

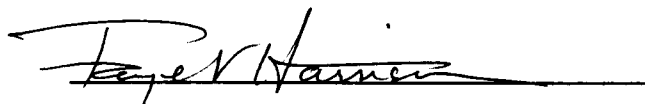
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Lee L. Williams entitled "From Common Sense to Good Sense: Participatory Research, Power, Knowledge and GrassRoots Empowerment." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D., with a major in Sociology.



John Gaventa, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

**FROM COMMON SENSE TO GOOD SENSE:
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH,
POWER, KNOWLEDGE
AND
GRASSROOTS EMPOWERMENT**

**A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

Lee Lyle Williams

August 1997

I devote myself to living beings not introspective mental processes.

I dedicate this thesis to

the dead who walked before me and struggled for justice,

the unwavering among us that continue to sow the seeds of fire,

and the steadfast ones who gave me life, love, roots and wings...

my Mom and Dad

Phyllis Ann King Williams and Lyle Morris Williams

Acknowledgments

My years in graduate school have been filled with many intense and richly rewarding experiences. By investigating participatory philosophies of democracy and social change I have learned much about the possibilities and problems associated with the radical restructuring of society. Through these experiences I, too, have come to know a great deal more about the potential impacts and social power of people collectively joined in the struggle for justice and equality for all. I would have never gotten this far without being aided and abetted by many more people than I can possibly mention, although all are appreciated nonetheless.

My earliest sociology professors, Don Martin and David Iaquinta, set me on my quest to grow my sociological imagination, and are both owed much for their efforts. Don Clelland, my first mentor in graduate school, skillfully shepherded me through my Master's degree and along the way gave me the freedom to explore and learn from all forms of knowledge, grounding in radical social thought, and the inspiration to "follow my bliss!" I am fortunate this extraordinary scholar, gentle teacher, and kind spirit took an abiding interest in my personal, intellectual, and professional development. David Tandy proved a stalwart friend, confidant, and adviser during my time in graduate school and generously shared advice and insight that, for good or ill, I followed to the bitter end; me thinks it was good! For that, for camaraderie, and for editing this manuscript more closely than anyone, many thanks are given.

I am indebted to Frank Adams, Wilma Dunaway, Michael Logan, Randy Stoecker, Walda Katz-Fishman, Jerome Scott, and Marie Kennedy for going far beyond the call to duty in their efforts to sustain my growth as an educator and sociologist. Appreciated also, is the personal and professional kindness, and passion for the calling, bestowed by Sam

Wallace. I am obliged to my comrade, Ed Meier, for continuing to share his revolutionary spirit and critical insights into radical praxis, and Stuart Vonderloh and Mike Lillie, for friendship, space to rave, and always making sure my hat size never gets too big!

Considerable gratitude is extended to the Highlander Research and Education Center Staff for allowing me to use the wonderful workspace in the Harry M. Lasker Library. The beautiful view, abundant wildlife, and ever-changing, grand vistas of the Smoky Mountains enlivened me daily and prevented my task from becoming the drudgery it might have been in another setting. Thanks go to Candy and Guy Carawan, Susan Williams, Ron Hall, Jim Sessions, Ekem Lartsen, Mary Thom Adams, George Reynolds, Joyce Dukes, Reba Frank, Jaunita Householder, Tammy Elkins, Wokie Massaquoi-Wicks, Ron Davis, Paul de Leon, and the interns for making me feel at home inside your work and living space. A special debt is owed to Nina Reining, Kathy Phillips, and Shelly Hickman for keeping me well fed, provisioned, and cared for while I wrote. I would also like to acknowledge the insights, information, and support gained from the multitude of people who have passed through the Highlander Center while I have worked on this project.

For moral, technical, and personal support during this endeavor, my appreciation is given to the Community Partnership Center Staff, Ann Strange, Fran Miller, Vicki Creed, Janice Morrissey, and Madeline Rogero; the Department of Sociology Central Staff, Linda Robinson, Karen Jones, and Pam Morgan; and my office-mates, fellow graduate students, and friends during the journey, Glenn Johnson, Chris Baker, and Debbie Godwin-Perkins. WNCW, a public radio station broadcasting from the Isothermal Community College Campus in Spindale, North Carolina, kept me up on the news and provided a great deal of listening pleasure while I worked. Thanks go to Chris Pelton and Jennifer Glau for volunteering to help videotape the workshop.

The monetary contributions given to this project from individual study participants and their community organizations are gratefully acknowledged. The endeavor has also

been helped by funding from the American Sociological Association's Sydney S. Spivack Program on Applied Social Research and Social Policy Community Action Research Award and a grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development Community Outreach Program. Additionally, the Highlander Research and Education Center, and the Community Partnership Center and Department of Sociology at the University of Tennessee, have provided funds and in-kind contributions to this work.

My deep regards and gratitude are given to each of the people who participated in this project. A special thanks is extended to those who gave freely of their time, insights, and knowledge during interviews and the workshop, including Dave Anderson, Fran Ansley, Bob Becker, Walter Bresette, Dick Brooks, Delores Dell, Linda Delp, Brenda Farrell, Catherine Ferreira, Carolyn Fuller, Al Gedicks, Jennifer Glau, Rocco Goins, Michael Goldberg, Emma Gonzales, William Hartsock, Gilda Haas, Gene Hurst, Melissa Jeter, Maria Jimenez, Lorraine Jones, Marie Kennedy, Sandy Lyons, Angie Morgan, Tim Mungavan, Chris Pelton, Lynn Peterson, Carlos Porras, Hotense Quillen, Ken Reardon, Dora Roman, Betsy Santiago, Richard Simpson, Clyde & Laureen Smith, Randy Stoecker, Susan Williams, and Larry & Sheila Wilson. Without them I could never have completed this study; because of their participation it is greatly improved.

I am deeply indebted and thankful to those who served as my formal advisers for this project. Asafa Jalata and Faye Harrison, willingly served on my dissertation committee with great candor and good cheer; they offered moral support and intellectual stimulation, and provided important insights that helped to improve this work. Helen Lewis is an extraordinary popular educator to whom I owe a great deal for more than committee work. The homemade meals, songs, celebrations, and discussions at the Horton House greatly nourished my intellect, body, and soul, but more treasured are the gifts shared in spirit. John Gaventa chaired my dissertation committee and guided this project to fruition with subtlety, skill, and grace. Early on in my time at the University of Tennessee, he helped to

forever change my course by introducing me to the Highlander Research and Education Center, and to popular education and participatory research. Throughout my graduate school experience he willingly shared his scholarship, made me the beneficiary of his passion for popular knowledge and participatory democracy, generously offered his warmth and kindness, and remained a true and trusted mentor and friend. I could not have asked for a better person to guide me on this journey, nor could I have worked with anyone who better models what turning common sense into good sense is all about.

My profound appreciation and gratitude are extended to my parents, Lyle and Phyllis Williams, and my parents-in-law, Kenneth and Phyllis Morrison, for their support, patience, and encouragement while I have pursued my studies.

Finally, my deepest obligation is to my wife and children. They have given the most, that I may accomplish this task. My daughter, Hannah, and son, Elijah, are treasured gifts, grown from love, and cherished simply for being and becoming themselves. They have deepened my spirit, put the magic back in my soul, and given greater urgency to the everyday work for social justice. I will always be beholden to my friend, lover, and wife, Mary Katherine Morrison Williams. She put aside her dreams so that I could pursue mine. Throughout every high and low of this quest, she generously gave strength, support, tolerance, reassurance, and understanding. For that, for her sacrifices, and for her love, I am forever grateful.

Each of these people, have in their own way, served to enliven and enlighten my life and work. Though many are acknowledged, I take full responsibility for the text that follows and share both the good and ill with all who helped.

llw
June 1997

Abstract

Participatory research is an empowerment strategy whereby powerless people can actively participate in research, education, reflection, and social action. In the process the collective production of knowledge is used to build participatory democracy and mobilize and empower grassroots individuals and collectives to transform oppressive social institutions and structures. The study uses the cultural capital of forty popular researchers to analyze various propositions about participatory research, individual empowerment, and social structural transformation. Analyses were conducted on information developed from in-depth interviews, discussions recorded during a three-day workshop on participatory research, and eleven oral illustrative case examples.

The central concern of the study is to show how participatory research can help powerless people challenge power in terms of decision-making, the mobilization of bias and non-decisions, and control of consciousness. The experiences of project collaborators show that participants produced and used instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge to learn about the concrete social and physical world in order to actively sustain it; to know what others think, feel, and experience, and to be able to empathize with the other, and then to understand the self as other; and to actively participate in a democratic process along with others to change unjust social conditions. What participatory research offered to the participants in each of the case examples was the chance to become empowered and to actively resist domination based on popular knowledge and culture that they developed themselves.

Five significant aspects of successful participatory research emerged from this study: (1) the work must be committed to the self-determination and emancipation of subordinated groups within society; (2) people must be seen as self-conscious political actors capable of changing themselves and social structures; (3) loyalties must be developed and maintained in terms of people, not institutions; (4) the endeavor must help people to learn to critically analyze individual and collective experiences and to transform consciousness in ways that foster progressive social action; (5) the process must be about facilitating learning through practice that is based on peer teaching in which all persons learn with and from each other.

PROLOGUE

O my body, make of me always one who questions!
Black Skin, White Masks, *Frantz Fanon 1967*

As a graduate student in sociology I have searched for avenues to learn more about democracy and social change. While I found some openings in the university curriculum, my exploration eventually led me outside the scholarly community to the Highlander Research and Education Center. There, for the first time in my graduate school experience, I found what I had been seeking. I discovered a host of community educators and organizers who were authentically putting critical and feminist theory into practice by doing participatory research and popular education for progressive social change. Participatory research and popular education grow from a long and underexplored tradition whereby powerless people have created free spaces and produced their own popular knowledge aimed at building participatory democracy from the bottom up.

I first became deeply interested in the approach during an annual "Institute for Education and Social Change" held at the Highlander Center in 1992. During this workshop I met popular educators from throughout the United States and began to hear and learn more about democratic problem-solving approaches for community development. This taste of popular education influenced my direction in graduate school, and has continued to whet my appetite ever since.

The development of this academic research project grew along with my burgeoning interest in participatory research and popular education. In the Spring of 1993, John Gaventa, Fran Ansley, and several colleagues, approached me about doing some work to help start a Community Partnership Center. The shared vision was to create a community-

advised center at the University of Tennessee, that would actively support collaborative and participatory research activities throughout the region. My task was to create annotated descriptions of the programs and procedures of community outreach centers at other universities that were trying to do popular research with and in communities. Stemming from this work and related to my path toward an advanced degree, John and I decided to pursue the idea further. Ultimately, I produced an annotated bibliography of some 200 sources on applied and participatory social research methods as one of my specialty exams in the Ph.D. process (see Williams 1996a). These undertakings provided the foundation for the present study.

Near the end of 1994 the Community Partnership Center was operating as an official community research and outreach center. As a way to move some of their work forward I was asked to produce a "Grassroots Guide to Participatory Research." In considering this request it became apparent that this was a chance to do both my dissertation and work of a more applied nature as part and parcel of the same project. We submitted a grant request to support the work as part of a US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Community Outreach Partnership Center grant proposal; we were approved. About the same time I also received, along with John Gaventa, a small award from the American Sociological Association's Sydney S. Spivack Program on Applied and Community Research and the study was off and running.

During the time I have worked on this project I have continued to associate with a number of popular educators through my affiliation with the Highlander Center. I have served to organize and facilitate a number of workshops, and have been able to meet and talk with a number of influential popular educators and researchers. I have learned a myriad of new ideas and was also able to analyze the things I was learning and thinking about with others who had similar concerns. But even more important was the contact I had with grassroots people coming to Highlander to learn how to make changes in their own

communities. Several that come to mind include Marie Cirillo, Derek Douglas, Charlie Casey, and Gail Sams, to name just a few. Though graduate school taught me some important things about becoming an intellectual and an expert, what I learned from these folks was something they don't teach in college: they showed me how to become an upside-down expert. In essence they taught me that the key to doing "good work" is to first listen to and learn from the people, for it is only then that they can and will learn with you.

What I have found through my experiences of the last few years about popular research and political education and my role in working with people for participatory democracy and bottom-up social change, is best captured in the words of immortal Algerian revolutionary Frantz Fanon (1963:157-58).

. . . we often believe with criminal superficiality that to educate the masses politically is to deliver a long political harangue from time to time. We think that it is enough that the leader, or one of the lieutenants, should speak in a pompous tone about the principle events of the day for them to have fulfilled this bounden duty to educate the masses politically. Now, political education means opening their minds, awakening them, and allowing the birth of their intelligence; as Césaire said, it is "to invent souls."

To educate the masses politically does not mean, cannot mean making a political speech. What it means is to try, relentlessly and passionately, to teach the masses that everything depends on them; that if we stagnate it is their responsibility, and that if we go forward it is due to them too, that there is no such thing as a demiurge, that there is no famous man who will take the responsibility for everything, but that the demiurge is the people themselves and the magic hands are finally only the hands of the people.

Fanon wrote these powerful words in his influential and explosive book, *Wretched of the Earth*, and they ring as true today as ever. Although I have no illusions that this dissertation will invent souls, I have worked hard on it and hope that you learn something that you can apply in the daily struggle to resist all forms of domination and help to put the power into the magic hands of the people.

llw
June 1997

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER 1 Statement of the Problem.....	4
CHAPTER 2 Methodology: A Plan for Research on Research.....	14
Guiding Questions.....	15
Study Participants.....	15
Methods.....	18
In-depth Interviews.....	18
Illustrative Case Examples.....	20
The Workshop.....	20
Data Analysis.....	24
Informed Consent.....	25
Developing a GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research.....	26
An Experiment in Equality.....	29
Summary.....	31
CHAPTER 3 Theory: Participatory Research, Power, Knowledge and Empowerment.....	32
“Common Sense” to “Good Sense”.....	32
Participatory Research.....	38
Elements of Participatory Research.....	40
Participatory Research Methodology.....	42
Empowerment and Resistance.....	50
Three Dimensions of Power.....	54
Decision-making.....	54
Mobilization of Bias.....	55
Control of Consciousness.....	56
Three Forms of Empowerment.....	57
Advocating.....	58
Mobilizing and Organizing.....	60
Transforming Consciousness.....	61

Three Types of Knowledge.....	62
Instrumental Knowledge	63
Interactive Knowledge.....	66
Critical Knowledge.....	69
Participatory Research, Power, Knowledge Production and Empowerment.....	71
Instrumental Knowledge and the Capacity to Advocate	74
Interactive Knowledge and the Capacity to Organize	79
Critical Knowledge and the Capacity to Transform Consciousness.....	84
A Theoretical Approach To Participatory Research and Empowerment	88
Summary.....	91

CHAPTER 4 PR and the First Dimension of Power: Producing and Using Instrumental Knowledge to Build the Capacities to

Advocate in Decision-Making	92
Building the Analysis—An Explanatory Note.....	95
Windows on the Work. . .Part One.....	99
#1—The American Friends Service Committee’s Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project	99
#2—The University of Massachusetts Roofless Women’s Action Research Mobilization	106
#3—The Urban University Neighborhood Network in Ohio.....	112
#4—The Community Partnership Center’s Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community’s Learning Initiative and the McDowell County, West Virginia Citizen’s Action Network.....	117
Instrumental Knowledge, Advocating, Learning and Empowering.....	124
Discussion	134
Summary.....	140

CHAPTER 5 PR and the Second Dimension of Power: Sharing and Using Interactive Knowledge to Build the Capacities to

Organize Against the Mobilization of Bias	141
Windows on the Work . . .Part Two	142

#5—The Cedar-Riverside Minnesota Participatory Community Re- Development Project.....	142
#6—Rural Southern Voice for Peace “Listening for Change” Across the Southeast.....	146
#7—The Yellow Creek Kentucky Concerned Citizen’s Fight Toxic Dumping and Investigate Community Environmental Health.....	152
#8—The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network’s Maquiladora Worker Exchange Project.....	158
Interactive Knowledge, Acting, Relating and Empowering.....	161
Discussion	175
Summary.....	180

CHAPTER 6 PR and the Third Dimension of Power: Developing and Sharing Critical Knowledge to Build the Capacities to

Transform Consciousness	181
Windows on the Work. . . Part Three.....	182
#9—Anishinabe Niiji, Treaty Rights, Environmental Protection, and Cultural Consciousness in the Upper Midwest.....	182
#10—The University of California at Los Angeles Labor Center’s Community Scholars Program and The Santa Fe Municipal Employees Union & Communities for a Better Environment Investigate Worker and Community Health.....	187
#11—The East St. Louis Illinois Action Research Project.....	193
Critical Knowledge, Educating, Organizing and Transforming Consciousness	198
Discussion	215
Summary.....	219

CHAPTER 7 From Common Sense to Good Sense: Participatory

Research and GrassRoots Empowerment.....	221
PR as Method: Toward Improved Strategy.....	222
PR as Empowerment: Toward Improved Theory.....	239
PR as Process: Toward Improved Praxis	245
Difficulties In Participatory Research.....	254

Limits of the Study and Next Steps.....	258
Conclusion.....	260
Epilogue.....	262
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	264
A P P E N D I C E S	282
Appendix 1 Workshop Participants	283
Appendix 2 People Interviewed in Addition to Workshop Participants.....	293
Appendix 3 In-Depth Interview Schedule	295
Appendix 4 Workshop Agenda	299
Appendix 5 Pre-Workshop Questionnaire.....	300
Appendix 6 Post-Workshop Questionnaire	301
Appendix 7 Participatory Research Study Invitation to Participate.....	302
Appendix 8 Participatory Research Study Informed Consent Form	304
Appendix 9 Secondary Data Sources for Case Examples	307
V I T A.....	312

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 2.1	List of Projects Participating in Study	17
TABLE 2.2	Project Timeline	19
TABLE 3.1	The Main Elements of Participatory Research	41
TABLE 3.2	Questions for Research	48
TABLE 3.3	Power, Powerlessness and Empowerment.....	59
TABLE 3.4	Participatory Research and Empowerment Strategies.....	73
TABLE 3.5	Participatory Research and Knowledge Production.....	73
TABLE 4.1	Presentation Schedule for the Case Examples	93
TABLE 7.1	Comparing the Case Examples Parts One, Two and Three	224

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 3.1	A Theoretical Approach for Understanding Power, Empowerment, Knowledge and Participatory Research.....	89
FIGURE 7.1	Re-Conceptualizing Participatory Research, Knowledge, Empowerment and Power.....	223
FIGURE 7.2	Participatory Research as GrassRoots Empowerment	243
FIGURE 7.3	International Council on Adult Education Cyclical Model of Participatory Research	247
FIGURE 7.4	Yoland Wadsworth's Spiral Model of Participatory Evaluation Research.....	249
FIGURE 7.5	Denise Nadeau's Spiral Model of Organizing and Educational Design	250
FIGURE 7.6	Participatory Research as Praxis an Interactive Model.....	252

INTRODUCTION

"Before beginning a long journey, it is wise to know where you are going,
that way you will know that you have arrived once you get there."

Winnie the Pooh, *A.A. Milne*

Participatory research is an empowerment strategy that combines participation by those with a problem in research, education, and action, to forge a unified response to the multifaceted imbalances of social power operating in the present social system. It is a strategy for building participatory democracy by using the knowledge-producing capacities of powerless people. This investigation into participatory research and empowerment follows the emancipatory concerns emphasized in critical and feminist theory, is strategized in the form of collaborative inquiry, and utilizes a theoretical relationship between power and knowledge developed from my experiences with participatory research and popular education. The experiences and insights of forty grassroots researchers form the basis for an inquiry into various propositions about knowledge produced through participatory research, and individual and collective empowerment and structural transformation.

Chapter One provides the context in which this investigation takes place, frames the guiding research questions, and justifies the need for this study. Chapter Two delineates the methodological approach that guided the exploration, identifies the study participants, and outlines the data collection and analysis techniques used to conduct the research.

Chapter Three provides the theoretical underpinning for the study. First, Gramsci's idea of turning common sense into good sense to produce counter-hegemony is explored. Next, the main elements and methodology of participatory research are

discussed. This is followed by the definition of empowerment used in the study. The chapter continues by exploring the three dimensions of power (decision-making, non-decision-making, and consciousness), the three forms of empowerment (advocacy, organizing, transforming consciousness), and the three types of knowledge (instrumental, interactive, and critical) that are used to develop the theory of empowerment that drives this investigation. Next, several illustrations drawn from the literature are used to highlight the three forms of power, knowledge, and empowerment that play pivotal roles in participatory research. The chapter concludes with a theoretical diagram that describes the analytical framework and approach used to examine the illustrative case examples presented in subsequent chapters.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six follow a similar format and build one from the other to form a multi-layered analysis of the eleven illustrative examples of participatory research that are the foundation of this project. Each chapter begins with three or four illustrative case examples based on the experiences and voices of popular researchers. Then, the cases are examined to determine what techniques or strategies were used to build with people the capacities to produce knowledge and challenge the three dimensions of power. Chapter Four investigates four cases to see how people doing participatory research can produce instrumental knowledge to use when advocating for particular decisions. Chapter Five probes four more examples of participatory research, in addition to the four presented in the previous chapter, to investigate how interactive knowledge is generated and used to mobilize people for collective action. The chapter also examines the case examples to show how instrumental was produced and put into action. Chapter Six analyzes the three remaining case examples and uses them to show how critical knowledge is produced and used by participants to transform consciousness and produce counter-hegemony. As with the previous chapter, each of the cases presented in prior chapters are also analyzed in terms of the role critical knowledge

played during the community problem-solving process, and the three cases presented in the chapter are discussed in terms of the interactive and instrumental knowledge they produced.

Chapter 7 provides the final layer of the analysis and concludes the study. The first section of the chapter centers on the lessons learned about participatory research methods. A cross-comparative analysis of the illustrative case examples is offered based on the research methods used, the action strategies developed, and educational activities undertaken. The next section examines some of the implications the findings of this study have on the general theory of participatory research and on the theoretical relationship between participatory research and empowerment. The chapter culminates in the third section which identifies the lessons learned from this investigation that impact on the praxis of participatory research. The insights of the participants in this study are used to develop and expand on models of participatory research that have been developed by other practitioners and theorists. An archetype is offered based on popular, feminist, critical, and interactive approaches to participatory research. Next, the barriers and boundaries of participatory research are examined, the limits of my research findings are identified, and the new questions and directions suggested by this investigation are discussed. The study concludes with some of my own reflections on this body of work.

CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Only when lions have historians will hunters cease being heroes.
African Proverb

As we approach the next millennium, we are coming dangerously close to creating a situation in the global social-political-economic system that effectively denies recognition of the knowledge creating abilities of most people in the world. The ever increasing oppression of a large majority of the world working-class is derived not only through economic exploitation, but also from the power of elites to control, manipulate, and monopolize knowledge. Clear examples of this phenomenon are found in the separation of small land-holders from the knowledge of their legal rights, or the withholding of corporate financial information from employees during contract negotiations. It is even more apparent in the deep chasm that is situated between the lettered experts who have the ability to produce and legitimate scientific knowledge and the people who must live with the findings.

Most often research in the sciences is seen as a process in which an "objective expert" gathers information, in an "objective manner," to prepare an "objective report," to "objectively solve" whatever problem(s) may exist. It has results, generally by way of recommendations, that are produced with little if any real consent and participation of the "subjects" involved in the research project. Power over what knowledge is produced, how it is produced, and how it will be shared is maintained by experts and their powerful patrons through a process in which, "knowledge that the researcher produces is deposited in the scientific storehouse from which, supposedly, policy-makers, corporate executives, and other would-be social engineers draw requisite

techniques for administering to, managing, and manipulating unwitting and pacified populations" (Park 1993:3-4). Usually this type of activity, done by an outsider, "comes back in the form of power forged with what has been taken (or stolen) from the people who participated in the research. Often it comes back to exploit" (Arnold et al. 1991:165).

An analysis of the role of knowledge in maintaining existing structural inequalities between the powerful and the powerless in society shows that the power to produce, control, manipulate, and legitimate knowledge has always been, continues to be, and will become an increasing means of sustaining unequal power relations in society (see Bell 1974; Epstein 1991; Gaventa 1993; Hall 1979; Harrison 1991a; Heaney 1993; Jalata 1995, 1996; Maguire 1987; Martin 1996; Reidman 1993; Smith 1990; Waring 1984). One aspect of the ability of the powerful to dominate the powerless is found in the way we tend to relate "research" only to the type of "knowledge" created by the physical sciences, or by positivist social science. These quantitative models of research are aimed at producing "instrumental knowledge" in order to control, predict, adapt, or produce something tangible in our larger social ecological system. With the modern sciences, beginning with natural sciences and leading to social sciences, knowledge has become a commodity (Hall, 1979).

There exists a market mechanism for this commodity in that the production of knowledge has become a specialized profession and only those trained in that profession can legitimately produce and consume it (Gaventa 1993; Hall 1979; Heaney 1993; Martin 1996). Large institutions of research and training have developed as factories that create and legitimate this "structurally validated knowledge" and train the "lettered" producers of this "academic" wisdom in the appropriate "methods" for its production and dissemination. Local, national, and international networks of knowledge producers and consumers have been erected. The information networks, knowledge factories,

production lines, workers, and the commodities they produce are, for the most part, controlled and maintained by capital (Schiller 1981). The production and transfer of knowledge has entered the global market-place as a tour de force and provides the greatest social, cultural, economic, and political power to those advanced in this business.

A number of social commentators have termed this shift in political economy as the "information age," "the knowledge society," the "post-industrial society," or the "postmodern era," among others. The essence of this new "society" is described by sociologist Daniel Bell (1974) as the movement from "pre-industrial to post-industrial society." In pre-industrial times the ownership and control of land was the foundation for social, economic, and cultural power. Industrial society saw the fusion of material, machines, and people for the production of goods and capital. Present-day post-industrial society is organized around knowledge to control the direction of innovation and change and for the purpose of social control. Whatever one names this new age, more important are the implications for the increasing inequality this transition brings to those with the least power to produce and legitimate knowledge. In order to alter existing inequality and prevent the likely increased power imbalances of the information age we must ask, "What strategies do the less powerful use to successfully resist and alter the elements of oppression a knowledge-based society brings?" This study investigates one such approach: Participatory Research (PR).

Participatory research is a grassroots empowerment strategy that combines participation by those effected by a problem in research, education, and action to forge a unified response to the multifaceted imbalances of social power operating in the present global system. The "ideal-type" PR investigation when applied to a community-based problem takes the form of: a) the collective production, analysis, and dissemination of useful, valid, pertinent, popular knowledge and information through the participatory

and democratic implementation of basic social research methods and practices; b) to provide opportunities for critical, transformational education at the grassroots in an effort to empower individuals and build effective popular, democratic organizations and movements; c) in order to challenge the present distribution of power at multiple levels and create progressive structural social changes based on the needs of the most oppressed classes in the global economic system.¹

It is not that PR necessarily changes the basic process of scientific research, rather what the approach attempts to alter are the inherent power imbalances in the quantitative model of science. PR makes room for participants, not during just a single facet of the research project, but at all stages of the study from identifying the problem to action based on the research results. Research, or the production of useful knowledge as it is conceived in the participatory model, can be best understood in the sense of learning by searching, or researching. The path from knowledge generation to knowledge utilization is very direct in participatory research since the same agents are involved in both activities. "The result of this kind of activity is living knowledge which gets translated directly into action, because it is created with this concrete appropriation in mind" (Park, 1993:3). In so doing, PR breaks down the traditional barriers between knowing and acting by putting people, traditionally thought of as research subjects, in charge of both the production and utilization of knowledge (Hall et al. 1982; Park 1993; Tandon 1981).

Large numbers of community- and university-based educators, organizers, and researchers have embraced participatory research as a philosophy for empowering

¹ This model of participatory research is based on the liberatory stream of Participatory Action-Research stemming from the work of Deborah Barndt (1981, 1990), Orlando Fals-Borda (1981), Paulo Freire (1982), Md. Anisur Rahman (1993), Rajesh Tandon (1981), and others. An interesting note finds that social scientist William Foote Whyte (1991) and a number of other researchers also use the term Participatory Action Research to denote their work. Although their usage of the term dates much later than the liberatory Participatory Action-Research approach, Foote Whyte, nor the others in this edited volume, ever cite or credit any of the Third World originators of the method.

individuals and communities and for promoting popular democratic structural change. Yet few investigators have examined, through comparative analysis, the relationship between participatory research and how people are empowered and/or transformed through the process. Some writers are offering whole journal articles and book chapters that reflexively analyze empowerment and the participatory research process, but the analyses are rooted in singular projects (e.g., Ewald, 1979; Hinsdale 1995; Hutanuwatr 1992; Stoecker and Beckwith 1992; Troppe 1994). There are several excellent pieces developed from in-depth interviews with participatory research practitioners that discuss PR and empowerment and also several valuable self-reflections by long-time advocates of the method that address the issue, but each is based on the experiences of professional researchers, not grassroots practitioners (e.g., Fals-Borda 1996; Forester et al. 1993; Rahman 1993). Studies and results from exceptional community-based projects that have used participatory research methods (e.g., Folke 1981, 1984; Gaventa and Horton 1981; Gibbs 1995; Lewis et al. 1990; Lewis and Gaventa 1986; Merrifield 1989; Mountain Women's Exchange 1987; Szakos 1993) and a variety of academic-driven participatory research projects (e.g., *American Sociologist* 1992, 1993; *Convergence* 1981, 1988; Hinsdale et al. 1995; Maguire, 1987; Park et. al. 1993; Royal Society of Canada 1995) exist in plenty. They do a good job of describing some of the strategies and techniques used to carry out these participatory research projects in relation to the structural results achieved, but seldom do any of these studies address the processes by which individual or group empowerment may have occurred.

A number of people have offered learned perspectives on the philosophy and methods of PR, but their treatment of empowerment is not based directly on actual participants experiences (e.g., Barnsley and Ellis 1992; Beckwith, 1996; De Koning and Martin 1996; Fals-Borda 1982, 1985; Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991; Gaventa 1988, 1993; Hall et al. 1982; Hall 1994; International Council for Adult Education

(ICAE) 1982; Kassam and Mustafa 1982; Kemmis and McTaggart 1988a, 1988b; Maguire 1987; Park et al 1993; Reason 1995; Vio Grossi 1981; Wadsworth 1984, 1990). There is also an accessible and growing collection of excellent case studies from throughout the world that address the concerns of power and empowerment in participatory research as a side issue (e.g., Fals-Borda 1985; Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991; Hall et al. 1982; Kassam and Mustafa 1982; Kemmis and McTaggart 1988b; Park et al. 1993; Reason 1988, 1995). A small minority of authors have even written substantively about the empowering and transformative features of participatory research on individuals and collectives, though these accounts are largely theoretical and reflective rather than empirical (e.g., Hall 1981; 1982; Jackson et. al. 1981; Tandon 1981, 1988).

In this extensive and growing body of literature, I have found few comparative studies, and no inquiry that systematically documents participants' experiences across multiple research projects, to investigate the relationship between participatory research and individual and collective empowerment. Theorists and practitioners have yet to turn the reflexive, dialectical dynamic inherent in the participatory research approach onto itself in order to analyze empowerment as experienced by people who have applied the approach to solve community-based problems and issues. The paucity of systematic and comparative investigations in general across participatory research projects, should of course be remedied. But more specifically, there is an immediate need for a comparative analysis based on participant's experiences, that investigates the relationship between participatory research and grassroots empowerment. This inquiry is designed to help begin to close this gap in the academic literature.

The study uses the experiences and insights of over 40 grassroots researchers from eleven successful participatory research projects from throughout the United States as a foundation for an inquiry into various propositions about participatory research and

individual and collective empowerment and social structural transformation. The investigation is based on information developed from in-depth interviews with individual grassroots researchers, collective discussions and analysis across projects during a three day workshop on participatory research held at the Highlander Research and Education Center, and case examples developed in collaboration with members from each project in the endeavor.

I examine the data within an analytical framework developed from a conception of power in "three dimensions" from the work of Steven Lukes (1974) and John Gaventa (1982, 1995); a theory of knowledge from the writings of Jurgen Habermas (1972), Peter Park (1993), Patricia Hill Collins (1989, 1990), and Dorothy Smith (1990); an explanation of empowerment developed from Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1982, 1985), Myles Horton (1972, 1981, 1990), Helen Lewis (1990, 1996), Manning Marable (1992), and John Gaventa (1995); and insights from a host of participatory research practitioners. Inside this framework the data is analyzed in order to explore what can be learned about participatory research and empowerment from the experiences of people who actually produced and used popular knowledge in successful community-based social change projects.

In addition to my theoretical and empirical inquiry into power, knowledge and empowerment, a significant part of my dissertation research has been aimed more directly at the concerns of grassroots community educators and organizers. Orlando Fals-Borda, in a plenary address on "Research for Social Justice" at the 1995 Southern Sociological Society meeting, suggested, when scientists report their findings, "Do not impose your own ponderous scientific style for communicating results, but diffuse and share what you have learned together with the people, in a manner that is wholly understandable and even literary and pleasant, for science should not be necessarily a mystery nor a monopoly of intellectuals" (1996:157). During this talk and elsewhere

Fals-Borda (1985:95-96), implies that a "popular" scientist must be able to produce, utilize, and share knowledge at multiple levels, not only in professional journals or written in the heavy jargon-laden, circuitous style of most academic dissertations.

