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Women, Culture and Development: An Examination of the Role of Theatre for Development in the Evaluation of the Millennium Village Project, Pampaida-Nigeria.

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Introduction

At all times, the purpose of development is to build structures that will enhance the economy. This is because there is a need to improve the living conditions of the people. The ability of the people to live meaningfully and satisfactorily is central to the idea of development. Illustrating this overriding concern, Nat Colleta insists that development is a process of a socio-economic change in the quality and level of human existence aimed at raising the standard of living and quality of life(1982). However, this has been dominated by structures tailored to the needs of the Western capitalist system, thus making it susceptible to manipulation and marginalization by not allowing for collective will of all relevant stakeholders. From this perspective, it does not meet the people's ability to participate in shaping their own lives; it is the case that development practice should encourage the involvement of people in the most egalitarian manner. Therefore, a model that boosts the ability of stakeholders to participate in the deliberation of matters that affect them and to veto issues that they think are not relevant to their needs would be the ideal. This would ensure that voice is given to women and youths as well.

Conceptualized in this way, people should be able to bring out what they want, generate their ideas about what to do, how to do it, and what is required to engender the needed successes and benefit from the physical improvement. In cases where the reverse is the case, as in the case of unfavorable situations and unexpected outcomes, people should be able to manage the implications and learn from them. It is, therefore, only a model of development that applies a "bottom up" approach that can engender this purpose. This approach must take cognizance of women participation in development, culture and its value component, relational and integrative principles which are achievable through the application of enabling methodologies among other things. The emphasis on those listed principles is the focus of this paper.

First, there are longstanding values that have placed women at a great disadvantage when it comes to their participation in the development process and contributing their quota to the benefit of all. Some of these values are social and religious context and their extensions. These value obtunds are not just a threat to the person of the woman as an economic being but also to broader the development goals due to the place of the woman in the family, community, nation and world.

Second, development should ensure that people are made to live in better conditions. This requires that strategies of articulating the idea of development ideals practitioners should understand and appropriate the space of the people's culture- a structure that guides them to generate, question, interpret, and evaluate the situations surrounding them. While this is difficult to gauge, it is worth noting that culture also guides the social interaction of a particular people and the interrelations between different aspects of life and society.

Third, relational and integrative methods such as participatory development, the development pattern that encourages participation of all in development activities, in giving full opportunities, creating strong and self-reliant (Burkey, 1998) and traditional self-help which prepare individuals to be accountable actors toward proper development outcome. This includes Theatre for Development whose top priority is focused on motivational dynamics involved in creating constructs and handling ambivalences.

This paper will show that Theatre for Development (TFD) is compatible with culture and development. It attempts to examine the extent to which TFD plays a role in fostering the maintenance of conglomerate values, stimulating dialogue on the extent of interaction with Pampaida women of Kaduna State the project site of the Millennium Village Project (MVP) in a field research on development evaluation.

Development and the Millennium Development Goals

The term development is invariably linked to many purposes such as the means of reducing poverty, availability of clean-drinking water, economic development, access to school, improved knowledge skills of people in order to empower them for better opportunities and human development in general According to Castelloe (2002:129) "development is a broad range of activities involved in determining and trying to solve a community's problem or create a community

improvement effort...an attempt to make a community a better place” . It is clear from this definition that development is a process that covers a broad spectrum of areas that demand collective performance that are crucial to it. It is also clear that there is need for all actors’ involvement as beneficiaries and benefactors. However, it also requires a paradigm of development that should question the role of modernization and international institutions and agencies, but, above all, that also involves the beneficiaries. If development is about the advancement of the economy in order to improve the living conditions of the people, it should, therefore exact a mutual relationship and involve people in an egalitarian context in order to enable them handle complex tasks. This thus highlights the key need of a paradigm that takes cognizance of participation and culture as its core values.

