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Qualitative Evaluation: Evaluating People’s Empowerment

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Abstract

It is challenging to employ quantitative data to evaluate people's empowerment since the criteria for "richness" and "happiness" of people in the area where development practice is undertaken can differ between individuals/groups and can also differ from the criteria of the evaluators. It is yet more difficult for outsiders to evaluate whether gender relationships have or have not changed in people and society as a result of the developmental project.

The aim of this paper is to visualize the phenomena of people's empowerment through the construction of an empowerment evaluation model known as the "Fujikake Model". First, this paper summarizes some of the current trends in qualitative evaluation and empowerment evaluation. Second, it illustrates qualitative changes regarded as empowerment by the target people who participated in the "Improving Living Standards Project", and visualizes the process of the Fujikake Model which is derived from the narratives and daily practices of rural women in Paraguay. Third, this paper studies the application of this model to the "Micro-Business Promotion Project" of the rural women in Honduras, and examines the model's obstacles and possibilities.

Keywords

Narratives, Rural Women, Qualitative Evaluation, Empowerment Evaluation

1. Introduction: Considering Qualitative Evaluation

Qualitative evaluation is the collection and analysis of qualitative data and is classified in two ways: (1) using qualitative data to complement quantitative data so as to offer a broader evaluation of the target society (Mutually Complementary Qualitative Evaluation: MCQE); (2) using qualitative data to evaluate phenomena that cannot be thoroughly explained using quantitative data (Independent Qualitative Evaluation: IQE) (Fujikake 2007).

IQE is composed of data that is difficult to understand quantitatively and cannot be extracted until a rapport has been established between researchers and informants. For example, the analysis of culture and gender issues (domestic violence, ‘honor’ killings, dowries, female genital mutilation, male suicide, etc.) or issues of religion and gender (family planning and illegal abortions in Catholic countries, etc.) would be meaningless if only quantitative data were examined and evaluated. It is necessary to understand phenomena in the target society by examining a few

cases and on that basis generalize about the whole.

The verified cases of IQE are considered just the tip of the iceberg and it may be argued that the data is not objective as there are so few cases. Employing IQE, it is possible to obtain data from different angles, but still relevant to the issue, by interviewing more people. That is, one could use the triangulation method by collecting data from different sources.

The argument of universality when there are many subjects and non-universality and non-validity when there are few subjects, is based on the confusion between "what can be studied through the subject" and "to study the subject". Even though there is little data and it is qualitative, it can be regarded as objective if the data expresses the reality of the target society.

2. People's Empowerment and Empowerment Evaluation

2.1 People's Empowerment

The author initiated to consider an empowerment of rural women in the Republic of Paraguay in 1993 - a time when the concept of empowerment, though clearly defined within the "Women in Asia and the Pacific 1985-1993" (United Nations, 1994), was generally not as widely known as it is today. Currently however, there is increasing interest in evaluating empowerment phenomena in international cooperation projects.

It has been encouraging to witness the degree to which the "Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA)", adopted at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, became an "agenda for women's empowerment" and elevated interest in empowerment issues today. As a case in point, the "Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs), which include among them the attainment of gender equality and the empowerment of women, were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly after endorsement by 189 Heads of State in September 2000.

2.2 Definition of Empowerment

In the academic area there naturally exists a variety of definitions for empowerment. To begin, Caroline Moser has given her definition to be:

"Empowerment is the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength. This is identified as the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change, through the ability to gain control over material and nonmaterial resources" (Moser cited in Rowlands 1997, p.15).

McWhirter defines empowerment as:

"A process whereby women become able to organize themselves to increase their own self-reliance, to assert their independent right to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own subordination...The process by which people, organizations or groups who are powerless (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others and (d) support the empowerment of others in the community" (ibid, p.15).

Rowlands argues that:

"Using the conventional definition, of 'power over', empowerment is bringing people who are outside of the decision-making process into it, this puts a strong emphasis on participation in political structures and formal decision-making and, in the economic sphere, on the ability to obtain an income that enable participation in economic decision-making. Individuals are empowered when they are able to maximize
the opportunities available to them without constraints. It must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions' (ibid, pp.13-14).