Following this advice, this project has incorporated into the research design a strategy in that will allow the results to have an opportunity to reach multiple audiences. The "Dissertation" is designed to meet the needs of the academic endeavor and part of the process, "A GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research," is designed for community-based researchers. The Guide is the praxis-oriented companion volume to this study written to share participatory research methods with popular educators and organizers as another social change strategy in the struggle for justice for all. The Guide is done in collaboration with the participants in this study and is a concrete way in which this "academic" project can work to serve grassroots movements organizing for democratic social change. In a real sense the production of my "Dissertation" and the "GrassRoots Guide" have gone on simultaneously. Each undertaking has informed and built on the other, providing both theoretical insights and instructing the practical applications of the efforts.

As it stands, there are few recent resources aimed at and formulated by grassroots researchers that offer information relating to participatory scientific research philosophy, methods, and practical applications. Several guides to popular research exist but each has at least one major shortcoming. An excellent and accessible, but hard to find, "Introduction to Participatory Research," was published by the International Council of Adult Education (1982). In its day it was the only publication of its kind and served multiple purposes for community-based and academic researchers. Though it still offers one of the best overviews of participatory research methods, in its present state it fails to offer up-to-date examples of PR nor access to any of the most recent literature.

Yoland Wadsworth (1984) authored *Do It Yourself Social Research* which offers a well done, comprehensive, and understandable guide to social research for beginners. The problem, at least for those of us in North America, is that the majority of resources and contacts in the workbook are centered in Wadsworth's home country of Australia. Even in the day of global communications, this makes the accessibility of further resources quite difficult. The workbook is also dated and lacking the most recent information on popular research. The Royal Society of Canada (1995) published a good guide to the "Study of Participatory Research in Health Promotion." It offers useful examples and background on participatory research, but it is centered only on health projects in Canada related to the work of the Royal Society. Beyond that the volume is written by and for academic, not grassroots researchers, thus its major drawback is in its overly dense presentation style.

Research for Change: Participatory Action Research for Community Groups is another general approach, by Barnsley and Ellis (1992). This guide offers a solid overview of the philosophy, theory, and methods of liberatory participatory action research. The workbook format offers an effective step-by-step process to help put a participatory action research project together from start to finish and provides a number of useful examples to highlight specific ideas, concepts, and problem areas. The generic presentation of the method is both a benefit and a drawback. It makes this a useful initial source for community-based researchers, but does not provide enough information for issue-specific research concerns and it offers only a few references to contact people and organizations to get more advanced information.

After considering this situation the participants in this study agreed to pursue the idea of working together to produce a "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research." In the task, we will help fill in more gaps in the community-based stock of knowledge on the philosophy and practice of participatory research and also attempt to avoid some of

the shortcomings noted in other works. The Guide will serve as a tool for community groups beginning to carry out their own popular scientific research whether aided or unaided by institutional sources, offer insights for community organizations about entering into working relationships with professional researchers, and can be used by professional researchers who want to work democratically within communities.

What all of this suggests is that there have been too few attempts by researchers to understand, across cases, how grassroots individuals and organizations embody and express authentic critical consciousness through their experiences doing participatory research. Also, there are too few good sources of information on participatory research written by and for community-based popular researchers. There is indeed a need for the “GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research” and for a systematic study on the empowering capacity of participatory research centered in the cultural capital of grassroots researchers. Toward the latter, this investigation will try to find out if there is some combination of participatory research methods that can produce useful, valid knowledge, develop critical consciousness, promote collective action, and empower oppressed people to successfully challenge power.

CHAPTER 2—METHODOLOGY:
A PLAN FOR RESEARCH ON RESEARCH

The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways;
the point is to *change* it.
Theses on Feuerbach, *Karl Marx, 1888*

This project is designed to serve multiple purposes. First, to further grassroots people's influence on the production and legitimation of the body of knowledge associated with the philosophy and practice of participatory research. Second, to analyze what is learned by participants in the participatory research process in order to identify effective methods and techniques for equalizing power and optimizing empowerment in the knowledge production and legitimation processes. And third, to use empirical findings to critique and inform the theory and practice of participatory research as an empowerment strategy. The literature makes certain claims about how participatory research can empower individuals, community groups, and communities, to take on the larger process of structural change. These claims are tested based on an empirical examination of activist researcher's reflections of their experiences as in a participatory research project.

The study is best described as a critical collaborative action research project. The methodology and design of this investigation are guided by the emancipatory concerns emphasized in critical theory and feminism, strategized in the form of collaborative inquiry, and informed by an understanding of the relations between knowledge and power and the praxis-oriented research methods of participatory research. After laying out the details of the method, the chapter concludes with a discussion about the

implications of the methods chosen and several of the more important methodological influences on the researcher and the research project.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

In the study I answer several questions: 1) What is learned by participants in the participatory action research process? 2) What can academic and community-based researchers, educators and organizers learn from the experiences of grassroots participants in participatory research projects that can positively impact on the theory and practice of participatory research? 3) Is there some combination of PR strategies, methods, and techniques that can be identified that succeeds at producing knowledge to empower grassroots individuals and collectives to successfully challenge and resist the power of elites in an unequal society?

STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Participants in this study are more than merely respondents in a scientific study; they are in every sense collaborators. A number of individuals were involved in the conceptualization of this study and have continued their involvement. The participants are all activist researchers, eighteen years or older, who are involved in successful community-based participatory research projects. They represent a broad array of experiences including community organizers, popular educators, students, secretaries, administrators, factory workers, laborers, and teachers, to name just a few. For a complete list of workshop participants and a brief background description of each see Appendix 1. Study participants are drawn from eleven on-going participatory research projects from throughout the United States. The projects have approached and

successfully grappled with a variety of community issues and concerns through participatory research (See Table 2.1). The methods they have used to research these issues include surveys, interviews, community meetings, public records and documents research, oral histories, popular theater, and worker to worker exchange programs.

The organizations and individual participants in the study were generated using snowball and purposeful sampling. I began by creating a list of possible projects and the participating members developed in consultations with persons whom I have come to know during my experiences as graduate student. My initial contact with participants on this list involved informing them of the nature and goals of this study and what it meant to consent to be a participant. These conversations were used to set in motion a process that allowed individual participants to determine whether they did or did not want to collaborate on the project and to decide if their work fit the parameters of the study. The purposeful sample was drawn from this list to establish a balanced mix of diversity and representation in terms of ethnicity, gender, issue researched, and research methods used in the project (e.g., interviews, oral history, survey, power-structure research). Projects and the participants who represented them were also selected according to whether they were a successful PR project (completed or lengthy and on-going), based on participatory principles, goals, and processes, and are cooperative and willing to participate in interviews and the workshop/focus group. The final sample included 45 respondents, representing eleven grassroots participatory research projects. See Appendix 2 for a list of people interviewed in addition to the workshop participants.

TABLE 2.1
LIST OF PROJECTS PARTICIPATING IN STUDY

- #1—The American Friends Service Committee's Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project**
- #2—The University of Massachusetts Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization**
- #3—The Urban University Neighborhood Network in Ohio**
- #4—The University of Tennessee Community Partnership Center Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community's Learning Initiative and the McDowell County, West Virginia Citizen's Action Network**
- #5—The Yellow Creek Kentucky Concerned Citizen's Fight Toxic Dumping and Investigate Community Environmental Health**
- #6—The Cedar-Riverside Minnesota Participatory Community Re-Development Project**
- #7—Rural Southern Voice for Peace "Listening for Change" Across the Southeast**
- #8—The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network's Maquiladora Worker Exchange Project**
- #9—Anishinabe Niiji, Treaty Rights and Cultural & Environmental Protection in the Upper Midwest**
- #10—The University of California at Los Angeles Labor Center's Community Scholars Program, The Santa Fe Municipal Employees Union, and Communities for a Better Environment Investigate Environmental Health**
- #11—The East St. Louis Illinois Action Research Project**

METHODS

This study on participatory research and empowerment was conducted over a two year period from May 1995 to May 1997. Table 2.2 provides an overview of the basic process. The collaborators in the study were asked to participate in conversational and in-depth interviews, collective discussions, and in a multi-day workshop and focus group on participatory research. Participants were also asked to collaboratively develop illustrative case examples of their work to provide concrete portrayals of the participatory research process and the methods involved. A final ingredient in the design of this study is an applied project that takes place under the auspices of my dissertation research. It is in effect an appendix to the dissertation by way of a concrete, user-friendly, guide for grassroots researchers on participatory research. The data-generating strategies used in this project all converge around interviewing, done through a variety of dynamic techniques. The main task in each of the variations was to elicit information on the lived experience of the transformative aspects of the participatory research methodology.

In-depth Interviews

Initial interviews with participants were of a conversational nature. These conversations are part of any well done qualitative study (Pelto and Pelto 1984) and were used to introduce myself and the project to the participants. These interviews took place over the phone and were used as a basis to set up further interviews. I conducted in-depth interviews with 2-6 people from each project represented in the study and lasted from 1-3 hours. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face, although a few were done primarily over the phone. The interviews began with the participants and projects in closest proximity to Knoxville and spread outward as the study progressed.

TABLE 2.2
PROJECT TIMELINE

Spring 1995	Project Conceived
Summer 1995	Work on Dissertation Proposal Applications for Funding
Fall 1995	Dissertation Proposal Approval Funding Received
Winter 1995	Data Collection Commences
Spring 1996	Continue Data Collection
Summer 1996	Workshop on Participatory Research Tape Transcription Commences Initial Analysis Begun
Fall 1996	Data Collection Stopped Transcription Completed Analysis and Writing Continues
Winter 1996	Analysis and Writing Continues
Spring 1997	Final Defense of Dissertation

The interview schedule was developed in consultation with a number of active participatory researchers. See Appendix 3 for a complete In-depth Interview Schedule. Pilot interviews and a small focus group were conducted with several local organizations to refine the interview schedule and to fine tune the focus of this study. Interviews were done with persons involved in all levels of participatory research from beginners to veterans and community-based and professional researchers.

Illustrative Case Examples

I use each of the eleven community-based participatory research projects in this study to serve as an illustrative case example. These cases are not presented as in-depth studies, but rather will be used to highlight and illustrate specific parts of the participatory research process. The case examples are comprised of community groups actively or recently involved in grassroots research who may or may not be doing their research in conjunction with professionals (e.g., professional social scientists, lawyers). The illustrative cases are primarily long-duration projects and were developed by using information gathered during interviews and the workshop and from secondary literature.

The Workshop

We held a workshop on participatory research at the Highlander Research and Education Center, June 28-30, 1996. The goals during the workshop were to collectively share and analyze participatory research strategies; to identify and analyze through our experiences and stories the major themes in participatory research, some of the things we should or should not be doing in our work; to develop ways to share what we are learning with others; to analyze how can we really make culture a part of our work; to provide guidance and substance for a "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research;" and to develop a collective workplan for crafting the "GrassRoots Guide." See Appendix 4 for the Workshop Agenda. I was both an organizer and participant in the workshop and was able to analyze the complete written and audiotaped workshop transcripts, and all written materials generated by the workshop participants including their thoughts and ideas prior to, during, and after the workshop. See Appendices 5 and 6 for Pre-and Post-Workshop Questionnaires. Below I will highlight and give an

overview of key activities we undertook to share, discuss, and analyze participatory research during the workshop.

We began the workshop on the first evening by having each individual briefly introduce themselves. After the individual introductions we finished the first night of the workshop by having folks get into the groups they came with to develop a collective visual representation of their work to share with all of us the following morning. The exercise was named "Windows On Our Work." We took blank pieces of newsprint and asked the workshop participants to imagine them as windows with four separate panes of glass through which we can all see into the participatory research going on in their communities. Each pane of glass was used to describe a different aspect of each story. In the first pane we asked each group to show us *why* they are doing their work and the context around which it has arisen. Each group used the next pane to show *what* the work is about. We then asked to see the *how* of the methods and strategies being used. And finally, we asked that the last pane be used to show the *results* of the efforts. Either things that are emerging or things that might have happened in the past.

Groups spent the rest of Friday evening in deep and impassioned conversation collectively analyzing and interpreting their individual and collective experiences as they labored to come up with the best way to visually represent the change actives in their respective communities. As John Gaventa put it on Saturday morning before the groups began to share their stories, "I will have to say that I was really inspired last night looking out from the porch and seeing all of you sitting around the picnic tables, or in rocking chairs on the side-porch, huddled together conversing about and visualizing your work by the light of the moon. It was a really powerful sight that I will long remember." After a few rousing songs by Bill Hartsock to open the circle, each group was given about 15 minutes to explain their project to us through their drawing. We

used the rest of the time on Saturday morning to share our collective stories with each other.

The idea for the Saturday afternoon session was to break-out into small discussion groups for depth discussion of specific concrete issues and concerns related to participatory research. As a way to accomplish that we developed and used a kind of card sorting exercise. After completing "Window's on Our Work" participants were asked to identify key themes and ideas they heard throughout the morning. John Gaventa asked everyone to "write down on the cards two or three things, or themes, that you want to make sure we talk about. Where we want to try and end at the end of today is with a list of do's and don't's and tough issues that people want to share with other groups like yours who are where you were three or four years ago. If they called and said I want to do participatory research what would you say? Right now please just list the key lessons that you heard, or the questions that you want to talk about." After several minutes spent writing down the ideas John explained how we would attempt to proceed, "The way we have done this and I have seen this process before is that we would all spend some time getting down on our hands and knees and sorting these cards into some sort of groupings. This group is a little large for that so what we would propose is to ask for a number of volunteers over lunch to organize some tentative groupings. Then we will post them up here as discussion groups for this afternoon. After you come back from lunch we can all take a look at what we have done and make sure everyone's needs, issues, questions are being met. We can move the cards around but now can we have 5 or 6 people to help make the first cut?" Volunteers then sorted and ordered the cards in circular fashion on the floor.

After lunch participant Rocco Goins explained a bit about the process used to organize the cards: "Well rather than establish an order and then try and shuffle the cards to fit that order, what we agreed to by osmosis was to shuffle the cards and let them

dictate or suggest an order, and that is just what happened. We kept shuffling them and the categories sort of just established themselves. As we looked at them many of them were dynamic and many of them are in a sense cross-indexed with each other. So in a minute, we would like all of you to begin to look this over and see if you have any changes and then after we could address one at a time why you think the cards should be moved or changed. So if you would please get up and see what you think.”

The whole group reviewed the cards and after some debate we made several minor adjustments to their placement and made two major changes to the categorizations. We collapsed some categories to make a fewer number of groups. The final Break-Out Groups were Dealing with Power; Keeping Communities in the Driver's Seat; Building Alliances; How to Get Information Out; Starting and Maintaining Projects and Dealing with Conflict; and Funding. Groups ranging from 2-8 people then discussed these “key themes” for about 2 hours. We then returned to the circle late Saturday afternoon and each group gave a 10-15 minute report-back on their findings. Each group maintained written notes of their discussions and then main themes were reported and recorded on newsprint. Saturday evening was spent doing some cultural sharing and informal discussion

Early on Sunday morning the Roofless Women's Action Research Project led us in a open group discussion that lasted about ninety minutes, about why we work the way we do and the difference it makes for those we work with. They began the discussion with some ideas based on their experiences and then opened the discussion up to the group. Along with this exchange about why we do participatory research for social change, we also discussed an issue that had come up several times during the workshop. Many participants felt that we should not call this work participatory research for a number of reasons. So everyone with this concern was asked to say something about what we should call it and why.

After this session we took a short break for group pictures and returned to the circle to wind up and evaluate the workshop and what we learned. We accomplished this through an exercise named Head, Heart, and Feet. The basic premise of the evaluation was to ask everyone to answer the following: (Head) "What is/are the key thing(s) you learned?" (Heart) "What did you feel?" (Feet) "What will you do when you get back home?"

Data Analysis

The data analyzed in this study include illustrative case examples, the full transcriptions of the audio-tapes of the individual in-depth interviews, audio-and video-tapes of the workshop on participatory research, other notes and documentation done by collaborators in the study during the workshop, secondary sources written about the case examples, and written notes and a journal kept by the author. Categories and coding schemes were not imposed on the data to do "grounded theory" (see Glaser and Strauss 1967). Rather, I pursued "theory reconstruction" through an analytical process defined as the "extended case" by Burawoy et al. (1991).

The way field notes are analyzed depends on whether our goal is to reconstruct existing theory or to discover new theory. Thus, Glaser and Strauss (1967), in the attempt to discover new theory, are very concerned to develop concepts, categories, dimensions, and sampling that are grounded in the data and reflect the data's complexity and richness. In short, "they ransack the data for emergent categories; the focus is on organizing and reorganizing, coding and recoding of data" (Burawoy 1991: 10). On the other hand, in pursuing theory reconstruction there is a running exchange between field notes and the analysis that follows them. "The conjectures of yesterday's analysis are refuted by today's observations and then reconstructed in tomorrow's analysis. But there is a second running exchange, that between analysis and existing theory, in which

the latter is reconstructed on the basis of emergent anomalies. Analysis, therefore, is a continual process, mediating between field data and existing theory” (Burawoy 1991: 10-11). This then is the analytical process by which the study progressed and the data analyzed. Theoretical ideas and findings were allowed to grow and change during each progressive phase of the study itself. The transcripts were analyzed in an iterative fashion using traditional cut and paste methods and computer software programs like Microsoft Word and HyperCard, to reconstruct a theory of power, knowledge, empowerment, and participatory research.

Informed Consent

The investigator expected collaborators to encounter minimal risks and receive many benefits by participating in this study. Participation in the study was voluntary and subjects were informed verbally and in writing at each stage of the data gathering process what their rights and obligations were. The consent form reviewed the nature of the study, noted potential benefits and risks to study participants, explained the nature and range of confidentiality associated with this research project, provided the phone number and office address of the Principal Investigator, indicated that participation was voluntary, and advised how the results of the study were to be obtained by participants. See Appendix 7 for the Invitation to Participate and Appendix 8 for the Informed Consent Form.

Participants were contacted and explained the elements of the study before interviews were scheduled. Immediately prior to the individual interview, or participation in the focus group, the principal investigator again explained the nature of the study and went over the consent form in detail. It was emphasized to prospective study participants that their role in the research project was voluntary and that it could be terminated at any time during the duration of the study with no penalty. Those who

agreed to participate in the study were then asked to sign the consent forms indicating her/his informed consent. Each participant was given a copy of the signed consent form for their records and another copy is maintained by the principal investigator.

DEVELOPING A GRASSROOTS GUIDE TO PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

A significant part of my dissertation research is aimed more directly at concrete grassroots concerns. A number of activists and organizers have suggested that there is a need for some type of "manual" for communities trying to do their own research. In an attempt to fill this stated need, the participants in this study have agreed to pursue the idea of working together to produce a "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research." The Guide is created to provide community-based people access to information about the tools and techniques for doing their own scientific research. This section provides an overview of the plan used to develop this Guide.

The idea and impetus for the "GrassRoots Guide" emerged from the interconnections of a number of diverse community-and academic-based organizations and individuals. The phenomenal growth in the practice of people's science globally has legitimated participatory research at multiple levels. The viability and visibility of participatory research projects in rural and urban communities, colleges and universities, popular education centers, and community-based organizations has created a need for information in a variety of media and forums. Factors that led us to attempt to produce a "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research" include: a number of requests by grassroots activists for community-centered resources on participatory research, the collective impetus of a group of activists and action-oriented, applied researchers, and the recent emergence of research centers linking local communities to colleges and universities.

The Highlander Research and Education Center, a community-based, nonprofit, residential center for popular education and participatory research, has for over 65 years been empowering grassroots people to make democratic social change. Each year they handle a number of requests from popular educators and organizers for easily accessible information on participatory research to help begin and carry out community-based research projects. At the present time Highlander has too few resources of this nature to provide to offer grassroots researchers. Further need for a "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research" was identified at a conference on "Research for Social Action" held at the University of California at Berkeley in the summer of 1993. The seed germinated during in-depth discussions when several grassroots activists suggested that there is a need for accessible information for communities trying to do their own research. They pointed out that most of the existing information on participatory research was written by and for academic consumers, not the grassroots communities the strategy purports to empower and at whom the research process is aimed.

Another consideration is the number of research partnerships that have emerged between community-based nonprofit organizations and universities (for a number of examples of such partnerships see Ansley and Gaventa 1997). A community/university collaboration I have been involved with, since it formed in the Spring of 1994, is the Community Partnership Center (CPC) at the University of Tennessee. The CPC works directly and democratically with grassroots, nonprofit organizations to provide access to information and resources which enable communities to do applied research and education directly meaningful to their own needs and programs. Through a variety of strategies and methods, the CPC collaborates with organizations to help stimulate and carry out participatory research projects and disseminate this information at the community level. A difficulty in many of these partnerships with people and groups new to the process of scientific research is the lack of a systematic educational source on

popular research methods written by and with community-based individuals and organizations in mind.

As a way to help fill these needs identified by community members and organizations, we proposed, as part of this dissertation process, to construct a "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research," that provides access to the most up to date materials available on the practice and methods of participatory research. The Guide provides case study examples of actual participatory research related to community specific issues (e.g., plant closings, hazardous wastes, community economic development, immigration rights, homelessness). It is designed to address community issues, concerns, and strategies for conducting collaborative research with professional researchers and also offers strategies for professional and student researchers that want to work democratically with community organizations to carry out collaborative research projects. The guide will provide overviews of the philosophy, methods, techniques, tools, and dissemination strategies of participatory research and list a number of advanced sources related to specific participatory research strategies for a number of community concerns (e.g., the local economy, literacy education, environmental health). It will also include a broad range of individual and organizational contacts for those interested in more advanced participatory research theory and practice.

Participants in this study were asked to work on those sections of the Guide in which they had the most experience. Everyone was asked to help develop case examples based on their communities experiences with particular methods of participatory research. The project directors, Lee Williams and John Gaventa, have coordinated the effort and have endeavored to develop the Guide into a whole from each of its constituent pieces.¹

¹ The "GrassRoots Guide" was to be an appendix to this dissertation but was not completed in time. It will be available under separate cover starting Fall 1997 from the Community Partnership Center, University of Tennessee, Hoskins, Room 108N, Knoxville, TN, 37996-4015, or the Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN, 37820.

AN EXPERIMENT IN EQUALITY

I utilize, according to Janesick (1993), methodological and data triangulation in this work. Methodological triangulation is simply the use of multiple methods to study a single problem, while data triangulation is to use a variety of data sources in a study. The methods used in this investigation are conversational interviews, guided interviews, a multi-day workshop and focus group, and illustrative case studies. An alternative method, the multi-day workshop and focus group, emerged from the opportunity to have a number of the participants in this study attend a workshop on participatory research. The use of multiple methods yielded a variety of data sources to study the substantive issue this study is concerned with: the nature of transformation and empowerment when people apply the principles and methods of participatory research.

I have tried to incorporate both theoretical and practical concerns into the design of this research project. Theoretically I am interested in participatory research as an empowerment strategy for both individual and structural transformation. In a more concrete way we are producing the "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research" for community-based researchers. My aim has also been to cultivate, for the study participants and for myself, the ability to do critical popular education and participatory research. I tried to accomplish this by designing a collaborative research process that brought study participants together from throughout the country to share, compare, contrast, and learn from other people's experiences with participatory research. By inquiring in advance we were also able to devote time during the workshop directly to participant-defined needs and problems.

The related issues of equality and difference in field research have been a constant concern in the process of this study. "Dealing with power openly makes a field interview an experiment in equality. Only equality prepares us to accept difference in

terms other than hierarchy and subordination; on the other hand, without difference there is no equality—only sameness, which is a much less worthwhile ideal. Only equality makes the interview credible, but only difference makes it relevant” (Portelli 1991:43). In any interview a relationship is established between the active parties because they cannot act together unless some kind of mutuality is established. Therefore the field researcher has “an objective stake in equality, as a condition for a less distorted communication and a less biased collection of data” (Portelli: 31). Equality cannot, however, be wished into being, for it does not depend on the researcher’s goodwill, but rather upon social conditions. Thus the field interview cannot create an equality which does not exist; it demands it, and that was my intent. In all my contacts with participants I attempted to create this spirit. Interviews were conducted in a fashion that dealt with power openly and were done as an “experiment in equality.” Portelli (1991)

further suggests that we must consider the changes that our presence may cause as some of the most important results of our fieldwork. The interview situation is an opportunity to stimulate others, as well as ourselves to a higher degree of self-scrutiny and self-awareness; to more awareness of the relevance and meaning of our culture and knowledge; and to raise the question of the injustice of the inequality between them. Famed Italian folklorist Gianni Bosio’s finds that the purpose of an intellectual who sees herself or himself as “a militant of the working class” is not to bring to the people a modified version of hegemonic culture, but “to arm the class with its own power.” Bosio calls for intellectual work that should not be “organic” so much as “reversed” or “upside-down.” Work done by people who can “give up the privilege of being a depository of culture and accept the possibility of recognizing and receiving cultural messages from the proletarian world. The upside-down intellectual in the field situation does not only teach but also learns, nor do they simply study informants, but rather learn from them, and allow themselves to be studied in turn” (Bosio in Portelli 1991:

42). At a time when politics and social-change work, in their traditional senses, have become extremely distasteful and disheartening for many of us, the fact that our individual presence may facilitate meaningful change in the self-awareness of the people we meet and in turn those persons may facilitate meaningful change and self-awareness for us, is perhaps the one still usable form of political action.

SUMMARY

This study is a critical collaborative action research project guided by the emancipatory concerns emphasized in critical theory and feminism, conceived in the form of collaborative inquiry, and informed by an understanding of knowledge, power, and praxis-oriented research methods from participatory research. The investigation centers on the cultural capital of people who have actually carried out participatory problem-solving research in their communities. The study uses the experiences and insights of over 40 grassroots researchers, from eleven successful participatory research projects, to analyze various propositions about participatory research and individual and collective empowerment and social structural transformation. The investigation is based on information developed from in-depth interviews with individual grassroots researchers, collective discussions and analysis across projects during a three day workshop on participatory research held at the Highlander Research and Education Center, and case examples developed in conjunction with members from each project in the study.

CHAPTER 3—THEORY:
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH, POWER,
KNOWLEDGE AND EMPOWERMENT

"Would you tell me please, which way I ought to go from here?" said Alice.
"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the Cheshire Cat.
Alice in Wonderland, Lewis Carroll

"COMMON SENSE" TO "GOOD SENSE"

In history Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1971) understood the interconnections between knowledge and power to be driven by the structure of the economy: "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it." In other words, control over the production, legitimation, and utilization of knowledge is a feature of the economic power of the elites over the masses. According to the orthodox Marxist view of revolution, only when control of the structure (relations and modes of production) is wrested from the bourgeois by the proletariat will the superstructure (knowledge, culture, ideology) follow in turn. In most of the real-world examples based on this theory of revolutionary change, the economy may have been socialized in some senses, but the proletarian revolutionary elites subsumed working people at the bottom of the hierarchy again in terms of control over knowledge, power, and in fact, ultimately the economy as well. The Marxist notion that socializing the economy will lead working people to control the means and modes of cultural production did not happen in history

and likely cannot happen today without significant modifications in our thinking and behavior.

Building from Marx and Engels, Russian social theorist V. I. Lenin's vision of using "vanguard cadres" to foment and maintain structural changes is also extremely culturally deterministic and not very empowering for the working masses either. In Lenin's (1929) account, politics is a struggle for power largely synonymous with the working class's epochal war against capital and the capitalist state. In that struggle, professional revolutionaries, constituted as a vanguard, play a central role; historical materialist theory enables them to grasp the essence of the political situation and to devise appropriate strategies and tactics (Mandel 1983). An important educative task of the vanguard is to bring revolutionary consciousness to the toiling masses, whose oppressed circumstances otherwise prevent them from attaining such insight. This political model finds that knowledge is to be produced, legitimated, controlled, and used primarily by the elite revolutionary vanguard, or intelligentsia, in service to the masses. Lenin's theory of knowledge, other than the claim that it is knowledge produced in service of the working masses, offers the same hierarchical understanding of knowledge as that found in the imperialist capitalist social and economic system he worked so hard to convince people to alter. There are people with extraordinary wisdom and perspective on "historical materialism" who become the specialized producers of that knowledge which is defined as useful or appropriate knowledge by those with social power. The masses are to simply digest and regurgitate that knowledge and information given, or indeed forced upon them by the state. Working people are simply consumers; they have no control over, or role in the processes of knowledge production and legitimation.

Mao Tse Tung and Antonio Gramsci move us forward in different directions based on Marxist theories of knowledge. Mao, unlike Marx and Lenin, at least believed that the working masses have ideas and knowledge of their own, although they are

thought to be “scattered and unsystematic.” But like Lenin, Mao placed the control over the systematization of the ideas of the working masses with “traditional vanguard cadres” or the “state intelligentsia,” not with the working people themselves. Mao’s perspective on the task of the vanguard intellectual operating in a Marxist tradition is to:

Take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses. . . And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge (Mao Tse Tung in Comstock 1982:370).

Antonio Gramsci’s (1971) theory of knowledge based on his conceptualization of the concept of hegemony provides an alternative to these theories of knowledge that leave working people’s culture and values out. He believed that if we are to achieve authentic and lasting structural transformations in society that the place to begin was with working people’s consciousness. According to Gramsci we are controlled by both coercion and consent. Laws do exist which limit actions people can take in redressing structural imbalances, but in fact they most often “consent” to structures of domination, a phenomenon of power he termed “hegemony.” Dominated classes internalize the views of what is “acceptable” resistance, “realistic” strategy, their own fault, or the natural order of things and thereby participate in the maintenance of hegemony. Hegemony is not imposed. Rather, it is negotiated by unequal forces in a complex process in which the subordination and the resistance of the workers is recreated.

Unlike orthodox Marxists, Gramsci saw a more dialectical relationship between consciousness and reality. While not accepting the idealist position that consciousness determines reality, Gramsci allowed that human agency does have a role in producing reality and that the construction of organic ideologies, or “counter-hegemonic” patterns,

is what is necessary to alter power inequities and transform society. Thus for Gramsci, the task for Marxist theory is to be a criticism of “common sense” and to enable people to develop its positive aspects, called “good sense,” into a more coherent outlook. For Gramsci (1971) “common sense” is the uncritical and largely unconscious way in which a person perceives the world, while “good sense” is critical consciousness, or understanding the true nature of exploitation and domination in a capitalist society and working to change it. He emphasized, “It [good sense] is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone’s life, but of renovating and making critical an already existing activity” (Gramsci 1971:331).

Gramsci’s concepts—good sense, hegemony, and counter-hegemony—allowed his analysis of social-change processes to go beyond only a politics of class alliance to emphasize the need for alliances between the proletariat and various popular forces, albeit under proletarian leadership. Gramsci viewed politics not as a struggle for state power but as a central feature of human existence bound together with issues of morals and ethics. The revolutionary transformation would not spell the end of politics; it would for the first time in history extend the realm of politics to new sites and to all subjects. Gramsci (1971:329), finds in all persons the capacity to be intellectual and to develop organic knowledge: “all people are intellectuals. . . but not all people have in society the function of intellectuals.” He believed that counter-hegemonic leadership stemmed from the intellectuals whose “organic” ties to subaltern groups enabled them to achieve a unity of theory and practice and of thinking and feeling that mediates between the abstract and the concrete in a manner foreign to traditional scholastic, ecclesiastic, and political elites.

There is a role for intellectuals in the process of social change, but new kinds of intellectuals, “organic intellectuals,” who are deeply rooted in and part of the working class or other dominated social groups that they come from. For Gramsci, the role of the

organic intellectual is that of “organizer” and facilitator. Instead of bringing correct consciousness “from without,” the organic intellectual facilitates the practical movement from “good sense” (which resistant subordinates already possess) to a broader, counter-hegemonic consciousness that is sensitive to the specific conditions of a social formation at a given conjuncture (Gramsci 1971:328-41). From a Marxist perspective, Gramsci’s theory of social change for the first time recognized the capacity of oppressed people’s to make and legitimate knowledge for themselves. He understood that working people could produce and systematize their own ideas, information, and culture in the form of counter-hegemonic ideologies as a basis for change. Rather than enslaving the subaltern in another ideological system, Gramsci implied that in order to empower oppressed classes and create bottom-up structural changes that lead individuals to think critically and transform society, “counter-hegemony” must be created based on working people’s knowledge and culture. That is “counter-ideologies” to “traditional knowledge” (including the vanguardist historical materialism) must be produced and further that alternative strategies to traditional methods of knowledge production should also be created (Gramsci 1971:330-332). Gramsci’s theory of knowledge and its aim to transform “common sense into good sense,” transcends Mao Tse Tung’s “from the masses to the masses,” to an improved *from the masses with the masses*.

Building from a Gramscian analysis, an instrumental figure in the founding of participatory action-research, Orlando Fals-Borda, argues forcefully that at this point in history, if we want structural changes in social, political, economic, and cultural structures and relations:

... it is obvious that *forms and relationships of knowledge production* should have as much, or even more, value than forms and relationships of material production. As Md. Anisur Rahman has pointed out, the elimination of exploitation patterns at the material or infrastructural level of a society does not ensure, by itself, that the general system of exploitation has been destroyed or that poverty, ignorance, and injustice have been overcome. It becomes necessary to

eliminate also the relationship governing the production of knowledge which tends to give ideological support to injustice, oppression, and the destructive forces which characterize the modern world. It is only in this manner that the classic axiom that 'knowledge is power' can be fully understood. When the exploited classes acquire such an understanding, they take a decisive step not only towards their own liberation but towards that of the other social classes threatened with global destruction (1985:93-94 emphasis in original).

