Women Against Violence Project* in her own words:

> We took 25 women from the area…. We took women from various sectors. We had two police women, 2 educators, 2 housewives, 2 lawyers, etc. We gave them a lot of training in communications and non-violence. We'd sort of developed a pattern of some of the basic core skills. And then we trained 12 of them in participatory video because we could only take a maximum of 12. We had to make a film about overcoming

violence for this project. In the end we made two films. It was incredibly difficult to find women who would talk about being victims of violence.

They found a woman whose baby had died because she had to give birth at a checkpoint. It brought up all things subtly about the reaction by her family and husband and how she was blamed in this tragic situation. Then we did another one about one of the lives of the participants. She had had so many difficulties. Her house was destroyed by Israelis, and she wanted to get more education and fought opposition. Then she fell in love with an activist and her family was against it but she went ahead, he was in prison. It showed her overcoming all the obstacles. It gave a really good spectrum of the lives of Palestinian women from the victim in so many levels to the way so many of these levels can be overcome. That was used a lot, in training and lots of people used it. One of the participants was killed by the Israelis during the siege in Bethlehem. She was shot through a window (50-69).

The *Empowering Women Against Violence* project provides insight into the types of learning and knowledge production that MEND has facilitated amongst Palestinian women. The creation of both films required research and knowledge production of participants based on personal experiences with violence. The process of creation and production of the films allowed the women participating in the project an opportunity to build new skills. The use of the films as

educational tools to further educate other Palestinians about violence against women in Palestine offered informal and non-formal education and learning while also creating the opportunity and possibility for political engagement and activism for social change.

Unfortunately, long term outcomes of this project have not been documented and therefore it is impossible to know if women's learning through this project has led to further social movement activity. According to Foley (1999), "while economic and political changes may create the material conditions for social movement activity. For people to become actively involved in social movements something must happen to their consciousness – they must see that action is necessary and possible" (p. 103).The lack of follow-up within this project creates constraints on understanding the possible learning processes and dimensions of education leading to social movement action. However, what can be said about this particular case is that women's activity through MEND's project provided spaces for learning. For Foley (1999), "*Critical learning* extends the learner, and moves her beyond her current understanding…. *Emancipatory* learning involves generating emancipatory action" (p. 105). In an attempt to 'read in' the learning dimensions of this project, the process of telling stories of women's personal experiences with violence may enable them to move beyond a personal/individual understanding of their experiences of violence and make the systemic connections to her experiences and those of other women within the broader Palestinian society thereby leading to a deepening of knowledge and development of critical awareness. Emancipatory learning leading to action may

be understood within this context as the process of sharing the films amongst other communities to further educate Palestinian women on ways to overcome oppression.

Learning in the grassroots movement to stop the building of the Apartheid wall

This final inquiry into learning dimensions in social action within Palestine involves understanding the knowledge production and learning that take place in the grassroots campaign to stop the building of the Apartheid wall in Palestine. Before discussing the learning dimensions of this campaign, I must provide an explanation of the creation for the campaign.

As previously mentioned, the call for a campaign to stop the building of the Apartheid wall came in October 2002 from the office of the Palestinian Environmental NGOs Network (PENGON). PENGON (2003) describes the implementation of the wall in the following excerpt from their book *The Wall in Palestine – Facts, Testimonies, Analysis and Call to Action* :

> In June 2002, Israel began implementing the next stage of its expansionist and repressive program by building a Wall inside the West Bank that would run at least the West Bank's entire length. Not surprisingly, the path of the ever-winding Wall would follow, consistently, the logic of land confiscation and control, including the annexation of settlements and the caging off of built-up, Palestinian areas. Contrary to worldwide news reports, the Wall (also referred to as the "fence", "separation

barrier", and particularly deceptively the "security fence") will not mark the 1967 border, also known as the Green Line. The Wall is in fact a major land grab and a sealing of the fate of the Occupied Territories and of Palestine (PENGON, 2003, p. 12).

Appendix A: *The West Bank Wall- Map 2006* shows the path on which the wall is being constructed. The dotted green and yellow line shows the 1949 armstice lines/pre-1967 borders, while the red line traces the building of the wall.