These three researchers emphasize that the key to empowerment is increasing women’s self-reliance by bolstering their ability to organize for their right to make choices, gain confidence through self-determination, and exercise control over both material and non-material resources in order to alter their subordinate status. It is also safe to say that the researchers have reached a broad agreement to view empowerment as a process (Fujikake & Kuroda 2008).

2.3 Evaluating the Phenomenon of Empowerment

"Empowerment Evaluation" developed by David Fetterman (Head of the Evaluation Department, Stanford University, School of Medicine/Anthropology) is representative of empowerment evaluations. Fetterman presented his "Empowerment Evaluation" in 1994 and the "Foundation of Empowerment Evaluation" in 2001. He defined evaluation as a process to attain self-determination through self-evaluation and reflection in individuals (or groups) who attempt to improve an undertaking in which they are involved and to improve their situation under their own initiative (Fetterman 2001). Though the empowerment evaluation he proposed is designated as "evaluation", it is in fact a method for a series of processes of self-evaluation and self-reflection of the subjects (ibid., Fetterman & Wandersman 2005). Minamoto argues that this evaluation can be applied to social development projects undergoing Development Assistance (Minamoto 2003).

The empowerment evaluation team of the World Bank performs research to assess the level of empowerment in five countries (Alsop & Heinsohn 2005). The key concept here is "Agency". In this way, attempts to evaluate empowerment phenomenon have been fast developing.

The author has been involved in the "Improving Living Standards Project" of rural women in Paraguay as a development practitioner since 1993, and through this has identified numerous phenomena in women's daily practices that can be interpreted as empowerment. Therefore the author reviewed empowerment and changes in the consciousness of people participating in small-size of social development projects of four NGO’s in India, Bangladesh, and Mali (Fujikake 2000, Fujikake ed. 2003).

Though not considered an initial goal, as a result of these four case studies the following conscious and behavioral changes were observed in women: 1) they began to offer their own opinions concerning reproductive health/rights, 2) they gained self-confidence and voiced their opinions, 3) they took action under their own initiative—such as participating in village meetings, 4) they began to have new aspirations, 5) they were able to take pride in themselves, and so on. These changes were also found in the rural women of Paraguay observed from 1993 to 2006.

Each individual views empowerment differently. However, the women who participated in the development projects also regarded the above-mentioned phenomena as 'empowerment'. The author believes that to some degree the phenomenon known as empowerment has universal tendencies. Therefore, on the basis that we must understand the values and reality of their society, a systematic analysis of comments and qualitative data was undertaken and the empowerment evaluation model mentioned in Chapter 3 was elaborated (Fujikake 2000, 2001, Fujikake ed. 2003).

Evaluating the qualitative changes in people's empowerment is a challenging task. Since empowerment phenomena are not countable, and it is difficult for outsiders to evaluate whether gender relationships, in particular whether the personal and social constructions experienced change due to the development project, it is important to establish a framework to aid agency and people in the target society in visualizing qualitative changes.
3. Empowerment Evaluation Model derived by Abstracting a Case Study of the Rural Women of Paraguay

3.1 Overview of the Republic of Paraguay and background of Projects in Village ‘S’

3.1.1 Overview of the Republic of Paraguay

The Republic of Paraguay (Paraguay) has an area of 406,752km² and an approximate population of 6.7 million people, 47% of whom live in rural areas. Located in South America, Paraguay is landlocked, predominantly agricultural, and gained its independence from Spain in 1811. Ninety seven percent of the population is Mestizo, a blend of Guarani and Spanish and the result of government policy during the colonial period. Ninety eight percent profess to be Catholic - another visible result of Spanish rule during the colonial period. The official languages are Spanish and Guarani, with the rural population most commonly using Guarani in their daily lives.

Paraguay was under the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner for 35 years from 1954 to 1989, one of the longest reigns in the history of this now democratic country (Fujikake 2002). During this period the people had no freedom of speech, ideology or expression (Ardivi 1989).

Based on the World Bank’s Poverty Assessment of 2003, Census Bureau Household Survey, 41.2% of people in rural areas lack a monthly income sufficient to cover basic necessities, whereas in urban centers this figure is 27.6%. The top 10% of the population hold 43.8% of the national income, while the lowest 10% have only 0.5%.