In terms of his reading of theories of social change and based on his own lived revolutionary experiences in Tanzania and other African nations, noted participatory research practitioner Muhammad Anisur Rahman (1991: 14) asks us to understand that:

[H]istorical experience calls for a rethinking on the meaning of social transformation for people's liberation. The dominant view of social transformation has been preoccupied with the need for changing the oppressive structures of relations in material production—certainly a necessary task. But, and this is the distinctive viewpoint of PR [Participatory Action-Research], domination of masses by elites is rooted not only in the polarization of control over the means of material production but also over the means of knowledge production, including control over the social power to determine what is useful knowledge. Irrespective of which of these two polarizations set off a process of domination, one reinforces the other in augmenting and perpetuating this process.

Fellow revolutionaries, Rahman and Fals Borda exalt us to keep working for social changes in the oppressive economic relations of production. But, they also tell us that in order to authentically re-structure society to produce social justice, we must build the capacities of grassroots individuals and the social power of the oppressed masses to produce, control, and legitimate their own knowledge and culture. The strategy, or method, they (and many others) offer, as a way to turn "common sense" into "good sense" and to build "with" people the capacities to create a just, participatory, and democratic social system, is participatory research (PR).

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Participatory research is an emergent knowledge production strategy that is conceived as counter-hegemony (Hall 1994:4333). PR is not a recipe for social change, it is a democratic approach to investigating and learning about the world to be taken up by powerless individuals, groups, and movements as a tool in the struggle for progressive social change over and through great obstacles. The participatory approach to research involves being inclusive and promotes action for social change. It is more than simply a scientific method; it is a theory of knowledge, a strategy to produce knowledge, and a philosophy of social change. Various authors have characterized the nature of participatory research as follows:

Participatory research attempts to present people as researchers themselves in pursuit of answers to the questions of their daily struggle and survival (Tandon 1988:7).

The final aims of this combination of liberating knowledge and political power within a continuous process of life and work are: (1) to enable the oppressed groups and classes to acquire sufficient creative and transforming leverage as expressed in specific projects, acts and struggles; and (2) to produce and develop socio-political thought processes with which popular bases can identify (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991:4).

An immediate objective. . . is to return to the people the legitimacy of the knowledge they are capable of producing through their own verification systems, as fully scientific, and the right to use this knowledge, but not be dictated by it—as a guide in their own action (Rahman 1991:15).

[Participatory research] . . . is a way for researchers and oppressed people to join in solidarity to take collective action, both short and long term, for radical social change. Locally determined and controlled action is a planned consequence of inquiry (Maguire 1987:29).

Participatory research attempts to break down the distinction between the researchers and the researched, the subjects and objects of knowledge production, by the participation of the people-for-themselves in the process of gaining and creating knowledge. In the process, research is seen not only as a process of creating knowledge, but

simultaneously, as education and development of consciousness, and of mobilization for action (Gaventa 1988:19).

Participatory research is collaborative, endogenous, heuristic, and experiential. Transculturally this implies an ability to accept the idea of Native science and a sensitivity to the process-oriented, communally-based indigenous methodology. Through joint research projects between equal partners, participatory research can act as a flow-through mechanism for scientific findings from both worlds (Colorado 1988:63).

This "liberatory" stream of participatory research described above is based on the Freirian theme of the "subject/object dialectic" and the process of "conscientization" (Hall 1994). In this view the activity of knowledge production, or research, provides the impetus for popular education, consciousness-raising, and mobilization for collective action directed at a bottom-up restructuring of society. Part of Gaventa's (1993: 34) definition best captures the meaning of participatory research used in this study:

In the [PR] process, research is seen not only as a process of creating knowledge, but simultaneously, as education and development of consciousness, and of mobilization for action.

This approach to scientific investigation involves being inclusive and promotes collective action for social justice. PR is more than a theory of a research method, it "is above all a critique—built on a critical analysis of assumptions underlying knowledge derived from historically shaped and politically beholden institutions" (Heaney 1993: 46). PR is a systematic approach to personal and social transformation which recognizes an ideological basis for documentation and aims to demystify how information is gathered and knowledge is produced. The participatory research methodology defines research as a process of collective knowledge creation and production which can lead to individual empowerment, organizational solidarity, and as a tool in the process of mobilizing for social change. John Gaventa and Bill Horton (1981: 40) write:

Most of the premises of participatory research are not particularly new. Rather, it is the combination of research and action into a strategy for radical social change that should appeal to progressive social

scientists. Most of us, including those who have Marxist leanings, have proven ourselves fairly incompetent at combining theory and practice in our own careers. While the participatory research approach has some weaknesses and occasionally falls victim to its own illusions, it nevertheless provides us with one example of an attempt to integrate theory and practice. For that reason alone it deserves our serious attention.

Elements of Participatory Research

Sociologists Francesca Cancian and Cathleen Armstead (1992:1427), find that participatory research can be identified by five characteristics: (1) participation by the people being studied; (2) inclusion of popular knowledge; (3) a focus on power and empowerment; (4) consciousness-raising and education of the participants; and (5) political action. Yoland Wadsworth states, "Essentially participatory action-research is research which involves all relevant parties in actively examining together current action (which they experience as problematic) in order to change and improve it. They do this by critically reflecting on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographic and other contexts which make sense of it" (1993:1). Long-time advocate, Budd Hall's (1994) seminal description finds that at its base, PR is the intertwining of research, education, and action, by and within local communities, to create democratic social, economic, and ecological change. It is thought that the combination of these processes, which have commonly been handled as distinct and isolated practices is a major strength of the PR approach to problem-solving.

Based on these definitions, it would appear that there are four major elements in the PR process: participation, education, action, and research (see Table 3.1). Although the main features of PR are presented here as somewhat distinct for analytical purposes, it is to be understood that lived reality finds these categorizations quite fluid with more overlap than separation. The variations on traditional and innovative strategies and methods for combining the elements that provide the foundation for PR are endless.

TABLE 3.1

THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

PARTICIPATION	Participation of the constituency with a problem in all facets of the change effort from the definition of the problem through the implementation of the action plan and into reflection and over again.
RESEARCH	Collective investigation of problems and issues through popular science with the active participation of the constituency in the entire research process.
ACTION	Collective social action by the constituency aimed at long-term and short-term solutions to their political, cultural, economic, and ecological problems.
EDUCATION	Collective analysis, education, and reflection in which the constituency develops a better understanding not only of the problems at hand but the underlying structural causes (political, socioeconomic, cultural).

What they share in common, according to the International Council for Adult Education (1982:5-6), is the ability to:

[produce] collective knowledge through the investigation and presentation of a social reality by groups living it; promote group ownership of information; promote collective analysis through the ordering of information in ways useful to the group in examining their reality; promote critical analysis by groups and individuals using the ordered information to determine root causes of problems and issues apparent in the constituency, with a view to finding solutions to them; promote the building of relationships between personal and structural problems as part of the collective problems solving process; link reflection and evaluation with action, taking the time to ask who, what, why, and when.

Participatory Research Methodology

The methodologies that underlie the education, mobilization, and knowledge production strategies of PR are somewhat vague. A reading of the literature finds that it is easier to discover the ideology of the approach than a detailed description about the techniques and methods that are used. PR practitioners have generally shied away from rigid models of research process and likely with good reason. Some methodological debate has occurred between "pragmatist" participatory research practitioners, and those operating from a "historical materialist" framework. The major disagreement centers on the question of an appropriate methodology that can be employed in achieving the goals and purposes of participatory research (Kassam 1981). Fundamental to the historical materialist perspective are class analysis and class struggle: "popularly-created knowledge in interaction with historical materialistic methodology can be regarded as yielding rich potential for social change" (Hall 1981:12). The position of pragmatist researchers holds that participatory research "must embrace a wide variety of analytic approaches and that historical materialism has sometimes been an alienating, elitist endeavor" (Hall 1981:12). Even within this division, active participatory researcher

Yusuf Kassam (1981:67) notes, in both camps there is a consensus on three main scores:

- the dissatisfaction with the conventional research methodologies in the social sciences;
- the recognition of participatory research as being a significant departure from the conventional or bourgeois social research methodologies along the political, epistemological, and methodological dimensions; and
- the intention of participatory research of bringing about progressive social change for the betterment of the poor and the oppressed.

More recent “contemporary urges” in participatory research are described by a long-time proponent and practitioner Rajesh Tandon (n.d.): the continuing critique of traditional science with a “new politics of science;” (2) further developing educational approaches within the process that link to transformation; (3) deepening and learning from the feminist critique of PR; and (4) connecting to and learning from ecological movements and frameworks. Of these one of the most important developments is the feminist critique and modifications to PR, provided first according to Hall (1993:xvi) by Dorothy Smith (1979, 1987). Hall writes that Dorothy and other women were active in Vancouver, British Columbia, in the Women’s Research Project and stories of the way that she and others were working were important contributions to PR’s development. Since then the critique and the alterations to the methods suggested by the feminists have been advanced by a number of people. Most notable is Patricia Maguire’s work, *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach* (1987), which many, including me, believe is the best book on the subject yet produced. She pointed to the distinct silence regarding gender and women in the discourse on PR. By revealing what she termed the “androcentric filter” prevalent in most PR work and offering strategic solutions, Maguire did a great service for all practitioners of the approach.

Among the points that Maguire (1987:105-108 in Hall 1993:xvi-xvii) makes about feminist participatory research are the following:

- The critique is both of positivist and androcentric research paradigms.
- Gender needs to be a central piece of the issues agenda.
- Integrative feminism, which recognizes diversity, should be central to the theoretical discussions of participatory research.
- The role of gender needs to be taken into account in all phases of participatory research.
- Feminist participatory research would give explicit attention to how women and men benefit as groups benefit from a project.
- Attention to gender-specific language is critical.
- Gender, culture, race, and class all figure into questions about the research team.
- Gender should be a factor in considering evaluation.
- Patriarchy is a system to be dismantled along with other systems of domination.

I, like many participatory researchers, understand participatory research methods to be a synthesis of pragmatism and historical materialism informed by feminist, ecological, and cultural advances. That is to say, in my interpretation of PR there is indeed a dialectical relationship between the pragmatic orientation to doing participatory research and that which is also connected to the historical materialist mission of liberating working people. No research methodology operates in a vacuum; the connection of persons who are associated with various methods of knowledge production are certainly connected to a larger *weltanschauung* (worldview). There is no doubt that this is an inherent feature of the knowledge production and utilization processes whether one is a scientist, farmer, teacher, or lathe operator. Thus participatory research methods cannot help but operate within a yet larger epistemological frame. In its most straight forward sense I interpret this to be either supportive of capitalism, patriarchy, and the ecological and social discord spurned onward by the competition of social Darwinism, or against it and committed to some other more equitable forms of social, economic, and ecological production.

My commitment is to an anarchic-eco-socialist-non-patriarchal-sustainable society that is aimed at meeting all people's physical and social needs on the basis of an egalitarian, cooperative, ecologically-minded, participatory, non-hierarchical, and decentralized social system. An avowed purpose of PR is the empowerment of oppressed individuals and classes through the collective analysis and production of knowledge to foster democratic social action. Thus, it would seem that unless we are conceived to fail in the endeavor, participatory researchers cannot operate without either direct and authentic connections to the oppressed masses in the global political economic system and a rooted, yet working (i.e., in process), theory of revolution. Toward that end the critical historical materialist tradition offers the most viable possibilities. For as written by Kwame Nkrumah in an often quoted passage, "Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty" (1966). The version of PR presented here, along with that of many others, is that the research process is understood to be pragmatic in that it must begin where people are and use a variety of approaches or methods which are aimed at meeting basic collectively-defined needs right here and right now; but this work must also be intimately tied to the empowering and liberating aspects of the historical materialist vision of where working people can go.

PR has tended to remain imprecise on issues of methods because other factors in the research process have received prominence. Hall (1994:4332) identifies some of the most important factors in the participatory research process: "the origins of the issues, the roles which those concerned with the issue play in the process, the emersion of the process in the context of the moment, the links to action, the understanding of how power relationships work and the potential for communications with others experiencing similar discrimination, oppression or violence." He goes on to say that in addition, "participatory research is based on the epistemological assumption that knowledge is constructed socially and therefore approaches which allow for social, group, or

collective analysis of life experiences of power and knowledge are most appropriate” (Hall 1994:4333). What this all means is that in PR there are no rigid methodological orthodoxies, rather the idea is that the content, issues, and ways of doing it should flow from community contexts.

In a widely read and cited article “Science and the Common People” (1981), longtime participatory researcher Orlando Fals-Borda discusses participatory methodological practices that address the problem of how to convert popular common sense into good sense: 1) authenticity and commitment on the part of the researcher; 2) anti-dogmatism in terms of ideology; 3) the systematic restitution of knowledge; 4) feedback to organic intellectuals; 5) an action-reflection rhythm; and 6) modest science and dialogical techniques. In one of his seminal works, *Knowledge and People's Power*, Fals-Borda identifies the four techniques found most useful in conceptualizing and designing participatory research methods based on the aforementioned principles, “. . . we found that our experiences in Colombia, Mexico, and Nicaragua indicated that the following techniques resulting from the practice of PR are useful in the establishment of people's countervailing power: collective research, the critical recovery of history; valuing and applying folk culture; and the production and diffusion of new knowledge” (1985:94-95).

Toward these ends grassroots and professional participatory researchers have used an eclectic mix of practical scientific research techniques to investigate a host of social problems and issues of interest to the least powerful in society. Certain strategies for investigating the world appear to be more, rather than less, amenable to participatory research, though no research technique is considered useless in the quest for emancipatory knowledge. Some techniques just need to be worked with more than others in order to make them less exclusive and dominating and more participatory and empowering. Most participatory research follows a similar process and philosophical

bases, but the different social contexts and problems along with the strengths and weaknesses of grassroots and professional researchers have influenced data gathering, analytical and dissemination methods. Useful techniques for carrying out participatory research are identified and described by the ICAE (1982) and include group discussions, public meetings, research teams, open-ended surveys, community seminars, fact-finding tours, collective production of audio-visual materials, popular theater, and educational camps.¹ Methods may be used once or quite often during the process. Participants must give careful consideration to which methods to use and when; a method must only be used where appropriate to local, cultural, economic, and political conditions. Participatory researchers must make the effort to ensure that the methods complement rather than supplant indigenous forms of expression, communication, discussion, and decision-making.

When assessing whether a project is actually PR, or some more traditional form of research, one can ask and answer the following questions provided by the International Council for Adult Education (1982:42) (see Table 3.2). This is also a good list of questions to ask during a participatory research project to make sure power is

¹ Other methods used in participatory research projects include: *archival research* (Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce 1981; Mshana and Bitu 1982); *cartography* (Dennison 1994); *case studies* (Tandon and Singh 1982); *census surveys* (Rahman 1991b); *community events* (de Roux 1991; Ornelas 1992); *community meetings and seminars* (Chin et al. 1992; Forrester and Ward 1992; Hutunuwatr et al. 1992; Garsonin and Lal Devkota 1992; ICAE 1982; Maguire 1987; McTaggart 1992; Mduma 1982; Mustafa 1981; Sanchez and Almeida 1992); *ethnography* (Curtis 1989; Freidenberg 1991); *ethnomusicology* (Carawan and Carawan 1989; Mustafa 1981); *evaluation research* (Brydon-Miller 1993; Morrissey et al. 1995; Plaut et al. 1992); *experiments* (Ornelas 1992); *fact-finding tours* (ICAIE 1982); *focus groups* (Plaut et al. 1990, 1992); *group discussions* (Henry 1992; ICAE 1982); *historical analysis* (Levin 1981); *interviews* (Bailey 1992; Brydon-Miller 1993; Comstock and Fox 1993; Draper 1982; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1993; Kelly 1993; Maguire; 1987; McTaggart 1992; Mountain Women's Exchange 1987; Mshana and Bitu 1982; Nash 1993; Reardon et al. 1993); *open-ended surveys* (ICAIE 1982; Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce 1981; Gianotten and de Wit 1991); *oral histories* (Lewis et al. 1990a, 1990b; Lewis et al. 1986; Lindqvist n.d.; Salazar 1991); *participant observation* (Comstock and Fox 1993; de Wit and Gianotten; 1981; Draper 1982; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1993; Hutunuwatr et al. 1992; Marika et al. 1992); *photo-novels* (Barndt 1980; Ewald 1979; Lewis et al. 1990a, 1990b); *popular theater and drama* (Kraai et al. 1982; Lynd 1992; Salazar 1991); *public meetings* (Colletta 1982; de Roux 1991; Frideres et al. 1992; ICAE 1982; LeBrun 1982; Nyoni 1991); *rapid rural appraisal* (Chambers 1981, 1983); *research teams* (ICAIE 1982); *surveys* (Bailey 1992; Carr-Hill 1984; Fordham et al. 1982; Forrester and Ward 1992; Masisi 1982; Merrifield 1989, 1993; Piyyaratn et al. 1992; Simonson and Bushaw 1993; Swantz; 1982); *video documentaries and films* (Callanan and Hann 1992; Salazar 1991; Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network 1993); and *workshops* (Draper 1982; Kanhare 1981).

TABLE 3.2
QUESTIONS FOR RESEARCH ²

Initiation and Control

Who Initiates?
Who defines the problem?
Who pays?

Critical Content

What is studied?
Why?
By Whom?

Collective Analysis

How is information gathered?
By whom?
How is data analyzed?
By whom?

Learning and Skills Developed

What is learned?
Who develops what skills?
What are the products and by-products?

Uses for Action

How are results disseminated?
Who uses them?
How are they used?
Who benefits?

² Table from International Council on Adult Education. 1982. *Participatory Research: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia, pg. 42.

being shared. In order to be considered PR the primary answer to each of these questions would and should be the people with the problem or issue. Community-based or grassroots people should initiate and control the research process. They should also determine critical content in terms of what is studied, why, and how. People with the problem must participate in gathering information and data analysis. They should also be the people who learn and develop new skills, and be the first and foremost beneficiaries of the results of the entire process. This then is participatory research. When using the same criteria to assess a traditional research project, the likely answer to questions would be the researcher(s), the university, or the funder.

There are other forms of research framed here under the rubric of “collaborative research” that try to strike a balance between traditional and participatory research. Depending on the needs of the community-based organization and the professional practitioners the projects may be more or less participatory and liberatory. Most notable among these types of collaborative research are Action Research (AR), Collaborative Research (CR), Cooperative Inquiry (CI), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Participatory Learning and Action (PLA), and Participatory Evaluation Research (PER). Detailed accounts of the distinctive features approaches have been presented by other authors, the task here requires only that a basic division be made.

For excellent overviews of action research see Kemmis and McTaggart 1988a, 1988b; participatory rural appraisal and participatory learning and action see Chambers 1981, 1983, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; action research, collaborative and cooperative inquiry, and participatory research see Reason 1994; participatory evaluation research see Fetterman et al. 1996; Rugh 1992; Wadsworth 1991. In these methodologies ownership of the research and action process is shared between professional researchers and/or experts and the community-based members and organizations.

For our purposes here, ownership of process is the key practical difference between traditional, collaborative, and participatory research methods. In traditional research methods power, control and ownership are maintained solely by the expert, university, or funding agency, while in the collaborative approaches power, control, and ownership of the endeavor are shared between communities and experts. In participatory research the community is in control of and owns the research, education, and action processes. In a rather gross oversimplification, it is to say, traditional research serves the expert(s), collaborative research serves the cooperating groups, and participatory research serves the community.

EMPOWERMENT AND RESISTANCE

Adult educator Paulo Freire (1982) argues that research should be a liberating process not a restrictive one. Liberation takes place through dialogue and in order for the dialogue to occur participants must be able to exchange roles through "conscientization." Conscientization, or critical consciousness, refers to a learning process in which people, as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness of both the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality. "Political literacy," for Freire (1985), is one aspect of critical consciousness that occurs when the student sees social reality as a process and each person as a participant. Famed sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) called this the development of a "sociological imagination." Differing from Mills, Freire (1970) finds that political literacy is only truly achieved when individuals enter into collective activity with others to change their circumstances and the world. People should actively work to change oppressive structures, reflect on the activities, and act again; it is to enter into an "action-reflection rhythm," or to have "praxis."

Praxis-oriented adult educator Myles Horton, one of the founders of the Highlander Research and Education Center, speaks of the Center's approach to social change: "We try to empower people to take more control over their lives."³ Horton (1972, 1981) stresses that part of being empowered is to be able to see beyond "what is" and to try to envision a better world and to look for universal principles that apply to any culture. Horton, in responding to a question from an interviewer about his life's work trying to empower people to make their own change stated, "The thing that excites me about my job. . . [is] the excitement, the creativity, of working with people and seeing things happen, to put things together that work and get people moving to think for themselves. . . . *I still look at it in a kind of amazement, like it's a miracle every time it happens, I still don't believe it*" (1966:497 emphasis added). For Horton empowerment is a creative process that enables people to be participants in shaping their reality.

Social critic Manning Marable (1992: 3), in his book *Crisis of Color and Democracy*, offers a concise and apt definition of empowerment for an analysis of PR:

Empowerment is essentially a capacity to define clearly one's interests, and to develop a strategy to achieve those interests. It's the ability to create a plan or program to change one's own reality in order to obtain those objects or interests. In other words, you shouldn't say that a group has power, but that, through its conscious activity, a group can empower itself by increasing its ability to achieve its own interests.

In judging whether empowerment through PR is effective we should understand "who are empowered" and "how their power is used." If those who gain from the process are outsiders who exploit, or local elites who dominate, certainly effect should be questioned. But if the powerless, those with the least in society, by doing PR as a "conscious" and "creative" activity, increase their ability to achieve their own interests, empowerment can said to have been created. If indeed the possibility that a state of

³ For more information on the Highlander Research and Education Center's history and approach to social change see Adams (1972, 1975), Glen (1988, 1997), and Highlander Research and Education Center (1989).

empowerment exists and that there are effective strategies at the grassroots to foster this transformation, we must first clearly understand that this is so because power seldom completely suffocates counter-hegemonic movements. Places and spaces where democracy can be practiced and transformative learning and action can be accomplished always exist even in the most oppressive of social structures (see especially Evans and Boyte 1986).

Educator Paulo Freire (1970) offers us a perspective on social power as both a negative and positive force. It's character dialectical and mode of operation always more than simply repressive. Freire's view of power suggests not only an alternative perspective to those radical theorists trapped in the straitjacket of despair and cynicism; it also stresses that there are always cracks, tensions, and contradictions in various social spheres where power can be exercised as a positive force in the name of resistance (Giroux 1988:114-115). For Freire (1970, 1973, 1985) power is seen to work on and through people. Domination is never so complete that power is experienced exclusively as a negative force; yet power is at the basis of all forms of behavior in which people resist, struggle, and fight for a better world. In a general sense, Freire's theory of power and his demonstration of its dialectical character serve the important function of broadening the spheres and terrains where power operates. Power is not exhausted in those public and private spheres by governments, ruling classes, and other dominant groups. It is ubiquitous and is expressed in a range of oppositional public spaces and spheres that traditionally have been characterized by the absence of power and thus any form of resistance. The fact that the powerless are marginalized by the powerful in society has created opportunities for "free spaces" where the "hidden transcript" of resistance may grow.

Political scientist and theorist of resistance James C. Scott (1990) defines the term "public transcript" as a shorthand way of describing the open interaction between

subordinates and those who dominate; the term “hidden transcript” is used to define the discourse which takes place “offstage,” beyond direct observation by powerholders. In order to develop the hidden transcript of resistance it is necessary to create spaces where democratic relations and open dialogue are fostered and maintained. Social scientists Sarah Evans and Harry Boyte find that “particular sorts of public places in the community, *free spaces*, are the environments in which people are able to learn a new self-respect, a deeper and more assertive group identity, public skills, and values of cooperation and civic virtue” (1986:18 emphasis added). Put simply, free spaces are settings between private lives and large-scale institutions where ordinary citizens can act with dignity, independence, and vision. Democracy is dependent on these types of free spaces, where people can experience schooling in citizenship and learn a vision of the common good in the course of struggling for change.

Inasmuch as the major historical forms of domination have presented themselves in the form of a metaphysics, a religion, or a worldview, they have provoked the development of more or less equally elaborate replies in the hidden transcript. The elaboration of hidden transcripts depends not only on the creation of relatively unmonitored physical locations and free time but also a counterideology—a negation—that effectively provides a framework for a host of resistant practices invented in self-defense by any subordinate group (Scott 1990:115-118). The forms counterideologies take depend on the active human agents who create them and on the free spaces in which they are grown and spread. In the case of participatory research the philosophy and method has been advanced, in terms of the written literature, primarily by formally trained academic and professional researchers. We can see the public transcript in a number of professional social science journals, books and other sources, as is in evidence by the large number of references cited in this work. The hidden transcript is more difficult to discover, for it is to be found in the lived individual and collective

transformations as they have been experienced by the grassroots participants in the participatory research endeavor. These voices have remained relatively silent on the topic of transformation in the literature on participatory research methods. The issue here is that there have been far too few investigations that attempt to understand how grassroots individuals and groups actually embody critical consciousness and are empowered to express authentic resistance to social power, based on their experiences with participatory research.

THREE DIMENSIONS OF POWER

Power has been defined by political scientist Steven Lukes (1974) in terms of “three dimensions.” The first dimension is based upon the traditional pluralist approach found in the work of Robert Dahl (1957) and Nelson Polsby (1963), the second is essentially that put forward by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) in their consideration of power's other face. The third dimension of power finds that earlier approaches which focus on behavior and observable conflict may neglect a crucial aspect of power. Lukes argues that “the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent conflict from arising in the first place” (1974:23). In other words a key attribute of power is to keep people unconscious of their own interests, or to move the discussion of power towards Gramsci's (1971) concept of cultural hegemony.

Decision-making

Polsby (1963:235) writes that social power may be studied by examining, “who participates, who gains and loses, and who prevails in decision-making.” The key element in this understanding of power is on behavior and/or participation. Several aspects of this approach are described by Gaventa (1982:5-8), “First, grievances are

assumed to be recognized. . . Secondly, participation is assumed to occur within decision-making arenas, which are in turn assumed to be open to virtually any organized group. . . Thirdly, because of the openness of the decision-making process, leaders may be studied, not as elites, but as representative spokesmen for the mass.” In short, as Polsby writes, “In the pluralist approach. . . an attempt is made to study specific outcomes in order to determine who actually prevails in community decision-making. . . [The researcher] should study actual behavior, either at first hand or by reconstructing behavior from documents, informants, newspapers, and other appropriate sources” (1963:113, 121). Power, according to Dahl, is analyzed only after “careful examination of a series of concrete decisions” (1957:456). “The focus on observable behavior in identifying power involves the pluralists in studying *decision-making* as their central task” (Lukes 1974:12-13 emphasis in original). To understand the workings of social power the pluralists concentrate their attention actual behavior in the decision-making process over key issues that involve actual observable conflict.

Mobilization of Bias

Critical of the pluralists’ focus only on observable behavior, political scientists Bachrach and Baratz (1962) identify power’s “second face.” In this view power is exercised not just on participants within the decision-making process but also towards the exclusion of certain issues and participants altogether (see Crenson 1971 for an excellent example based on the “Unpolitics of Air Pollution”). “Political organizations like all organizations, develop a ‘mobilization of bias’ . . . in favor of the exploitation of certain kinds of conflict and the suppression of others. . . . Some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out” (Schattschneider in Bachrach and Baratz, 1962:8). The study of politics must focus “both on who gets what, when and how and who gets left out and how” (Bachrach and Baratz 1962:105). In this view, then,

apparent inaction within the political process by deprived groups may be related to power, which in turn is revealed in participation and non-participation, upon issues and non-issues, which arise or are prevented from arising in decision-making arenas (Gaventa 1982:10). Although this conceptualization of the second face of power goes well beyond the pluralists' first dimension of power, the approach still stops short of considering the full range of power and powerlessness. While Bachrach and Baratz insist that the study of power must include consideration of the barriers to action upon grievances, they equally maintain that it does not go so far as to include how power may affect conceptions of grievances themselves (Gaventa 1982:11). In fact, as Lukes points out, "to assume the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus by definitional fiat" (1974:24).

Control of Consciousness

The "third dimension of power," as outlined by Lukes, offers a conceptual understanding of social power that allows for the analysis of individually chosen acts and also as a way to understand the bias of the system as a "socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups and practices of institutions, which may indeed be manifested by individuals' inaction" (1974:22). Lukes critiques the pluralist conception of power as too behavioralistic and the second face of power as too individualistic. He finds that we must allow for "consideration of the many ways in which *potential issues* are kept out of politics whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals' decisions" (1974:24 emphasis in original).

A may exercise power over B by getting them to do what they do not want to do, but A also exercises power over B by influencing, shaping or determining their very wants (Lukes, 1974:23). A might exercise power over B not only by prevailing in the

resolution of key issues [decision-making] or by preventing B from effectively raising those issues [mobilization of bias], but also by affecting B's conceptions of the issues altogether [control of consciousness] (Gaventa 1982:12). The most important aspect of power to understand for the analysis of research for social change is this third dimension, or the shaping of consciousness about structural barriers and issues. For if we can address and change power relations in the third dimension it is then likely we will have success dealing with the mobilization of bias and the controllers of decisions.

By using this framework of power in three dimensions we can more effectively analyze the strategies necessary for grassroots empowerment and social-movement building that address all three dimensions of power. We can judge empowerment strategies in terms of their abilities to build in people the capacities to carry out activities that challenge power in decision-making, the mobilization of bias, and the control of consciousness.

THREE FORMS OF EMPOWERMENT

If we are interested in how to evolve methods of knowledge production which empower individuals and collectives to build democracy and promote participation in organizations, communities, and other institutions, some key questions are, "What competencies or capacities does democracy require among its citizens?" "How are they to be developed?" and "What organizations and approaches are necessary for creating and sustaining a democratic citizenry?" Answers to these questions are found in the theoretical and empirical work of sociologist John Gaventa (1982, 1995). Gaventa, a student of both Myles Horton and Steven Lukes, provides an extremely useful theoretical framework for understanding the general nature of power, powerlessness, and the empowerment strategies used to foster and grow democratic participation in

society (see Table 3.3). The framework of power in three dimensions is useful in understanding the forms and capacities of participation and empowerment which citizens can employ to gain voice in their own lives and in the social structures that impact them.

In broad terms, Gaventa (1995:6) frames the argument as this:

Each dimension of power implies a strategy for overcoming powerlessness, in turn implying competencies and skills need to make the strategy effective. If we approach the question of citizenship from a pluralist framework [the first dimension], our emphasis will be on building political efficacy and advocacy skills necessary to influence decision-making on key issues. If we use the second dimension of power, which argues that barriers against such participation are constructed, then our focus will be on organizing to build broad-based citizen organizations which can gain access to the political arena. Who participates will be as important as how to participate effectively. But if we are empowering citizens to deal with the third dimension of power, which focuses on questions of knowledge, culture, and consciousness, what people are participating *about* becomes the critical variable, and forms of political education or awareness building the crucial strategy.

Advocating

The first dimension of power is equated with the pluralist model of democracy. Power is understood as a product of who wins and who loses on key, clearly recognized issues in a relatively open political economic system. The lack of participation in this model is a non-problem signifying the contentment of the citizenry with the status quo. Where citizens choose to enter the political arena and exert power they may do so as others have done by organizing into interest groups and associations. This interest or advocate group approach to citizenship has been adopted by many progressive social change organizations concerned with issues at the grassroots (e.g., the "Big Ten" Environmental Organizations). Those who advocate this approach are often professional activists or alternative experts who may often times not be effected by the issues on which they advocate. In this approach to power the skills needed by citizens to build democracy have much to do with:

TABLE 3.3
POWER, POWERLESSNESS AND
EMPOWERMENT ⁴

	1st Dimension	2nd Dimension	3rd Dimension
Power A	• Open Systems • Who Wins and Loses • Clearly Recognized Issues	• Mobilization of Bias Against Participation • Non-Issues	• Shaping of Consciousness About Barriers and Issues • Hegemony
Power- lessness B	• Lack of Resources to Compete Effectively • Non-Participation due to Individual Barriers	• Lack of Resources • Non-Participation Due to Systemic Barriers	• Uncritical Consciousness • Internalized Oppressions
Em- power- ment Strategy	• Advocacy • Issue-Based • Professional Leadership	• Mobilization and Organizing on Key Issues • Organizer Leadership	• Emancipatory Education • Critical Consciousness • Indigenous Leadership

⁴ Framework provided by John Gaventa. 1995. "Citizen Knowledge, Citizen Competence and Democracy Building." A Working Paper presented at the Political Economy of the Good Society Conference on Citizen Competence and the Design of Democratic Institutions. Washington DC, February 10-11, 1995.

learning to advocate for a particular issue, to influence the political process through established institutional means such as voting, lobbying, writing ones' congressperson, or joining an organization. . . learning how to mobilize resources (votes, funds, expertise) to influence decision-making in the policy arena, to collaborate and bargain, to challenge technical policy questions. . . However, in this arena, capacity building [empowerment] is less concerned with questions of expanding political participation through direct organization, or through the development of grassroots political education and political knowledge. . . This becomes a form of politics 'for the people,' not one 'with' or 'by the people' (Gaventa 1995:6-8).