Immediately following PENGONs call for a grassroots campaign to stop the wall, the Grassroots Palestinian Anti-apartheid Wall Campaign was formed. When asked to describe the campaign, one of the founders described its creation and evolution in the following way:

> [The campaign] is a copy from the experience with the first intifada simply because the one who started in Stop The Wall in the districts are from that generation. We were the youth during the first intifada leading the street, throwing stones, organizing groups, organizing the community. This experience was oppressed after Oslo, it didn't take time to grow normally, but within this experience, if there was a chance to explode, it will come back again.
> So it came in 2002 when Israel started building the wall. In 2002 there was Jenin massacre and it was a shock to Palestinian society. How can Israel close all the borders and no face of humanity to the extent it can shell a camp and destroy and massacre the

people? In Nablus, destroy the historical city and monuments going back to 700-800 years. Nablus is 4000 years old. So you feel the hatred, you feel these people are so racist and the hatred has no limits. If they can banish you they will. So during the bombings I was in Jenin and able to organize some kind of voice. So after that I was co-founding the Palestinian environmental NGOs network (11-25).

As a result of his participation with PENGON, Anand instigated the call for the Campaign.

"The Campaign initiated its work on three levels: acting as the voice of communities locally; mobilization and coordination nationally; and additionally as part of the global struggle against colonization, war and racism" (The Grassroots Palestinian Anti-apartheid Wall Campaign, ¶2).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Campaign works to resist the construction of the apartheid wall through a number of local, national and international strategies and activities. The intention in this section of the data analysis is to examine the learning dimensions involved in the Campaign. While there are moments where informal learning and education takes place via research, production of books, brochures and reports. My focus here will be on the incidental learning dimensions within the campaign. In this way, I will be looking at the learnings that are embedded in the actions of the Campaign or "*learning in the struggle*" (Foley, 1999, p. 39), through an examination of the Campaign's grassroots mobilization strategies.

Grassroots mobilization forms the fundamental part of the Campaign activities including the organization of meetings with affected communities, the support of popular committees organizing against the wall, supporting community activities against the wall, calling for and coordinating activities against the wall, exposing the occupation's plans and actions, and coordinating the exchange of experiences between communities to encourage solidarity between people in different locations.

According to the Campaign's website (http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml) popular committees are the foundation of the grassroots struggle"

As an expression of the needs of the people, the Popular Committees are formed by the communities to organize and to defend their lands and homes from confiscation and destruction. Inside the committees the hardship and challenges posed by the Apartheid Wall are discussed and political expression of the people is built. The committees form the space where people can meet, organize, strategize and mobilize. The activities and decisions of the 50+ committees are supported and coordinated through the Campaign's Head Office and Regional Coordinators. These committees are the basis of the grassroots mobilizing and the link between the Campaign and the people that allows the communities to obtain and provide Campaign information, communicate needs and priorities to the Campaign,

and seek support both in mobilization and in safeguarding their

lands (¶ 19-21).

As Jesson & Newman (2004) suggest, the learning that takes place within the

grassroots mobilization can be considered a form of adult education and learning

"associated with radical social action" (p. 251). In this sense, learning is happening

"by people acting collectively to bring about radical and emancipatory social

change" (Jesson & Newman, 2004, p. 251). Radical social change in this sense is

considered to be a purposeful engagement of a group that is "learning and acting

collectively for some agreed greater social goal. This can be called education for

organizing social action or learning radical action" (Jesson & Newman, 2004, p.

252).

In the case of the Campaign's grassroots mobilization strategy, grassroots

committees form the foundation for political organizing and action through the

collective expression and communication about the hardship and challenges

posed by the Apartheid Wall leading to organizing, strategizing and mobilizing for

change through direct and indirect action. Examples of these latest and up to

date actions include:

- August 27, 2009 – production of short video clip from a Friday

  demonstration in the village of Ni'lin where soldiers pursued

  protestors toward the direction of the village, firing tear gas

  and sound bombs as well as rubber and live bullets;

- August 29, 2009 - Ni'lin pushes soldiers back on the first Friday of Ramadan letting the solidiers know that they will not be prevented from reaching their olive groves for harvest.

