INNOVATIVE TRAINING FOR DEVELOPMENT

The Contribution of Operational
Seminars in Sociology to Training
Programs for Literacy Workers
in West Africa

by

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1. Introduction

During 1982-1983 the Institute for Development Anthropology (IDA) participated in what may be one of the most unique development training programs in West Africa. Through a contract with USAID, IDA provided my services as a sociologist for short-term teaching and consultation during the 1982-1983 academic year at the Centre de Formation des Cadres de l'Alphabétisation (CFCA). The CFCA is a regional West African training center for literacy personnel located in Niamey, Niger, and operated by the Republic of Niger's Literacy and Continuing Education Service.[1]

2. Background to the CFCA

Founded in 1977 with co-financing from Swiss aid and the World Council of Churches in conjunction with the government of Niger, the CFCA was created in response to the long-standing need of Niger's Literacy Service for a training program well-adapted to the requirements of personnel who carry out the Service's diversified adult literacy programs throughout the country. These programs occur largely in rural areas and are conducted in national languages (Zarma, Hausa, Fulfulde, Tamasheck, and Kanuri), although courses are given in French in Niger's urban centers. Before the existence of the CFCA, personnel assigned to

the Literacy Service by the Ministry of Education came with no prior training for educational activities with adults in national languages. Instead, they came to the Service with pedagogical training appropriate for primary school teachers, prepared to teach in French, Niger's administrative language. In the past the Literacy Service provided some on-the-job training for personnel before sending them off to their posts, but this was very limited. Not until the CFCA opened its doors were the beginnings of a systematic training program for literacy work made available to would-be literacy agents.

Since its foundation in 1977, the CFCA's staff and student body have grown as has the national and international demand for the kind of development-related training the CFCA strives to provide. Initially the CFCA provided training only for Nigeriens. Presently, students from Togo, Mali, and the Congo Republic are enrolled in the CFCA's programs, preparing for literacy work in their home countries, and it is anticipated that the participation of students from other francophone African countries will increase substantially in the future. Visits to the CFCA by directors and staff members of literacy services from other African states are frequent, and links between the CFCA and African institutes for development training elsewhere are increasing in number and strength. From within Niger, there is a steadily increasing demand for the participation of literacy personnel in a variety of rural development programs. This is the result of a growing appreciation of the efficacy of functional, national language literacy by other Nigerien government development services and international donor agencies, both of

whom were often indifferent in the past to the importance of literacy relative to more narrowly technical and financial considerations in development planning. Finally, Nigerien government services involved in the country's rural development programs are seeking CFCA support in areas of more specialized training for their own staff members in order to make them more effective in their use of national languages in a written form. All of these factors have contributed to a need for the CFCA to develop more innova- tive training programs and teaching methods.

3. The CFCA Project: Reinforcement of Training for Development

In 1981, USAID provided additional support to the CFCA through the Literacy Service Training Center Project (henceforth referred to as the CFCA project, or project).[2] By providing technical assistance, advanced training for CFCA administrators, commodities purchases, and some construction, the CFCA project was designed to assist and expand the CFCA's capacity in, among other areas, training of literacy workers, the production of instructional materials, and in testing, program evaluation, and research. In the area of literacy agent training, one goal of the project was the reinforcement of the CFCA's efforts to organize an advanced training program (cycle supérieur) for higher level literacy personnel (cadres supérieurs) at the Teachers Training School of the University of ' amey. These advanced students, preparing to occupy administrative and advisory positions as Conseillers de l'Alphabétisation, were enrolled

in the Teachers Training School and took classes with other students there.

In order to better adapt the curriculum to the professional needs of upper-level literacy agents in the program, the National Literacy Service, the CFCA and the Teachers Training School agreed that several more specialized courses should be added to those already part of the School's core curriculum. Thanks to the openness of the School's director, the CFCA was given considerable freedom in the organization of these additional courses. Among the topics desired by the CFCA for inclusion within the advanced program were evaluation methods for literacy programs, rural sociology, and sociological research methods. The need for a better grasp among literacy agents of basic methods for the evaluation of their programs was a long-standing one, and was considered critical by the Literacy Service. The desire for sociology courses oriented toward African agrarian societies reflected the importance accorded by the CFCA to a better grasp by literacy agents of the rural settings in which they work, and in which most of Niger's development programs occur.