Mobilizing and Organizing

The pluralist vision of an open, participatory society is important, although the assumption that it actually exists in everyday politics has been widely challenged on a number of fronts; the challenges have been based on the "mobilization of bias" prevalent in our political economic decision-making process (Bachrach and Baratz 1970). The key for understanding power in this perspective is not about who wins and loses on key issues, but is about analyzing how certain issues and actors are kept from getting to the table in the first place. Some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out. The process of empowerment in the second dimension becomes one of organizing the powerless to bring their grievances into the political process. In everyday terms this becomes the politics of community organizing found in the traditions and work of people like Saul Alinsky (1946, 1971). The practice of grassroots community organizing has flourished over the last several decades. In a recent report Gary Delgado (1993) argues that there are now over 6000 community organizations in operation in the US, mostly "local, unaffiliated groups, initiated out of local residents' need to exert control over development in their communities" (in Gaventa 1995:10). In social movement terms, empowerment in this arena becomes a process of resource mobilization, of building funds, members, communications, and tactics that allow previously quiescent groups to act directly upon their concerns. Thus, while the

competencies found in the first dimension of power have to do primarily with effective advocacy on key issues through established interest groups,

the competencies in the second dimension of power add to these the emphasis on organizing greater participation by those who have been excluded, and on getting previously latent issues and players on the political agenda. But while the mobilization and building of grassroots organizations has been critical for educating citizens in the skills of democracy, this approach, in its narrowest forms, also has its limitations for dealing with the broader issues of power (Gaventa 1995:11).

Transforming Consciousness

Many community organizing and empowerment approaches see the development of people's knowledge of themselves and of the operation of the political economic system as a necessary and integral part of any transformational social strategy. Their concerns with political education, critical analysis, vision of what is possible, and basis in participatory values get right to the core of the citizenship competencies necessary for dealing with the third dimension of power. While the second dimension of power helps us to understand the ways in which power operates to "prevent grievances from reaching the table," the approach is still based on the pluralist notion that the exercise of power must involve conflict between the powerful and the powerless over clearly recognized issues and grievances. This approach has been challenged by others such as Steven Lukes (1974), who suggested that the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent conflict from arising in the first place. The powerful may exert their power not only by influencing action upon recognized grievances, but also by influencing "consciousness and awareness of such grievances through such mechanisms as socialization, education, media, secrecy, information control, and the shaping of political beliefs and ideologies" (Gaventa 1995:14).

The skills and competencies for empowering citizens to challenge this third dimension of power involve strategies of "awareness building, liberating education,

promotion of critical consciousness, overcoming internalized oppressions, and developing indigenous or popular knowledge” (Gaventa 1995:15). While theorists have been able to articulate quite clearly the more pragmatic skills of advocacy and organizing, this approach to empowerment remains somewhat murky due to the debates about false consciousness and the like (see Scott 1985, 1990). The approach for dealing with the third dimension of power suggests that the “self analysis by those affected of their own reality in order to change it becomes an important stage in the process of building democratic citizenship” and must also include “processes of education for critical consciousness, the recovery and development of people’s knowledge as a basis for action, the modeling and promotion of democratic values in organizational development. . . . With such an approach, the role of the political activist becomes that of a facilitator and educator, rather than the organizer or advocate” (Gaventa 1995:21-22).

While the approaches are presented separately, to be effective people need to develop skills and competencies which allow them to address power at all three levels. It requires the capacities to advocate, organize, build lasting participatory organizations, and develop individual and collective critical consciousness. Participatory research uses participation by powerless people in research, education, social action, and reflection to mobilize, organize, and empower grassroots individuals and collectives to transform oppressive social structures through the production of different types of knowledge.

THREE TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE

With a modified version of Habermas’s sociology of knowledge, Peter Park (1993) presents a theory of knowledge that allows us to see the efficacy of participatory research more broadly than in terms of the natural science framework. Habermas’s

critical theory postulates three kinds of knowledge that underlie human conduct in society which, Park somewhat departing from Habermas's terminology, calls "instrumental," "interactive," and "critical" knowledge. According to this theory, each of these kinds of knowledge goes into the human cognitive constitution, making it possible for social beings to relate to the world and one another to act as a collective group. In this scheme, all three branches of knowledge should be called "science," although the term science has been appropriated by positivists, especially in the English-speaking countries, to refer exclusively to instrumental knowledge (Park 1993:4-5).

Instrumental Knowledge

Instrumental knowledge production, in its extreme form, is the method of scientific research embraced by most natural and social scientists in the West. Its basic thrust is to explain how things work through the development of empirical theories and testing and refining those theories on the basis of observable data. The logic of the method entails the separation of cause and effect and a dualist understanding of researcher and subjects, the researcher as an acting and active agent and the subject as a passive object which is acted upon. The validity of instrumental knowledge is defined in a pragmatic way through testing, and on whether it works to control, predict, adapt, or produce something tangible in our larger social ecological system. Practitioners follow a number of distinct and generally orderly steps in the quest for "objective" knowledge: problem identification, hypothesis, literature review, data generation, data analysis, publication of results. In this model the researcher is in charge of each step in the process, and the only place "subjects" are involved is in answering predetermined questions so the researchers will have some data to analyze and thus explain and develop answers to the problem or issue of concern to the researcher.

Rajesh Tandon (1982:79-84) provides an excellent summary of the “monopolistic research” for instrumental knowledge prevalent in positivistic social science based on absolutist, purist, rationalist, and elitist critiques. The absolutist critique of social science finds that unlike the natural sciences social science does not have a trained set of professionals to utilize their research. Knowledge utilization is left up to the administrators, policy-makers, and program-designers which explains the wide gap between the available stock of social knowledge and its utilization. Second, absolutists critique the “fanatical position of social science research for the discovery of the truth” (1982:81). The search for a single truth is impossible in a socially constructed reality in which multiple truths exist. The purist critique is aimed at the attempts of social scientists to maintain “objectivity” in knowledge production. The attempt to achieve objectivity by complete separation between the researcher and the subjects presents severe problems including the artificial disconnection of the researcher from the lived reality which ultimately distorts rather informs observations by the social scientist. The rationalist critique questions the excessive reliance on thinking, observing, and conceptualizing as the main modes of knowing and research. The inadequacy is thought to be the disconnection between knowledge and action in traditional social science. Finally the elitist critique finds that the dominant research paradigm is aimed at experts control over the techniques and outcomes of research. The people, systems, and settings being researched are mere objects who help provide the basic data for knowledge, but they have no control over that knowledge. This is an ethical issue in that the providers of information are denied access to it and a political issue in that knowledge is power and positivist social science is further enhancing the power of the elites.

Feminists continue the critique of elitist instrumental knowledge and positivistic science on a number of fronts. Author Marilyn Waring (1984), drawing from a political economic base, provides a critique and challenges the assumptions of male-centered

economic theory and practice. She notes that women's work fuels the economies of every country in the world, yet no value is placed on this labor in the definitive system of national accounts used worldwide (e.g., Gross National Product (GNP)). Using the concepts and thinking from a number of feminist perspectives, Waring examines the wide-ranging implications of discounting the work of half of the world's population-women, in terms of *What Men Value and What Women Are Worth*. Philosopher Sandra Harding (1986) reviews a series of epistemological inquiries which have laid the basis for an alternative understanding of how beliefs are grounded in social experiences, and of what kind of experience should ground the beliefs we honor as knowledge. She finds that feminist epistemologies imply a relation between knowing and being, between epistemology and metaphysics, that is an alternative to the dominant epistemologies developed to justify science's modes of knowledge-seeking and ways of being in the world; it emphasizes the interactive nature of human beings. Harding argues cogently for more effective conceptions of science that are grounded in such participatory values as anti-racism, anti-classism, and anti-sexism. She implores that science and scientists must value other forms of knowledge and knowledge production strategies besides instrumental in order to understand the world. Harding (1986:251) writes, "When we began theorizing our experiences during the second women's movement a mere decade and a half ago, we knew our task would be a difficult though exciting one. But I doubt that in our wildest dreams we ever imagined we would have to reinvent both science and theorizing itself to make sense of women's social experience."

For the powerless, however, the important task of producing instrumental knowledge cannot be dismissed, for we must have knowledge of how the social world is structured and operates, and how people feel, think, behave, and relate to one another, in order to create conditions for a good society. When instrumental knowledge is pursued collectively and based on the needs of the oppressed classes, as is the case in

many participatory research projects, this form of knowledge can be used to critically and directly challenge traditional power relations in society. The research methods pursued by traditional social and natural scientists, however, cannot accomplish this because they fail to recognize or value the special “interactive” character of human knowledge.

Interactive Knowledge

Interactive knowledge makes human community possible. “This knowledge does not derive from analysis of data about other human beings but from sharing a life-world together—speaking with one another and exchanging actions against the background of common experience, tradition, history, and culture” (Park 1993:6). Interactive knowledge is based on understanding through interpretation and interaction. The logic of the method is to merge self and other, to enter into the social world to first understand the other from the perspective of the other and then through the self. This form of knowledge is used to establish and create meaning and communion between fellow travelers on the planet. Validity is established by sharing and establishing common understandings, for it is in community that we come to create meanings and understand other human beings. “Interactive knowledge is accomplished essentially through conversations in which we talk with personal feelings and listen with interest and supportiveness” (Park 1993:6).

Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1989), discusses the importance of interactive knowledge as “dialogue” within the “Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought.” Collins states, “For Black women new knowledge claims are rarely worked out in isolation from other individuals and are usually developed through dialogues with other members of a community. A primary epistemological assumption underlying the use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims is that connectedness rather than separation is

an essential component of the knowledge-validation process” (1989:763). She goes on to describe this dialogue based on interaction in terms of an “interactive network.”

The widespread use of the call and response discourse mode among African-Americans exemplifies the importance placed on dialogue. Composed of spontaneous verbal and nonverbal *interaction* between speaker and listener in which all of the speaker’s statements or ‘calls’ are punctuated by expressions or ‘responses’ from the listener, this Black discourse mode pervades African-American culture. *The fundamental requirement of this interactive network is active participation of all individuals.* For ideas to be tested and validated, everyone in the group must participate. To refuse to join in, especially if one really disagrees with what has been said is seen as “cheating” (Collins 1989:763-64 emphasis added).

For Collins this networked dialogue among African-American women serves the function of validating what I term here as interactive knowledge. For our purposes it is also important to see the emphasis on the participatory nature of the knowledge validation process involved when producing this type of common wisdom. It is done face to face, and listeners are considered to be “cheating” if they refuse to join in the conversation, especially if they disagree with the speaker. For author and activist June Jordan (1985:129), the language used by Black people assumes, from its inception, that there are at least two human beings involved in the process, the speaker and listener and both are assumed to be active. This way of thinking about knowledge turns the epistemological assumptions of traditional “objective” scientific, or instrumental knowledge, on their head. Rather than de-emphasizing dialogue, connectedness, participation, and multiple vantage points, during knowledge production, Collins (1989, 1990), suggests through her alternative epistemological framework they be moved to a place of central importance.

Collins (1989, 1990), Faye Harrison (1991b), bell hooks (1984, 1989), Alice Walker (1988, 1989), and a number of others have developed alternative epistemological frameworks and created what some have termed “third wave feminism” (see Ritzer 1992:340-42). These writers are distinguished by the fact that they aim their

critical effort not only against sexual ideology and the unequal status of women, but more broadly at all systems of domination. Central to this perspective is that the truth about social relations is best discovered through the vantage point and experiences of oppressed people (both women and men), whose accounts must therefore be uncovered. It is to validate and give voice to the popular knowledge of the oppressed.

Canadian sociologist of knowledge Dorothy Smith has written a great deal on similar themes emphasizing what she terms the "bifurcation" between social scientific discourse and the everyday world of experience. In an influential series of papers analyzing how sociology must be transformed in order to explain social life for women rather than male administrators, Smith suggests that there is a wide rift between social scientific description and analysis and people's lived experience. Central to Smith's project is to participate in the construction of a "sociology for women," in which research practice should never lose site of women as actively *constructing* and *interpreting* the social processes and social relations that constitute their everyday life (1987). In her papers she directly articulates how to fashion a science that transcends the established frameworks for producing the instrumental knowledge of Enlightenment science. "Here I am concerned with the problem of methods of thinking which will realize the project of a sociology for women; that is, a sociology which does not transform those it studies into objects but preserves in its analytic procedures the presence of the subject as actor and experiencer. Subject then is the knower whose grasp of the world may be enlarged by the work of the sociologist" (1987: 1).

For Smith, the researcher must be located on the same critical plane as the subjects of the research. In other words some sort of common understanding, or interactive knowledge, must be held between researchers and the researched. Her concern is with the ways in which all types of organizational frameworks alienate people from their experiences. In traditional, objective forms of knowledge production, peoples

experiences, especially women's, are institutionally specified, named, theorized, organized, and thus colonized. Though her stated concern is feminist sociology, her arguments are generalizable to inquiry in all of the social and natural sciences as practiced by females or males, or professional or grassroots researchers. Although still primarily concerned with feminism, in her work *The Conceptual Practices of Power* (1990) Smith argues for styles of inquiry, like participatory research, which are interested in, begin from, and value particular sites in the world: the experiences and knowledge of the powerless. Thus ultimately what Smith argues for is social research practice that values and integrates experiential interactive knowledge into its analysis and depiction of the everyday world.

By emphasizing the interpretive and interactive nature of knowledge the authors cited above each stress that there will be many different versions of reality for there are many different realities in which people live. All of these realities should be explored and each should be regarded as producing more complete, less distorting, and less perverse understandings than can a science in alliance with ruling-class masculine activity. For them it is of utmost importance to explore, understand, and use the experiential and interactive knowledge of the oppressed to generate critical knowledge and consciousness to make a better world for all.

Critical Knowledge

Critical knowledge is understood to mean that people not only come to understand the causes of their miseries which can be dealt with instrumentally, but "by reflecting on these causes as being historically rooted in human actions, they also come to realize that things do not have to remain the way they are and that they can engage in actions to transform that reality. Critique thus turns into will to action and action itself" (Park 1993:7-8). Critical knowledge is about values. The process involves a

reflection/action/reflection dialectic through which consciousness and conscience develop in terms of the Freirian concept of "conscientization" discussed at length above. The logic of critical knowledge is best understood as critiques which inform values which inform critiques through dialectical relations. The uses of critical knowledge are to establish critical meaning, emancipation, and social justice through the development of individual and collective autonomy, responsibility, empowerment, and freedom. Its validity is understood through individual and collective social action.

Research for social change is based in the interests of oppressed groups; it is about producing critical knowledge. The process involves people in critical analysis, so that they can, potentially, act collectively to change oppressive structures through participatory, creative, and empowering methods of practice (see Epstein 1991 for a good example). The terms popular or participatory research define this approach and PR practitioners promote "conscientization," or critical consciousness, as a key aim of this type of research. Freire (1973) developed an analysis for understanding the process of conscientization based on three levels of consciousness. The three levels, intransitive, semi-transitive, and critical transitive consciousness, are thought sometimes to exist in discrete pure states, but primarily they overlap.

Intransitive consciousness denies the power of human beings to change their lives or society. The intransitive person thinks that what happens in life and society is controlled by inscrutable or divine forces, by an all powerful elite, or by dumb luck and accidents. People with intransitive consciousness accept or even celebrate the status quo. A person with semi-transitive consciousness believes in cause and effect and in the human power to learn and to change things. The semi-transitive individual does not connect the pieces of reality into meaningful wholes but rather acts on parts in a disconnected way. This unintegrated view of the world does not perceive how separate parts of society condition each other or how a whole social system is implicated in

producing single effects in any one part. Semi-transitive thought is partially empowered because it accepts human agency in the making of personal and social change. This type of thinking is reformist insofar as it leads to partial or contradictory changes. The final stage, critical consciousness, is what allows people to make broad connections between individual experience and social issues, between single problems and the larger social system. The critically conscious individual connects personal and social domains when studying or acting on any problem or subject matter.⁵

At this point, according to our theory, any strategy which purports to empower the powerless to challenge elites will produce useful information about the world in the form of instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge. These types of knowledge are used to advocate for and with, organize and mobilize, and critically transform consciousness for oppressed people. The goal of the process is to alter power in decision-making, abate the mobilization of bias, and grow forms of consciousness that favor of the powerless.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH, POWER, KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND EMPOWERMENT

The approaches to knowledge, power, and empowerment have been presented separately for analytical purposes, but in order to be effective, people need to develop the capacities that allow them to challenge power in all three dimensions. Each form of power implies a strategy for overcoming powerlessness, in turn implying the competencies and skills needed to make the strategy effective. In order to empower grassroots people to advocate, organize, and transform consciousness and produce instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge, each element of the PR approach to the

⁵ For an excellent overview of this model see Ira Shor (1992:112-35).

production of knowledge plays a role. By using different fonts and emphasis, what I am showing in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 is that each element of PR has primary and secondary functions in the effort to alter the power of elites. Participation and reflection are understood to be critical elements in each form of empowerment and type of knowledge. As depicted in Table 3.4, it is assumed that in a well done PR project participation by those affected by a problem will be an integral part of advocating, organizing, and transforming consciousness and producing instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge. It is also thought that in an effective PR effort all members of the project will critically reflect on the effectiveness of the advocacy and organizing efforts and whether the work has been empowering for the grassroots participants or not. If things are going well in the project, keep doing it; if not, the collective group can analyze the situation through reflection and develop alternative strategies. The same is said for knowledge.

In PR the interplay between popular education and collective action is driven by the production of knowledge via participatory research methods. The usefulness of participatory research lies not only in its ability to create instrumental knowledge to understand physical and social realities, but rather, is found in the social, political, and psychological dimensions that are combined in the basic elements of the approach that can not be adequately understood within the traditional control-oriented process of knowledge production (See Table 3.5). The instrumental knowledge, or visible information, is what is produced through the collective application of systematic social science research techniques. Interactive knowledge is derived through a process of sharing problems and experiences across and within communities through discussion and through the collective analysis and dissemination of instrumental knowledge. Finally, the production of critical and empowering knowledge with individuals, organizations, and communities is accomplished through the direct connection of

TABLE 3.4
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH AND EMPOWERMENT STRATEGIES

	FORMS OF EMPOWERMENT		
	ADVOCATING	ORGANIZING AND MOBILIZING	TRANSFORMING CONSCIOUSNESS
P A R	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Participation</i>
	Research	Research	Research
	<i>Education</i>	<i>Education</i>	Education
	Action	Action	<i>Action</i>
	<i>Reflection</i>	<i>Reflection</i>	<i>Reflection</i>

TABLE 3.5
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

	FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE		
	INSTRUMENTAL	INTERACTIVE	CRITICAL
P A R	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Participation</i>
	Research	Research	Research
	<i>Education</i>	<i>Education</i>	Education
	Action	Action	<i>Action</i>
	<i>Reflection</i>	<i>Reflection</i>	<i>Reflection</i>

research and education to mobilization for action. This is not meant to say that research has no role in the production of interactive or critical knowledge because it can and does. Rather, what I am emphasizing is that the primary usefulness of "research" in the PR approach lies in its ability to produce instrumental knowledge. It is not that research does not have a role in the production of interactive or critical knowledge. It does but as a secondary effect, or even an unintended consequence. The same is true for education and action. Almost as a bonus, each element serves multiple functions in the process in that education does indeed produce instrumental knowledge and/or critical knowledge. Likewise, action does produce instrumental and critical knowledge but its most important function is to provide the free spaces for interaction and understanding and the mobilization of people.

Instrumental Knowledge and the Capacity to Advocate

The Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce Study (1981), an early and very important example of participatory research in North America, offers several insights into the potential for PR to produce instrumental knowledge as part of a strategy which was used to transform individuals, produce meaningful knowledge, and lead to grassroots social change.

The Appalachian Land Ownership Study is an attempt to document land ownership patterns in the Appalachian Region and to describe their impact on rural communities. Representing the most comprehensive study to date, the project was initiated by residents of the region in fall 1978, on the belief that land ownership patterns—especially corporate and absentee ownership—underlie or contribute to many of the policy issues that the region faces—property taxes for local services, poverty, economic development, loss of farmland, inadequate housing, energy production, environmental damage.

Conducted by the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, a coalition of community groups, scholars, and individuals, associated with the Appalachian Alliance, the seven-volume study has involved the work of some 60 people in six states (Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce, 1981: Preface to Volume 1).

Gaventa and Horton (1981) write more specifically of the project's design. Worsened by strip mining, the floods of 1977 left thousands of West Virginians, Kentuckians, and East Tennesseans homeless; "yet relief trailers went empty for lack of available land, while the government refused to seize corporate land for the cause. In response to a call from citizens of Mingo County, West Virginia, groups from around the region gathered together. The Appalachian Alliance, a coalition of these groups, was formed. Questions of land ownership were high on the agenda for study and for action (1981:31). Specifics of the research design were determined at the training workshop for potential participants held at the Highlander Research and Education Center in May, 1979. Both the decision as to methods to be used in the ownership study and training in those methods were accomplished at this workshop. Later workshops at both the state and regional levels further defined the research process, determined the final report format and content, and prepared for the dissemination of data and follow-up action strategies (1981:33). The study involved fieldwork in some 80 counties through the summer and early fall of 1979, in which grassroots researchers spent many tedious hours transferring ownership and taxation data from county tax rolls onto coding sheets. Organization and computer analysis of the survey data took several months of collaborative work, as did editing the 19 county case studies. After much labor and the involvement of at least 100 people the land ownership study was released on April 3, 1981 (1981:33-34).

From the beginning it was hoped that the land study would serve multiple goals:

[To] provide comprehensive information that would be useful to local groups and which would influence regional and national policies on land related questions;

To provide a model for citizens doing their own research, growing out of their own local needs and concerns, rather than professional consulting firms doing the research based on needs and interests of government agencies;

Through the research process, to train local citizens and groups in obtaining the information they need;

Through the research process, to develop a network of individuals and groups who would be concerned with land-related issues and who would be committed to using the results of the study for constructive action;

Using the results of the research process, to begin to educate and to mobilize a broader constituency of local groups for action on land-related questions in their own communities, as well as at the state and regional level (Gaventa and Horton 1981:32).

What the process accomplished was a report that was one of the most comprehensive surveys of land ownership patterns and related impacts in the United States. It included a survey of corporate and absentee ownership and related socio-economic data for 80 counties in six states. The report contained extensive case studies in 20 counties, demonstrating the impact of ownership patterns on such things as jobs, environment, housing, local power structures, taxes, education and services. Although in the Appalachian region a grand revolution did not occur based on the participatory research of the land study, a great many individual, organizational, and structural changes attributable to the participatory research project are identified by Gaventa (1981), Gaventa and Horton (1981), and Horton (1993). They include the effective training of a number of grassroots researchers, the creation of a network of action-oriented individuals and groups, and education and action around land ownership issues at multiple levels (local, regional, state, national). Gaventa writes, "a citizens based research process can be used both to gain information needed for action and to educate community leaders, link communities facing common problems, coalesce local organizations, and serve as a spark for change. In Appalachia, the groups involved in the project will use the information they have acquired to continue to combat land ownership problems. And, in the process of getting the information they need, they

have gained more strength for the battle” (1981:130). All this was tied to the process of producing “instrumental knowledge” based on good sound scientific practices.

Another example of producing instrumental knowledge in a community-based PR effort is found in the work of adult educator and early North American practitioner of PR Juliet Merrifield (1989, 1993). Merrifield writes about a community-based change effort based on a staple in the quantitative social sciences—the survey. Though it is a survey that is based on the participation of those with the problem in the whole of the investigation. The story takes place along the Yellow Creek, which flows past the town of Middlesboro, KY and consequently by the Middlesboro Tanning Company before it empties into the historic Cumberland River.⁶ The tannery had been tanning hides, up until the mid-1960’s, with vegetable dyes which were biodegradable. They colored the stream and occasionally were released in such massive amounts that they used up the oxygen supply in the creek water while decomposing, killing a number of fish. But compared to what was to come this was something the people could at least live with. In 1965 the company introduced a chrome tanning process, based on the element chromium, which itself is very toxic. Along with the chromium the tannery also began to use a some 200 additional chemicals and minerals as it moved from a vegetable-to chemical-based tanning process.

After discovering a number of shared environmental health problems among people who lived downstream from the tannery people began to organize. After approaching the city of Middlesboro, state, and federal officials, among numerous others, to no avail, the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens (YCCC), a local community-based organization, formed an environmental health survey committee. The committee began to develop a questionnaire and plan the survey with the help of some Vanderbilt

⁶ This case example is investigated more thoroughly in Chapter 5 in this report with an emphasis on the empowering aspects of their PR project for community members.

University students. They combined elements from earlier “scientific” community and worker health surveys along with their own particular concerns. The group members themselves conducted the interviews and achieved an astonishing 99.5% success rate (almost unheard of in the social sciences!). In all they interviewed over 300 households along the creek and gathered important health-related information on over 1000 people.

According to Merrifield (1993), doing the survey as PR had some important effects on the members of YCCC and on the community of Yellow Creek itself. Doing the survey gave members of the group a reason and incentive to call on each and every household along the 14 mile stretch of creek. They had the chance to sit down and discuss not only health issues and concerns, but also many other problems community members were experiencing. Through the project the leadership in the organization was broadened and strengthened. A number of the major activists on the survey were local women who became better informed and more vocal and confident in advocating for their work. The PR approach allowed the group to mobilize resources from within and from outside the community connecting to broader issues and structures. The study itself provided concrete information not formerly controlled by the community. They found a statistically significant association between ill health and exposure to creek water. They used that information to persuade local, state, and federal officials of the seriousness of the situation along Yellow Creek. In fact they found cancer rates 2-3 times the national average while local and state officials claimed their findings inaccurate. When the Center for Disease Control finally came into the community many months later to carry out an “official” health survey they did find out that the community’s statistical analysis was indeed off. The real rate of many cancers among local residents was nearer to *seven* times the national average! Through this PR project the citizens of Yellow Creek have since won a long court battle and received a damage

settlement, though it can never make up for the unrelenting health problems faced by families on the creek.

The basis for many PR projects are found in the necessity to produce instrumental knowledge, since that is the only kind the establishment will buy. As is seen in the struggles along Yellow Creek and in the Land Study the sponsoring agency refused to publish the studies findings even though the science was solid (see Gaventa 1981; Gaventa and Horton 1981; Horton 1993 for a full discussion). Thus if one wants to alter oppressive social structures and one of the demands is valid knowledge “in their eyes,” that is what must be produced. What can be accomplished in terms of advocacy, organizing and transforming consciousness through the participatory production of such knowledge is in evidence in the cases cited above.

Interactive Knowledge and the Capacity to Organize

Along with critical education and collective investigation another important aspect of the participatory approach to research is the direct connection to organizing and mobilizing for democratic restructuring in society through the building of a working people’s movement. When one addresses issues of power it is clear that, at least in a participatory model of investigation, action and research are empty without a connection to mobilizing and organizing. In the early 1980’s Budd Hall (1981) finds that after a number of years of sharing results and information between participatory researchers that the most common and critical social action for democratic change is that of organizing for collective transformation of social structures in its various phases. This has meant supporting the efforts of farmers, womens groups, workers health organizations, neighborhoods, or campesinos to get together to understand issues and discuss options. It has meant building alliances with other social movements and

strengthening the links within various sectors, although participatory research is “not a substitute for the organizing of the popular movements themselves” (Hall 1981:14).

An example of the power of the interactive knowledge for organizing and mobilizing through PR is evidenced in the work of Vijay Kanhare (1982, 1983) in India with local women. The “Adivasis” (tribal people) became landless laborers during British rule in the Dhulia District of Northern Maharashtra State. Women “Adivasis” suffer multiple oppressions. They get lower wages than men, have to do all of the work in the fields and all domestic and childcare tasks. Sexual harassment by the farmers is rampant and they are beaten by drunken husbands and excluded from wage negotiations by fellow male laborers.

Community activists took the initiative to set up a three day “education camp” so that landless women laborers could begin to develop an awareness that their problem were particular to them as women. Activists proposed the camp to villages during night meetings. Many villagers expressed doubt: “What can we talk about for two whole days?” “We cannot express ourselves well.” And the men asked: “Who will cook and look after the children?” (Kanhare 1982:24).

Women came to the camp from 15 villages. Those from nearby villages came in large numbers to the discussions and then rushed home. The women and young boys from one village took responsibility for food and water arrangements. In opening the sessions the activists explained that they thought a women’s camp was necessary in order to increase women’s participation in the laborers’ movement by encouraging them to take action on women’s problems. The women introduced themselves; it was a novel experience for them to stand up and tell their names and villages without anybody to threaten them. Some women felt very shy about speaking before such a big gathering; and some felt they should not discuss their personal problems with a group. After their initial efforts to speak out, they became bolder and their self confidence increased. As

one woman explained: "We never thought we had the strength to speak in a gathering of 150 women, that we could shout slogans in front of and against the *maaldars* (the rich)" (Kanhare 1982:24).

Many of the women described their villages and the sexual harassment they suffered from rich farmers and watchmen of the crop protection societies. Pretending to suspect a theft, watchmen would search through the women's clothing. As the women spoke they began to realize that the problems they thought were isolated and personal were, in fact, social problems. They collectively identified their problems as women as sexual harassment by the rich, wife-beating, and bootlegging. A woman from a nearby village spoke: "We complain that the men drink liquor, that they become corrupt due to drinking. We complain that they beat us up. We want to do some things about this problem. Our village is small, but it produces hundreds of litres of liquor and they beat us up. We women of Karankheda are not organized. Can the other women help us? We need help" (Kanhare 1982:25).

The women at camp decided to help. They cordoned off the village so that no bootlegger could run away. They broke all the liquor pots and bottles and warned that any bootlegger or any man who drank and beat his wife would be severely punished. They said that the Karankheda women were not alone anymore. By developing a collective consciousness of themselves as oppressed women, they were able to struggle not only against the rich farmers but to support each other in struggles with the family against alcoholism and wife-beating. Following the camp, groups as large as 50 went to villages and encouraged women to organize and punish husbands who beat their wives. In later camps, women looked at the "elder" system, in which older men make judgments about divorces, marriages, remarriages, and fines with respect to sexual relations. They discussed myths about the male dominated value system, such as the myth that women became unholy during menstruation.

Through the production of interactive knowledge these Indian women learned about and realized the complexity of the struggle for equality because of their multiple oppressions, or to put it in Patricia Hill Collins (1990) words, they began to understand the “matrix of domination” and they organized themselves to do something about it. The Appalachian Land Study, discussed above, mobilized a vibrant political movement beginning with the conceptualization of the research problem until well after the final results of the study were disseminated, analyzed, and acted upon in communities. The project primarily stemmed from the participatory educational and research approaches practiced at the Highlander Research and Education Center. The initial and continuing educational efforts during the project allowed the multiple persons involved in the study perceive their common problems and then organize and devise a strategy to change them. Although today, over 15 years later, there is a less concerted movement, there remain several viable and formidable grassroots community-based organizations which mobilized directly as a result of this PR project including Kentuckians for Fair Taxation (KFTC), the Western North Carolina Alliance (WNCA), and Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM) in Tennessee.

KFTC has mobilized effectively in the legislative arena to combat a number of land and resource issues. One of the major victories saw the state abolish the broad form deed, which historically allowed mineral owners to strip-mine land without first obtaining permission from the surface owner. According to Horton (1993:92):

Outside the legislative arena, KFTC has also had several noticeable successes in its short history. It has filed over a dozen actions in various courts to help remedy the inequities of the property tax system. In the area of water quality, it has had successes in forcing the state to monitor coal operations for ground water pollution. Several companies had to change their methods to prevent water contamination as a result. It has successfully assisted at least tow communities in obtaining emergency declarations to make them eligible for grants to build new water systems. Its Citizens’ Education and Water Monitoring Project has trained citizens in numerous communities to test and monitor water quality. From that small group of twenty-six people who formed

KFTC in 1981 it has by April 1984, grown to a membership organization with nearly 700 members representing 52 Kentucky Counties.

Horton (1993) offers another example, Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM), a multi-county grassroots member organization in Tennessee, which was involved in land and resource issues for a decade before the land study was undertaken. It is one of the best illustrations of on-going work meshing with the research, education, and mobilization efforts of the land study. Before, during, and after the land study SOCM's county chapters have continued to battle land, resource, taxation, environment and other issues of concern to its members. One of the many recent activities of SOCM serves to illustrate mobilization efforts still connected to the land study. The activity of the Campbell County SOCM chapter is very specifically tied to taxation research and involves a challenge to the assessment of vast land and mineral rights of the Koppers Company, a Pittsburgh-based energy conglomerate. The battle is about taxing the fair market value of the 27,000 acres, or the nearly one-third of Campbell County owned by Koppers. This continuing battle along with a number of other SOCM mobilization efforts, illustrates both the extent to which the land study was part of the organization's ongoing work and the extent to which the issues of ownership and taxation are interrelated (Horton 1993:95-96).

The advocates of participatory research make no pretense that this alternative investigative approach will, by itself, create a revolution. Rather, by sharing power in the knowledge production process and stressing collective analysis and the working out of problems and solutions together based on interactive knowledge, the participatory research process can reinforce the organizing potential of groups and communities which use it. In other words, "by learning through doing, people strengthen their awareness of, and belief in, their abilities and resources for organizing" (Brown and Tandon 1983 c.f. Maguire 1987).

Critical Knowledge and the Capacity to Transform Consciousness

A concrete example of the relationship between popular education, participatory research, and collective social action aimed at critical consciousness is also drawn from the Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce (1981), as presented in an earlier paper on popular education done by Williams (1996b). During a workshop on popular education and participatory research at the Highlander Research and Education Center in 1993, one of the Highlander staff, deeply involved in the land study, shared a story about a community doing economic development work to illustrate the process of "conscientization".