- August 26, 2009 – A call to international activists and supporters to join Palestinian and the Campaign in the annual olive harvest in October. Each year the harvesting of the olives becomes more difficult as farmers face an intensification of settler attacks, the confiscation, isolation and destruction of their lands, and continued closure and permit restrictions, all of which have led to the strangulation of Palestinian communities across the West Bank. Local farmers have refused to be forced off their land, and continue the harvest each year in the face of violence and repression from both soldiers and settlers (http://stopthewall.org/latestnews/2054.shtml).

These are just a few examples of the level of mobilization and action that takes place through the organizing and incidental learning in the popular committees.

Palestinian grassroots mobilization is taking place in many forms. Now that lands are inaccessible and movement virtually barred in the areas where the Wall is complete, information events such as presentations, meetings and exhibitions gain even more importance for empowering people with the necessary information, updates and tools to take action. Demonstrations

held on land stolen by the Occupation forces, and other forms of

protests, are expressions of the people's determination and

resilience to resisting the Israeli Occupation and Apartheid Wall

(http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml#CampaignStrategies, ¶ 22).

This chapter provides an analysis the data collected for the purposes of

this research. Through the examination of two NGOs and one grassroots

campaign, I have attempted to examine the processes of NGO-ization and de-

politicization within women's struggles in Palestine. I have offered local

understanding and perspectives of NGO-ization and the process of

professionalization within NGOs. Finally I have explored the learning dimensions

of the organizations and grassroots campaign.

While this research exposes some of the pressures being imposed upon

social movements by international NGOs to 'modernize' their communities by

reproducing "less 'participatory' elements of existing social and political culture"

(Jad, 2007, p. 623), it also has potential to provide people and communities of

struggle with strategies and hope for meaningful social change through stories of

education for resistance, transformation, liberation and freedom. "It is these

movements and activities that reach every aspect of Palestinian women's lives,

and alongside education, play a role of paramount importance in their liberation

process" (Velloso, 1996, p. 524).

Chapter 6:

Concluding Reflections

In this final chapter I wish to share a few theoretical and practical reflections and offer some final thoughts on NGO-ization and the de-politicization of women's movements through the "development project" (McMichael, 1996), with specific attention to NGO – social movement and women's struggles and learning in struggle for liberation in Palestine. While it has been strongly asserted in this research that NGOs can indeed play an active role in the de-politicization or NGO-ization of Palestinian women's movements through advancing Western civil societarian conceptions of development, questions emerge in relation to whether or not NGOs and social movements can in fact work together to challenge the coloniality of development or whether their relationship is inherently juxtaposed to one another, given their radical differences in structures, objectives and political positions with respect to neoliberalism and the globalization of capitalism. As Audre Lorde (1981) once asked, can the master's tools dismantle the master's house? Can NGOs then be the tools to radically change or dismantle a system of development that is strongly rooted in neoliberalism, colonialism, western modernization and democratization? Are there potential *cracks in consent* and *spaces for resistance* (Klees, 2002; Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley, 2004) within NGOs that allow for challenging the *status quo* and the creation of a more radical form of social change that can address the roots of women's oppression under occupation? How can Third World feminist thought contribute to the possibility of NGO – social movement relations

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moving beyond the process of de-politicization towards a more transformative and progressive relationship? And, how does learning and education play a role within this process of women's struggle for liberation under the framework of NGO – social movement relations?

Reflections on Third World feminism, development, NGO – social movement relations and learning in struggle

"The need for theory … both explains and enables actions" (Foley, 1999, p. 130). This research has employed a Third World feminist theoretical framework to investigate the process of NGO-ization of women's liberation movements in Palestine and its learning dimensions. As previously stated in chapter 2, Audre Lorde (1981) once said, "It is a particular academic arrogance to assume any discussion of feminist theory without … significant input from poor women… and Third World women" (p. 110) and thus "the absence of any consideration …of the consciousness of Third World women leaves a serious gap" (p. 111) into the inquiry of women's struggles for liberation.

Taking a page from Lorde (1981), applying Third World feminist analysis to the investigation of Palestinian women's struggles for liberation via NGO – social movement relations is necessary if this research is to be relevant, representative and useful to the further development of theory concerning Third World women and the development project. The deployment of Third World feminist theory sheds light on how the process of NGO-ization has led to a de-politicization of women's struggles in Palestine and can be understood as a

"continuation of the colonial encounter" (Jad, 2003, p. 5) whereby development is continuous with and contemporary neoliberalism.