The CFCA's long-range plans called for permanent teaching staff to be hired through the project to offer these courses but as of mid-1982 persons able to take full-time, long-term positions beginning in the Fall of that year had not been located. Because the CFCA director desired that course coverage begin during the 1982-1983 academic year, a somewhat unorthodox arrangement was made which combined one person (based in the U.S.) who was to join the CFCA as a staff member in 1983, but could not teach during an entire academic year before then, with

a second person who was in Niger. In place of two full terms of courses, a series of rotating, shorter and more intensive courses were designed as an interim measure. These courses were given by a colleague, Mr. Peter Easton, and myself. Mr. Easton is a well-known expert in the field of adult and non-formal education programs in West Africa, whose extensive field experience in all aspects of non-formal education dates from the mid-1960s in Niger. Because he had not yet finished his program of doctoral studies in international education at Florida State University, he could not assume full-time responsibilities at the CFCA until the 1983-1984 academic year, but was available for shorter periods of time. I was in Niger at the time and had been since mid-1981, where I was conducting field research for my doctoral dissertation in sociology/development anthropology. In addition to already being in the country, I knew the Literacy Service and the CFCA well, having worked periodically with the former since the early 1970s, and the latter since shortly after its creation in 1977. Under the arrangement worked out with the CFCA and USAID, Mr. Easton provided two eight-week courses in evaluation methods during the 1982-1983 academic year. Through IDA, I offered two eight-week courses in sociology.[3] This effort to insure minimal course coverage in these areas during 1982-1983 enabled IDA to provide valuable assistance to the CFCA during a transitional period and, as the following remarks should make clear, to play an important role in the promotion of innovative training for development in Africa.

4. Sociology at the CFCA

Why sociology in a training program for literacy agents? The Directors of the Literacy Service, the CFCA, and the Teachers Training School of the University all agreed that in addition to the variety of courses directly related to teaching and administrative concerns of literacy service personnel, a more thorough, critical understanding was necessary among persons involved of the social milieux in which literacy and most other development programs occur. Thus the object of the sociology courses was not to train literacy agents so they could teach or train others in turn to teach sociology in literacy programs. Rather, the idea was to enrich and diversify the training given to CFCA students; to help make it a more effective training for development rather than simply a new twist on teachers training.

The conviction that a greater sociological awareness is important for the effectiveness of persons engaged in development work, most often in collaboration with other governmental services and donor agencies, is reflected in the inclusion of sociology and anthropology in the CFCA's curriculum for training of middle-level literacy personnel. It was further manifested in the CFCA's plans to include an adapted sociology component in the advanced training program at the Teachers Training School, and to eventually insure this through a full-time staff member. Concretely, awaiting the arrival of the full-time person for the advanced program, this interest was expressed in the enthusiasm of the CFCA's director for the interim arrangement. Finally, because of the orientation planned for the sociology courses in

the advanced program, and due to the lack of any sociology in the core curriculum of the Teachers Training School, the School's Director requested that his advanced students from a similar program for primary education advisers (Conseillers Pédagogiques) attend the courses as well as the literacy personel for whom the courses were designed.

The first of the two courses I offered was an introduction to rural sociology; the second was an introduction to sociological research methods.[4] In both cases I designed the courses to focus on agrarian societies of Sahelian West Africa, and Niger in particular.

As mentioned above, the courses were designed primarily for literacy agents enrolled in the first and second years of the advanced training program being organized jointly by the CFCA and the Teachers Training School, but were also offered to students (consisting principally of primary school directors) in the School's program for advanced training of persons destined to assume advisory roles in Niger's system of primary education. Finally, versions of the same courses were given to students in two of the CFCA's four regular training programs for middle-level literacy personnel. In all, four sociology classes were given during each of the eight week teaching periods.