The cardinal point of participation in development activities is to institute full opportunities, shared responsibilities, create strong and self-reliant skills as well as promote traditional self-help which will prepare the individual/groups to be their own actors towards proper development outcomes. This comes with an action-oriented approach to development (Rist, 1999). Participation is crucial in handling the long term outcome of any project as well as enjoying the short term effects. Participation is necessary for donors of a development project since they will know how their contribution is handled, on the other hand, recipient stakeholders are to be part of the whole process - gaining ownership and respectability. This then means that people are empowered through such, especially the most vulnerable groups like women and children mostly caught up in the web of patriarchal subjugation and other cultural limitations.

It is worth noting that the recognition of the people’s culture in the formulation of development objectives is essential for any approach that tries to subvert the development orthodoxy. This is because the rule here is that the pattern of interpretation of development in the tradition of modernization is no longer followed but rather the increasing need to hold on to the acceptable constructs of other players. The foregoing will be well understood in the context of Participatory development.

Participatory development is the kind of development that promotes, supports and sustains consensus, equity, responsiveness, and accountability, sense of ownership and effective decision making, and broader participation of stakeholders. It does not eliminate that fact that

there is a sponsor and there is also a beneficiary in instances where those apply, but rather build a mutual reinforcement between all involved for greater development realization. Castello (2002:130) is of the view that participatory development focuses on maximizing community participation in all stages of development, what he referred to as ‘improvement efforts’ this includes: ‘the active involvement of people in the planning, development, implementation and evaluation of community development projects, activities and policies that affects them.

A good case for the discussion of development is the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and this is conglomerated in the Millennium Village Projects (MVP) especially in Nigeria- the thrust of this paper. Participation’s importance in the MDGs is seen in the sense that the MDGs recognize that goals are interlinked and achievable, but only if there is a willingness by people to take up the actions. This offers a minimum threshold level of transparency and measureable outcomes, target and indications, rendering themselves open to independent monitoring (Shetty, 2005).

In the Millennium Village (MVs) which is a path of achieving the MDGs, the participation of the people supports the framework which is an Integrated Rural Development (IRD) approach tailored to local conditions and marked by community ownership, gender equity, local leadership and participation (UNDP 2010). The underlying principles of the Millennium Villages Project include: Community empowerment through participation and leadership in design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, building on existing community, government and non-government programs in the area, building capacity and empowerment at the local level amongst others (Earth institute site). Looking at the principles this way participation plays a big role in leveraging grassroots participation especially of all constituent population: men, women, youths and children.

The implication of this is that the best people to monitor the progress, workability and effectiveness of development infrastructure are the women and children population, and thus should be involved in the development process even if it is at the point of information giving during monitoring. This is because culturally, that is the function of these populations and thus cultural shifts are required to be made for their active participation. Participation ensures the effectiveness and

success in projects, wider coverage of the people - the oppressed men and women, children and youths are. It creates self-reliance and efficiency of the local stakeholders (Van Heck, 2003; Oakley, 1991).

It is also worth noting the recognition of the people's culture in the realization of development objectives. As Grenier (1998:7) notes, development efforts that ignore local circumstances, local technologies and local system of knowledge wasted enormous amount of time and resources and, therefore, is not likely to be sustainable. Participation operates efficiently in all institutions and communities recognizing the cultures of the people, which necessarily provides the spaces and issues which may be exploited according to the peoples' capability.

Culture for Development: Working from within

Discussing culture in the context of development is very vital in the sense that it encompasses all the non-biologically created actions of man. UNESCO (2002) defines culture as a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and evolved features of a society or a social group, encompassing ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs, encompassing, in addition to the role art and literature. Furthermore, Eagleton (2005:1) noted that culture is 'humanity's own historic shift from rural to urban existence, pig-farming to Picasso, tilling the soil to splitting the atom'. To him, if 'culture' traces a momentous historical transition, it is within this single term. Question of freedom and determinism, agency and endurance, change and identity, the given and the created, come dimly into focus'. Conversely, Eagleton (2005:8) recounts Schiller's idea of culture as "the very mechanism of which will later be called 'hegemony', molding human subjects to the needs of a new kind of polity, remodeling them from the ground up into the docile, moderate, high-minded, peace-loving, uncontentious (sic), disinterested agents of that polity". Looking at culture from the functional angle for the continuation of the society, we should therefore recognize the other side of culture that evokes the fierce conflict, constructed practice and conformity that is never understood in one's own worldview as shown by Schiller. And on the other side how this is responded to that conveys in human possibility and misery- a chance to make better outcome and not just waves, ebbing away the orthodox certainties for transcendental opportunities and purposes. The strength now comes to terms with the fact that culture can be equated with a development strategy that can be used by any social entity in its peculiar way in addressing its 'immune system'

in the development sphere ‘depending on the flame and specific characteristic of the culture (Rahnema, 1998).