Furthermore, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, the various theories that have evolved over time with respect to women and the development project have too often resulted in ethnocentric depictions and treatment of Third World women in Western feminist and development discourses (Escobar, 1995). Western feminist thought often homogenizes representations of Third World women as 'victims of male violence; as universal dependents; victims of the colonial process; victims of the Arab familial system; victims of the Islamic code; and, finally, victims of the economic development process" (Mohanty, 2002, p. 506). Third World feminist theory creates an opportunity for Third World women to transcend the homogeneous treatment of their experiences towards an understanding of "intersubjectivities" in Third World women's struggles, thus shifting Western feminist discourse towards an understanding of Third World women as subjects of their various struggles and histories, subsequently resulting in the dismantling of ethnocentricities (Lazreg, 1988, p. 98).

The research presented in this work has sought to represent Palestinian women as subjects of their own histories of struggle for liberation from occupation, colonization and conquest. Between the 1929 British Mandate to the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, Palestinian women played a central role in non-violent resistance to occupation. The examination of the impact that women-centered NGOs have had on the mobilizing potential of women's

movements for liberation in Palestine speaks directly to the neoliberal process of de-politicization in which Third World women become relegated to a deficient identity where Western-imposed development via modernization and the creation of civil society (although still under Israeli occupation), will serve to free women from their oppressive victimized and dependent lives. Third World Feminist theory unveils the coloniality of this process and critiques the location of Third World women as underdeveloped, illiterate and poor victims to place them as central agents of their own lives and realities, and therefore subjects "with powerful histories of resistance and revolution in daily life and as organized liberation movements" (Mohanty, 1991b, p. 52).

In terms of the ground realities, there is an ongoing division between NGOs and grassroots movements in Palestine. In an interview with Smith (2007), Atef Said states that "NGOization often competes with grassroots organizing work" (p. 175). Central to this competition is the different use of tactics. While NGOs that are dependant upon funding for their existence tend to discourage potential clashes with the oppressors or people in power, grassroots movements may choose to engage in direct forms of action for social change. Said (as cited in Smith 2007) goes on to say that NGO leaders who were previously members of left wing social movements have been co-opted into the "NGO world because they can be funded (including personal benefits like travel and luxury hotel accommodations)" (p. 175).

According to Said (as cited in Smith 2007), "when it comes to Palestine, NGOs feel they have the right to tell Palestinians what to do. In their

framework, the problem is not Israeli colonization and occupation; the problem is that Palestinians need to be trained to develop 'civil society' and learn to cooperate with Israel" (p. 174) thereby leading to a de-politicization or NGO-ization of Palestinian struggle for liberation from occupation. This framework is reflected in Chapter 5 with my investigation into the types of programs and education being implemented with regard to women's empowerment projects. Both MEND and the WATC have used women's empowerment programs to help further develop women's involvement and participation within civil society despite the ongoing occupation. As has been suggested several times in this research, these projects divert attention away from the immediate concern of ending the occupation to what one of the participants of this research has called the "illusion of freedom under occupation" (Fatimah, 2009, 26).

Despite such diversions and divisions between NGOs and social movement, the structure of the grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign does provide a potential alternative to dominant NGO – social movement relations. Perhaps their campaign structure in which NGOs and popular committees made up of local people provides some insight into a potential political and practical shift in the participation of NGOs to end the occupation. As Hilhorst (2003) suggests, "NGOs and social movements may have much more in common than we have come to believe in the 1990s" (p. 28). While my current investigation into NGO – social movement relations was limited by time and ground realities in a conflict zone, the campaign structure of Stop the Wall could potentially demonstrate NGOs' abilities to find *cracks in*

consent within the structures of their funding and support organizations in order to join grassroots struggles to end the occupation while developing civil society.

On the other hand, one can not lose sight of the current fact that "eighty percent of the infrastructure in Palestine is funded by international granting agencies. These agencies stifle critiques of capitalism and try to normalize the free market economy in the occupied territories" (Smith, 2007, p. 177). Currently, women's NGOs in Palestine operate under this framework where their focus continues to be on the political and social 'empowerment' of women through the perpetuation of the illusion of the creation civil society while under occupation.