5. Operational Seminars

In part as a means of compensating for the brevity of the eight-week teaching periods, but also in keeping with efforts within the CFCA to break away from more traditional "in-class"

approaches to training, a week-long seminar (referred to at the CFCA as a séminaire opérationnel, hence described here as an operational seminar) was organized toward the end of each eight-week course. The seminar approach promoted within the CFCA was founded on the belief that insofar as possible, learning, particularly of elements important to the work of persons engaged in rural development programs, should be active, not passive. That is, students should do considerably more than take notes in class, write papers, and prepare for exams. I can attest that CFCA students at all levels do all of these--and a great deal more. Yet something qualitatively different was needed. It was further believed that sessions during which principles were linked with praxis would at once render more concrete the concepts and ideas introduced to students during the sociology courses, and would better prepare them to link up theory and practice on their own once they had finished their studies and were on the job.[5]

Having provided some background to the CFCA's training activities, the following remarks will summarize the two operational seminars.[6]

a) The First Operational Seminar: Training in a Rural Development Project

The first operational seminar was held toward the end of the introductory rural sociology course, from 15 to 20 November 1982. Some thirty persons participated, including CFCA students and staff, members of the Literacy Service's Evaluation Office, regional literacy agents, and personnel from a large rural development project in the Niamey region (the Niamey Department Rural

Development Project, or NDD, co-financed by USAID and the Government of Niger), with which the CFCA had been discussing collaborative training ventures for some time.

The terms of reference for the initial training period called for the first operational seminar to focus on aspects of training in rural development projects rather than sociological issues per se. Overall, the seminar goals may be described as task-oriented and method-oriented.

The task-oriented goal consisted of organizing an intensive encounter by CFCA students with aspects of training processes and problems within a typical rural development project. This was greatly facilitated by ongoing cooperation between the training staff of the CFCA and the NDD, and by the relative proximity of several rural training centers (Centres de Perfectionnement Technique) operated by the Niamey Project in the Niamey region. During nine months of each year, the NDD centers train twenty farmer couples in improved cultivation techniques. In addition, the couples attend literacy classes and are given periodic presentations on special topics by representatives of government technical services involved in the NDD's operations. The focal pont, then, of the first seminar consisted of a cricital examination of training at the NDD's centers.

The seminar obliged CFCA students to grapple with numerous aspects of training: pedagogical and substantive issues in literacy and technical training; the follow-up of persons who had completed training at the NDD centers and who had since returned to their home villages; the place of women in project training programs, etc. It also promoted a critical study of the NDD's

training programs in order to formulate conclusions and recommendations for improvements.

The "method-oriented" goal consisted of an initiation of students to several major steps in the research process as a means of accomplishing the task-oriented goals. These steps consisted of: preparation of the research activity; observation of the phenomena selected for study; analysis of the information gathered during observation; formulation of conclusions and recommendations for changes.

In order to realize these goals, arrangements were made with the training office of the NDD to permit four small groups of seminar participants to visit as many NDD training centers in the Niamey region. The operational seminar consisted of four days at the CFCA and two days and two nights at NDD training centers.

The seminar was divided into three major parts: preparation, done at the CFCA; observation of training at NDD centers in the Niamey region; and analysis and formulation of conclusions and recommendations, once again at the CFCA.

(1) Preparation

The first and second days of the seminar were spent at the CFCA where all participants worked together in a common conference room, or occasionally moved to adjoining classrooms for more concentrated work in groups. During the first, preparation phase of the seminar, several tasks were accomplished by the participants. First, background information was obtained from NDD training staff who came to the seminar, presented summary material, and discussed their training programs with the

participants. Second, the seminar participants deepened their knowledge of NDD training programs through critical study of NDD training documents, and an evaluation of the NDD's literacy and cooperative training programs I had prepared earlier.[7] Third, on the basis of their contacts with staff members from the NDD and their critical study of training documents, the seminar participants worked in groups to specify problems for study at the training centers. Each work group prepared a list of issues they considered particularly important for study during visits to the centers. Once all work groups had prepared their lists, the participants came together, a comprehensive list was composed, and the issues mentioned by the groups were arranged according to their frequency and judged importance. Finally, on the basis of lively discussion and a vote, a smaller number of issues was selected and several were assigned to each of four groups for their visits to the training centers.[8] Once the research problems had been given priorities, selected, and assigned to study groups, the groups broke up once more and went about the task of formulating specific questions that would permit them to secure the information they needed.

(2) Observation

During the afternoon of the second day, the study groups left for visits to the four NDD centers. Once at the centers, the participants interviewed center staff and trainees, attended literacy classes, contacted former center trainees living in nearby villages when possible, consulted documents and teaching materials used at the centers, and did whatever they judged necessary in order to learn about training and effectively

address their specific study issues. The work days at the training centers were long. The seminar participants began their investigations early in the mornings, and their research and conversations continued well into each of the two nights spent at the centers.