The economic recession has detrimentally affected income equality, most notably in rural areas where the Gini Index has risen from 0.56 in 1995 to 0.66 in 1999. Similarly, the concentration of land ownership in the Paraguayan countryside is one of the highest in the world: 10% of the population control 66% of the land, while 30% of the rural people are landless (Marió 2004). This inequality has caused a great deal of tension between the landless and the elite (Nagel 1999).

Based on research conducted between 1993-1999 using quantitative and qualitative data, Fujikake concluded that women in rural areas had only limited opportunities to participate in projects due to the structure of male-dominated society (Machismo). Domestic violence against wives, the exploitation of women, and sex-discrimination in employment were evident in rural and urban areas alike (Ziogas 1987, Fujikake 2000, UNIFEM/SM/PRP 2001).

3.1.2 Background Overview of Projects in Village ‘S’

The author was sent to the Agricultural Extension Services (Extension Services) of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock in Paraguay (referred to by its Spanish initials MAG) as a volunteer from the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteer (JOCV) under JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) from January 1993 to February 1995 and supported the Increasing Consumption of Vegetables Project with the goal of improving the lives of the rural people in the area of Colonel Oviedo city (Oviedo) in the province of Caaguazú.

In the years 1993-1995, the women from village ‘S’ wished to acquire more knowledge about vegetable cultivation and nutrition, skills such as cooking, sewing, and knitting; better educational opportunities for the village children, and learn how to generate income by making and selling processed foods. These were the practical gender interests of the women in village ‘S’ during this time.

Figure 1 is problem analysis tree from the point of view of the rural women in village S, shows the concerns of the village women and the inter-relationships between their concerns. Here they expressed the desire to learn about nutrition, vegetable cultivation, the production and marketing of processed foods, and schooling. As a result, the following projects (see 3-2) for the “Improving Living Standards Project” were initiated in village ‘S’.

The author analyzed both individual and group changes of consciousness and behavior that emerged from the self-implementation of the “Improving Living Standards Project” at the micro level on the basis of comments and
practices of the rural women in village 'S' from 1993 to 1999.

Concurrently, comments and practices of the people close to the women (partners, mothers-in-law, fathers-in-law, daughters, sons, people from outside the village, etc.) and indications of realignment to the societal and gender structure were also analyzed (Fujikake 2000, 2004). From the gender viewpoint the author verified factors that encouraged women's empowerment, and at the same time studied the societal level impact of women's empowerment on political practice.

The procedure for the construction of the Fujikake model was as follows: the comments obtained in the research were converted to text, classified according to person and research period, and compiled to compare the frequency the same word or expression appeared so as to extract common traits. The relationship between the women's comments and the aims of the project were converted into the schematic concept drawing shown below (Figure 2)\(^1\). Follow-up research was conducted in 2001, 2004, and 2006.
3.2. The "Improving Living Standards Project" of the Rural Women of Paraguay.

The initial aims of the "Improving Living Standards Project" (comprised of 3 sub-projects) developed in village 'S' in 1993 were as follows:

1. "Increasing Consumption of Vegetables Project"
   a. To increase knowledge of hygiene and nutrition.
   b. To diversify menus.
   c. To increase cultivated vegetable varieties.
   d. To generate income.

2. "Mita Roga (A Place for Children) Establishment and Management Project"
   a. To construct and manage an area in which to offer village children the same opportunity to learn Spanish as their urban children.
   b. To use as a multipurpose salon

3. "Jam Factory Management and Marketing Project"
   a. To manage a jam factory.
   b. To generate income by selling processed foods

As a result of analyzing rural women's comments and checking them against the aims of the project mentioned above, it became obvious that not only were the initial aims achieved but many sub-products were also obtained.