A group of people in a small rural community felt that they needed to do something to develop new ways of making a living in the area, or the community itself was in danger of failing. Community members knew what they needed to do, but were unsure what tactics and strategies would help the community to remain viable. The first solution was that industries must be recruited to locate in the area. The first tactic to emerge was that the community needed to clean and spruce itself up, then companies will certainly want to come here. An intensive cleanup effort was mounted (trash removed, rubbish burned, vacant areas fixed up, etc.), yet no companies decided to locate in the community.

The next tactic was to start their own industry based on resources within the community itself. But major obstacles to this strategy included a lack of land and capital, as well as the wrath of local companies already in existence who make their livings in conjunction with the absentee land owners and their managers. At this point the people began to move from blaming themselves for their problems (e.g., we must clean up our community) to dealing with the underlying power issues that were hindering local development: absentee land-owners controlling over 75 % of the county; several local coal and timber operators controlling nearly all of the rest. It was only after these initial attempts at local development were tried and failed that the opportunity for the critical analysis of structures became possible within this particular community (Williams 1996b:103).

As illustrated by this example, a key for doing critical education is that learning must take place in conjunction with collective action. Even though some missteps may be taken in the long-term struggle for social justice, opportunities for critical learning take place at each juncture of the reflection/action dialectic. In fact, as each step unfolded in the participatory research example cited above, the connection to collective social

action aimed at democratic social change transformed individuals through an ever-deepening critical consciousness on how the world really works. Rather than internalizing the oppression, or blaming themselves, the people in this small community began to perceive the larger social structures which control their human agency as they actively struggled to change them, in turn changing or transforming themselves.

Another version of the roles of action, critical knowledge, and the transformation of consciousness is exemplified in the activities of the Organization of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) in Zimbabwe, Africa, as reported by Sithembiso Nyoni (1991:109-120). ORAP is a village movement founded by Zimbabweans soon after independence, operating in the provinces of Matabeleland North/South and Midlands. During the struggle for independence one of the "main strategies of the freedom fighters was to create consciousness within people. This was done through dialogue and participation. Evenings were used for political meetings in which people shared their experiences of oppression, exploitation, and domination by the colonial regime. They also planned various strategies for resistance, gathering intelligence and other aspects of the total struggle. Women, men, and youth all had their specific roles. People's participation and conscious reflection on their situation became the motivating force for fighting on" (Nyoni 1991:109). Zimbabweans fought for their rights to the means of production, land and thus food among other economic necessities, for freedom of speech and freedom to educate themselves, to regain their dignity and for their rights to be full citizens in their nation.

ORAP the movement was born out of two PR efforts led by a Zimbabwean women. The first focused on future plans in response to the needs of the war torn population. "The second was a study of the 'village committees' formed as part of the revolution during the war. What role did they play in the liberation struggle and how did they see their future in independent Zimbabwe? Most of the village committees which

were part of this PR formed the first groups in ORAP. Within a period of seven years, ORAP has grown from eight initial groups to 600. ORAP now incorporates over 60,000 families and continues to grow daily. Rural families form the bases of ORAP power, and from here all aspirations and programs emanate. The founding and the growth of ORAP showed that PR can be an active process in which the participants conscious reflection becomes the active force for creative action" (Nyoni 1991:113).

The work in Zimbabwe shows that participation is not an easy process, rather it is complicated and often painful. "Since it is often difficult to share or to explain processes, people are often expected to seek answers within themselves. Thus the development process is delayed while change takes place from within" Nyoni 1991:114). When ORAP first started, groups met to discuss local problems and to seek solutions. Action would be taken in the form of projects. All articulation, needs, problems and their root causes, constraints, solutions, and need resources would be grouped into two categories. First there were those that stemmed from within the community over which there was some control and second those elements beyond the communities control. After such an exercise programs and actions would be implemented.

"At the beginning, the rural people fell into the trap of coming up with traditional projects as solutions to their problems, for example, sewing, knitting, bread-making, poultry-keeping, carpentry and the like. These projects were meant to solve people's economic problems and small grants of \$500 would then be given to each qualified group. in almost every case, however, no economic problems were solved.... The people then realized that small grants were not sufficient to deal with their level of deprivation and poverty. Any project not controlled by the people themselves, furthermore, only led them into dependency and thus was neither empowering nor developmental.....There was then a change of strategy from small-scale, income-

generating activities to large employment-creating activities. Such activities were formulated to give service to the larger community at the same time creating some employment. Activities included village markets, dam construction for improved irrigation schemes, cattle-fattening, grinding mills, village workshops in which tools and household equipment were made and repaired, and 'village development centers' were initiated" (Nyoni 1991:115). These programs are faring quite well, being not only self-sustaining but also making financial contributions to the movement and to the people themselves.

Even with the great success of these initiatives it soon became apparent to participants that they tended to exclude and marginalize women and the very poor families in a given locality. Further changes were then made not only in strategy but also in the whole structure of ORAP based on more PR activity among ORAP members and communities (Nyoni 1991:116). As of the summer of 1995 when I met with a number of ORAP representatives at the Highlander Research and Education Center the changed ORAP and its programs and initiative still continue to flourish based on "People's Power in Zimbabwe." Even though a number of ORAP participants came to the effort with critical consciousness rooted in the revolutionary struggle for independence, it was not until they began to act to change their own lives and circumstance and thus reflected upon those activities that they came to further increase their consciousness to truly meet the needs of the most oppressed in their own communities. Overall the Zimbabwean PR projects show that participation and empowerment of people are not possible without elements of self reliance in terms of attitude of mind, or critical consciousness, a strong organizational base built upon the shared experiences and knowledge of the people themselves, and the ability to act with their own resources to improve their situation. Thus critical conscience and empowerment are not achieved through action alone but linked to participation, research, education, and critical reflection.

A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH AND EMPOWERMENT

Participatory research is at its base about transforming individual and collective consciousness and behavior through participation in research, action, and education by powerless people, those traditionally "studied" by social scientists. In this participatory form of knowledge production the activities involved are about affecting and addressing the structural, relational, and on-going nature of unequal power relations in society. It is to address all three dimensions of power. Knowledge produced in this fashion cannot only empower participants in the process, but in most instances it also provides a much more thorough understanding of the concrete, social, and existential worlds, than knowledge produced by the minions of capital. Figure 3.1 is intended to outline the theoretical understanding of the relationship between power, empowerment, knowledge, and participatory research as presented in this chapter and used to frame the analysis of the case examples later in the work.

What figure 3.1 basically says is, if we approach the question of the skills for citizenship from a pluralist framework and focus on the decision-making process as it actually occurs (the first dimension of power), our emphasis will be on building political efficacy and advocacy skills necessary to influence decision-making on key issues. An informed and empowered citizenry would need concrete information, or instrumental knowledge, to advocate for or against particular issues and agendas in order to influence decisionmakers and alter the process in their favor. Thus the elements of PR that become most important for this strategy are participation by the powerless in the research process and consequently reflection on the process. This is not meant to infer that education and action have no role in building the capacity to advocate, rather,

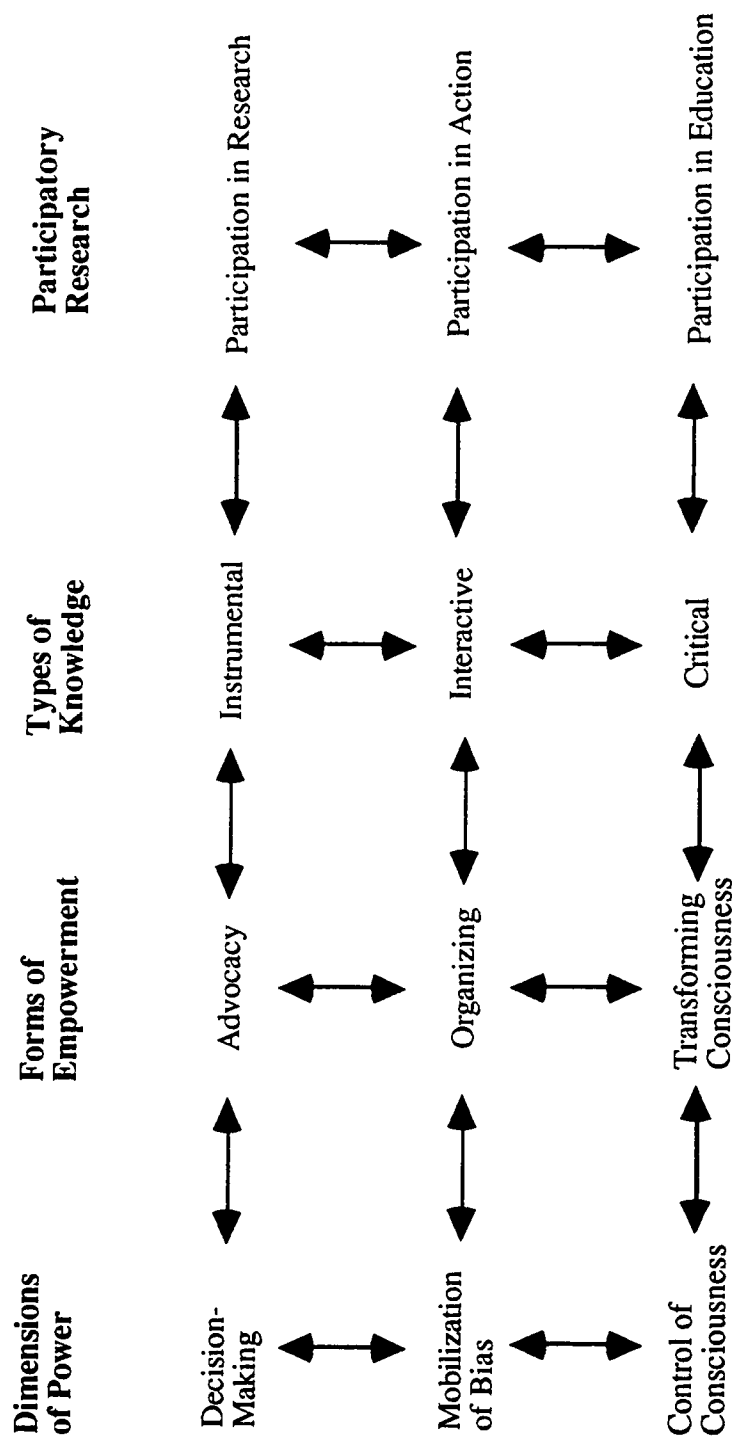


FIGURE 3.1

**A THEORETICAL APPROACH FOR UNDERSTANDING POWER,
EMPOWERMENT, KNOWLEDGE, AND PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH**

research is of primary importance and education and action supplement the research process.

If we use the second dimension of power to understand empowerment, which argues that our political system is not as open as we might believe and that barriers are constructed that hinder authentic participation at the decision-making table our emphasis is on promoting participation in decision-making.⁷ In order to build the skills of citizens to challenge this form of power, our focus will be on mobilizing and organizing broad-based and participatory people's organizations which can gain access to the political arena and turn non-issues into issues in decision-making. Who participates is as important as how to participate effectively. In PR participation is stressed in each facet of the approach, though for our purposes it is through collective action that people can begin to understand their common problems and begin to organize to do something about them.

But if we are empowering citizens to deal with the third dimension of power, which focuses on questions of knowledge, culture, and consciousness, what people are participating about becomes the critical variable, and the forms of political education or awareness building the crucial strategies for change. To challenge the third form of power people need to develop the capacities to be active in their own efforts to make change. It is to bring about individual and collective critical consciousness, in order to more thoroughly understand the workings of the global political economic system, envision a better world for working people, and put those visions into action in order to transform society into a truly just, equitable, and participatory democracy. It is through collective education that people begin to learn the true nature of the oppressive structures

⁷ See Glenn Johnson (1996) for an exceptionally good example of who is and is not represented at the "decision-making table," based on his analysis of the process of citing a hazardous waste dump in Memphis, TN.

CHAPTER 4

PR AND THE FIRST DIMENSION OF POWER: PRODUCING AND USING INSTRUMENTAL KNOWLEDGE TO BUILD THE CAPACITIES TO ADVOCATE IN DECISION-MAKING

Tell me and I will forget.
Show me and I will remember.
Involve me and I will understand.
Lao Tzu, 400 BC

The case examples, interviews, and discussions analyzed in this and the two subsequent chapters provide information and insight on a variety of participatory research strategies as applied to wide-ranging topical issues of concern to grassroots communities. Table 4.1 offers an overview of the issues and provides an ordered list of the projects as presented. Eleven oral case examples of participatory action-research are reported on by some 30 activist researchers at a "Workshop on Participatory Action-Research" held at the Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market Tennessee, June 28-30, 1996. The data and analysis is based primarily on the transcriptions from audio-and video-tapes of this workshop and the notes and drawings participants used to help describe their work. I "thicken" the analysis by using information acquired from a number of in-depth interviews with grassroots researchers, some of whom attended the workshop and others who did not. When available secondary written sources were utilized by the author to provide insight into the broader background and context for each project. Along with the transcriptions, secondary sources were also able to help fill in and corroborate details and to write brief introductions for each project. I endeavored to keep my own comments to a minimum

TABLE 4.1
PRESENTATION SCHEDULE FOR THE CASE EXAMPLES

Chapter 4

- #1—The American Friends Service Committee's Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project (AFSC)**
- #2—The University of Massachusetts Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization (RWARM)**
- #3—The Urban University Neighborhood Network in Ohio (UUNN)**
- #4—The Community Partnership Center's Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community's Learning Initiative and the McDowell County, West Virginia Citizen's Action Network (EZ/EC)**

Chapter 5

- #5—The Yellow Creek Kentucky Concerned Citizen's Fight Toxic Dumping and Investigate Community Environmental Health (YCCC)**
- #6—The Cedar-Riverside Minnesota Participatory Community Re-Development Project (C-R)**
- #7—Rural Southern Voice for Peace "Listening for Change" Across the Southeast (RSVP)**
- #8—The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network's Maquiladora Worker Exchange Project (TIRN)**

Chapter 6

- #9—Anishinabe Niiji, Treaty Rights and Cultural & Environmental Protection in the Upper Midwest (Niiji)**
- #10—The University of California at Los Angeles Labor Center's Community Scholars Program, The Santa Fe Municipal Employees Union, and Communities for a Better Environment Investigate Environmental Health (UCLA)**
- #11—The East St. Louis Illinois Action Research Project (ESLARP)**

and offer the secondary sources in Appendix 9, in order to maintain the flow of the stories. In three cases portions of the tapes were quite muddy and indecipherable and where listed secondary sources are used to fill in these stories. Unless otherwise noted, the double-spaced text below is mine; the single spaced text is material quoted from written sources; and the italicized print is that of the grassroots participatory researchers' voices.

The case examples were developed as we began the workshop on the first evening with each individual briefly introducing her or himself. After the individual introductions, we finished the first night of the workshop by having folks get into the groups they came with to develop a collective visual representation of their work to share with all of us the following morning. We named the exercise "Windows On Our Work." We took blank pieces of newsprint and asked the workshop participants to imagine them as windows with four separate panes of glass through which we can all see into the participatory research going on in our communities. Each pane of glass was used to describe a different aspect of each story. In the first pane we asked each group to show us *why* they are doing their work and the context around which it has arisen. Group's used the next pane to show *what* the work is about. We then asked to see the *how* of the methods and strategies being used. Finally, we asked that the last pane of the window be used to show the *results* of the efforts, either things that are emerging or things that have happened in the past.

Groups spent the rest of the evening in deep and impassioned conversation collectively analyzing and interpreting their individual and collective experiences as they labored to come up with the best way to visually represent the participatory research activities in their respective communities. As John Gaventa put it on Saturday morning before the groups began to share their stories, "I will have to say that I was really inspired last night looking out from the porch and seeing all of you sitting around the

picnic tables or in rocking chairs on the side-porch huddled together conversing about and visualizing your work by the light of the moon. It was a really powerful sight.” After a few rousing songs by Bill Hartsock to open the circle, we used the time between breakfast and lunch on Saturday morning to share our collective stories with each other. Each group was given 15-20 minutes to explain their project to us through their drawing.

BUILDING THE ANALYSIS—AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

The examples presented in this report have a number of things in common. They embrace and practice the philosophy and method of the liberatory stream of PR. All the examples share in their uncommon success in making positive structural changes to biased social institutions based on the needs of some of the most oppressed groups of people in society. Every example produces each of the three types of knowledge in their participatory approach to community-based social change. Finally, each example demonstrates the multiple levels at which the PR process can work in terms of helping to alleviate individual and collective powerlessness as defined in response to the three dimensions of power. The participants in these change efforts each demonstrate and describe the ways in which they were able to empower and be empowered in terms of advocating, organizing, and conscientizing by combining research, education, and action to produce instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge to challenge elite power in decision-making, the mobilization of bias in non-decisions, and control of consciousness.

My reading of the data finds that a logical grouping of the examples emerged in conjunction with the theoretical framework when examining the cases in light of their starting, or entry point, into the participatory approach to research. In other words,

although each example is ultimately concerned with empowering people in all three dimensions of power, each project was in a sense forced, or constrained, to enter the change process with many key features of the situation already defined. Certain types of knowledge, levels of awareness, forms of consciousness, and kinds of organized activity were either prevalent, or had to be created in the given people trying to be organized, mobilized, and transformed to change whatever problem existed. Thus, the perceived entry point into the approach and the form of initial activities that needed to be undertaken appeared to be one clear way of presenting the data and for trying to understand the cases individually and collectively. This scheme is, of course, based on and within the larger theoretical framework of the dissertation and the subjective biases of the author, including the want to tell what he hopes is a good story. Nonetheless, I also believe that organizing and presenting the cases in this manner will help to allow for a somewhat logical and extended delineation of the features of PR that seem to help to empower grassroots community-based people and organizations who apply the approach. The task is to offer in each chapter an ever deepening analysis of particular case examples individually and then in comparison to the others.

As a way to accomplish this task I begin this and the next two chapters by presenting a set of case examples. Following the examples in the Discussion section of each chapter, I will analyze the cases along with information gathered from conversations at the workshop and during in-depth interviews with grassroots researchers. The comments and ideas shared by study participants are used to thicken and extend the analysis of each case and also to provide for comparative analysis across cases. It is to attempt to follow some of the ideas in Burawoy et al. (1991) to “unbind ethnography.”

In Chapter 4 I will first offer case examples #1-4 as told during the workshop and then explore and analyze them in the Discussion section of the chapter. The cases

will be analyzed, compared, and contrasted in terms of their abilities to produce and use instrumental knowledge to empower people to advocate for and with oppressed and under-represented groups of people to impact decision-makers and decision-making processes. Although these cases exemplify using instrumental knowledge to advocate for and with they also demonstrate, in some cases quite well, techniques and strategies for producing each of the other types of knowledge and forms of empowerment. These aspects of each case will be explored in subsequent chapters.

In Chapter 5 I present cases #5-8, each having entered the participatory research process based on sharing and using interactive knowledge to organize against the mobilization of bias to address the second dimension of power. The chapter will continue by re-examining some of the facets of the cases #1-4 that show how they collectively shared and produced interactive knowledge to mobilize people. After analyzing and comparing these eight examples on these terms, the chapter concludes by briefly reviewing examples #5-8 for their ability to empower people by using and produce instrumental knowledge to impact decision-making.

In Chapter 6 the final three case examples, #9-11, are presented and analyzed in terms of their abilities to empower people to act in their own interest by creating, using, and producing critical knowledge to address the third dimension of power. Next, elements from each of the other cases that show similar features are examined. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of cases #9-11 and instrumental and interactive knowledge. I will conclude in Chapter 7 with an overall analysis of the findings and results of this research project.

Before proceeding, I believe a cautionary note is in order. As stated, all of the projects discussed below are rooted in the desire to make democracy work by using participatory research to make progressive structural transformations to society that are in the interests of oppressed working peoples, and in the endeavor, to empower these

people to use popular science to critically analyze these oppressive social structures and their own realities within them. The end goal is to empower exploited people to take charge of their own lives and circumstance and work to change the social structures that bind them. Each of these research efforts began their particular journey with an ultimate destination, goal, and concrete change, in mind. As the projects grew and critical consciousness matured sights were changed and new goals and destinations were anticipated, envisioned, and worked toward. As this cycle of action and reflection grew deeper and more complex over time, so too did trying to unravel the impacts of this type of work in empowering people.

For the folks who carried out the work in each example participation in research blended into education and both into action. Participation in research was to do action and education. Participation in education was to do research and action. Knowledge, learning, and transformed consciousness were gained and produced through critical reflection which was an inherent part of everything. The elements of PR fade one into the other, one out of the other, ever changing and evolving in a chaotic and tangled, yet visibly successful empowerment and structural change strategy. As I struggled to try and interpret, analyze, and present in a way that makes sense, why and how PR can and does empower, I continued to revel in the notion shared by a number of participants in this study, and hope you can and will too, that we can never really completely theorize nor understand PR. It is a process that is in constant motion in many directions, impacting individuals and collectives who practice it and the structures and institutions they encounter at different times and in different ways. The process corresponds to the proverbial same river you can never step into twice; each time you dip into a PR project the name of the group may be the same, the people may be the same, the tasks may even be the same but the individual and collective consciousness of the people doing the work is never in the same exact place again. Thus to paraphrase the quote by Chinese

philosopher Lao Tsu that opens the next chapter, the sum and substance of participatory research is not found in the telling or showing; it is only fully understood by being involved in it!

WINDOWS ON THE WORK. . .PART ONE

#1—The American Friends Service Committee's Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project

The American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project (AFSC-ILEMP) is conducted with the collaboration of local community organizations in four targeted areas: San Diego, CA, Tucson, AZ, the Rio Grande Valley, and El Paso, TX. Since 1985 they have documented incidents of the abuse of authority and violations of human rights in the enforcement of immigration laws along the southern border of the United States. The AFSC-ILEMP efforts are the first systematic studies of human rights abuse along a United States Border. The work is funded in part by the American Friends Service Committee, the Poverty and Research Action Council, and has been sponsored by the University of Arizona Mexican American Studies and Research Center Exchange Visitor Program and the University of Houston Center for Immigration Research among others. AFSC-ILEMP and several other organizations have issued a number of reports critical of US immigration authorities' activities at the US-Mexico Border (See Appendix 9). Immigration authorities in these studies are defined as consisting of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the US Border Patrol, and the US Office of Customs. Their working definition of the abuse of authority in the immigrant context is "any action by an immigration official that, without regard to motive, intent, or malice, tends to threaten personal safety, trespass upon human dignity, and/or violate an inherent legal

right.” Long-time community activists and educators, Maria Jimenez, Dora Roman, and Richard Simpson provided us with an overview of their work along the border in Texas.

In the case of the Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project it was created by the American Friends Service Committee because of their work along the United States and Mexican border. They noticed that one of the major problems was the abuse of authority by the border patrol and immigration authorities against immigrants along the border. When the 1986 immigration laws were passed there was a 50% increase in border patrol agents, so the AFSC felt it was necessary to create a project to monitor and gather information to see what this increase in number of agents did in terms of border rights abuse. So from the beginning the project was to prove to authorities and institutions that this abuse along the border was indeed happening and was a very big problem. There was a denial from authorities that this was even happening. Secondly our goal was to change the conditions that foster this type of abuse. Our work wasn't simply to describe the problem it was from the beginning meant to transform it.

I understand the problem because I [Maria] am a Mexican immigrant of generations. My father and I immigrated when I was brought as a child. My grandfather immigrated and worked near here over in West Virginia. So I know what it is like, this confrontation with the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) through the border patrol, as a personal experience, and we know what it's like as a family experience. This phenomena is generally a particular problem of Mexican immigrant communities or Mexican origin peoples. It has been such a problem for so long that here are even songs and folklore about the INS and border patrol in Mexican culture.

We knew what the problem was, but the difficulty was in getting other people to understand that a problem really exists and in developing a strategy to let it be known to other people. The process has been a long and complex one, we are now in our ninth year. What we did at first was to select targeted areas along the US/Mexican border. Actually, at first

we were going to do nine areas that included urban areas like Chicago and Houston, but that turned out to be too big a project, so we settled for 4 areas along the border: San Diego, California; Southern Arizona, and the El Paso region and the Rio Grande Valley in Texas. In doing the initial research into this problem we found that many people had given it thought throughout the years and there was even suggestions in terms of how to change these things from very simple ones to very complex policy issues. In about the third month of the program we developed a short piece, "Policy Options to Border Patrol Misconduct." In this report we talked about those options that other people had offered as ways to help reform the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS). So I just put the paper together and then recorded a tape that gave overviews of these options for the other people involved in the study. I figured that everybody was so busy that they could just put it in their tape player in their car while they drove and learn about this stuff, but I don't know of a single person that ever heard the tape. . . but nonetheless it was a good effort. Any way, that is the why, or the reason for why this project developed.

In terms of how and what we did, we also knew from our experiences that it didn't matter that even if you become a full-fledged US citizen you are still going to be stopped by the border patrol. I have been a naturalized US citizen for over 30 years and I still have to carry my US passport with me all the time because I never know when I am going to get stopped. It happens a lot more often than you would think. So we knew that it was a community problem, it was a border problem, it wasn't just among undocumented immigrants only. Next our work became a question of what process to use to try and organize these border communities to document these cases of abuse.

For the next few years we went to different ways of doing it. At first we developed a documentation form that was very simple. Folks began to use it and we developed a very simple report based on the results. We had simultaneous press conferences to release the report at eight different sites. We got some initial reaction from the INS but it was very limited. In the second year we kept going around trying to find

academics to help us with this research problem but nobody wanted to help. Finally we found this student at the conference of the National Association of Chicano Studies, who had done a very initial and limited study on similar issues around the El Paso region through his Master's thesis. We asked him to come to the office and design a data base for us so we could analyze our data. Well this data base he designed for us, which we attempted to use for the next report, was extremely complicated. It required an expert to use it for any sort of analysis even a simple one. It was designed for an academic. You had to sit at your computer all day to figure anything out. Well community people don't have all day to sit at computers and figure things out, many of us didn't even have computers or know how to use them all that well, so it got very complicated, too complicated.

In our third attempt we had learned some things among all the coalitions that formed among groups along the border getting interested in this issue through our work. Together we were able to design a very sophisticated documentation form. This documentation form was designed from our experiences in those years and each of the groups involved in the coalition discussed these forms and worked on them together and came to collective agreement. What we came up with is this documentation form that allows the user to categorize the abuses by 36 different types, 15 different immigration statuses, injuries of about 30 different types, the sources of the injuries including police forces. We had come to understand that there were many police forces besides the border patrol that were involved in this form of abuse. We were able to develop this very sophisticated documentation form and then we hired a computer programmer to develop a program to get this information on-line for people to use. We established computer networks at each of the sites with Houston being the central hub, or the place with the collective data. But then we began to run into problems: not everyone had computers, so we had to go through all that and get everyone set up. Which we finally did, but it is still a very complicated way of doing things. Nevertheless, we believe the third report that we produced using this strategy was probably the most effective report so far.

We again released the report at simultaneous press conferences at a number of sites along the border and in Washington DC among other urban areas. Each of the coalitions took care of their own areas and released the report along with live statements from some of the victims of the abuse in each of the areas there. Through this strategy we were able to produce this report, which is a first in the human rights field. We were able to say things like: in the targeted areas 392 individuals reported suffering 1274 abuses, which is an average of 3.2 abuses per incident; 28% of the abuses were psychological or verbal in nature with racial and/or ethnic insults used; 22% were physical involving the use of deadly force; of the ninety shooting incidents that were reported by the INS in that year, 78% of them took place along the southern border; of the abuses reported by victims 17 years old or under 30.5% resulted in serious bodily injury or death, which is 15% higher than for all other victims. We were able to say that 17% of the victims in that data base were United States citizens of Mexican origin and we actually had 2% who were Anglo-Americans and 1% Native American's who were abused along the border. So we developed this very complex form of reporting these abuses and a really detailed analysis and it really impacted some important institutions like America's Watch, who based on our work from then on became active on this issue. We were, in fact, the first organization to document human rights abuses inside the United States. America's watch then took up the battle and they are working on their fourth report. Now we are fighting with them to give us some credit for the research because they are our cases, our data. They always put us in a little footnote: oh yeah by the way, there is this little project over there and that's just not right.

Even this was too cumbersome for community people. The way we worked to this point was useful for us to establish that the problem existed, to do some good community organizing and mobilizing along the border, and to get some institutions moving. Congress even had a few hearings where we were able to introduce our reports into the Congressional record. We met with the attorney general, with the INS commissioner, and with the US civil rights commission and the reports

were all presented there too. This then was the second part of our work. We tried to structure things and develop and mobilize these coalitions and groups who could help document these abuses and gather information through one-on-one interviews, by the telephone, through trainings, through the computer documentation, through the developing of the reports, and the press releases, which publicized these reports and managed to impact upon institutions. People were able to learn to do these things for themselves. We even managed to get some more concrete results in terms of structural changes. We were able to get changes to the 1990 immigration rights bill. The INS wanted to get more authority and three of our recommendations from our second report were made into law and helped to modify their powers. They reviewed and changed use of force policies, standards of enforcement, and certification for the training of the officers. Our efforts show the impact of this kind of work can have on institutions that you wouldn't think would normally blink an eye on an issue like this and in fact were not blinking until we came along.

With the documentation based on this project local groups began making this a community issue and struggling for local changes. A number of local coalitions were created and a number of organizations are now working together to help address this problem of abuse along the southern border of the US. Another one of the by-products of this work is that we did finally get some academics that were interested in this problem. One of the first and most important is a book by Tim Dunn [1996], "The Militarization of the US and Mexico Border." We met him at a conference in which he gave a small paper where he analyzed the militarization of the border with Central American refugees. I remember I went up to him and said, "but it's the whole border, it's not just Central American refugees. At different points I would call him every so often and send him information for his continuing thesis. One time I talked to his roommate who answered the phone and he said to Tim, "Hey, it is your manager on the phone!"

Other things that stemmed from this work was the broadening of the question we initially asked. Our initial research efforts only

documented reported cases, so a key piece of knowledge for us has become, how frequently do these abuses happen? We tried to get academics to help but they were not interested, but we again found two Ph.D. students. They had randomly done two separate studies, one in South Texas and the other in South Tucson comparing the relationship of immigration authorities to border residents. This is a pioneering study; it may not be that good necessarily by academic standards, but what it illustrated was again that this is an issue of United States citizens. For instance, they found that the typical person intercepted on the streets by the border patrol, was a US citizen who was poor, making less than \$11,000 a year. In Tucson they asked an additional question and found that 46% of those stopped and abused by the INS were registered to vote, so that was good news at least. . . So these are some of the things that have resulted. We continue now to move forward with more action, organizing, and educating efforts based essentially on our initial and continuing research into the human rights abuses along the southern border of the US.

El Paso, Texas, is one of our most notable examples because it is the place where "Operation Blockade" was first introduced in 1993. The US INS actually physically stationed border patrols every few hundred yards for about 20 miles along the border. In one day they sealed the border and began to have helicopters flying over all this manpower gathered; it was a fairly amazing and tense situation. The border-patrol chief who was sort of the leader of that strategy is very likely to become the next congressman from that congressional district in El Paso, so we are going to have to figure out how to survive the next couple of years with that. One of the cases that emerged connected to our work in El Paso came when some students at Bowie High School and a faculty member and coach were abused in sort of a routine abuse by the border patrol agents. But this time these young people took a stand. They had some training and knew their rights and they took them to court on charges of physical abuse and civil rights violations and actually won the court settlement. The border patrol were required to modify the standards of enforcement along the border. It was a victory for the students who

learned that they did have rights. Before this it was so bad that the border patrol would routinely come on the high school campus and drive on the football field chasing people across it. So that had to stop and it did.

Another issue we have grappled with is that they are now going to build a wall. a 1.3 miles long wall between a community, Summon Park, New Mexico and Anafara, Mexico,. . . [Richard showed a poster from a demonstration against the wall which shows how easy it is to get guns, money, and goods, across the border, and that the walls or fences are to stop people.]. We did win a bit of a compromise through our struggles. They were going to build a 10 foot tall steel wall out of landing mat material used on the flight decks of aircraft carriers, although they are still going to build a barrier, now it is going to be a chain link fence. So the opposition has had some effect on that. But El Paso has been a changed city in recent years since the blockade, it is not a change for the good and it seems to be spreading across the rest of the border. So our work is far from finished.

#2—The University of Massachusetts Roofless Women's Action

Research Mobilization

The Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization (RWARM) is a project at the College of Public and Community Service (CPCS) at the University of Massachusetts, Boston that explores the causes and solutions to women's homelessness through a participatory action-research approach. The project actually started as traditional research: a group of people at the university were concerned about looking at the connection between domestic violence and women's homelessness and gathered a group of professionals to do research on these issues. The project has since evolved, under the influence of a number of people, into a participatory action-research project which also involves a participant model. Six formerly homeless women, now enrolled in CPCS and pursuing bachelor's degrees in community planning and advocacy, serve as the projects primary investigators. Grant funds provide each with free tuition, a small

stipend, and reimbursement for child care and transportation. A steering committee comprised of formerly homeless women and a variety of groups concerned with homelessness, women, poverty, and domestic violence advise the project. Marie Kennedy and Lynn Peterson work with the RWARM through the university and provided us with the framework for this undertaking, while Catherine Ferreira, Delores Dell, Betsy Santiago, and Brenda Farrell filled in the details of the work as the "Formerly Roofless Women" driving the project.