Ajayi’s (2005) explication of culture and its characteristics conceptualizes it as a tool viable for tackling development from within. He points out that for any society to function effectively, it must express itself in the way it knows best. This brings us to two important dimensions of culture. These are: (i) culture in terms of expression; and (ii) process by which a culture expresses itself. By process, we refer to the ways by which a group of people do things or how they communicate their cultural values. The cultural values are communicated through various systems like religion, worldview and philosophy.

For our purposes here, we see that the structure and outcome of development itself are influenced by the cultural perceptions and modes of thinking and doing of the people - it is therefore important that a formal anticipation of development project/programs will operate in the level of imbibing the cultural instruments to assure its success. Humans, in response to their culture values maintain a relevant stance needful for their development actualization. For a project like MVP which has a global construction, the cultural factors of the people could still flow within its construct since it is designed with the community development initiative in mind. According to Abdullahi (2011:27) Culture is dynamic and ‘the cultural pattern of a society may change with the appearance of a new invention or through contact with other ways of life. Culture’s dynamic nature embraces constant modification, embracing ways that augur well within a present situation and ignoring ways that may interfere with the people’s values. This dynamics becomes a decisive gradual reduction or modification of old practices. Ajayi (2005) went further to explain a characteristic of culture that is useful to the thrust of this work. This is that culture is *learned*. Two points stand out here, the formal and informal learning, this involves the training we receive through education from our homes, religious institutions etc.; and another is habitual which refers to those ways of life one imbibes in process of socialization. Abdullahi (2011) noted that culture is integrative, adaptive, transmitted and universal. This invariably suggests that values as a component of culture will still maintain this fluidity in the face of a gainful experience. The essence of this is shown in a community like Pampaida where Christians and Muslims live together, appreciating their differences and also maintaining the differences yet acculturating through socialization the

habits of the other. The identity of the Muslim woman is recognized by the veil cover or fly mask which covers her femininity. This is a culture provided by theocracy, but the Christian married woman in the same community does not feel completely dressed without a veil but never a fly mask. When compared with Christian married women in the south, you come to the fact that it is a culture habituated through living together. Culture through all its agents finds expression mostly through religion, language and communication rather seen as semiotics. It is this integrative structure of culture that makes it a viable tool for development.

Development, Culture and Women: The TFD Linkage

The MDGs provides an example of a globally accepted development agenda as the following spelt out values: freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature and shared responsibility. All these work towards the freedom of men, women and children from the conditions of extreme poverty which has become pandemic, especially in third world countries. However, the question now is: Are there forces within this strategy that can militate against development success? If there is, is there a way out of it? In Nigeria, culture and development have worked well despite the claim that indigenous cultures are of “no consequence to the development of a people” (Mlana 1991:16).

Abah (1997,2005) in his book ‘Performing Life’s’ highlights the achievement of culture in an integrated rural development program where the people’s artistic tools like songs, drama and masquerade engendered the most pressing needs of the community. This shows that people’s cultures when used in development enhance their local communication, creating confidence in the people for easy manageability of circumstances. This is because it is their way of life and of doing things. However, it is noteworthy that some cultural practices are silenced since the opportunities for their usage has not arisen but when triggered by circumstances are expressly used. All the same, there are cultural worldviews that militate against development, and these factors are the ways through which culture expresses itself.