(3) Analysis; Formulation of Conclusions and Recommendations

The fifth and sixth days of the seminar were devoted to analysis and interpretation of the observations made by the seminar participants during their visits to the training centers, followed by the preparation of group reports and recommendations. During the last day of the seminar, reports were read by each study group after which a synthesis and general discussion followed. The training officer from the NDD also attended this last session, and responded to and discussed the students' analysis and recommendations with them.

Several days after the seminar, a document, containing all group reports was prepared and distributed to all CFCA students who participated, to CFCA and Literay Service staff, and to the Director and training staff of the NDD.[9] Later during the term, the NDD Director paid a visit to the CFCA and discussed with the seminar participants his reactions to their reports and recommendations.

For six days, participants studied, observed, debated, and reinterprteted aspects of training in order to better understand them and potentially help to improve training programs offered at rural centers operated by the NDD, and, by implication, other development projects in Niger. Instead of texts, project training

documents were read and critically evaluated. Classroom lectures were replaced by work-groups, debates and discussions, and finally, by active observation during visits to the training centers.

The operational seminar obliged students and staff to leave the formal, highly predictable setting of the classroom, to enter a new mode of learning, and to collaborate with fellow students and staff in a manner often underemphasized in the classroom. The seminar obliged participants to, as it were, move back and forth between principles of training for rural devleopment and their manifestations in the everyday life of current and former center trainees, literacy instructors, center directors, and other center staff involved in training. Finally, the seminar obliged participants to develop constructive criticisms and suggestions for change on the basis of their own study and observations.

b) The Second Operational Seminar: A Study of the Urban Informal Sector

(1) Introduction

The second operational seminar was held from 14 to 18 March 1983, toward the end of the course in sociological research methods. In some respects it resembled the first seminar; in others it differed considerably. As during the first seminar, great emphasis was given to the active participation of all participants in the preparation and execution of a brief research exercise. Unlike the first seminar, and due to the nature of the course in which it was situated, this participation was preceded by several classroom presentations on methodological issues, thus

continuity between course content and the seminar was greater during the second seminar. Other principal differences resided in the focus of the seminar and the site of the research exercise.

Largely in order to simplify the logistics of the second operational seminar, but also to provide variety for the students, the setting of rural training centers was replaced by the city--Niamey. Rather than examine training processes, the students were asked to investigate activities in the urban "informal sector", a rich example of which was situated in one of Niamey's several markets, located within minutes of the CFCA. Here, in the nearby Katako market (also known as the Bukoki market), where a wide variety of recuperated and recycled materials are manufactured into articles widely used by Niamey's African population, the students selected several of the manufacturing enterprises for study. Working in small groups of two to four persons, the students interviewed workers in order to acquire more experience in research praxis, and in addition, to secure information on a half-dozen study themes selected during the first days of the seminar at the CFCA.

(2) Principal Activities during the Seminar

During the seminar the participants were involved in the following activities:

-- Introduction to the informal sector through a review and discussion of several published studies of Niamey and the informal sector in Niger;

-- An initial, orientation visit to the nearby Katako market. This included unstructured observation and a census of

enterprise activities at the market, free-wheeling conversations with enterprise workers, mental and notebook notes on possible study themes and questions for further investigation;

-- Return to the CFCA. Completion of observation notes; presentation of brief reports on initial observations; discussion of the reactions of Katako enterprise workers to the students' presence;

-- A first listing of all activities observed at the market; discussion and consensus on an operational definition of an "enterprise" for purposes of the seminar, and to facilitate the choice of units for observation during the seminar's market study;

-- Specification (by means the operational definition) of the population of enterprises eligible for more detailed observation (through interviews with workers);

-- Selection of enterprise types to be studied by seminar study groups;[10]

-- Organization of study groups; assignment of enterprise types to be studied by each group; formulation of study group themes considered to be important for an understanding of the enterprise; formulation of questions relating to each theme;

-- Collective discussion of study themes and questions developed by each study group; listing of all themes and questions;

-- Final selection of common study themes and questions to be used during interviews with enterprise workers during a secon visit to selected Katako market manufacturing enterprises;[11]

-- Final sharpening-up of questions by each study group;

preparation of special questions for particular enterprises; preparation of interview guide format;

-- Second visit to the Katako market (this continued over a period of two days);

-- Return to CFCA. Discussion of experiences at the market; observations; reactions to the use of interview techniques;

-- Partial synthesis of results within each study group; partial synthesis and review of results for all groups. Discussion of the specific and general features of enterprises studied;

-- Termination of the seminar.