The project is the Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization. It actually started as a traditional research project. A group of people were concerned about looking at the connection between domestic violence and women's homelessness. They sort of gathered a bunch of professionals that thought they would research this. But it has evolved into a participatory research project which also involved a participant model. What we eventually got was six formerly homeless women, four of whom are here today, who became students in the BA program at UMass and became the core of the participatory research team researching homeless women around the state of Massachusetts.

Several of the formerly roofless women came in close to the beginning of the project and we kept saying that unless you get those really oppressed by all this involved, you won't be able to do anything. Most of the academic folks were actually very receptive to that and started to try and do more participatory things. In the beginning it felt like we [the homeless women] didn't have any voices and that we were not truly participants. We were just at the table. So the next step in what we did was, this is a round table sort of thing, and this was probably the most difficult part, trying to reach a balance. There were lots of power struggles in the beginning. I think a lot of us kept saying, "Are we really being truly being listened to?" "Are we really truly participating?" "Is this an equal sharing partnership?" We really didn't have any way set up in the beginning to deal with power issues or how to deal with conflict. That was probably the biggest problem we had to deal with. We had to

go back to the drawing board and develop ways to deal with the struggles that went on because there was a lot of lack of trust. We saw that the agencies had been taking away our power for a long time, and based on our own experiences with homelessness, we weren't going to let it happen again if we could help it.

The name, at least the "Roofless Women's" part, we had to do a lot of work with. We had a real power struggle there, but the name we came up with has a really good process that came with it. Because of our experiences we felt like even if people called us homeless and we did not have houses did not mean we didn't have homes. Even though we were in shelters, we were with our kids and we made it as comfortable as we could. So it at least made the kids feel like they had a home anyway. But what we did not have were our own "roofs." So that is how the name came out. We had a really boring name at first, the Homeless Women's Study Group and then one of the agencies on the steering committee wanted us to be called the Formerly Homeless Women's Action Research Project. We got into a discussion about that and I said, "You know I am going to go to my grave and forever remembered as a Formerly Homeless Brenda Bauer. I am getting a little tired of this." We figure that home constitutes love, structure, commitment to your children, and feeling needed and we never lost that. What we lost were the roofs over our heads. Everyone said, "Yes! Yes! That's what we want to call ourselves—Roofless Women. We are Roofless Women." And this is the name we voted on and all 6 of us wanted and we brought back and they [the steering committee overseeing the project] said, "NO! That is too radical. We are never going to get funding for roofless women." It really became a sticking point. We didn't really care what we were called; we thought the name was funny, but commitment as to whether or not we could have the name—that was another story. We said, "Wait a minute, you said that we were supposed to be equal partners in this. We voted on this name and this is the one we want. You can't take the power away from us now. You said that we could choose a name and this is what we voted on. We spent a lot of time—a lot of

thoughtful time—deciding on the name and it is what we will have!” And we did!

Having experienced homelessness ourselves, we as researchers, bring special qualifications into the research process including insight into the design of the research instruments and the capacity to get unusually forthright responses to our in-person interviews with homeless women. Along the way we are empowering ourselves by gaining self-confidence and skills, as well as helping to empower the currently homeless women participating in the study.

The women we interview share their real experiences with us, what they are really going through. We are able to help them get out some of the frustrations they are feeling that they couldn't get out any other way. We bring being formerly homeless ourselves into it and that brings, you know, some insight into the whole thing as we can understand maybe some of the underlying things that were really said. We don't have an agenda, like an agency, and institution or shelter. We really want to give voices to homeless women, and that is our only goal in the sense there is nothing obstructing our goal. We have gotten funding but we are not like obligated to that. We are obligated to ourselves and to our collective experiences in addressing the problem. So that is what we really brought, our experiences to the table in terms of our analysis. It was really hard in the interviews sometimes because the stories were that much more powerful because they were happening right there and then to real people. The focus groups we did were done after people had already been through that stage so it was more active and more liberal. The women weren't so scared to say what they were going to say because they were already housed. Now when we were going into the shelter to do interviews the women were careful of what they were going to tell us because they were afraid they were going to lose where they were at. So there were very different experiences between doing the interviews and then the focus groups. But of course the basic stories were the same but how they were told was a lot different.

It was a decision that when we talked about it, how to investigate the situations of currently homeless women, that it was like Betsy said,

the decision to go with individual anonymous interviews was made because of the experience within the group of how people felt when they were homeless—about being afraid to talk to anybody or give too much information about themselves, or the conditions they were in, or how they were being treated. It would have been difficult to pull together a focus group of currently homeless women where you would have gotten as revealing information. Because people would have worried about benefits being taken away, or shelters being taken away, just a very scary situation. So this was one of the many ways it was important to have formerly homeless women designing the research project because they could tell us about that experience and guide us to a method that would work.

The goals of our project include:

Project Goals

- Educate public and policy-makers about experiences of homeless women and about effective preventative measures.*
- Change disempowering and ineffective shelter policies.*
- Highlight programs that work and recommend new ones.*
- Prioritize state spending to emphasize prevention.*

Personal Goals

- Learn how to collect and analyze data.*
- Gain interviewing, public speaking, media-and community-organizing skills.*
- Evaluation Goals-Process*
- Involve formerly homeless women in all phases of the study.*
- Complete 150 interviews with homeless women.*
- Provide relevant research and community-organizing skills for researchers.*
- Initiate community organizing.*
- Change policies and funding.*
- Document research project and share model with research, advocacy and service organizations.*

Evaluation Goals-Outcomes

- *Elicit women's insights onto how their homelessness could have been prevented, what their situations were before their homelessness, and whether they knew their housing rights.*
- *Publicize survey findings.*
- *Launch campaigns to influence state and national policies and programs.*

At the time of the workshop the RWARM project was in the middle of its second year after the researchers entered college. The women have designed a 28 page survey which they have completed with 130 homeless women. The interviews have been conducted in different types of shelters and in different areas of the state. They have conducted focus groups with formerly homeless women to help further inform the study and are in the process of analyzing the data and designing an outreach and organizing strategy for achieving policy changes based on their findings. The RWARM researchers have two Ph.D. students majoring in Public Politics at the University of Massachusetts who are doing a lot of the computer work, but under their direction. So as Marie said, "We put a new twist on that relationship and turned the traditional model on its head." The RWARM steering committee is also preparing to do advocacy work based on the results of the research. They expect that their report on the causes and solutions to women's homelessness will be available in about a year. With it they hope to encourage state and national homeless advocacy organizations to reform shelter systems, campaign for affordable housing, and reform welfare. They would also like to see other organizations and universities establish similar participatory research projects on homelessness.

#3—*The Urban University Neighborhood Network in Ohio*

The state of Ohio is fairly unusual in that it has seven large cities, each with its own state university. A network of researchers of those universities recently formed to link themselves with neighborhood-based organizing groups (NBO's) and development groups in their cities. The initial project studied the computer and telecommunications needs of those groups, collaborating with them in the design and use of the research. The results will be used to leverage computer hardware, software, training, and Internet access to allow Ohio's NBO's better communicate with each other and the world. This computer-linked network can then become another means through which to develop further university-neighborhood and inter-neighborhood collaborations. Randy Stoecker and Melissa Jeter provided us with some insight into the proceedings of the Urban University Neighborhood Network (UUNN). Randy is one of the instigators of the project and Melissa works with one of the grassroots organizations involved in the work. This is a large-scale PR project involving a multitude of people and groups with connections to the university and community. The attempt is to link community organizations and mobilizing efforts across the state via personal, traditional, and electronic communications methods. This project is about two years old and has the most recent start dates of the case examples presented here.

As a response to urban disinvestment during the 1970's the state of Ohio created the Urban University Program (UUP), and a funding pool to support urban research in each of the state's urban universities (University of Akron, University of Cincinnati, Cleveland State University, Ohio State University in Columbus, Wright State University in Dayton, University of Toledo, Youngstown State University, and more recently Kent State University in the Cleveland-Akron metro area. At that time Ohio was in the midst of what many have called the "rust belt" states because of the decline of heavy manufacturing and especially steel production. The residents in Ohio's seven major cities felt the brunt

of the economic decline and the UUP funds were to be used for researching proposed solutions to local urban problems. Recently, the UUP created an additional funding pool to create "research networks" across the universities. The UUNN formed as one of those research networks.

The UUNN is dedicated to bringing together Ohio's universities and NBO's in a collaborative relationship that recognizes the unique skills and expertise of each participant. The focus of the network is on enhancing the abilities of NBO's to achieve their locally defined goals. As a way to accomplish this the first-year objective of the UUNN was to develop and maintain a communication/information infrastructure linking university-based researchers and NBO's. The first project has been an assessment of Internet access for NBO's and to develop and implement strategies to increase Internet access. There are three main components of the UUNN partnership model: collaborative and participatory research processes; the centrality of neighborhood organizing and development; and the importance of Internet.

In 1994 the University of Toledo Urban Affairs Center received a small UUP grant to build a network that could research community organizing and development and asked me [Randy Stoecker] to facilitate the process. My background is in participatory and collaborative research, which I have been doing in some fashion with NBO's for over 10 years. Our goal was to build a network that would have core groups of NBO's and academic researchers linked in each city and also across cities. Because the project began as a university-based effort, establishing grassroots participation was challenging. We had a few NBO contacts in Toledo and Cincinnati and were able to find researchers through the grapevine with strong NBO contacts in the other cities, but the network itself really started through the efforts of the researchers.

A meeting was held with NBO's in each city in early 1995 with some quite successful and others not happening at all. The next step was to bring researchers and NBO members to a state-wide meeting in Columbus. Although few NBO representatives could be convinced to come, the Policy Research Action Group (PRAG) in Chicago, whose

model provides the base for our work, came and helped to do a training for researchers on participatory and collaborative research methods. As a way to increase access to UUP funds a research project was chosen. It was decided to do a survey of NBO computer hardware, software, and Internet access based on ideas generated during prior meetings with neighborhood groups in two cities. A grant proposal was drafted and sent out to the researchers and to a number of NBO's and their responses were used to revise the proposal which was subsequently funded by UUP.

With the additional UUP funding the work began in earnest to build "core groups" of researchers and NBO's in each locale. There were funds to pay a \$200 honorarium each for up to five neighborhood group participants in each city to attend core group meetings; hoping that each place would then have a solid base of five NBO participants and one researcher. The purpose of the core groups was to design the research, recommend the questions, and build a survey that would have a core of common questions as well as allow individual cities to add their own questions. Some core groups developed faster than others. At the second state-wide meeting in Toledo in November 1995, there was still a shortage of NBO participants (though they at least outnumbered the researchers) and two cities were still missing from the meeting. Even though there was money secured in the budget to buy release time for faculty time for each researcher, they couldn't get the time when they needed it because of institutional restrictions, so the meeting was used to troubleshoot and carefully redesign the scope and timetable of the research project.

By the beginning of 1996 six of the cities had strong, stable core groups. The core group process was very effective in developing the NBO computer/Internet survey—which was redrafted six times. The initial recommendations from each group were used to construct the first draft of the survey, and then it was revised with feedback from the core groups on each draft thereafter. The researchers administered the mail survey to the population of NBO's as identified by core group participants in each city (Akron-30, Cincinnati-162, Cleveland-160,

Columbus-70, Dayton-68, Toledo-104, and Youngstown-19). Each of the surveys was mailed with a cover letter and consent form asking each of the neighborhood organizations for permission to use part of the information as a data base that will be accessible at UUNN's web site [See Appendix 9). After combinations of mail and phone follow-ups the returns ranged from approximately 20 percent to 33 percent across the seven cities. If we looked only at groups with 501(c)(3) status the return rate probably ranges between 50 and 90 percent.

After the researchers gathered the results the core groups reviewed and commented on a draft of the research report and it was then revised based on these comments. The main findings were then presented in a research report, "Limited Access: The Information Superhighway and Ohio's Neighborhood-Based Organizations." The main finding was that of the 189 NBO's who responded to the survey, only three have full access to the Internet. There is little variation across cities with the possible exception of Cleveland which has more CBO's, better funding, and more public computer access, although even among Cleveland-based CBO's there is a lack of Internet access. Other interesting findings include some of the issues that Ohio NBO's concentrate on such as community organizing, community safety, economic development, housing, environment, health, social services, and workforce development. The most important kinds of information needed by NBO's were defined as that which directly pertained to each groups primary service area. Across organizations access to information that would be helpful included relevant laws, pending legislation, and technical assistance. Of these categories at least three, pending legislation, funding, and technical assistance, can now be obtained from the Internet, perhaps more effectively than any other source.

The survey also provided insights into NBO computer capacity, abilities for future computer capabilities, equipment needs, training and technical assistance needs and capabilities, and offered four policy recommendations:

- Start-up costs need help: It is the most important issue facing any attempt to reduce the lack of NBO access to the Internet.

- *Pooled training and technical assistance need to be organized and must be convenient: Each city needs to have a pool of technical assistance available to provide continual information for NBO's as they become more accustomed to advanced computer and Internet use.*
- *Internet access needs to be uniformly available: Because the Internet is so new there is unusual potential for NBO's to help develop access policy at all levels and help make sure that the Internet remains affordable and available to everyone.*
- *Internet communication is simply another tool to gather and share information is not a substitute for face to face communication: Whatever is done, there is a need to recognize that the purpose of this work is to strengthen local communities, not replace them with "cyberhoods."*

We hope that the UUNN will engage in annual research projects, each leading to significant social action and each bringing more individuals and community-based organizations into the research and organizing process. The UUNN has come far and we have discovered several key issues to contend with during social change efforts based on community and university collaborations:

- *Collaborative research is an organizing process: one aspect of the research is to produce knowledge but equally if not more important goal of this kind of research is to bring people together to mobilize and work for social change.*
- *Technology is tricky and essential especially when you are first learning, and as we become better with the technology, the technology becomes more useful.*
- *Democracy is hard work, especially over 250-300 miles—funding for face-to-face work is a must.*
- *There is a lack of convergence between university and NBO culture that must continually be addressed and acknowledged by all participants.*

#4—The Community Partnership Center's Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community's Learning Initiative and the McDowell County, West Virginia Citizen's Action Network

The National Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) Learning Initiative is a project designed to monitor and measure the impact of the rural Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community program, as well as to document the lessons to be learned for community development. The participants include representatives from rural EZ/EC communities, researchers, state and federal program leaders, foundations, and other practitioners across the country who have a stake in the EZ/EC program. The National Learning Initiative is coordinated by the Community Partnership Center at the University of Tennessee with funding from the US Department of Agriculture, the Ford Foundation, and the Rural Economic Policy Program of the Aspen Institute. A team of researchers drawn from throughout different regions of the country are also providing assistance. As part of the project, 10 rural communities have been invited to participate extensively in Citizen Learning Teams that will help monitor and document the impact of the EZ/EC program. Each Learning Team is coordinated by a local community member, with the assistance of the regional researcher and the Community Partnership Center. A manual and workbook have been developed which provide background information to assist the Local Coordinators and Regional Researchers conduct the project in participating communities (See Appendix 9). One of these Learning Teams is located in McDowell County, West Virginia.

McDowell County, West Virginia is one of the areas designated as a USDA Enterprise Community. The McDowell County Action Network (McCAN) is the organization which administers the program through a community action agency, the Council of the Southern Mountains. McDowell is the southernmost county in West Virginia, with a population of about 25,000. The county ranks lowest in the state on a

composite index of 12 indicators like child well-being, infant mortality, child death rate, and child abuse/neglect. As described in McDowell County's Strategic Plan, historic dependency on the coal industry fostered an insular view that has led many of the elite in the county to focus on short-term economic gains rather than long-term rebuilding. Understanding this, several local community members have worked diligently to prevent the EZ/EC application process and now the distribution of funds from becoming a tool of the dominant political faction. They have been able to enhance the opportunities and capacities of those traditionally excluded from the political process by creating spaces for them in the EZ/EC endeavor. The McDowell County Learning Team is composed of a broad representation of the county's geographic, racial, age, and gender demographics. It is made up of experienced and new recruits to the EZ/EC process and combines the skills and capacities of a number of people from local empowerment groups and other agencies in the county. The team has 15 members that represent a broad array of local constituencies and concerns.

John Gaventa, one of the directors of the EZ/EC Learning Initiative, and Helen Lewis, one of the community researchers with McCAN provided the background for this case example. Frankie Patten Rutherford, a long-time community activist in McDowell County, and one of the community representatives directing the McCAN Learning Team, was supposed to join us for the workshop but commitments to their community-based organization came first. Frankie's story is interwoven based on a brief interview and a case study she and Helen wrote about the McDowell County experiences as part of their EZ/EC Citizen's Learning Team.

The EZ/EC Initiative is different from many government programs in that it charges local communities to develop their own vision for change, based upon their own strategic planning process.

Development is to involve the participation of all sectors of a community to achieve four broad goals:

- Economic Opportunity: including job creation within the community and throughout the region, entrepreneurial initiative, small business expansion, and training for jobs that offer upward mobility;*
- Sustainable Community Development: to advance the creation of livable and vibrant communities through comprehensive approaches that coordinate economic, physical, environmental, community, and human development;*
- Community-Based Partnerships: participation by all segments of the community, including the political and governmental leadership, community groups, health and social service groups, environmental groups, religious organizations, the private and non-profit sectors, centers of learning, other community institutions and individual citizens;*
- Strategic Vision for Change: which identifies what the community will become and a strategic plan for revitalization.*

During the spring of 1994, hundreds of low-income communities in the US developed comprehensive plans for how to realize these goals. In December, 1994, 104 rural and urban communities were designated as Empowerment Zones or Enterprise Communities. Other applicants were given the status of Champion Communities. In the rural part of the program, there are three Empowerment Zones and 30 Enterprise Communities. These communities represent some toughest problems facing the rural US, as well as some of the best attempts by rural citizens to develop strategies and solutions for community revitalization and empowerment. In order for the program to succeed and help meet the hopes and visions of the participating communities it is important that we monitor its activities, measure its progress, and learn from the lessons it offers.

The Learning Initiative of the rural EZ/EC program is an effort to pilot a participatory evaluation approach initially with 8-10 rural EZ/EC communities. These communities have been chosen based on such

factors as geographic and racial diversity, readiness to participate, access by members of the research team, etc. If this process is successful, it may be shared with other EZ/EC or Champion Communities in the future. Participatory monitoring and evaluation involves the people for whom the program is intended in deciding which goals are most important and in assessing how well these goals are achieved. In the process, it tries to build the knowledge and capacity of communities to do their own evaluation, and it uses the lessons learned in the process to improve the implementation of the program at the local and national level.

The Learning Initiative will involve participation by Citizen Learning Teams, local Learning Coordinators, Regional Researchers, the local EZ/EC Organizations, the national coordinators at the university of Tennessee, and representatives of the USDA in Washington.

The Learning Teams will consist of at least 8-10 people representing a cross-section of the key "stakeholders" from the Empowerment Zone of Enterprise Community. They will include local citizens, as well as representatives from the local EZ/EC Board and community organizations. They should be diverse and involve people who would like to help document and assess the progress of the program in meeting its goals in the community. The team members will be chosen by the Local Learning Team Coordinator in collaboration with the Regional Researcher. The Learning Teams will work with and share their findings with the local EZ/EC boards and officials, but they should also have the autonomy to gather information and evaluate and discuss their findings freely and openly. The tasks of the Local Learning Teams are to:

- Meet with regional and national researchers to discuss the most appropriate ways to evaluate the progress and success of the EZ/EC program;*
- Gather information locally to help to assess what progress has been made towards meeting the program's goals in their community. Identify successes and barriers to success for the program;*

- *Identify lessons from the community's experience that should be shared with others;*
- *Participate in workshops to share those lessons with other communities and with program leaders;*
- *Share findings with other in their own community through follow-up learning and educational activities.*

In February 1996 McDowell County became one of the 10 rural EZ/EC sites selected for participation in the pilot participatory evaluation project of the process. But before I talk about the work of the Citizen's Learning and Evaluation Team, it is important for you to know something about the process that got McDowell County the designation as an Enterprise Community.

The EC application process was started by nine community leaders who attended an informational meeting in Charleston, West Virginia, sponsored by the USDA on the new EZ/EC plan in February 1994. The McDowell County Family Resource Network took on the job of mobilizing the county and working to develop the application. The group changed their name to the McDowell County Action Network (McCAN) and develop the EZ/EC application by developing a ten-year Strategic Plan. Two initial committees were formed: the EZ/EC steering committee and the Early Childhood Task Force. The Task Force developed a five-year implementation plan for developing Family Resource and Assistance Centers throughout the county which eventually became part of the strategic plan. McCAN was housed with the Council of the Southern Mountains who provided the leadership of their director, Clif Moore, and funds to support the developmental activities of the work. McCAN raised \$17,000 locally and applied for other funds which were eventually used to do county-wide survey of businesses, parents, day care providers that also provided information that was incorporated into the strategic plan.

For several months in 1994 literally hundreds of people throughout the county were involved in the visioning and planning activities in meetings all over the county. Eleven committees were formed to research and write the plan: Housing, Education, Recreation,

Social and Human Services, Health, Governmental Affairs, Transportation, Entertainment and Cultural Arts, Economic and Community Development, Focal Point and Infrastructure, Environment, and Publicity. Informational meetings were held with support and assistance provided by the local community. There were many high hopes, much broad participation, and community commitment to working for social and economic development in the county. The plan called for a variety of projects to stimulate growth and development in all sectors of the county. People were geared up to implement their Strategic plan all they needed was the EZ/EC funding. The application was made and everyone waited in great anticipation, feeling they had worked hard to develop a winning plan. Many groups even continued to meet an plan and apply for other funds to carry on their work.

The long delay in the EZ/EC designation process and a lack of communication as to the whereabouts of the process led to suspicion that once again we got false and empty promises. But in December 1994 an announcement from Washington DC stated that McDowell County had been selected as an Empowerment Zone. Within a few hours a correction had been issued and we were instead designated an Enterprise Community which reduced the resources from \$40 million to \$3 million. This didn't do anything to help the growing distrust and skepticism of the process. Anyway, in January 1995 McCAN formalized a board and set about altering the broad comprehensive plan to one that could be accomplished with fewer resources and within the two-year time span of the program. During January to July we had a series of 18 meetings to develop community priorities and establish a process to bring about maximum growth and development with fewer resources. Eventually we worked out a good plan and this work continues to grow and flourish. Now I would like to say a few things about our Citizen Learning Team.

We were formed in February 1996 and this began our participation as part of the EZ/EC Participatory Evaluation Project. We were going to carry out our own research and analysis of the program after some training in evaluation research techniques coordinated by me [Frankie] as the local coordinator, and a regional researcher [Helen] from

the University of Tennessee, who was contracted to help carry out the evaluation. The participatory evaluation process began with a cross-site training involving all the research teams. At this training, folks from the Community Partnership Center at the University of Tennessee worked with the learning teams and regional researchers to help us learn about the procedures for conducting evaluation research. After some more local work together research was conducted by the Citizen's Learning Team from April to December 1996.

The majority of the research was conducted and analyzed by three task forces: Jobs, Business and Capital Creation, Community Revitalization, and Intragency and Intergovernmental Collaboration. Through many task force meetings and seven work sessions our Citizen Learning Team developed Indicators and Measurement Tools, Data Collection Tools, Social Capacity Charts, and District-Specific Social Capacity Summations. We also conducted Wage and Labor and Sustainable Employment Surveys, a Social Capacity Mapping Project, and Case Studies, including board and staff interviews with McCAN, the McDowell County Economic Development Authority, and Stop Abusive Family Environments. We also participated in reflective interviews of Learning Team Members to summarize findings and make recommendations for the participatory evaluation research experience. Our research findings and recommendations will be documented in a collectively developed report targeted at a variety of stakeholders involved in this project.

As of this writing the results of all 10 local Citizen's Learning Teams Initial Findings and Evaluation of the impacts and success of the EZ/EC program are making their way through the bureaucratic maze we know as our Federal Government. Beyond that, the final report and findings are presently being written and prepared for dissemination. For the members of the Learning Teams, their work as citizen monitors and evaluators continues to generate new information and insights to help guide and make sure that local EZ/EC activities are aimed at and guided by the grassroots people they are intended for.

INSTRUMENTAL KNOWLEDGE, ADVOCATING, LEARNING AND EMPOWERING

Each of these examples shows the process by which participatory research can be used to produce instrumental knowledge, generally thought by many “experts” and decision-makers to be unproducable by grassroots people. The examples each offer ample evidence that you can do good science that is participatory too. If the power structure demands this type of knowledge; as is already in evidence, PR can deliver.

AFSC's Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project demonstrates the need for validated empirical data, or instrumental knowledge, to advocate for and with relatively voiceless and powerless groups. People of Mexican descent who crossed the US and Mexican border, whether legally or illegally, occasionally or regularly moving back and forth, knew there were problems with physical and mental abuse. They knew that during many of their interactions with the Border Patrol and local law enforcement agencies the abuse could border on torture. Because of decisions made at the highest levels of our government concerning immigration policies and the activities of policing along borders, AFSC understood that the intensity of this conflict was only going to increase, not go away. Thus the first step was really to elevate a common happening or occurrence—abuse during border crossings—heretofore thought of as a “private trouble” to a “social issue.” AFSC had to prove that a social problem with physical and mental abuse against immigrants during border crossings existed in the first place. It is one thing to say to those in power in any country that a problem exists and present a few case examples; it is another to have the appropriate “quantitative data” to show to decision-makers that large numbers of people were indeed being abused by agents of the United States Government along its Southern Border. This instrumental knowledge was indeed a necessity in order to have the ability to legitimately impact decisions, decision-

making, and decision-makers. This was the first task in AFSC's border monitoring research efforts.

Rather than simply generate this information in order to "advocate for" abused immigrants, AFSC decided to use the data-gathering activities to organize and advocate *with* those who had been abused. They also used these activities to mobilize other individuals and groups concerned about this violation of human rights to fight and work to change the mobilization of bias around this issue prevalent in the decision-making system at multiple levels. AFSC organizers were able to begin to organize with those abused by doing the interviews with them and as the results of these interviews became known and the evidence mounted, they became a tool to mobilize other concerned members of the community around this issue. So the initial need for "hard data" on border abuse led to challenge of personal and structural biases in decision-making. Making this into a participatory process proved to be a successful vehicle for organizing and mobilizing with the abused themselves and with those concerned about abuse along the border.

During an interview, Richard Simpson, a workshop participant and grassroots researcher, discussed the impacts of the Border Monitoring Project on people involved and the decision-making process that will either enable the abuse to continue unabated, or will disable some of the mechanisms that allow for the inhuman treatment accorded certain groups of people crossing the Southern border of the United States:

It seems to me that it [participatory research] is the best way to go about getting good information that can be useful to produce knowledge and action and help to do something about the injustices that exist at all sorts of levels. In terms of our project we can see and demonstrate that we have impacted the power structure at a number of levels. We have been asked to testify before Congress during hearings on border issues and in fact got them to modify the standards of conduct for border patrol agents at a national level. We have the moral and legal victories at Bowie

High School which again forced local changes in the ways that border patrol agents had to behave in communities. We have created, implemented and legitimated Citizen's Advisory Panels which have input on border policies at the local and national levels. We can also look to the number of reports based on the "hard data" that we have collected and analyzed and see that they are being cited as evidence in a variety of situations.

Richard's comments, along with the examples cited during the explication of the project above, help to demonstrate the efficacy of a participatory approach to producing concrete knowledge. With the instrumental knowledge they have produced based on their surveys and interviews, AFSC has been able to begin the process of further organizing and mobilizing around this issue at a number of sites along the border. The increasing number of community organizations, the conferences and gatherings, and popular press articles and books (see Appendix 9) devoted to the problem of physical and mental abuse during legal and illegal border crossings, all show well how AFSC's participatory research approach has moved the issue from a private trouble to a public problem that is finally being addressed at many levels.

In fact as Maria Jimenez cited in the story they told during the workshop, their data, analysis, and insights on border abuse have been so solid that others have begun to steal them and basically call them their own!

So we developed this very complex form of reporting these abuses and a really detailed analysis, and it really impacted some important institutions like America's Watch, who based on our work from then on became active on this issue. We [the AFSC Border Monitoring Project] were, in fact, the first organization to systematically document human rights abuses by immigration agents and officials inside the United States. America's watch then took up the battle and they are working on their fourth report. Now we are fighting with them to give us some credit for the research because they are our cases, our data, our analysis. They always put us in a little footnote: Oh yeah by the

way, there is this little project over there in Houston. That's just not right.

It would appear that this project has indeed succeeded at producing legitimate instrumental knowledge and sound information doing participatory research instead of traditional science. AFSC's dilemma over the control of the results of research, helps also to show some of the critical education and learning going on for the organizers of the project. In the example of Bowie High School, the students certainly learned to empower themselves, developed critical consciousness, and had some successes in altering unequal or exploitative structures in the process. These and other aspects of this project that demonstrate how interactive and critical knowledge can be used to challenge the second and third dimensions of power will be explored more fully in the following chapters

The Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization originated as traditional research but evolved into a participatory project. From a university base the study uses research, or the production of instrumental knowledge, as an entry point. The project tries to produce new knowledge about homelessness based on the women's actual experiences and in the process to advocate for and with them to change the abhorrent conditions that exist at present in the shelters. The goals are to first make and then implement recommendations for helping homeless women based on the results of their study. This knowledge can then be used as a base from which to organize and mobilize around a host of women's and men's issues.

The RWARM approach to studying women's homelessness demonstrates the ability of participatory research to yield concrete knowledge for many participants that is valued by decision- and policy-making agencies. Women's experiences with homelessness were deemed understudied by a group of experts and they aimed to remedy that by studying the problem. They likely could have and would have created

excellent instrumental knowledge to help guide decisions and policy, but would any homeless people actually benefited directly from the work? Likely *no*. More expert knowledge by and for experts would have been created. But in the process these “experts” came to approach the endeavor through participatory research. They became “facilitators” and “organizers” rather than “traditional intellectuals.” That radical change in thinking influenced and launched a project that has empowered and informed a number of homeless women to go get work in and against the agencies they used to fear. Toward that end Lynn Peterson, a technical advisor to the project, spoke of these kinds of impacts noted in the RWARM research process.

I put up non-profit development housing for a few years before I became involved with this project and I was really tired of battling over what to do and really felt that we were not asking the right people for the answers. I felt like RWARM was a really great opportunity to actually do something about homelessness. But, when I got involved it really wasn't participatory research; it was a little monthly discussion group. But then we started to do things differently, more participatory, and they have just grown. I see so many advantages. But one of the main ones is to see the women in this project who are now in college and who will be professionals and who can influence others about women's homelessness and women's issues in general. When we started to work democratically it changed the whole dynamic and the relationships. . . . I am beginning to see these women move to positions of power within agencies and starting to influence things and I think maybe we are doing some good.

Though the people initially in control of this research effort relinquished a great deal of control over the research process, they did maintain some influence, and some of the more traditional influences they maintained may have turned out to be quite positive. Marie Kennedy, one of the facilitators of the RWARM project talked about some of the very difficult issues surrounding sharing power with participants in the research process and asked extremely tough question about the process. During an interview, Marie

spoke about striking the correct balance between the knowledge and skills that directly-concerned community participants bring to the research and those of the professional researcher.

If RWARM hadn't been partially structured as a university course (which meant that the facilitators initially decided what we were going to study), I suspect that the participants wouldn't have chosen to go through the work of studying the underlying causes of homelessness. Yet now, I think all agree that this was an essential and empowering part of the project. How could this phase of the project been included were it not for the "power" that the professors had to set the agenda?

The process of combining these different types of knowledge is easy in theory, but difficult in practice. Marie's observations lead to the fact that indeed expert and experiential knowledge used in combination can make for learning of many types. This is noted as Marie went on to describe some of the "aha" moments that occurred during the project as participants in the study discovered that their experiences were not unique and that their circumstances resulted from structural causes embedded in our cultural political economic system.

In the RWARM project most participants initially blamed themselves for their own homelessness. After exchanging experiences and discussing with a number of analysts and organizers various issues such as the lack of affordable housing, sexism, and poverty, participants moved away from self-blame to an understanding of how their situation reflected these underlying structural issues. For example, one woman who initially said, "If only I were able to balance my checkbook, I wouldn't have become homeless." This same woman was able a few months later to describe the structural causes of women's homelessness on network television.

Brenda Farrell, who described herself as one of those women who blamed themselves for her families homelessness, shared some ideas she has discovered through her experiences with the RWARM project. From once blaming the victims for

problems they faced, she now talks in terms of voice and power, and who has it and who needs it.

Well, I guess for me the reasons for being involved in this kind of work and this whole project [RWARM] is that it gave me the opportunity to work with people who run the structures and set it up so that they took away my voice and my power. If I have the opportunity to do some good, help some other women who face this situation to have it better, I am going to do that. This project has given me that opportunity and we hope to share that with others. We give these women a place to have voices and the opportunity to say this is wrong. Maybe this will make a difference for them individually and certainly we hope that this work helps to make a difference in how homeless women are treated in shelters and by society. So for me doing this project is a way to help readjust the power relations between homeless women and the people and institutions that work with them. It is to give homeless women's voices on the homeless experience the chance to be heard and to help organize actions to stop homelessness in the first place!

The process has certainly helped to empower and transform a number of the people involved in the project. But, it is still too early to assess the impacts on social institutions and structures. Lynn Peterson, an RWARM technical advisor, talked at some length about how involving homeless women in the research process has influenced her own service agency and several others in the Boston area.

The participation of RWARM members at my agency is strong. One woman is on the board of directors, several have had internships here, and a number of women have worked on the project in our office. Their presence keeps us going, and enriches and enlightens our work on a day-to-day basis. For example, cognitively, we may understand that welfare reform is wreaking havoc on people's lives. However, we see first hand the effects on the RWARM women's lives when we try to compensate them for their work without it affecting their benefits, or try to figure out how their day-care will be covered. Their participation has made us deal with issues head-on.