An example will be given here on the issue of women participation in development and the acclaimed religious/cultural injunction militating against their active public participation in development. Religious culture is mutually interwoven with traditional forms of society given the fact that it is built on a pluralistic dimension. In Pampaida for example, women resist the action of coming out to talk before their

husbands over issues of their development. A particular woman referred to as the *Shugaban mata* (women leader) expressly said that their religion is not in support of this, but the bewildering thing is that a Christian counterpart also decline that it is not cultural for them to speak in public, but rather organize whatever their problem is and subtly present it through their husbands, not in the manner of ‘man talk, woman talk’. Men make exploitation of these religious cultural values in subjugation of women, and they perpetrate these vices through the reproduction of some subservient issues, while they ignore the fact that the women involvement in development can engender huge success. It appears that women both educated and uneducated from the Christian parlands are beginning to reduce this prolonged recession in development participation, but the uneducated and the very obedient northern women both Christian and Muslim from my Pampaida interaction are manipulated out of this recession through such intimidations as values. As Williams (1998:22) notes the meekness of northern Nigerian women is not merely to the practice of ‘patriarchal Islam’ but to the way the powers that are manipulated the tenets of Islam to enhance men’s inherent desire to subjugate women”. Their Christian counterparts, then improperly habituates this tenets by mere socialization.

If this process of integrating women in public development matter is crucial for the reorientation of development strategy and men’s attitude, it may also hold in negotiating strategies that will maintain the values of the people - but this time, a value-system that could fit with what Kluchohn(1961) defined as a selective orientation toward experience implying deep commitment or repudiation, which influences the ordering of choices between possible alternatives in action. Or as Charles (2003) quoted by Abdullahi (2011) asserts that values are sentiments about what is cherished, desired and accepted.

It is the conception of the desirable principles that guides human choices, every society have value systems because values form the core of our moral view which we learn from infancy to adulthood.

Values are beliefs which underpin a society and provide general principles of behavior; some values are enforced through the agencies of social control, while others are fostered through the agencies of socialization.

Value is a component of culture, and since culture is dynamic, adaptive, integrative, universal shared, transmitted (Abdullahi 2011, Nkom 1997), there is therefore a chance for the value it embeds to function as such. Let's look further at Parson's structural functionalism, Parson believes that 'social action' by individuals involves choices based on values and norms which are established within the cultural system- a woman will behave in a way she is expected to in a given situation because she has imbibed the values and norms of the society. However this changes when some methodological distractions willingly lend itself to her not to conform to such cultural patterns (Kluchholn, 1951).

The stand of this paper is that TFD can create this linkage of value as a cultural tool to development and as peoples' conscious effort to govern them as an alternative in actions. This is due to TFD's accessibility to all and its ability to help women find expression in the male symbolized dominated space. TFD believes that the remedies of any experimental issue should work from within the current of the culture of that society. Arguably, theatre as a practice has the capacity to mitigate culture needed for functional participation in development process because of its visual and aural immediacy. This kind of theatre is needful for social change/development because it transcends mere entertainment but address issues germane to all who are involved, both the spectators and actors alike in a bid to collectively engage in generating knowledge, analysis and action. It derives its strength from participation (Abah, 2002) and does not require expertise (Etherton 2006) and transfers ownership of its process to the audience (Okagbue 1998). Ewu (2002) is of the view that TFD not only targets people who have been marginalized in development, but involves them efficiently in a process that emphasizes dialogue, conscientisation, empowerment and action. Its strength lies in its ability to engage the marginalized of the society in decision-making processes demonstrating how they as subjects can actually and collectively engage in understanding their own world. Offering them space to discuss their issues and take positive action towards changing it. The magic is derived from its use of the people's oral and cultural forms (Abah 2005) and its use of drama with the depoliticizing ability that fosters public debate subtly over critical issues unlike any media, including those issues ideologically formic' for the subjugation of the women. A typical example of this claim on its value is the way it operated in development evaluation with Pampaida women of Northern Nigeria.

TFD AS PROCESS: SYNTHESIS AND EVALUATION TOOL

The synergy of TFD with other participatory tools leads to suggest how effective it is in its delivery style, method and process. And this process is an important issue of consideration for our argument.