Exploring the role of popular education and learning in struggle, as discussed in chapter 5, in relation to the process of NGO de-politicization of women's movements is of particular importance in this work. hooks (2000) and Mohanty's (2002) feminist engagement with Third World women learning in struggle points to the importance of education providing a process for weaving together political threads of "opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systemic" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 4). Popular education (Brown, 2006; Burke et al., 1991; Freire, 1997; Haas, 2002; Hurst, 2002; Kane, 2001) and Kapoor's (2009 b) typology of social action learning as discussed in chapter 2, share common understandings with hooks (2000) and Mohanty (2002) of the types of education and learning that are employed to understand structured unequal relations of power, the development of knowledge from this understanding crucial for social action and the social action itself. As Haas (2002)

states, popular education "provides tools for collectivizing knowledge and experience around shared problems, for analyzing power and structural dynamics, and for democratically devising solutions and actions to attain those solutions" (p. 94).

Reflecting on the literature and drawing from the insights developed through the case study raises a crucial question: do NGOs have the potential, ability and/or desire to relate their immediate concerns and specific projects focused on women's empowerment and the development of civil society, to the broader and systemic issues rooted in politics and power, thereby creating spaces for popular education to be used as a process for social change? While some of the literature (Foley 1999; Kane, 2001; Stromquist, 2004) does suggest that popular education for social change is possible within the structures of NGOs and women's organizations, it would be negligent to ignore the preliminary data collected for this research in the area of women-centred NGOs and their learning dimensions, which points to a less emancipatory form of education. Both MEND and the WATC use various forms of non-formal and informal education for their programs and projects. As discussed in Chapter 5, while projects such as the Sanabel project at the WATC does equip women with skills to become mobilizing agents for change within their communities, the focus on creating statehood rather than Palestinian liberation means that the critical understanding of the systems and institutions that are creating and maintaining women's oppression in the first place is replaced with developing the skills for women to participate in an illusive civil society. I must repeat Mojab's (2007)

poignant comment here, where she states that there has been a "right turn" in the feminist movement which,

> coincides with three decades of cooptation, fragmentation of women's movements through the instruments of the UN, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and a vast network of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These capitalist institutions have supported, funded and promoted patriarchy by turning the struggle of women to de-politicized and liberal notions of "gender mainstreaming" and "women's empowerment" (p. 3).

As such, it is important to name and expose these concepts and projects of "gender mainstreaming" and "women's empowerment" as processes for de-politicization within women's movements and struggles.

Furthermore, in order to gain a more critical understanding of the impact of the learning and education that takes place within these NGOs, more research will be required. For instance, while MEND's *Empowering Women Against Violence* project does point to some forms of emancipatory learning for social action, the lack of follow-up with the women participants in the project creates implications for understanding the learning dimensions leading to action beyond the project.

And finally, while the Palestinian grassroots campaign to stop the building of the Apartheid wall employs incidental learning as a mobilizing strategy both locally and internationally, more investigation into the learning dimensions of this campaign are required to gain a more comprehensive understanding and analysis

of how the campaign's incidental learning strategies directly and indirectly impact the mobilizing and action potential of their struggles to end the building of the Apartheid wall and ultimately end the Israeli occupation.

Emerging questions and areas for further study

The first time I read Audre Lorde's (1981) essay "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house," I was deeply impacted and intrigued by her question and response: "What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy? It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable" (Lorde, 1981, p. 110-111). Lorde's response has stayed with me for many years and arisen at various moments of my own personal and academic examination of what it takes to engage in truly radical social change for liberation. Now, once again, I find myself in the midst of this query in regards to the relationship, role and impact of NGOs on Palestinian women's movements for liberation.

According to Staudt (2002), there are many houses that masters have designed and sustained over time. These houses include institutions such as "families, workplaces, universities, national women's bureaus, and seemingly progressive NGOs" (Staudt, 2002, p. 57). For Staudt (2002), it is within these master houses that "women and other non-masters develop their own words, skills, and strategies" (p. 57). While there are definitely master-free houses, they are few and far between, and thus the question arises, "should non-masters, then, disengage, or marginally engage with their own tools, such as language,

skills and knowledge" (Staudt, 2002, p. 57) within or outside of these houses in an effort to make social change happen?