Beyond that, since we became involved with RWARM, we have this pool of researchers who experienced homelessness to call upon for their input and advice in other work that we do. They have become advisors and experts on homelessness. We have been fortunate to have their influences felt in policy meetings concerning welfare reform and housing and are creating a "Women in Community Development Program," based partially on the experiences of RWARM, with their participation in the planning. Other agencies are also recruiting RWARM women on their boards. We have even begun to notice that other groups have taken note of how important participation by the "user group" is and have seen them move toward more participatory approaches. I think we are setting an example. We still face challenges—not everyone considers the people experiencing the issues to be in control. For example, one funder was irate that a technical assistance provider wasn't present at a meeting he had with RWARM. Instead of seeing the group of formerly homeless women in charge, he thought the project was leaderless.

RWARM has been deemed a success in many ways, not only by the participants in the project, but also by many subjective and objective outside observers (see Ansley and Gaventa 1997 for example). But, as we can see above, there are still people with much power yet unconvinced of the efficacy of participatory research. The women are now in the process of sharing what they have learned with others in a variety of ways including publications, workshops, and in their daily and working lives. The role and impacts in the research design and interview process based on the women's experiences with homelessness were extremely important to the whole of the project. This along with other aspects the RWARM process that produced and used interactive and critical knowledge to empower will be explored more fully in the following chapters.

The Urban University Neighborhood Network and the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community projects also stem from institutional bases. Since the results of both of these projects are only now beginning to be felt upon individuals and

institutions, it is more difficult to assess their transformative effects. In terms of the process they are using and the instrumental knowledge they are producing the results are somewhat more tangible. UUNN shows how the research process can be used to create common understandings, assess needs, and begin to organize for action in a number of directions based on critical reflection about the process itself and learning from the results of a participatory survey. The EZ/EC project demonstrates the positive and empowering aspects participatory research can have on communities and community members in McDowell County. It is also beginning to show the decided and meaningful impacts grassroots people can have, through their abilities to develop good concrete information for assessing and improving the results of government aid programs, when applying a participatory approach to evaluation research.

UUNN has produced a number of reports and have arrived at some very accurate assessments of computer resources and needs to help inform their efforts to link community activists across the urban centers in Ohio. This knowledge is being shared with many people and has informed and been used to set up the next stages of the longer term project. At the same time another vital aspect of the work is to move decision-making for the UUNN project into the hands of the communities. During a conversation with grassroots researchers Melissa Jeter and Randy Stoecker, they described how their work in the UUNN has moved toward that end through an action/reflection process.

As the UUNN has matured, more and more decision-making has been taken on by the grassroots groups. We use a modified version of participatory research termed "collaborative research" where university researchers and community members jointly define, design, and carry out the research and change activities. It is unique because it involves joint activities across seven cities, with decentralized decision-making. Our first project, a resource and needs assessment of community

organizations access to computers and the Internet, was proposed by community-based organizations in 1995.

Part of the purpose of our first project was to help more community-based organizations get access to e-mail and the Internet in general, so we could have more communication across cities. The results of the study were presented at our recent spring conference. At the conference the ratio of CBO's [Community-Based Organizations] to university researchers was 10 to 1. The group developed an action plan to use our own resources and to get others to help fill the identified computer needs of the organizations involved. The goal is to have everyone that wants to be hooked into the network on-line by the end of 1997. Our next step in the research, decided by a working group appropriately dominated by community-based organizations is to examine the community-based coalitions within and between Ohio's cities. The goal of the study is to identify successful models that exist and to create more coalition connections.

The UUNN in Ohio is off to a good running start at organizing and networking social change activists and community organizations across the state, but it will be a number of years before we can really assess either the structural impacts of the work, or its capacities to empower grassroots individuals and organizations.

The EZ/EC evaluation project is at a similar stage of development. It began with the goal of evaluating whether a particular program is working or not. It is driven by the need for applied, instrumental knowledge in an effort to use concrete community-based information to evaluate the impacts of the USDA's EZ/EC economic program on the constituency it is aimed to aid. Equally important, if not more important, is the attempt in this project to impact the mobilization of bias and create opportunities for grassroots empowerment by designing into the process places and seats at the decision-making table for voices generally not represented on committees that evaluate government programs. Beyond evaluating effectively and mobilizing and organizing communities, the work has also been about empowering grassroots individuals and community-based

organizations to have and to take a more active role in understanding, assessing, and then working to modify in beneficial ways some of the social institutions and structures that impact their daily lives.

We are only beginning to see the ripple, or multiplier effect, associated with the EZ/EC project. There are nine other stories similar to the one presented from McDowell County. As a research fellow at the Community Partnership Center on the University of Tennessee campus, my office is located in the same location as the Central Office for the EZ/EC Evaluation Project. Since the workshop I have been able to talk to a number of participants in the study and watch the impacts of the work on them. What can be said of the process so far is that there are some folks happy and some not. The participants in the project are extremely excited by what they are involved with. The decision-makers in charge of assessing or evaluating the program are quite pleased with the information produced. The insights and data the communities are producing is helping them greatly to improve their abilities to inform decision-makers and government official at multiple levels. On another front, those who administer this sort of work are, really for the first time, being evaluated by the people they are intended to serve. Many of them have less positive feelings for the work. They likely should be a bit more concerned as their basic methods of practice are being called into serious question. Instead of only having to justify their actions on paper for their superiors up the chain of command, in this instance the whole chain of command is finally being held accountable by and to the communities they are intended to serve!

DISCUSSION

Each of the examples presented in this chapter demonstrate the usefulness and validity of participatory research for the production of instrumental knowledge. In turn

they also exemplify the fact that the production of instrumental knowledge can be used as an entry point to mobilize and empower people around pertinent social problems or issues. In other words, participatory research can be a potent tool for empowering grassroots communities not because it shies from traditional scientific principles; rather, it is because participatory research embraces certain elements of it.

Features of traditional science can be noted in the fact that each study did literature reviews and analyzed structural impacts that could influence the problem or issue. They each followed legitimate, ordered and replaceable strategies to carry out their research program, whether it involved doing surveys, interviews, or gathering information from public documents and records. Each project put the data they gathered through a rigorous analytical process utilizing the latest in available thinking, techniques, and data analysis programs. In fact, during the Border Monitoring Project, they even tried and eventually developed their own spreadsheet and analysis programs for their data. Each project came up with relevant, and in many cases statistically significant data, to aid in the quest to solve their immediate problems. This data has also been used to inform basic storehouses of community-based and scientific knowledge, whether it be on border abuse, women's experience with homelessness and poverty, computer access for community-based organizations, or impacts of government programs. All have used their findings to inform the next steps in their own context and process and have disseminated their original findings in a variety of forums and media. They have all followed the basic tenets of the scientific methodology as outlined in any basic methods text book (See Babbie 1989; Bailey 1978; or Denzin and Lincoln 1994). The key difference on each of these counts in the participatory examples presented in this chapter is not *how* or *when* each was accomplished, but rather *who* was involved and carried out each step of the process—the people with the problem! The basic idea in the Border Monitoring Project, RWARM, UUNN, and EZ/EC was through

participatory research to build in people the capacities and the analytical skills necessary to gather information, analyze it, assess the results, and use the findings to work for change, all, in a sense, simultaneously. It was to empower people to generate and use information to affect political decision-making, or to resist power in the first dimension.

Using participatory and democratic approaches to carry out community-based problem-solving research does tend to take longer than traditional research strategies. This is so, because, although there is great concern for the empirical results in each study, the primary emphasis for these examples, and for most successful participatory research efforts, is best seen in terms of the qualities produced by the process itself. Lynn Peterson, an RWARM facilitator, found that in their work, this concern for democratic process has indeed lengthened their project, but it has had many positive effects as well.

The project has taken a full year longer than we thought it should, which is already a year longer than we originally estimated! The longer time is partially due to the participatory nature of our work, but we also were inefficient at times and got off track. The longer time frames makes it hard to sustain financially and energy-wise. On the other hand, I think that even though it has taken more time, the fact that we have involved so many people and that we have been so concerned about building the day-to-day capacities of the participants has been a good thing. We see daily the growth in the women's self esteem and abilities to seize opportunities. I also think we will see impacts of our work long into the future. In terms of my own development, the project has been a constant challenge and, therefore, a constant source of learning for me. I would alternate from feeling totally frustrated to enthusiastic and have had to continually confront my own perceptions, beliefs, and ideas about what is best for people. I come away knowing that I have a lifetime of learning ahead of me, but at least I think we are on the right track.

In participatory research this concern for process certainly does not mean that the results of the work will be any less valid or reliable. In fact the validity and reliability of

the research results can be improved by embracing participation by and appreciation for the knowledge of the folk.

In order to produce better, more accurate information, a main feature of the participatory research approach is to value the stock of knowledge already owned by community-based people. During the workshop, Larry Wilson, a long-time activist involved with the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizen's Community Organization, offered an example of the importance of grassroots, or local, participation in the process of trying to solve a variety of community concerns. He shows the extreme significance of the knowledge already possessed by grassroots Kentuckians and the high cost incurred when local and regional "decision-makers" and the "hired-gun experts" they employed failed to listen to their collective voices.

I think that the knowledge produced using people's experience is better knowledge. Besides Yellow Creek, another example up home is a lake. Well it is sort of a lake. This lake was to be built as a memorial park to a former governor of Kentucky who was originally from the area, Burton T. Coombs. So they called the lake the Burt T. Coombs Memorial Lake. Well, before they even started digging our new lake, all the local folks started talking about it and figured among themselves that the lake they were planning wasn't going to last. You see they knew from experience that the coal owners and operators in the area would eventually strip mine the mountains all the way around the lake and as the local folks said, "You just wait and see all the silt is going to come down the side of the stripped mountains and fill in the lake." So the state scientists and engineers said, "We have taken that into account. We know what the runoff is and we know what the rainfall is, so we know it will work."

Sure enough, it wasn't but a couple of years and they started having public hearings about what to do with lake. Well it really wasn't a lake anymore, because, just like we knew would happen, it filled in. The lake became land just like the local residents tried to tell the scientists, engineers and politicians. Trees are starting to grow on it etc. Because of

that the local residents always called it Lake Mistake. In fact, nobody knows what the real name of it is anymore, it is just known as Lake Mistake. The moral of the story shows that those with power in this situation did not value local knowledge and experience. The experts totally threw our knowledge right out the window. We could have saved millions of dollars and lots of time and energy in the process, if only the experts would have only listened to what the non-experts said, who, in this case, were the real experts about the whole situation. Better knowledge would have been produced for everyone concerned and maybe today we would really have a lake!

This story is illustrative many of the negative aspects of traditional versus participatory decision-making and knowledge production. It is especially important to help clarify, that indeed, decision-makers and professional knowledge producers, along with grassroots community members and organizations, can learn things by applying participatory research strategies to inform and do better science and/or community development than generally done. EZ/EC project director John Gaventa offered his observations on the ability of participatory research and evaluation to produce better knowledge and information than that contrived by traditional, objective, scientific methods in a number of cases.

I have done this work a long time myself and I would home in on a couple of things. One, this work is about power. I just believe that in this day and time that the roles of who controls and produces knowledge, not just in schools, but in communities, is so important. There is a rich body of knowledge that is lost and not used when we do science the old fashioned way. We get misinformation. We know that this is done. Work based on people who are experiencing the problems and are producing the answers is so much better information. So we have got to find ways for people who are experiencing the problems to put out the facts and produce knowledge. So that is one: it is about empowering people to produce their own knowledge.

Second, as we have gone around the room the last couple of days, people have said, "I do this work, not really scientifically." Well, I want to do my work this way because it is better science that produces better knowledge than what the scientists produce. I think that we don't give up the fight and put down what we are doing by saying it is not really scientific. Like the RWARM folks have shown, if you have the experience of the people you are working with and you did a survey, it should be a lot better than someone who would just constructed a survey based on a literature review.

So I work this way not just because it deals with power and empowering powerless people to produce knowledge, but because the answers that we come up with this way are a lot better than this other way of science. We had traditional scientists constantly say people weren't getting sick in Love Canal. Why? Because their science was wrong. It was only when the people in Love Canal, or those in Yellow Creek, Kentucky, combined their experiences with the tools of research that action emerged. So I am pretty passionate when I argue at the university or anywhere, about why I do and why I believe more people should be doing participatory research. It is because it produces better knowledge for people and our world. It is a damn better way to do it!

The major difference between traditional and participatory knowledge production strategies is that participatory research, at its base, involves and values the people with a problem in all aspects of the process of investigation, analysis, and problem-solving. Participatory research intertwines participation in research, education, action, by and within community-based organizations to produce knowledge and create social change. It is the combination of these processes, traditionally thought of as distinct isolated entities that becomes a major strength in the participatory research approach. This strategy helps both to empower powerless groups to advocate for themselves and to produce beneficial knowledge and information of all types that can be used by any number of people to advocate for and with under-represented voices, influence decisions, decision-makers, and social institutions and structures that negatively impact

working people. It is in terms of the analysis of empowerment presented, to produce sound instrumental knowledge aimed at transforming powerlessness in the first dimension of power.

SUMMARY

The value and quality of the information gained when doing popular education and research, as John passionately describes and the cases show, is hard to question. Participatory research in these cases did an admirable job of producing usable information and insights with which to impact and solve concrete problems of powerless people in the real world. The examples indicate that a participatory approach to problem-solving can be used to produce valid and reliable empirical work. They also show that the processes of collecting, analyzing, understanding, and utilizing instrumental knowledge is not simply the purview of academics and professionals. Whether or not participatory research is done in conjunction with institutional or professional researchers, the process of collectively producing instrumental knowledge through surveys, interviews, archival research, and the like, when undertaken by those with a problem is rooted in experiential knowledge. PR values community insight and input; PR aims to build the participants capacities to do their own valid and reliable research and analysis; PR shares power democratically among all members. Clearly participatory research can be used to mobilize, empower, and transform people and structures in a myriad of ways.

CHAPTER 5

PR AND THE SECOND DIMENSION OF POWER: SHARING AND USING INTERACTIVE KNOWLEDGE TO BUILD THE CAPACITIES TO ORGANIZE AGAINST THE MOBILIZATION OF BIAS

And with the best leaders
When the work is done
The task accomplished
The people will say:
We have done this ourselves.
Lao Tzu, 400 BC

The next four projects, Cedar-Riverside, RSVP, TIRN, and YCCC, are all rooted in community bases. They entered the process of participatory research by organizing and mobilizing against structural bias and later involved research and education as part of their social action efforts. Research, education, and organizing became tools to provide access, gather, and analyze needed information, and served to function as conduits for further organizing and mobilizing. In these successful change efforts, transformed consciousness for participants evolved, but it wasn't necessarily thought to be part of the initial organizing effort. Laureen Smith, an active member of the YCCC stated, "we just wanted a clean creek; we had no idea how much trying to get one would change us." In other words, the original undertakings in these case examples were driven by the want of local residents to remedy particular collective ills in their own communities. It was only after becoming involved in, and then reflecting on the work itself, that the participants came to understand the importance of participation, interpretation, interaction, empowerment, and transformation in their struggles to

mobilize grassroots people to challenge systemic bias and to change oppressive social institutions and structures.

WINDOWS ON THE WORK . . .PART TWO

#5—*The Cedar-Riverside Minnesota Participatory Community Re-Development Project*

This is a story of social change which resulted in actually “using the community’s wisdom” to guide a successful large-scale planning and development effort in a local neighborhood, Cedar-Riverside in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Cedar-Riverside was deemed a community in need of some change both by the city powers and the local residents. Urban blight and most of the problems associated with a deteriorating neighborhood infrastructure were prevalent. Everyone understood that the problems existed but how best to fix them depended in large part on your position in the social structure and whether you lived inside or outside the neighborhood. The participants involved in this project, as they said, “sort of stumbled” into an effective participatory research method using models and maps that ultimately transformed the community re-development effort from theory to praxis. Tim Mungavan, a lead community organizer in the Cedar-Riverside Community Re-Development effort, offered a number of insights on their experiences and what they learned about developing communities from within.

During the Cedar-Riverside Community Re-Development project we had an unusual opportunity to do some very effective community organizing, research, and action. . . Cedar-Riverside is a rather bohemian community and everyone including the residents agreed that some sort of conscious re-development effort was needed to make it a better and safer community in which to live. Where we were really at is

that everybody around us, more than anything, was afraid of Cedar Riverside without the neighborhood's improvement. So it was an unusual opportunity in that there was a lot of money lying around to be spent and lots of people wanted something done. But people in power were afraid of the community and really didn't do anything with community participation in terms of the development effort. So we were of course quite upset and not very willing to go along with their corporate re-development plan. At that point we had mobilized a lot of people to oppose the development but obviously everybody, to a certain extent, was opposing it for different reasons. So once this opening happened the challenge became, now how do we get our community-based thing in and do what we want to do the way we want it in terms of developing our own space? This is an attempt to describe the process that evolved out of our efforts.

The basic thrust of our work, and this is sort of after the fact looking back, shows that part of the process was an attempt to use the wisdom of the people in the community to make progressive social changes. Basically the project grew out of a tenant union and part of this opposition was a rent strike among other activities. The way the plans grew for the tenant union and for the rent strike grew was that everyone got in a room and talked about the situation until everybody agreed on the action to take. This was a basic format for how we did the kind of organizing and mobilizing that we did. So we had to figure out how to do fairly complicated planning for the re-development effort, using this strategy as the basic way to go about the process. We experimented with a number of different ways of doing it. We had workshops where everyone but the landlords and the fat cats were welcome. But, the method that we ended up using and that we found was most successful was to go out and do our organizing and planning on a block-by-block basis. We worked on this block-by-block basis and would gather information at various times about the block and the things they were trying to deal with and we would bring that together with maps. We would map things like building conditions, ownership patterns, populations, so we could tell where things like overcrowding were

occurring. Basically we did maps that included every household in the block. We were able to put pins in for each person so we could see and analyze where various types of negative and positive things were happening that could become a part of the process.

Then we built a scale model, or rather, scale models of the blocks so they were movable, so that you could be working and you could put the models with the maps and see again how things looked and what we could actually do there in terms of re-development. With the information that was created and the model as a tool the organizers began then to work on what they thought the community wanted to happen. It was a great process for awhile. Then something just sort of happened and we stumbled into a discovery that transformed the whole project. It really was something that we just happened onto—it wasn't planned even though we wish we could say that it was. We [the organizers] did a model of one of the blocks and just happened to have it along and bring it to one of the community meetings. The meeting itself was pretty chaotic as everyone just kept looking over at the model. After the meeting was finally adjourned the community folks rushed over to the model and started moving things around. It was kind of a big insight for us all. It worked!!! We had people thinking through their own ways to really re-develop the community and able to put it into practice at a scale level in order to see its feasibility. We moved from theoretical discussions about our strategies to concrete planning that could happen in the real world and fell into a process that helped to really involve everyone in the effort.

Another thing that happened that was great was when we would have block meetings is that we came to the feeling and understanding that everybody wanted to stay in this community. Actually at first it was a problem when we tried to do participatory analysis of buildings. Everyone thinks that their house is in great shape—it is the neighbors who have the problems. Thus what happened was that whoever showed up at the first meeting demolished their neighbors house and kept their own. The next meeting though, the other neighbor showed up and they had another plan and that was of course to demolish their neighbor

because it was the place with the problems. So we had in a sense competing demolition teams. It was very interesting from a planning point of view, because it really forced the group to identify some alternatives and what are some of the objective things we are going to use to decide how this thing is going to work. We had some very dramatic things that would happen in those block meetings. Some people were just committed to keeping their buildings or homes no matter what and others to full scale development, but as the group process worked there were some very important moments in the process where people would say, "OK I see this happening, I have had my say and everybody can't always get what they want. I understand and am willing to go along."

One of the things I should say is that out of this we had as one of our policies that nobody gets displaced out of the neighborhood unless it is by their own choice. So if your house got demolished or altered the overall plan still included a place for you. So it wasn't like anyone was going to have to move out of the neighborhood but just maybe somewhere else within it. It was still a very dramatic and effective process. The result of that is that we were able to come up with a consensus strong enough, starting at the block level. Then each block would have a community development meeting and more persons would be invited to participate. Then we would go to the full Political Action Committee and by the time it got to the full neighborhood organization there was generally very strong consensus about our version of the development plan. We were able to go downtown to the powers that be with a very unified position. And quite frankly, the block plans were always honored and there were very seldom changes in the plans and we have quite a nice neighborhood designed and planned by the community to prove it!

What we learned is that it is very important to have the information come in at the grassroots. Start it with the smallest points and then go up the power stretch. One of the things that happened and that worked for us is that the neighborhood's wisdom was included in the planning stage of the development effort, not just at the approval

stage. Usually what you have is people with money have the information and the neighborhood gets to "approve" the development plan, but frankly the neighborhood doesn't like it and fights it or at the very least is as uncooperative as possible in the effort. If the neighborhood makes the recommendation and the people with the money have to approve it I think it is a much healthier kind of process because it gives the neighborhood the ability to set the agenda. Participatory planning and development is something we believe in and are presently using this kind of model with great success in other small-and large-scale community planning and development projects in our work at the West Bank Development Corporation.

#6—Rural Southern Voice for Peace "Listening for Change" Across the Southeast

Rural Southern Voice for Peace (RSVP) is a community-based organization located in Burnsville, North Carolina. The RSVP model for social change offers a unique and effective approach for launching a participatory research project based on "listening" to the voices of diverse community members. RSVP has developed a process that uses a survey of sorts to interview community members to generate information about a particular problem or issue and as a tool for organizing communities to act individually and mobilize collectively to solve community problems. RSVP educators have carried out "Listening Projects" in a number of places but their primary work has been in the Southeastern United States. William (Bill) Hartsock, a community organizer for RSVP, provided us with an overview of the process and examples of local social change efforts conducted by communities using the Rural Southern Voice For Peace "Listening Project" model.

We are Rural Southern Voice for Peace (RSVP) and we do what are called "Listening Projects." In terms of relations to participatory

research we are pretty much at the early phase of what we are thinking needs to be a larger process. What we do is facilitate a community "Listening Project" which is a deep type of empathetic listening that helps to bring folks together that normally wouldn't want to sit down and talk with each other. Its a survey of sorts but it is not like a Gallup poll or anything like that. What we are trying to do is probe and examine people's belief systems, why they feel the way they do, what is it that got them to think and act the way they do, and then to investigate what has fostered that belief system. Folks are brought together so people can talk and listen and share these feelings in a non-confrontational environment. We have done "Listening Projects" on homophobia to hog farming and essentially in all of them what we try to do is bring folks together to talk about differences and commonalties.

What we are trying to find is what the common enemies are. We believe it is not us, it is not each other, but it is the institutions in our society, the social structures that dominate our lives, the status-quo popular culture, scholarship, religion, power structures, etc. What we are trying to do is to turn the pyramid upside down and point to the real causes of the some of these problems as stemming from those with power not those without. It is also really believing that grassroots, powerless people who experience these problems have the solutions too. Not only the questions, concerns, and the problems. . . but the solutions too. You know there is the struggle to provide, make a living and to try and survive, keep a job, and all those things that keep us apart in terms of racism, classism, feelings of despair. But something magical can happen when people actually talk and listen together.

We try to work much like the model here at Highlander. You come together and share the feeling that you are somebody, you have got a story, you are worth something, your opinion is important, and your solution is important too. It all goes into the pot and gets stirred around and by golly soon some collective answers begin to come to light to the questions, problems, and difficulties that we are facing. We have done projects in Russia, China, and Bosnia, but most of our work takes place here in the Southeastern United States. We are going to begin some

projects around church-burnings here in the South. We are just beginning to work in communities in which black and white churches have been purposely burned. Specifically we are going into the state of South Carolina and move out from there. Essentially that project is more important than just rebuilding churches. It is about understanding why this is even happening and deal with the problem at that level by exploring it with some of the members of local right-wing groups, community people, and the church members to see what we can do.

But at a more general level RSVP's Listening Project's provide communications training and the chance for community educating and organizing. Trained volunteers survey people in their communities using a unique interview process that has been successful in increasing and improving communication between opposing groups. Survey results are used to develop new community organizing strategies. A Listening Project helps to: develop new community participation and leadership; clarify issues and community needs while building a foundation for action; increase understanding and common ground; and empower participants to work together toward new solutions.

A Listening Project is not a typical survey. It involves in-depth interviews and the building of positive relationships with the people you survey. Each survey takes 30-60 minutes to complete. Open-ended, non-threatening, but challenging, questions encourage people to look at issues more deeply than they might otherwise. The interviewer and the person interviewed face the community problems together and together they find possible solutions. The process is a positive one that often leads to wider community involvement.

The Listening Project philosophy is based on the belief that there is potential good in every person. In situations of conflict we believe that our opponents also have a piece of the truth and our focus remains positive. This builds trust so that Listening Project participants can focus on their common humanity and their shared hopes and fears rather than just looking at the differences and prejudices. Thus the people interviewed will be able to look critically at their own ideas and be more open to new ideas and change. Listening Projects start by asking

community groups to set goals and decide who it is to be reached through the process. A Listening Project trainer assists groups in clarifying those goals which will help to determine the nature of the survey in any given community.

The next step is the development of 10-25 survey questions which help guide the community interviews. RSVP Listening Project trainers help provide community group's "listeners" with training in nonviolence, active listening, and in how to conduct the actual survey. Following the training, two-person teams are then sent out to conduct the interviews. In many cases the interviews are done by going door to door in a particular community. In other cases appointments are set up with certain people for interviews. In either case the interviewer is there conducting a survey to get community opinions because they are important.

Listening Project trainers assist organizations in processing the survey results and in developing new organizing strategies based on the survey findings. Follow-up organizing is very important as it strengthens relationships and empowers those who have taken the time to share their ideas, hopes, and needs. For example sometimes we can help some people to turn their concerns and fears into action by helping find ways to get them involved. Or the survey results might get used to influence the actions of local authorities. This is the place in our process that we need more concerted efforts.

A Listening Project can last anywhere from one to four months depending on the groups goals and abilities. It requires a significant amount of time and effort, but it can result in significant benefits for any organization. Some of the things that can be accomplished with a Listening Project include:

- Developing a strong and realistic understanding of the concerns, hopes, fears, beliefs of the people in a community from which to develop effective organizing strategies.*
- Identifying the information and education capacities and needs of a community and begin educating people on the issues.*

- *Learning from the wisdom of the people.*
- *Developing relationships.*
- *Personal Change.*
- *Finding and involving new people in social change work.*
- *Finding ways to work with other organizations and with people of different ethnic, cultural, or social backgrounds.*
- *Helping resolve conflicts.*
- *Empowerment and social change.*

Each Listening Project has three main components: public education, community organizing, and personal change. By merely asking particular questions local organizations are able to put their agenda into the community consciousness. Usually a large number of people are asked to respond to the questions and the organization will likely have the opportunity to present their findings in various public forums (e.g., the media and public meetings).

It is interesting and maybe even disturbing to note that to a certain extent, it does not matter what the results of the survey are. If the results are negative to a cause (e.g., "80% of those interviewed displayed highly racist attitudes."), you can either publicly lament the fact and use it to demand educational efforts or maybe you can present another finding (e.g., "But in the course of the interview, we found that 40% who significantly modified their early racist remarks when they considered individuals they knew.").

We tell anyone considering a Listening Project that they should be aware that this method is open to the same charges of manipulation that attend many of the purported fact-finding surveys. Interpretation is always debatable, as are the effects of such variables as community events, semantics, the weather, the daily news, etc. In all surveys there is some aspect of public education. At the very least the one-on-one interviews are themselves educative of the listener and the listened-to alike. And by no means should the value of downstream conversations be dismissed. A major contribution of the Listening Project is the formalization of the community grapevine. People are going to be talking

to other people about the people and the questions brought to them for their input.

What distinguishes the Listening Project from most surveys, from needs assessments and attitudinal polling, is that it makes no pretense at being scientifically rigorous. A Listening Project is designed to engage the interviewee, it is not cold and objective, but rather warm and subjective. Since the Listening Project pays so much attention to feeling it gets people personally interested in the problems addressed. This makes for a golden opportunity to follow-up with individualized community organizing. Having identified the strengths and weaknesses within the community and having attained the confidence of individuals interviewed local community-based organizations can gain visibility, credibility, and status. You might say they can become well-placed with the people who count the most—your constituency.

This "heart" of the Listening Project is probably the most rewarding and also the most threatening to people with hardened attitudes including both listeners and the listened-to. But personal change is the bottom line, really—even though it is also the most difficult to achieve. Listening Projects are not just exercises in feel-good needs assessment. They are designed to lead to substantive social change and that collective change begins with the individual person. You know the people that are being done to are never asked and somewhere along the line there is a feeling of despair that begins to creep in the more you are being done to, a sort of learned helplessness of sorts. But if you really ask these people and are really faithful and honest while you are doing it you will find that they are going to tell you what's what and they even have some ideas about how to make it better. Somewhere along the line the empowerment process can kick in and they are going to know what they need to do. I see our project, as being one of the initiating things that can occur to get that whole spectrum of the community involved from organized groups to unorganized individuals.

In the past, I have to admit we have not been strongly enough working to help provide that follow-up work. At present, even as I speak, we are working on some plans to say, alight you want to have a

listening project so what community structure might be in place already that can help carry the ball and begin to work with the information that we have got, then doing the listening projects and stepping back and working forward again from the new insights in a concrete way. This is happening as it should on its own in some of the projects, but we just have not had the people-power to do as much follow up as I think we need to be doing. The number of "Listening Projects" grew faster than we could really keep up with them. It's not an easy thing to do to sit in a room with people who are entirely opposed to what you are all about, whether it's your skin, gender or whatever, to say anything about continuing to work together. When we come right down to the rock bottom core of our work at RSVP, it is all about community spirit. Do you really want to make the personal and structural changes that will make your community a better, more equal, and just place for all people to live? Or not? We believe that most people do and will do unto and right by others if given half a chance and that one of the most effective first steps we can take to create equality and make real structural changes is to listen to and act with the people who are usually done to, to do something different.

#7—*The Yellow Creek Kentucky Concerned Citizen's Fight Toxic Dumping and Investigate Community Environmental Health*

Beginning in 1980, a group of residents of Yellow Creek, Kentucky opposed the Middlesboro Tanning Company's negligence and lack of concern in the disposal of their hazardous substances and the release of toxic tanning chemicals into the municipal sewage treatment plant and thus into Yellow Creek. Toxins from the tannery overran the municipal sewage treatment plant poisoning the water supplies of all those that lived along the creek, yet city officials and company owners denied the problem and in fact, worked diligently to cover it up. Thus, the residents formed the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens Organization (YCCC) to fight for their rights and in a real way their

lives. With the help of the Highlander Research and Education Center, YCCC used the Freedom of Information Act to develop information on the company and chemicals involved; conducted community health surveys; videotaped waste dumping, city meetings, group activities, and actions; and worked with university researchers and scientists to determine the extent of the poisoning. Studies eventually revealed that leukemia rates along the creek were more than five times the national average; the rates of miscarriage and birth defects were equally alarming, as were a number of other types of cancer and the unlikely occurrences of a variety of highly unusual diseases. As a direct result of this community-based research project the residents along Yellow Creek were able to get a safe water line to each home, and eventually to win a class action suit against the tannery. A jury of their peers found the tannery owners guilty of gross negligence and together with the city of Middlesboro, KY ordered them to provide for an \$11,000,000 health fund to monitor, identify, and treat the effects of the poisoning in the Yellow Creek Community. The case is currently under appeal yet again by the tannery company owners. During the Workshop, local residents Sheila and Larry Wilson talked about their experiences and observations during their 17-year involvement in this work and parts of the PR processes that proved essential to their ultimate success in this participatory action-research project.

First of all we are from Southeast Kentucky, up in Kentucky's 5th Congressional district, and I guess it's important to say something about that. The 1990 Census said that we were the second poorest Congressional district in the US behind the South Bronx in New York City. We have the highest illiteracy rate, the highest unemployment rate, and one of the highest teen pregnancy rates, all in one of the most conservative congressional districts in the country. Well, the way to solve all those problems, according to our congressman, was draw a few new lines and alter the districts a little bit and a lot of the statistics changed a whole lot.

Yellow Creek is a little creek that flows through where I [Larry] was born and raised. I am the 5th generation of family on the same property there. The creek is 14 miles long from the point of discharge and there is a leather tanning company located upstream in the county's largest town. Middlesboro has a population of 10,000 people or 1/3 the population in the entire county. As the water came downstream from the tannery it was black, red, blue, white, and green water, it was all colors. We had a very colorful creek, but it came at a very high price: dead fish, a dead creek, dead farm animals, and dead people.

As our farm animals grew sick and eventually died we started talking to the neighbors about it and found that people had been concerned about water from the creek for years. We had been gone from the farm for about 15 years and apparently a great deal has changed. So as we wondered about what we could we do and what has been done, we found out that a lot of awful things seemed to be going on: pregnancies with still-borne babies, lots of miscarriages, something in just about every home along the creek. At first we were mainly concerned about the farm animals, recreation, and the lack of fish in the creek. When we first began to realize people were dying, we thought there must be something we can do. We hate to be accused of doing popular research or whatever you want to call it; we have never used those words on Yellow Creek. One reason for that is that we had been researched to death up there as long as I can remember: sociologists, cultural anthropologists, psychologists, government officials, you name it, they came and did research on us. My dad had a saying about all those researchers; he said, "Son, figures don't lie, but remember liars sometimes figure." So we had a lot of distrust of what we call hard research.