It is a common thing for people to start out with what they know, especially in relationship with others. TFD process threads the path to chart this in the way it operates - concerting to the people's domain which, involves a natural offshoot to the empirical/ethnographic research under study. We preview the process of TFD practice and come to the fact that it is not about cataloguing known issues in a dominant pattern, but an attempt to provide understanding of the social realities affecting a particular issue in a community, a sort of systematic penetration with the silence and silenced realities. Thus tracing back roots, questioning events and coming up with suggestion and 'way out' to the importance of development.

TFD uses a complementarity of tools like drama and the PLA to facilitate participation. Through drama you get direct response and effect due to the way it humorises important issues. Henry (2000:3) points out that "drama expands the parameters of what can be seen as legitimate, giving freedom to experience and explore the issues of human concern and intellectual enquiry". On the other hand, PLA due to its cultural rootedness and flexibility of method allows for identification within a particular situation when used cautiously. Supporting the above, Burke (1999) informs that drama and PLA are mechanisms that can be used to provide information on how a project has progressed. Giving firsthand evidence, Preston and Halpin (in Ewu 2002:146) attest "we saw drama as an effective tool through which the group could evaluate what they had learnt". All these argument supports the point that the synthesis of TFD can work well in its use in development evaluation. Thus, the methodology is capable of engendering evaluation. To buttress this fact we will look into the development evaluation at Pampaida.

THE CASE OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Okarn (2008) outlined the process of TFD as familiarization, data collection and analysis, playmaking and performance, post-performance discussion, action planning, and monitoring and evaluation. The process of our presentation will be based on this, even though with a slight shift.

The evaluation process of TFD with women started with outlining of ethical issues, then training on the use of drama and other participatory tool. A woman from one of the *Angwans* that make up the Pampaida community decided to take up the facilitation. She made it clear to us that they have to train in an enclosed place away from the men and youths, since their tradition does not allow for such mix up, and secondly their timing is different from that of the men since it is *azumi* (fasting) period. They however promised to give us whatever information needed and available to them to make the evaluation successful since they have come to the realization that it is all for them. The next stage was learning of the PLA tools and drama, however when one of the women from the community took up the facilitation process she convinced us of their comfort with storytelling, key informant technique and drama since drama is ‘Versa’ (*play*) they will appropriate it without fear. The women made us to know that the issues surrounding their development are best known to them than the men. In her words;

We are the eyes of the community; we know it more than men, their issues, that of our children and our personal issues, even though we are restricted at certain level.

The evaluation question was formed, after the women gave the details of what they know about the MVP and how it is affecting them, one group brought out issues raised at the research time with men and youths and this tallied with some of the women’s point, though not as detailed as that of the women. These are the evaluation questions: To what extent has the project improved with the community people’s needs? What are the impression of the activities carried out by the UNDP and the apex leaders? Did you encounter any obstacle with the farm, the boreholes, hospital, microfinance, fertilizer, school and the 10% contribution? Was there a system in place to raise the matter encountered between the project actors?

Storytelling, questions and answers were the tools applied with the most used phrase *kobahan kaba - hakani* flying from all angles where information is coming from. This went on for two days from 12noon to 4pm when they will be rushing home to prepare for the *sharuma* (breaking of fast). However, we asked how they are going to present these issues to the public since they have chosen to do it in an enclosed space, but the question was not answered until the second day, When

the *shugaban mata* (women leader) reminded us for their readiness to weave the issues into drama. Reason, according to them is that:

Drama will not expose the particular person/informant,
since the information must not be represented by the
informant.

The drama making process was iterative, as everyone was claiming expertise, with the exception of the Fulani women watching this tussle (the Fulani women were very restrictive). The issues that came out were: poor road network which causes accident, unequal distribution of insecticide nets; exorbitant interest rate from banks giving loans, lack of rice milling machine, etc. Each drama is a representation of what happens in the different *Angwan* relating to the, MVP. During one of the rehearsal sessions, a Muslim woman whispered to a particular woman in character - a Christian that has been playing a role repeatedly. Immediately, the woman decided to change the scene because “it is traditionally wrong for us to roll on ground crying before men. Our husbands will not like it”. “The emphasis we are laying on this scene is to drive home the importance and seriousness of the issue being communicated. It is a serious matter”. However, our culture will not allow us to roll, because it will bring down the ego of our husbands and we will be in trouble. She then asked others: *Kobahan kaba?* They responded “*Kwori*” others “*hakane*”. The women incorporated all the themes generated.