Within the realm of international development, I agree with Petras & Veltmeyer (2001) when they suggest that NGOs are tools of international neoliberal development policies. For me, the neoliberal development project is a very large master's house with NGOs embodying one of the master's most powerful tools. A question then for further inquiry and thought is, can NGOs as tools of the master indeed dismantle the house, or do they only function to maintain the neoliberal development agenda? Staudt (2002) suggests that the transformation of such institutions requires people to "act strategically on the inside and *outside*" of these houses (p. 57). If this is the case, how can people working within the structures of NGOs work to transform them in an effort to dismantle the house of neoliberal development? And, how would popular education and learning in struggle play a role in this transformation?

Furthermore, as Klees (2002) states "NGOs may have initially grown within the cracks and fissures left by the unmet needs of a capitalist, patriarchal, and racist world system" (Klees, 2002, p. 49), but they have become tools for neoliberal development policies rather than progressive forces for change (Klees, 2002 and 2008). Klees (2008) then asks if there is a third way where NGOs, civil society and development can come together to challenge the current inequality of development. As it currently stands, I would concur with Klees (2008) when he suggests that while there may be progressive potential in a flourishing civil society the "so-called 'third way' [is] principally … part of a structure that

furthers the neoliberal market agenda, maintaining poverty ,inequality and marginalization'" (p.25) while in fact, commodifying "poverty" for private agendas with purportedly social aims (e.g.micro credit programs).

However, despite Klees' observations, others such as Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley (2004) suggest that there can be spaces of resistance within development NGOs and therefore lead us to another question for further study: how can these spaces of resistance within development NGOs potentially lead to the dismantling of an inequitable neoliberal development (the master's house)? Townsend, Porter & Mawdsley (2004) argue that the increase in independent-thinking/alternative NGOs over compliant and co-opted NGOs can lead to positive change where their own agendas independent of the dominant neoliberal development agenda can "announce to society that something 'else' is possible" (p. 873). Smith (2007) points out that NGOs in Palestine "get pressure from foundations to shape their political agenda" (p. 178) and that many NGOs have resisted such pressure, therefore leading one to believe that perhaps something else is possible. Further investigation into these spaces of resistance is required.

While I would like to make a bold and definitive statement in conclusion, I am afraid I have only come full circle to find myself pondering a whole new set of questions that have evolved from my initial point of inquiry prompted by Audre Lorde's (1981) revolutionary statement, "*For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.* They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this

fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support" (Lorde, 1981, 9. 113). This statement echoes in my mind as I continue to explore and search for the answers to truly dismantling those systems of oppression that have silenced and caused violence on women for centuries. While I have seen and come to understand that there are cracks in the foundation of consent and that neoliberal development is being questioned and challenged, I do not know which political strategy will ultimately dismantle the master's house without succumbing to the perils of compromise. Are NGOs only tools of the master or can they be tools of the oppressed? Can NGOs play a transformative and political role in the ultimate liberation of Palestinian women? What is necessary to end the process of de-politicization within women's movements and how can popular education and learning in struggle play a role in this process? Although I do not have the answers to these questions, I feel as though this preliminary investigation into the NGO-ization of women's liberation movements in Palestine has allowed me to delve further into discovering the most important tools for liberation and while I am not sure Lorde (1981) holds the answer to liberation, I do agree with her when she says "without community there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression" (Lorde, 1981, p. 113). And when it comes to Third World feminist struggles, the struggles are imagined communities of resistance where "women with divergent histories and social locations, woven together by political threads of opposition to forms of domination" (Mohanty, 2002, p. 503) challenge the essentialism of the *Third*

World woman and struggle for a true women's liberation from all forms of

oppression including patriarchy, colonialism, occupation and neoliberalism.

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Appendix A: The West Bank Wall Map