Changes to the consciousness of the women were classified as Type I, Type II, or Type III as shown in Figure 2. This is the tree types of results (Fujikake Model 1). The rural women personally and mutually evaluated these changes as: "very good"; "I have changed"; and "I am not like I was before".¹⁰

The comments and practices of the rural women were then examined within each sub-project and classified according to the following 12 indicators: 1.Participation, 2.Voicing opinions, 3.Change of consciousness, 4.Taking action, 5.Solidarity, 6.Cooperation, 7.Creation, 8.Setting new goals, 9.Negotiation, 10.Satisfaction, 11.Self confidence, 12.Administrative and economic management (Fujikake 2000, Tables 7-1, 7-2 material: pp.47-48). These were defined as "empowerment indicators" (Figure 3 is Fujikake Model 2:Empowerment Evaluation using 12 indicators

Figure 3  Fujikake Model 2 Empowerment Evaluation using12 indicators

12.administrative and economic management
11.self confidence
10.satisfaction
9.negotiation
8.setting new goals
7.creation
6.cooperation
5-solidarity
4-taking action
3-change of consciousness
2-voicing opinions
1-participation

Source: Fujikake (2000, 2001)
The women of village ‘S’ perceived their relative social positioning by leaving their village, negotiating with women in other towns, and by having contact with diverse people such as development assistants and aid fieldworkers (Fujikake 2004). And they began to utilize their past personal history and experience as social capital.

3.3 Visualization of the empowerment process

Having first been converted to text, women's comments found to be related to empowerment indicators were assigned a value of 1 point. These points were totaled for each empowerment indicator to obtain Figure 3 (Women's group’s Empowerment in the case of village ‘S’ in Paraguay). In the same way, individual empowerment was visualized using pie charts.

The purpose of quantifying women’s empowerment was not to define a low level as “not good” (Fujikake 2000). The purpose was to understand the peculiarities in the individual or group empowerment of village ‘S’, and to analyze how women perceived it (ibid.). This was solely an operation to understand the phenomenon known as empowerment that occurs in the individual, the group, and the target society’s consciousness—the differences due to the accumulated past experience of an individual were not analyzed. (ibid.)

Empowerment embodies conscious, social, cultural, economic, and behavioral aspects which are mutually related as shown in Figure 4 as Fujikake Model 3: Four core elements of empowerment (Fujikake 2005, 2006c). The same tendencies were observed in research done in Guatemala (Fujikake 2006c).

As shown in Figure 5 is level of empowerment; Fujikake Model 4, it was clarified in the case of Paraguay that people’s empowerment attained different levels: micro, mezzo, and macro. That is, rural women have extended their micro daily and political activities (“Improving Living Standards Project” begun in 1993) to a more macro level.

Fujikake Model (1-5) as the Empowerment Evaluation Model has the following characteristics:

1. Visualizes qualitative and gender relationship phenomena that are observed in the evaluation of the target people (good, bad, undesirable, etc.); 2. The ability to evaluate sensitive gender issues that can be confirmed only through IQE; 3. The analysis of comments can examine not only an individual within and outside of the family, but also changes within the community and people’s political practices; 4. Visualizes women's economic and social practice in several way; 5. Can be applied to social development projects in other regions.

4.1 Application to the “Micro-Business Promotion Project” for Rural Women in Honduras

The “Promotion of Self-management Enterprises of Women in Rural Areas in Honduras” (the “Micro-Business Promotion Project”) is conducting from 2003 to 2008 in Lempira and Copán province, each having different social and gender situations, as a technical cooperation project (JICA, Social Development Department 2006b).

The purpose of the “Micro-Business Promotion Project” was for “women beneficiaries of the project to establish and manage micro-businesses appropriate to local resources”, and the overall goal was “to achieve empowerment of the people in the target society”.

From the viewpoint of achieving empowerment of the people in the target society, the evaluation of the results of the project was undertaken applying the Fujikake Model.

The author was sent as a Short-Term Expert to guide the management of the gender empowerment indicators of the “Micro-Business Promotion Project”. On the basis of research at the project sites, the author modified the following indicators from the Fujikake Model obtained from the Paraguay project: Changed indicator (1) to “Participation” because the concept in Japanese means “to participate in planning” which is not clear in Spanish; Unify into one indicator Solidarity (5) and Cooperation (6); Create another indicator (12) Decision-making.