Due to time limitations, a synthesis report could not be prepared for distribution before the end of the seminar, but shortly thereafter, I prepared a report which was distributed to all participants.[12] In addition, copies of draft code and survey sheets were made available to each study group to enable them to better understand the intermediate processes whereby individual interview responses are aggregated and coding categories formulated.

6. Summary and Conclusions

The operational seminars described above served to structure the participation of CFCA students in critical steps of the research process twice during the academic year, and through this participation rendered the research process more concrete and accessible. The seminars also promoted an active encounter by the students with substantive issues of considerable importance in varied research settings. The first seminar made it possible for

the students to deal analytically with aspects of rural development training of considerable relevance to the concerns of literacy workers in Africa. Within the second seminar, the focus changed: from training to the informal sector; from the countryside to the city. At first inspection the relevance of the second seminar to the immediate needs of literacy agents may seem less apparent. It is true that most of Niger's literacy agents are involved with rural-based development programs. Yet ever-larger numbers of rural dwellers swell the ranks of urban populations, and considerable numbers of these manage to survive within the interstices of the informal sector. To an increasing degree, these changes must be addressed by Niger's Literacy Service and by the CFCA as they seek to be more effective in urban-based literacy programs. The direct relevance to literacy notwithstanding, it is important to keep in mind that be the structures rural or urban, it is necessary that persons engaged in development programs develop a more satisfactory, critical understanding of the dynamics of both, and of their interconnections. In addition to providing added practice in "doing sociology," the second seminar served to increase the students' awareness (often to the point of astonishment) of the vitality and importance of an often neglected aspect of urban life--the informal sector. As a mechanism for structuring the access of students for purposes of active learning, whatever the specific setting or study themes, operational seminars offer considerable promise.

It must be emphasized that the operational seminar approach

described above is a formative one. It represents efforts by the CFCA to better adapt the training it offers to the changing realities of development. It also illustrates the conviction that approaches to training for rural development should be flexible and active, and that the well-known classroom lecture approach can profit considerably from the incorporation of other modes of learning. To date the operational seminar approach has been satisfactorily used by the CFCA in areas of training for program evaluation and sociology. A slightly different approach to intensive learning has also been used with considerable success in the CFCA's applied linguistics program for literacy agents. We may expect that as experiences of this kind continue and prove effective, the operational seminar approach will see wider use in training programs at the CFCA and at other institutions for development training in Africa.

Notes

[1] La Direction de l'Alphabétisation et de la Formation Permanente.

[2] The first outlines of what was to become the CFCA Project are contained in a back-up paper I prepared for AID in June 1978, which was incorporated in "Project Paper: Niger - Rural Sector Human Resources Development Project," (No. 683-0226), AID, Washington, D.C., December 5, 1978. Since then several project papers have been prepared for the CFCA project. It was finally approved by the Niger Government and USAID as proposed in a document prepared by Peter Easton with assistance from myself. See "Project Paper: Literacy Service Training Center Project," No. 683-0237, USAID, Washington, D.C., May 26, 1981.

[3] The arrangement was made possible by a USAID contract with IDA, No. 683-0237-C-002053.

[4] For details of course content and results of the two training sessions, see Thomas M. Painter, "Report of Activities during the First Phase of Contract (o/a October 1, 1982 to o/a December 1, 1982)," and "Report of Activities during the Second Phase of Contract (o/a January 14, 1983 to o/a March 25, 1983."

In summary, the introductory rural sociology course covered the following points in addition to the operational seminar being described here:

-- The sociological perspective;

-- Basic sociological concepts of particular relevance to studies of rural society;

-- Aspects of agrarian structure and change;

-- Interpretation of qualitative and quantitative data from village-level studies with particular attention to changes in kinship structures and implications for production and social reproduction;

-- The significance of seasonal migrations for household and village life;

-- Introduction to basic concepts of demography;

-- Approaches to the study of social differentiation.