West Bank Wall - Map 2006

Map : © Jan de Jong
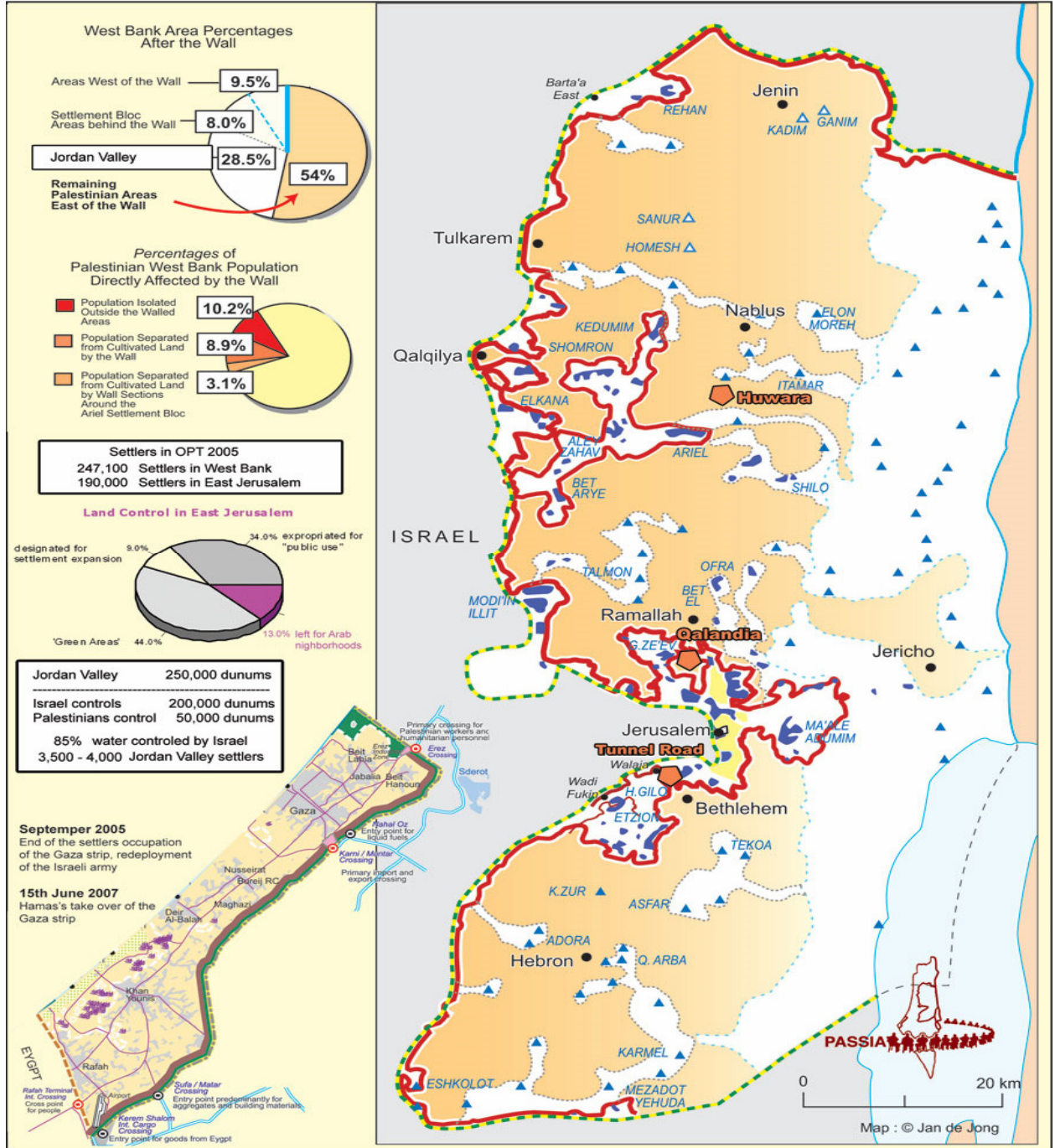
Appendix B: Sample Recruitment Letters

Sample: Letter to prospective research participants [Grassroots Organization]

Dear _____

My name is Natasha Goudar and I am studying for a Master of Education degree at the University of Alberta. I am examining the relationship between women's liberation struggles in Palestine and Non-Governmental Organizations since the signing of the Oslo Peace Agreements in 1993. The research is particularly concerned with understanding popular adult education/learning/knowledge engagements between NGOs and women's movements.

I understand that you are currently active in this organization and I would be very interested in interviewing you for this research. There would be an initial interview of no more than 45 minutes hour. There may be a need for a follow-up conversation of no more than 30 minutes. A follow up conversation would occur if there was a need to make sure that I understood what was being said in the first interview and to make sure that I was representing your ideas correctly.

If you choose to participate your personal identity and the name of your organization will be protected by the use of pseudonyms. This will ensure that that your real name will not be used to identify you and the name of the organization will not be identified.