4.2 Results of Evaluation Research

In the “Micro-Business Promotion Project” are 16 target groups with 148 women working in micro-businesses. Seventy-six women from 12 groups were selected for the final evaluation conducted in August 2006. The effective answer rate was 100.0% and approximately 2 hours were spent on each interview.

These 12 groups scored highly on all 12 empowerment indicators and the conclusion was drawn that empowerment emerged in these groups (see figure 6: Final Evaluation of Project of Promotion of Self Management Enterprises of Women in Rural Area in Honduras) (Fujikake 2006b, JICA Social Development Department 2006b).

Although particular regional characteristics and the gender situation differ between Lempira and Copán provinces, and even vary within the province, the obtained results are noteworthy (ibid.).

Of the 76 women who were individually evaluated, the emergence of empowerment was observed in all participants. Through participation in the training courses of the project, many women were able to earn income to contribute to family finances and thus buy food and medicines for the family. By satisfying their practical gender interests, a change in gender relationships was observed. In other words, the recognition and satisfaction of strategic gender interests enabled women to protest against spousal violence and contribute to family planning and so on.

On the other hand, woman who lacked schooling showed little tendency for change in 11 (Administrative and economic management) and 12 (Decision-making), which are related to strategic gender interests. This tendency was also observed in the case of rural women in Paraguay.

Among the 12 indicators “Administrative and economic management” showed strong growth in the third monitoring (Kuroda 2007), and is thought to be due to conscious reinforcement of members having micro-business experience, the result of intensive training in administrative subjects (ibid).

With these results it is possible to map the course of future follow-ups of the project. For example, a training program can be developed to address 11 (Administrative and economic management) or 12 (Decision-making), dependent upon the empowerment level of each women’s group. These evaluation results have had a positive effect on the Poverty Alleviation Policy of Honduras (Fujikake & Kuroda 2008).
5. Obstacles and Prospects of the Empowerment Evaluation Model by using Fujikake Model

5.1 Obstacles
To apply the Fujikake Model (especially No.2) in empowerment evaluation, it is necessary to collect and analyze qualitative data, particularly commentaries. However, there are three obstacles and these are elaborated on below.

The first obstacle is that the collection and analysis of qualitative data is a lengthy process.

The second is the necessity of training researchers. "Gender viewpoint" training is essential because among strategic gender interests, matters relating to reproductive health/rights and domestic violence are delicate topics during an interview. In some cases these matters cannot be broached until the interviewer has an understanding of matters relating to gender and a rapport has been established.

The third obstacle, as was the case in Paraguay and shown to apply in Honduras too, are differences due to the past accumulated experience of an individual.

A division of labor occurred as individuals/groups gained experience in the Micro-Business Promotion Project, or a point decrease in the indicator “Participation” was observed when the efficiency of the organization improved. It is necessary to discuss how these situations can be examined using the empowerment indicators. For example, regarding the ending of participation, when it is confirmed how the person concerned feels it is possible that the individual concludes it is better not to participate. This is seen as a “good decision” for the person. It is an issue to be addressed whether in future case studies outsiders evaluate this point as positive or negative.

As a characteristic of the Fujikake Model, it is important that the opinions of the person being evaluated are reflected in the evaluation. In the future it will be possible to address this issue by improving the questions in the interview by making them more detailed.
5.2 Prospects

The Fujikake Model (includes No.1-5), which was an abstract creation from the narratives and/or comments of rural women in Paraguay, South America, could be applied to the interim and final evaluations of the Micro-Business Promotion Project for Rural Women in Honduras, Central America. Therefore it is believed that it was possible to some degree to visualize the process of women’s empowerment through participation in the project.

Using this model to evaluate the empowerment of women including behavior changes (see Figure 7), the course of future project follow-ups can be mapped. For example, a training program could be elaborated relating to 11 (Administrative and Economic Management) or to 12 (Decision-making), depending on the level of empowerment of each women’s group.

It was shown in the application of this model that there were to some degree common tendencies between South and Central America. In the future it will be necessary to examine the possibility of applying this model in Asia, Middle and Near Eastern countries, and Africa.

6. Conclusion: People’s Empowerment and women’s Political Practice

Not only are quantitative evaluations required in social development projects but also evaluations of the qualitative aspects. Depending upon the phenomena in the target society, the reality of the society can best be conveyed using the MCQE, or the IQE may be necessary.