On the day of presentation to all people, the people gathered under the big tree in Local Development Area (LDA). The women presented their drama.

Synopsis of women drama

A woman is seen milling rice with mortar and pestle. Another limps in... (Greetings) She shows the injuries she had due to a motor bike accident. She narrates how the UNDP constructs bad roads for them, causing many accidents like hers for people.

Two motor-bike riders drive in to drop some other two women (paying and receiving money). An elderly woman walks in complaining about her leg which was also injured in similar motor-bike accident. The bike riders show off their own scars.

The first woman tells the other two women that this issue of road and the affliction of milling rice locally should be emphasized in their deliberations today. They move out.

(Another scene) The women are all seated. A woman speaks... "We are here to discuss the issues affecting us in this MVP". Second woman (showing her deep wound) talks about how UNDP brings in contractors who bribe the Apex members, and simply pour gravels on their roads and leave. (Turning to the Mai ungwa and UNDP personnel) she asks 'is it not true?' (The audience applauds her). Others took turns to talk about different issues ranging from negligence of the secondary school, high cost of fertilizer, and lack of resident doctors, lack of milling machine, failed cooperative scheme and high interest on loans to issues of failed promises.

At the end, the leader speaks up: narrates how UNDP came and took their land for their own use, then asks: Is this not a way of under- developing the people they came to help? (Several affirmative responses and cheers from audience). She turns to UNDP personnel and asks them to refute and/or defend the issues the women have presented.

However, the women subconsciously throw questions at the men and even give answers to questions thrown to men. Subconscious, because this is what they have hesitated doing. All these left an indelible impression on all present.

This time the men could not come up with any drama but help handled the issues presented with much concern. Upon inquiry on why they did not raise any issue, the *shugaba maza* responded, *sun gama magana duka* (*They have said everything*) (referring to the women).

After the presentation, I engaged a female member of the UNDP (Amina) group in a discussion.

CL: What is your feeling about the performance?

Amina: The women amazed me, they have not been able to tell us all these in our interactions with them.

- CL: Do you call them on this scale for discussion and evaluation?
- Amina: We do our evaluation alone, because we know our indicators, though we give them time to say their mind. But what they say is always different from the men.
- CL: Do you wish to have it this way with them in future?
- Amina: As for me, I will like it, but you don't know this people, it is just because you are a visitor, that's why they came out like this to impress you. (This was supported by another staff that came to join).
- CL: May be they are afraid of you or your strategies are not engaging
- Amina: Maybe I (because she is the one in charge of women affair, since the men cannot relate freely with the women) will try using the play approach. We do drama but the drama is done for them maybe to teach a particular topic, especially on health.

Discussion of outcome

The evaluation exercise with TFD demonstrated to the participants that no one is a novice in handling an issue that affects him directly when put in her domain - cultural, psychological and ideological. All the participants saw a new interpretation to the causal factors of certain things revolving within and around the MVP. The women seized the opportunities that the TFD workshop created and prepared for discussion of the issues that they have been trying to do through their husbands. The spontaneity the TFD tool created provided the opportunity for the women to take over the whole processes, yet these were the women that were afraid to perform or even talk before their men. That lends credence to Kluchholn, (1951, 1961) statement that : 'social action' by individuals involves choices based on values and norms which are established within the cultural system- a woman will behave in a way she is expected to in a given situation because she has imbibed the values and norms of the society. However this changes when some methodological distractions willing lend it to her not to conform to such cultural patterns. This is the same population that could have been hindered by some values which is found in their culture. The question now is: why then did the men not divorce their wives or refuse to contribute to the exercise as a sign of disapproval of the women involvement? One of the reason is that methodological