At any time during this process (before, during or after the interview) you may decide to withdraw from the research and any and all information gathered from you will not be used in the study. In addition, all transcripts will be shared with you prior to submitting the first draft of the thesis. You will have the freedom to accept the transcription, make changes or choose to withdraw at anytime prior to the submission of the first draft.

In addition to the data collected being used in my Masters thesis, it may also be used for, research articles and presentations and teaching. All data will be kept for five years, in a locked cabinet and all computer data will be encrypted and destroyed after 5 years.

If you have any questions you may contact me at 780-628-5557 or email me at ngoudar@gmail.com or contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Dip Kapoor at 780-492-7617 about your rights as a participant in this research.

Ethics approval statement here upon approval
"The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Faculty St. Jean and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEA REB at (780) 492-3751."

Thank you for considering my request and I look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

Sincerely,
Natasha Goudar

Sample: Letter to prospective research participants [NGOs]

Dear _____

My name is Natasha Goudar and I am studying for a Master of Education degree at the University of Alberta. I am examining the relationship between women's liberation struggles in Palestine and Non-Governmental Organizations since the signing of the Oslo Peace Agreements in 1993. The research is particularly concerned with understanding popular adult education/learning/knowledge engagements between NGOs and women's movements.

I understand that you are currently active in this organization and I would be very interested in interviewing you for this research. There would be an initial interview of no more than 45 minutes hour. There may be a need for a follow-up conversation of no more than 30 minutes. A follow up conversation would occur if there was a need to make sure that I understood what was being said in the first interview and to make sure that I was representing your ideas correctly.

If you choose to participate your personal identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym when writing up the findings. Therefore, your real name will not be used to identify you.

At any time during this process (before, during or after the interview) you may decide to withdraw from the research and any and all information gathered from you will not be used in the study. In addition, all transcripts will be shared with you prior to submitting the first draft of the thesis. You will have the freedom to accept the transcription, make changes or choose to withdraw at anytime prior to the submission of the first draft.

The data collected may also be used for, research articles and presentations and teaching. All data will be kept for five years, in a locked cabinet and all computer data will be encrypted and destroyed after 5 years.

If you have any questions you may contact me at 780-628-5557 or email me at ngoudar@gmail.com or contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Dip Kapoor at 780-492-7617 about your rights as a participant in this research.

"The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Faculty St. Jean and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEA REB at (780) 492-3751."

Thank you for considering my request and I look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

Sincerely,
Natasha Goudar

Appendix C: Interview template

Interview Template

1- What is the mandate/objective of your organization/movement?

2- How do you implement this mandate? Can you give me an example?

3- What role does education play in implementing your mandate? Or does education play a role in the implementation of your mandate? How?

4- What is the relationship between your organization and grassroots movements? Please provide examples.

5- Who are the members of your organization? How do you choose what sort of projects or initiatives to work on?

6- Does education play a role in the implementation of your projects/initiatives? Explain.

7- How do you fund the work you do? Who funds this work? How do you ensure accountability to your funders? Do you need to ensure accountability to your funders? How?

APPENDIX D: Sample participant consent form

I, _____, agree to participate
in a research project for a master's thesis.

I agree to be interviewed by Natasha Goudar under the following conditions:

1. I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time. If I choose to do so, the
    information I provide will be returned to me and not used in the project.

2. I agree to no more than two interviews the first of which will last no more than 45 minutes
    and a possible second interview which will last no more than 30 minutes.

3. I understand that the interview will be tape recorded and transcribed and that the data from
    it will be used in a Masters thesis and may also be included in published articles or
    presentations.

4. My identity will be kept confidential and a pseudonym used in all assignment materials.

5. The researcher will endeavour to ensure that no harm will come to me through my
    participation in this project.

I agree to these conditions:

Signed_____

Date_____

Researcher

Signed_____

Date_____

For further information regarding the purpose and methods of this project, feel free to contact
either of the following:

Natasha Goudar, Graduate Student   Dr. Dip Kapoor, Thesis Supervisor
(780)628-5557 (780)492-7617
goudar@ualberta.ca   dkapoor@ualberta.ca

*"The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved
by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus St Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ
REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of
research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB at (780)492-3751."*