Wherever possible these and other topics were related to concrete case study materials, drawn from the available literature on Africa (with particular emphasis given to sociology and ethnology of Niger), from my own field research materials, and from my own observations, made while studying and evaluating several rural development projects in Niger. Excerpts of texts and articles were distributed and several take-home and in-class exercises were given to the students during each course.

The course on introduction to sociological research methods covered the following points in addition to the seminar:

-- Continued discussion of the sociological perspective as a critical perspective on everyday social life, on social structure and social process;

-- The relation of method to theory in sociology; the use of sociological concepts in the study of everyday life;

-- Cause and effect; explanation; variables and indicators; their use in sociology;

-- Major phases of sociological study:

* Definition of the research problem;

* Preliminary studies;

* Use and formulation of hypotheses;

* Choice of population for study;

* Sampling;

* Specification of time frame;

-- Survey of major observation techniques used by sociologists (interviews, questionnaires, participant and non-participant observation, documentary studies, etc.)

5 For details on the successful use of operational seminars in the area of training for evaluation, see Peter A. Easton, "Report of activities carried out during the second phase of the [CFCA] contract from April 28 to June 28, 1983. USAID, Niamey, Niger, June 28, 1983. For an extended treatment of these and other literacy topics from theoretical and practical perspectives, see Easton's important work, L'Education des adultes en Afrique noire, 3 vols. Paris: Karthala, 1984.

6 I am extremely appreciative of the cooperation and support given to all aspects of seminar organization by the Director of the CFCA, by colleagues on the CFCA's teaching staff, by other CFCA personnel, and by the Director and training staff of the Niamey Department Productivity Project. I should also like to thank my students for their enthusiasm and hard work in a program which added to an already heavy course schedule, and for their forthright criticisms and suggestions for improvement. Much more could be said about the operational seminars at the CFCA; in the meantime, I hope this summary description will render them justice. Readers who desire additional details on the CFCA or the operational seminar approach are encouraged to contact the Director, Centre de Formation des Agents de l'Alphabetisation, B.P. 525, Niamey, Niger. In addition, copies of all documents produced in connection with the Institute's work at the CFCA are available and may be consulted at USAID offices in Niamey, or through contact with IDA (99 Collier Street, Suite 302,

Binghamton, New York 13902).

[7] A French translation was prepared of my report "Adult Literacy and Cooperative Training Programs in the Niamey Department Development Project (Niger Republic): Evaluation of Phase I Activities and Recommendations for Phase II." Prepared for USAID, Contract No. AID/afr-C-1686, October 27, 1980.

[8] Seminar participants selected four primary and four secondary themes for study during their visits to the NDD centers. First priority topics were:

1. Inappropriate teaching materials; with particular concern for the lack of training material adapted for womens' training programs;

2. Inadequate follow-up of training activities by government services participating in the NDD;

3. Insufficient awareness and motivation among center trainees concerning training program content (especially literacy);

4. Insufficient training of literacy instructors.

Secondary topics selected for study were:

1. The use of national languages in literacy programs;

2. Technical training topics;

3. Integration and coordination of topical contributions by different government services to training programs;

4. Cooperative training.

[9] See "La formation au sein des Centres de Perfectionnement Technique du Projet Productivité Niamey: Notes de Synthèse preparees à partir des thèmes étudiés pendant le séminaire opérationnel sur les activités de formation du Projet Productivité de Niamey au CFCA du 15 au 20 Novembre 1982." CFCA, Document du travail, le 23 Novembre 1982.

10 Enterprises selected for study during the seminar were:

Manufacturers of mattresses and pillows;

Manufacturers of palm-leaf mats;

"Traditional" pharmacists;

Manufacturers of cast aluminum cooking pots;

Manufacturers of sheet metal goods;

Manufacturers of wooden beds;

Carpenters;

Manufacturers of rubber sandals and well buckets.

11 Themes studied for each enterprise were:

The nature of the enterprise;

The raw materials used in manufacture;

The social organization of work;

Aspects of the production process;

Sales of production;

Remuneration of workers.

12 See Thomas M. Painter, "Aperçu sur le secteur 'informel' de Niamey: Les petites entreprises de fabrication du Marché de Katako (Bukoki) - Notes d'un séminaire opérationnel en sociologie au CFCA du 14 au 18 Mars 1983." CFCA, Document du travail, le 25 Mars 1983.