If the phenomenon known as people’s empowerment is a process, and regarded as changes to gender relationships, power relationships and one of social reform, it is then in other words women’s or people’s political practice. The Fujikake Model, which was an abstract creation from the comments of rural women in Paraguay, influenced the Poverty Alleviation Policies of Honduras. This model is a new framework that reflects the voice of people in policy and may be regarded as political practice at the grass-roots level (Fujikake 2007a, Fujikake & Kuroda 2008).

The Fujikake Model discussed in this paper was verified by JICA’s “Improving Research Methods and Empowerment Indicator Classification” Committee which confirmed that this model has validity, reliability (internal
consistency and high re-productivity) and can be applied to similar projects in the future (Social Development Cooperation Department, JICA 2008). The author thus believes that the reliability of the 12 indicators was ascertained by this study.

Considering the circumstances of the analysis of Paraguayan rural women’s comments using cultural anthropology techniques (Fujikake 2000), it is thought the significance of the 12 indicators would diminish if the number of indicators were needlessly increased or decreased. It is possible circumstances necessitate the modification of indicators to some degree in accordance with the social gender situation of the target area; however the author does not agree with proposals, such as to cut by half the 12 indicators with the view of “improving the efficiency of the study”. The model would lose its significance—which is the narrative analysis. To the author’s gratification, the effectiveness and significance of the 12 indicators were quantitatively substantiated through statistical analysis by JICA research.

This evaluation model differs from Fetterman’s empowerment evaluation in that it is more focused on gender relationships. It is necessary to examine this more deeply on another occasion. People’s empowerment and changing gender relationships within the social structure and social movement are closely related. The Fujikake Model could be a framework to evaluate these phenomena and affects policy proposals that influence development practice.

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Notes

1 Extracted from Fujikake, Yoko (2007b)
2 Evaluation can refer to policy evaluation, program evaluation, and project evaluation. In this research paper “evaluation” refers to “project evaluation”, except where otherwise noted.
3 Analysis and evaluation using qualitative data can be classified by the quantification of qualitative data, visualization, and hypothesis proposal.
4 Ibid.
5 In September 2006, an evaluation seminar was held in Nepal to increase the efficacy of activity evaluation under the sponsorship of the South Asia Regional Office of UNICEF with more than 100 participants, including government officials from South Asian countries and donor staff, handout of Kusagou, Takayoshi (2007) “Zizokuteki na kaihatsu shien”, Dai nanakai ODA Hyouka Kenkyukai, held in Tokyo, World Bank, March 13, 2007.
6 This section is reprinted from Fujikake & Kuroda (2007).
7 Please refer to practice theory (Agency) of Fujikake (2004).
8 This chapter is reprinted from Fujikake (2006c).
9 Please refer to Fujikake (2000) and Fujikake & Uemura (2003) for details concerning Figure 1.
10 Please refer to Fujikake (2000).
11 The author will study the issue of how differences in accumulated past experience between individuals can be uncovered.
12 Various analytical concepts are used because the following are deemed necessary: 1) the use of diverse data sources; 2) the implementation of theory triangulation; 3) the implementation of method triangulation (Frick 2002: 282-283).
13 This chapter is reprinted from Fujikake (2006c) and Fujikake & Kuroda (2007).
14 It was discussed the member of the project include author as one of a members of evaluation committee.
15 Discussion with Shihoko Kuroda, Expert of JICA, and Sara Elisa Rosales a local consultant. The Paraguayan case is a post-fact investigation, so that in this paper it is expressed in the past. However, the Honduran case is an ongoing project and is expressed in the present (with a few exceptions).

16 As support and activities were initiated in 2006, final evaluation was not conducted on the remaining 4 groups (as per JICA headquarters’ decision) because the term of activity was too brief.

17 This chapter is referred from Fujikake (2006c), Fujikake & Kuroda (2008 pending).

18 From discussions between Mr. Issuo Kuzasa, Project Expert (leader), Mr Hisao Odagiri (job training specialist), and Ms. Shihoko Kuroda (coordination, gender, and participatory development specialist).

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