action made it possible to achieve that kind of participation. It created an opportunity for such exercise of power as Duflo (2012:1053) notes: Lack of opportunity breeds inequality between man and women. "Gender inequality is often greater among the poor, both within and across countries" According to Duflo (2012.1053) "There is a bidirectional relationship between economic development and women empowerment defined as improving the ability of women to access the constituents of development-in particular...earning opportunities, rights and political participation. In one direction development can play a major role in driving down inequality between men and women, in other direction, continuing discrimination against women can be seen as forcefully hindering development" (this could happen when women see those things that discriminate against them). The men appreciated the way these women facilitated the process and their concern and commitment towards the MVP. The whole process gave the participants/stakeholders of MVP a better understanding of the whole situation, instill a sense of ownership and commitment to them, and this have implications to the sustainability of development project.

Another factor that makes . TFD a viable tool for research and evaluation is the way it revealed censored issues. This takes us to the psychological terms of the 'said' and 'unsaid' or rather Clifford Geertz (1973) theories of 'Thick Description' an interpretation of the verbal and non-verbal communication involved in a particular process. A person's gesture and expression has to do with certain strings of knowledge of something. A string of a critical knowledge of a particular thing that is not open may lack verbal expression but will show in gestures to avoid the other from having a glimpse of what may be a value or secret. The recognition of this type of expression gives detailed information of what is going on and can help one to interpret a particular situation. Some scenes were given to Christian women in a subtlety of manner, even when the initial plan was that the Christian women represent the 2 wards predominated by Christians, while the Muslims take up others. These issues led to deeper interaction with these women and the response was all tied down to tradition. The most interesting thing is the way one group's drama flow into the next with different scene representing different issues. Each group presented their drama to their co-participants for critical analysis and commentary.

We stood back to learn from the personalities of these women and the ideas and expertise they came up with. This prompted us to relate all

this to women participation and capability in wider critical development policy and planning. This raise the question of whether these women's plight is that of tradition or tradition embedded in religion and then a misappropriation and misinterpretation of the meanings of the theocratic lines to perpetuate the subjugation of women? Or is it their own attitude to be seen as obedient wives and good women? It will be noteworthy that some of these actions and prohibitions associated with women public participation recession are biologically determined and religiously defined which she cannot control without certain knowledge. Education becomes another factor which make them to follow their required abstinences laying claim to be 'good wives'. The issue of education is also affecting the men whose pride the subjugation of women enhances.

In the end, the values of the people were not diminished as the women did not engage in a 'man talk, woman talk' scale. But on a platform of *{wasa}* critical issues were presented and analyzed and agreed upon. No one walked away out of anger -ht the follow up stage, no complaint of any harassment at home was received from any *angwan*.

Let us take the statement of Catherine Belsey (2005:156) on the issue of culture. According to her, "culture does not make us better or worse. If it subjects people it does not exclude the possibility of resistance. It does not do away with our discontents, but it offers to engage with them while finding a focus for desire". This is to say that it is imperative of people to decide what ways they wish to handle the overarching values that counteracts with their self-productivity.

Conclusion

The paper presented an account of development evaluation workshop on TFD with women in Pampaida. It showed that TFD can be a synthesis for culture and development, with its hypnotic prowess taking people into what they will not ordinarily do.

The imperative of MVP-TFD process "has its overall purpose and outcome is the empowerment of groups of individuals women to link their creative abilities with each other's, to link their reasoning ability with the reasoning abilities of the others, and them to link together their two areas of innate human capability" (Etherton, 2006) to the evaluation of development in the MVP Pampaida for sustainability without losing values with spontaneity and irrationality. This empowerment transfers facilitation to the people, they now have the participating expertise. I believe that TFD is the perfect tool for

modifying stubborn and subjugating trends - it can link culture and development without generating frustration on each other. It created out the atmosphere that made the women use their rationality energies in the context of public debate of development matters without incurring the wraths of their 'gods'. This approach as discussed has shed off reluctance of women to confronting issues because of some myth ca rnalities interpretive by a conscious structure of domination. However, women should be educated at any stage in life to enable them know their rights as development practitioners and researchers should deploy strategies that will level the marginalization of women, and should not lay claim on religious positions in order to intimidate women.

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