Then after we had been working for awhile on the problems with our creek we were asked to testify before the re-appropriation of the Clean Water Act in 1982. We had no idea what we were going to talk about. Here we had a chance to go to Congress, you know the big house, because there's where you get results because everybody knows they have the power to make things right. Right?

So in order to have something to tell the Congress, we went door to door in our community. Yellow Creek has about 300 households and around 900 to 1000 people. When we started talking to people, the first thing we did was organize; we started sharing information and gathering information, I guess that might be research too. . . . But anyway, we tried to learn what it was that was going on. So we were asked to testify, and I don't even remember we had around, I don't know how many members, but at this time we have 450 people out of the 900 or so in the community. But we went door to door to look at these birth defects that Sheila was talking about; "Our Problems In Pregnancy," we called it. And what we discovered was something different: a lot of children had leukemia. So we checked with some of the national cancer registries to find out what the incidence rates for leukemia were. Ours seemed to be double what it was for the nation. So not knowing any better we went up to congress with a couple of van loads of people and said, "We have got twice the amount of leukemia as other places, you've got to do something about it." And then the same line-changing congressman who fixed our unemployment problems told us, "We can prove that is wrong." Now this was real objective; "We can prove you are wrong." So our congressman called the Center for Disease Control (CDC) and they came up and did a survey and boy did they prove us wrong. They found that we did not have double the amount of leukemia: we had 5-7 times the normal rate!

Here's where we have trouble talking about this, because what we have had to do is figure out a strategy of what we wanted to do and have then tried to discover what we needed to learn in order to actually do what we think we want to do, what information do we need to be armed with to in order to do this work and to try to share with the rest of the community so that everybody in the community was involved and understood. So organizing, educating, and research are intermingled, and we find all of them to be inseparable, so if we misspeak, you academics please forgive us. But we came back from our trip to the Congress and we did a health survey door to door. Out of the 900 or so people along the creek we interviewed 97% of them face to face. Then

we collated the data and worked with some students from Vanderbilt University to analyze it. This time our research showed similar problems to the leukemia one with every health effect you could think of. We had something like 10 times the normal cancer rate and on and on.

During this same time we contracted with attorneys to help us address our grievances legally and they wanted experts to furnish the information we needed for our court case. Now we had a long history of everybody feeling put upon and knowing these expert types always took something away from us, not helped us. We know that despite how poor we are we have some of the world's richest deposits of coal, oil, natural gas, timber, and water, and people were always coming in to "help us," and what they really were doing is "helping themselves to our stuff." So we didn't trust anyone, and when they wanted to hire experts, our group insisted that they not, we would do that: we will hire the experts. So here's a bunch of people, most without a high school education, going out and interviewing all these PhD's, MD's, etc., and saying, "No we don't want you to work for us we want this person." I remember one of those instances. The group went to the University of Kentucky; the lawyer came up with the idea that we had been psychologically damaged. He was going to get a psychologist so he could claim it in court. So the first thing is that this psychologist said is, "We will have to design a special study down there because everybody knows that people in Eastern Kentucky are functionally illiterate." So our delegation got up and walked out and said we don't want him he's prejudiced. But we did this interview process with all of the experts that worked with us. In fact, we had to teach our lawyers that we were always to be a part of the research or anything that needed to be done.

Another interesting story is that this fellow, an aquatic biologist who had been doing a study for months and months along the creek, had set up stations, very scientific, all down the creek at different points and he was checking aquatic life, sediments, chemicals in the water. Upstream from the tannery's discharge point he had his control station. One day he called me. He had been doing this for months now; he had been coming up there twice a week taking these samples and analyzing

them. He said, "There is something wrong up here at my control station." I said, "What is it?" He replied, "Well, what appears to be raw fecal material and toilet paper are floating by. What is it?" I said, "Where is your control station?" He told me and I said, "Well, it is probably raw fecal material and toilet paper." Right upstream from where he had his control station is where they bypass all city sewage when the plants overload. Thus his data was all wrong and he really had no controls for his study. So he had to throw out all the data and start months of work over again. We decided that next time we better help him pick the spot for his control station. So we had a lot of that going on.

Where this really came to a head was in the first trial. As we told our attorneys, our biggest goal was that we wanted everybody in the community to tell their stories to a jury of their peers. We didn't care if we won or lost at that point. If we could get to do that, we would be happy, and their job was to get us on the stand. Well the first thing the court did was to not allow us to use the health survey that we had worked so hard on. But remember, everybody in the community knew about the survey and participated in doing and analyzing it. What had happened is that it had sensitized people to know about the types of illnesses that they should watch out for in the community so every time somebody got sick they would relate that to the creek and would debate whether or not it had caused that illness. So when they got on the stand, it was somewhat accidental in a way, but everybody started talking about the diseases. We had two cases of Kawasaki disease, whose ratio should be one in every several million, several cases of Krohn's disease, Wagner's disease, Graves' disease, which Sheila has also, and things like we had babies being born with spinal defects, like spina bifida.

When our doctors and experts came on and took the stand the lawyer said, "All these people have testified about all these diseases and the effects they have had on them. What diseases would you expect in a population that lived so close to these chemicals?" Well, he started to name them: Kawasaki disease, Krohn's disease, Wagner's disease, the very ones the people had testified earlier about. Because they had learned and were in a way experts about the health impacts of the creek because

of our health survey and the information we tried to share with others, these sensitizing experiences and their effects on the community proved really important to our success. Then when the aquatic biologist got up on the stand, he had done embryo studies on aquatic life, and showed these big color photos of these grossly deformed fish that had been hatched in Yellow Creek water. They all had the same spinal defects in those fish that the women were talking about in their children. So the jury actually awarded us more in terms of monetary compensation than we asked for.

We have had a number of results, some good and some not so good. The medical fund, a clean creek, and having fresh water to drink are some of the tangible results. So are a number of other community organizations either linked directly or indirectly to our organizing efforts in Yellow Creek. Our community has worked to elect officials that are sympathetic to our causes and help us to solve our problems instead of cover them up. Some of the other results were not as good, the violence: we were shot at, our brake lines were cut, the whole nine yards. So all of the results weren't good either. But we have had a whole lot of success and we hope we don't have to but would do it all again if we needed to!

#8—The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network's Maquiladora Worker Exchange Project

In July of 1991, nine workers from East Tennessee drove to the Maquiladora Zone along the US border with Mexico. They visited factories, neighborhoods, workers, and organizations all along the way. They heard detailed experiences about working and living conditions from the Border Committee of Women's Workers, and visited displaced workers in San Antonio, Texas for example. They went to see for themselves what life is like for Mexican workers in the Maquiladora Zone.

During the workshop, Fran Ansley and Susan Williams, participants in the first worker exchange, discussed the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network's (TIRN)

Maquiladora Program. Although the project was not conceived as participatory research the process and results, when examined in hindsight, offer a number of insights into the educative and transforming aspects of participatory community-based research.

In terms of the drawings we used to depict our work, this is kind of a big wall is representative of what we kind of think of as separating US workers from those south of the border. There are some people who are positioned to see both sides of the wall and take advantage of workers on both sides of the wall to play them off against each other--the multinational corporations. Our vision for how we started this work is shown over here in this little parallelogram which is Tennessee experiencing problems but not really being able to understand very much what they were all about. The group called Tennessee Industrial Renewal got started sort as a plant closing group because that was the immediate effect that we were dealing with in Tennessee. But as we started to get closer and closer to these plant closings one of the things that began to emerge was that a lot of times the plants were closing here the jobs were going to Mexico. In fact John Gaventa had been hired by a Union here a year or two before we started TIRN to look at one plant closing and document what had happened to people after the closing and whether or not they had been able to find jobs. What really had happened?

So we began to see these first attempts as the workers beginning to jump up over the wall to see what was happening across the border. But that is hard to do. So what we ended up deciding to do is break a hole in the wall and that is the project we will talk a bit about. The way we did that was to take a trip. A direct worker-to-worker exchange made up of people who were either in a situation where they had actually lost their jobs or were themselves threatened by plant re-locations. We rented two vans and drove down to the border. Through a national lawyers group I [Fran] belong to, I had met some people who actually work at the border and it turns out that one of them is an American Friends Service Committee comrade of Maria's [Maria Jimenez] named Ed Krueger who helped us with arrangements along the border. We went down in 1990 and asked if they would be a sister organization to ours

and if they would invite us so they we could come and visit with Mexican workers and talk and see for ourselves where our jobs were going. We raised money, we got monies from churches and foundations, and were able to get academic money to pay for a small part of the travel.

We went and it was a really truly incredible experience. We talked here last night as we tried to draw a window on our work and we certainly did not define this as research when we were doing it. If any body asked, we would have said what we were doing was education. I have been sitting here thinking that there has been a lot of things about pedagogy and experiential educational and maybe another way we can see this work is as experiential research. A lot of us had seen pictures of the working and living conditions along the border in Mexico before we went and we knew it was going to be a hard thing. But we all agreed when we came back that pictures didn't do anything to really prepare us for what we felt. We did that in 1991 and we lucked into the fortunate thing that right after our first exchange the whole NAFTA thing took off. People were able to identify one piece of this NAFTA phenomenon of global economic integration as a political issue that we had a right to have some say over. You know Congress was going to vote on it. So this one little trip represents this amazing shift that began to occur first with those people who had been on the trip and then with others that they began to share what they had seen. We formed a committee and tried to institutionalize this thinking when we got back. First we formed the Maquiladora Committee and then the Fair Trade Committee. Then our local community-based organizations formed a network and we all became part of this national movement against NAFTA and it was a really wonderful experience. Here is where we got introduced to and would participate in these tri-national networks that were mobilizing in response to the globalizing economy.

I think of our organization as being very active on this issue, our committees and groups have done things like have a motorcade through Morristown, Tennessee, which is the biggest mobilizing event ever to happen in Morristown. It was about NAFTA with a big public rally in

the park with speakers. We have lobbied congress, wrote letters, sponsored speaker tours and much else. I guess I should also say this is a two-way thing: we also had Mexican workers visit us. I guess where we are is that you can see this little telephone wire here and people on each side of the wall trying to maintain contact. This international networking creates big problems for us. We don't have the language capacity. Very few people who work with us or are in our group are fluent in Spanish and so just arranging to make a phone call is a big deal. E-mail would be great but we don't all have it. So one big question we have is how can we strengthen this communication between workers of different nationalities, languages, ethnicities, and cultures?

INTERACTIVE KNOWLEDGE, ACTING, RELATING AND EMPOWERING

Each of these examples demonstrates that interactive knowledge, shared experience, and understanding, provide the foundation for successful participatory research. The examples offer sound evidence that you can do successful mobilizing and organizing in local communities when you begin with the common knowledge and understandings of local residents. Generally this "folk knowledge" is shown to be at least as useful as instrumental knowledge, if indeed not the most useful form of knowledge produced during well done participatory research. Interactive knowledge is also shown to be a valid and necessary part of the ability to advocate for grassroots concerns and in the development of critical consciousness and transformation in order to mobilize against systemic bias.

The Cedar -Riverside Re-development effort began as traditional organizing in the form of a tenants' union that was then used in order to mobilize local residents to put their voices into the discussions about how to re-develop their community. During this

organizer-led social change effort they stumbled onto the participatory research process and it ultimately changed the whole direction of their project. The interactive knowledge they were producing during their organizing efforts and activities evolved into instrumental and critical knowledge in the form of the scaled models of their neighborhoods. These models became the tools by which community members produced and agreed to a community-based development plan. Instrumental knowledge, once possessed primarily by the organizers, was serendipitously shared with the community. It then became the critical knowledge that drove the participatory neighborhood-based development plans successfully through the approval process at the community and institutional levels time and time again. Participatory research, in this case accidentally, helped participants to alter decisions, challenge power, and transform organizers, local residents, and local institutions by showing the role, value, and usefulness of community-based wisdom in their local re-development efforts.

Interactive, instrumental, and critical knowledge were generated by using the scaled models in participatory fashion. Instrumental knowledge was used and produced as people worked with the models and began to understand what was indeed possible, given the physical limitations of the neighborhood. Interactive, or in this case connective knowledge, was also an integral part of this phenomenon in that by using the models people got to see their own block and the entire neighborhood as a scaled whole, not just individual pieces. During the process neighbors got to know neighbors and certainly the common understandings engendered in the activities played a key role in helping to overcome the "dueling house destroyers," as mentioned by Mungavan above.

Critical knowledge was produced in the Cedar-Riverside Re-Development Project by turning the traditional model of community development on its head. Instead of beginning with the knowledge of expert developers and working their way down to the community, they began with the common understanding and wisdom of the

community and worked their way up to a feasible development plan. Community input and knowledge were valued and allowed to drive the re-development organizing effort. By using the community's knowledge and energies to organize across blocks, a great deal of consensus was developed around the proposed development plan. In many cases of community re-development consensus is seldom the rule, it was only by "stumbling" onto the importance of community participation and knowledge that this re-development effort kept itself from becoming exactly like that they wished to fight. Instead, the participants in this project had a deep understanding and knowledge of the development plan, who it was for, why it was a good plan, how it would be implemented, and by whom. Participants in the Cedar-Riverside Re-development effort produced a better and more satisfactory plan for the people who were actually facing the physical development and it was a plan that included all members of the community. Interactive and instrumental knowledge coupled with organizing and action helped the project succeed at local levels and all the way up and through the chains of power in the city of Minneapolis. Indeed, the example serves to demonstrate that effective community development can be accomplished based on popular knowledge generated at the grassroots.

The RSVP "Listening Project" model demonstrated a participatory research process that is based in the production of interactive knowledge at its foundation. From that foundation, it is thought that you can begin to build successful organizing and change efforts on extremely difficult issues at local levels. In the RSVP approach it is understood that until some commonalties, or at least common understandings, are generated by "listening," the problem or issue is never likely to be solved. Listening Projects provide a well thought strategy for producing and then organizing around interactive knowledge produced from within a community by carrying out a survey of sorts that examines people's belief systems and why they think and act the way they do

on particular issues and in particular situations. Each survey is based on the context in the community where it will be administered. There is no set formula, rather a basic strategy is adapted and molded to fit given communities and issues.

The interview experience is used not only to generate information that can be used to develop common understandings of problems among community members, but also to begin organizing and mobilizing the community to address a particular issue. Results from the surveys are used to generate new and follow-up organizing strategies. By asking particular questions local organizations are able to put their agenda into the community consciousness through the people they interview and talk to. The emphasis in the process is on feelings, not cold hard data. The approach offers a nice way to do individualized, or household-based community organizing, but that may not be enough. As Bill Hartsock cited in his overview of RSVP's work, the strategy has yet to fulfill its potential to solidify community-based organizations and their capacities to do long-term work on local issues and problems that leads to collective transformation.

The YCCC example, much like the AFSC Border Monitoring Project, shows how grassroots people themselves can go through the process of making a private trouble into a public issue. It begins with individuals understanding there seemed to be a problem: dying animals. They then moved toward a common understanding among a large group of community members that indeed a problem existed: a toxic creek. They had used interactive knowledge to mobilize the community. After organizing themselves to that point YCCC began a research effort to see and assess local health conditions for themselves. By chance they were actually given the opportunity to present their case to a group of people with some power to help them in their struggles: The United States Congress. During testimony their community-based and participatory research was laughed at as "biased" and hardly the kind of "hard data" that could influence "decisions" at that level. When the official experts from the Centers for Disease and

Control arrived on the scene to do some "real science" they, rather than invalidating the communities research, instead validated the findings of the initial participatory research project. The instrumental knowledge produced by the community proved to be very influential in winning their court case on a number of counts. Thus a community organizing effort rooted in common, or interactive, knowledge evolved into a full scale research endeavor involving a variety of actions along the way. In a number of examples the community was even able to use their local knowledge to improve the expert's research. The whole of the process has been quite empowering for a number of the participants on a number of counts.

Many people looking in on the YCCC project consider the community-based health survey to be the foremost example of research. But, during a lengthy conversation, Sheila and Larry Wilson, local Yellow Creek residents and long-time participants in the project, pointed to what they consider to be even more basic elements in their local participatory research effort. Sheila and Larry traced the early aspects of the mobilizing efforts in Yellow Creek to more basic forms of knowledge production that built on common, or interactive knowledge.

Sheila—The first research piece for me was just looking in the state files and records and realizing how much documentation they had already and then realizing what we had been living through with and them knowing about it. So that fed wanting to know what else was there. How much more is there that they know? What all do they know that they have never told us? But that's not really the first research. The first was really talking to neighbors and finding out what other neighbors knew and had already done. That was our very first.

We found neighbors who had documents where they had written to the state and complained about the creek and from that we wanted to know how many neighbors had this stuff. We wanted to know how many people had written individually to the state or questioned it or whatever. Putting all that together was really the first research we did.

How many of them had stories about livestock or pets dying? Or changes that they had seen in the creek? That was the very elementary part of it.

We did this for a period of several weeks or months before we even openly announced that we had an organized group. We were meeting over in the Sugar Run Picnic Area on a weekly basis and people would bring letters that were written in the 50's and 60's and news clips from the 30's and 40's. That's what made us realize that there probably was a file somewhere at the state with these letters in it.

Larry—The other or next major sort of research we had to do was really trying to figure out who had the responsibility for monitoring this problem in our creek. Who had responsibility for enforcing the laws? What was that structure? What role did the city government play in this? You see we never even considered them to be a part of this. It was in a USEPA hearing that we first learned that the enforcement responsibilities lay with the little city of Middlesboro. You see we didn't know that and the EPA said you need to talk to the city about this. They hold the permit for this kind of dumping because the tannery dumps into their water treatment plant.

So we then we went directly to the City Council. But you see we didn't even know that at first. We had to learn the hierarchy, the structure. Then we had to learn what was meant by a permit. You mean there is some sort of permit that is written that says they can do this? Then we had to learn who monitors that. We were astounded to learn that the city monitors it themselves. In other words, the fox is in charge of the hen house. You know, we couldn't believe that stuff.

In effect, Larry and Sheila trace the origins of their work to their first attempts to use common knowledge about the effects of the creek to mobilize local residents. They go on to say that although they were able to generate considerable concrete, experiential, and interactive knowledge related to the Yellow Creek, they did not have much in the way of knowledge about other communities and people facing very similar problems. In

fact in this excerpt from an interview with Larry Wilson, interactive knowledge is and becomes instrumental knowledge.

You see as far as we knew when we started we were the only community-based environmental group in the world. We didn't know that anybody else had done it or was in fact doing it at the same time we were. We weren't even thinking of it in those terms. We never considered the fact that there were any other communities that faced this sort of situation and tried to confront it in an organized manner. We have heard about a lot of them since then, you know: Times Beach started about the same time we did, and a bunch of others before and since. But we didn't even think that there might be a group in Love Canal. It wasn't like we were saying, boy, have we got something here that is unique and we are going to invent the wheel. The fact is, we just didn't know anybody else that was doing it and so we just started to make our own way. We didn't have any models or anything. So everything we did involved research because we were operating in that vacuum of ignorance, or unawareness.

Clyde Smith, a life-long resident along Yellow Creek and the videographer for YCCC, had a great deal of interpretive and experiential knowledge about the condition and effects of the toxic creek, but he didn't know how to use that information to change the situation. It wasn't until he began to share his knowledge and experiences with others that he began to understand that maybe there was something that could be done about the creek; critical consciousness was evolving. Clyde went from being a singular individual with a great deal of folk knowledge about the situation, to a person acting in an organized way with others to change it for the better.

I remember one time in particular that they had a really big fish kill and the dogs was dragging them up in the yards and it really stunk. It don't take much of that to make you want to do something, but if you don't know what to do there ain't nothing that you can do. You see it began really when I was a boy back before this organization ever started. I'd see the creek running black and I'd have to swim in it if I was

swimming and I did. When you'd go fishing hoping to catch some fish you'd get down there and it would be running black and you'd just turn around and come back home—unless you could find a clear stream that was running into it then you might catch a few. . . I was mad and aggravated with them then, but I thought there wasn't anything I could do about it so when this organization started up I hopped right on that thing as soon as I heard about it. I figured it was going to be the only chance I had to do something about our creek. I was already interested in the thing when it started so when it did I was ready to go.

We had a state game warden that lived just down the road and he tried for a number of years to do something about it himself, but he didn't get very far. And then we had this state senator and he tried to stop it and he didn't get very far either, because you see he didn't have enough help. When this group started, I didn't know if that would work or not either, but it looked like the best chance we were going to have. We all jumped on the bandwagon and it worked. It's been a long struggle, but it's worked. You know it's hard to do anything with the politicians and business folks. You know they have got the power and they band together and you can't hardly do anything with them you know. But since I have been involved in YCCC it's made me realize that there is something you can do when you join together and start at it the right way: some things can be done.

Clyde learned through his involvement with YCCC that common knowledge isn't enough to make social change. Interpreted knowledge must be connected to both instrumental and critical knowledge in order to produce action and consequences intended to change the situation. Hotense Quillen and Gene Hurst, long-time active members in YCCC, provide evidence of two other aspects of interactive knowledge that informed the study. Experiential and interactive knowledge impacted the analysis YCCC accomplished during the community-based health survey and was also extremely important to the success of the interviews themselves.

Gene—*The women who did the interviews saw it as they went up and down the creek. They began to see patterns that some of the rest of us didn't.*

Hotense—*When we were doing this, all we were seeing was one disease after another in the same household, in the same families, all the way up and down the creek—and there we have got 14 miles of it—and you could see that we had the same diseases coming up in every community. You could see that, especially after you had been through the surveys so many times as you were coding them and what not. You almost had to see it.*

Gene—*The women that did the interviews realized what was happening as they progressed up and down the creek, but they also began to see some other things. Like in the time of a great deal of rainfall a lake actually forms where Yellow Creek runs into the Cumberland River. This thing can extend for a mile and a half back. Your gardens and your low lands and stuff are all under water. It stands there for several hours and in some cases up to a day before it goes back down. So this water became stationary, backwater if you will.*

At that time, if the rainfall was heavy enough, all of the lagooning system, and in some cases the entire waste water treatment plant, would be underwater. At that time the waste water plant also had a seasonal permit, which meant that if you had an extra 3 feet of water in the creek, you could throw anything you wanted, in any amount into it. Hotense and the other women picked up on it that things are much worse along the creek where this water is standing and soaking into the ground, and into the wells, and into people's homes in some cases. They figured out that they had a more severe problem down there.

Hotense—*You see, you were a part of that all the way up and down the creek; you couldn't help but be a part of it. Up until we did our survey I had never been up and down the creek like that before. I had run up and down it as people would you know, but not house to house and place to place. That was real exciting because you could discuss much more than just this with the people. You could begin the discussion because you knew their folks, or you knew someone that was*

connected to them in some way and you could go in with this conversation and that would lead into your health survey. If we had used students, or professionals to conduct our survey, it would have never happened. Strangers can't come into a community around here and get the kinds of information we got about people's personal health.

Through their common knowledge of their neighbors and community, YCCC interviewers were allowed access and to ask questions and get answers that strangers likely wouldn't have been able to get. It also allowed a 98% response rate; an almost unheard of rate in most traditional science. Though the community-based health survey was never allowed to be used in court as evidence, it proved to be a tool that generated a great deal of critical learning and will be explored more fully in the next chapter.

During interviews, YCCC members Clyde Smith, Larry Wilson, and Gene Hurst, each talked about an important and valuable technique for producing and using instrumental knowledge during their work. Video documentation served to produce useful concrete knowledge on a number of counts including for self-critique and learning by the members of the organizations and also in the ability of the group to hold people in power to the words they spoke in public forums.

Clyde—I don't think I did anything much; I was just along for the ride mostly. I got a video and took some videos of some of the council meetings had up here in Middlesboro and things of that sort. I left all the dirty work to them other guys. I guess John Gaventa is the one that gave me the idea to get a video camera. We had these hot discussions in these council meetings and he had that video camera; it would kind of help council members to stay in line when they were looking on. So I thought, well, John and them can't come up here every time there is a meeting, so I went and got a camera and started attending the meetings and filming them myself. That way we'd have it for a record too. And we did that and we filmed a lot of them, didn't we Larry?

Larry—Clyde probably did almost 100% of our documenting in terms of public meetings and actions and things. And that is back when video cameras were not common. He may have had the only one in the county

Clyde—I know one thing: I used one up, you know one of those old big ones with the power packs you wore on you hips. Heck, it pretty near took two people to carry it all. Well, I used it up you know; the color went bad. Then I finally got me one of those little ones.

Larry—Clyde would set that big old camera up before council meetings and they'd think he was from the TV station or something and treat him real well at first. Reverse intimidation you know. Another thing good that came of that camera was that we could show the film back to each other and we could use it to critique ourselves. You know there was a missed opportunity to make a point and the like, and we could see how they would change questions and shift subjects on us. Then we could make sure we were better prepared next time. You could also show people the film and see people actually doing things and have a better impression than just hearing someone else tell you about it. Lots of people in our group couldn't always go to the council meetings and they could watch the film and get just as mad as we did and often times pick up on things that we didn't.

Clyde—Sometimes we would use the camera when we were having get togethers just among ourselves; I would film that too. And when we had a bunch of people organizing for clean water up the road I did some things of them. We took some pictures of the creek running black, documented releases, fish kills, and some of that. You see, they are from over the mountain and they were trying to organize themselves to stop some strip mining that was going to pollute their drinking water supply. So they asked our group for some help and I was interested in that too, because Cannon Creek is where my drinking water comes from. So I attended their meetings and tried to help them learn how to do some of these things we did with the video.

You see, I wouldn't ask when I would go in to start filming; I would just go in and set it up and put the burden on them to stop me.

That's been another use of the video to help us document trials and things, court hearings, cause hearings, temporary restraining orders, trials and the like. We documented them and shared them with others. You know trials are intimidating and we could get people to see them in progress and maybe start participating. Also it was good to watch and see how they misled you or got you off the point you were driving at and got away with it. Then the next time they can't get away with it so easy. You just can't measure how important that is.

Gene—You know your own words being fed back to you sometimes don't make a good meal. I think one of the reasons we have been able to do what we have done for such a long period of time in terms of not only dealing with the chemicals, but also fighting our government, is that we taped every word in our own meetings and with all the officials we ever talked to. We took videos of all our dealings with people in power whenever we could. You know, people in power are so used to dealing with individuals and they want you to believe that they are interested in your well-being. Well we were able to show those videos to those same people still in government 10 years later and them fed their very own words from 10 years back. We were comfortable with that because we had it all on tape; we had the patronism, the lies, the stories. We actually fed it back to them and it was very effective and served us well.

Members of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network also utilized video cameras as they went to the Maquiladora Zone along the Mexican border to see for themselves where their jobs were going and to whom. As is in evidence in the example, what they found was a great deal different and more powerful than they had imagined it would be. In fact what they found, felt, and learned from the people and the conditions in the border "company-towns" provided the individuals and the organization with the seeds of fire that ultimately led to a great deal of critical transformation for grassroots community members. They had been organizing and doing actions in East Tennessee

for some time around plant closings. After returning from their trip, the organizing and social change efforts took on a global cast.

This case example probably created the least "hard data," although the video they produced based on their experiences is very moving and informative. But it is probably the example that best shows the intricate relationship between participation, research, education, action, and reflection to transform individuals and collectives. The group went seeking interactive and instrumental knowledge: where are our jobs going and to whom? They came back transformed having an experiential understanding of poverty, of the "Third World," Maquiladora, Free Trade Zone, and NAFTA. They understood quite clearly *where* and to *whom* their jobs were going. But even more importantly, they began to understand *why*. They saw for themselves why they were losing their jobs in the United States and felt for the first time the full human cost, not just their own, but also the workers with their jobs. What they saw and learned was that these workers and their families were suffering because of this work, not benefiting from it. It moved individual members and TIRN's organizational and mobilization activities from being concerned with plant closings in East Tennessee, to understanding the division of labor in the larger global context. I cannot think of a much more radical critical transformation than that. TIRN and its members went from trying to understand and act locally, to understanding and acting locally and globally. They began to really fathom the structure of the world capitalist social-cultural-political economy.

The RWARM example also provides much in the way of insight into the role of interactive knowledge in participatory research. RWARM researcher Delores Dell, spoke directly about the relationships between experience and knowledge held in common in their work surveying and interviewing homeless women.

For us, some of the advantages of doing participatory research are first seen in designing the survey. Our homeless experiences allowed us to know what kinds of questions to ask. Questions that other

homeless women would know how to respond to. So we had some advantages doing the survey. Another example is that while actually doing the interviews we had a certain rapport with the women we were interviewing. We had been homeless ourselves and had similar experiences. It made most of the women very comfortable to talk to us because they did not feel that we were like outsiders coming in trying to get information out of them. We explained to them that the information that we were gathering would be used not necessarily to better their situation, because we hoped they would have a home by the time we finished the project, but to make the experiences of shelters better for the next group of women.

So I think that these kinds of advantages will be seen in our data analysis of the information that we have gotten. Once again, having been homeless we may be able to interpret that information in ways that others may not understand. Sometimes there may be things said that if you haven't been through that situation you are not going to know what is meant. But having been homeless ourselves, I think that gives us an advantage to produce better and more useful information on the homeless experience for women.

In this example, Delores finds that the formerly homeless women's common knowledge of homelessness influenced the research design and the process by which the project was carried out to make better knowledge than would likely have been produced with traditional survey strategies. Betsy Santiago, another of the RWARM researchers, addressed another aspect of the role of interactive knowledge in PR when she reflected on being, or in a sense becoming, role models for the women they were interviewing. Not only was interactive knowledge used to inform the study it became a conduit by which hope could be shared.

For us one of the most important parts of doing participatory research was becoming role models for the homeless women we interviewed. Giving them some hope during crises and letting them know we were also homeless once was an important part of the process. The women we interviewed had the chance to see and hear how we got

out of that situation and I think it helped to give them hope. Also having someone actually care about their experiences and to listen to them was important. The interviews also became somewhat therapeutic for them to relieve all that stress.... In the long run what we were able to do in some way was to give them hope to keep on with their struggle and know that over time something good could happen. We were living proof.

The impact of this kind of knowledge production strategy is noted in the fact, that one of the RWARM researchers actually became a part of the project after participating in the study as a respondent. Catherine Ferreira, was so moved by participating in an RWARM focus group, in which the facilitators and other participants so valued her experiential and interpretive knowledge of homelessness, that she eventually become one of the researchers involved in the project.

I came into this project as a participant in one of the focus groups and then became more deeply involved as a result of that. During the focus group it was a really good feeling to not only hear the other people's homeless experiences and really hear these stories, but also to participate and tell my own story and experiences to people who were willing to listen and work to try and do something about it. It was very powerful for me. So much so that I wanted to become a part of this project and help others to experience the same feelings.

DISCUSSION

As evidenced, sharing interactive knowledge can be great thing for mobilizing people to begin to act collectively, but it also serves to work at other levels. The importance of common knowledge of the community or the life experience being investigated cannot be underestimated. As mentioned in the TIRN, YCCC, and RWARM examples the interviewers ability to be on the same "critical plane" as the interviewees helped to produce and access knowledge that would otherwise have been unattainable. They were able to achieve precisely the relationship between participants in

social science research as put forth by Dorothy Smith. The bifurcation between the researcher and the researched was non-existent, as they were in these examples one and the same people. The researchers were and are from the community carrying out the investigation. Their innate knowledge of the community serves to benefit the investigation not take away from it.

Beyond that, it is in evidence in each project that they have also produced interactive knowledge through forms of "dialogue" in the community as described by Patricia Hill Collins (1989, 1990). New knowledge claims weren't worked out in isolation, they were developed through dialogue between community members. This dialogue led to some extraordinary examples of community connectedness as seen in the Cedar-Riverside Community by the fact that no one was excluded from the development process and that each person who wanted to remain a member of the geographic community could do so. In the YCCC example interactive knowledge generated through dialogue provided the foundation for the entire project. When people along Yellow Creek came to understand that the only common life feature between families facing similar patterns of disease and sickness was the creek itself, it was only then that actions emerged. In these examples, dialogue, connectedness, participation, and multiple interpretations of the problems were indeed moved to a place of central importance during inquiry as suggested by Collins (1989, 1990).

Interactive knowledge also serves to mobilize communities in other, more cultural ways. Long-time participatory research practitioner, Helen Lewis, described several situations during her work with the community of Ivanhoe, West Virginia, that exemplify participatory research that values popular knowledge, and shows the ability of shared interactive knowledge to unite and connect people in very meaningful ways.

What was so interesting in Ivanhoe, Virginia, is the fact that so many songs got written, so many stories told, and so much history learned. One man brought forth a song he had written when he was

about 12 years old, and he was then about 70. The song had never been sung in public. He had written it about his father and he brought it forth and started singing it for the community. He was a very fine fiddler and so eventually they developed a little blue grass band and started singing the songs he and other community people had written, sometimes changing the words to represent the present.

The book they put together with their stories [see Lewis et al. 1990a, 1990b] also included a lot of poetry, pictures, and songs. People started writing stories about their lives and the things they remembered and their own life experiences and creative things. One woman wrote and produced a play on the life of an African-American man who had been a bus driver in the community. As soon as the schools were integrated he was fired from his job, because, they said, he was too old and he gave the kids too much candy. After that he just started walking the bus route to keep up with the kids and to find out what was happening to them. He would sit in people's cars and run their batteries down listening to the radio. He would go through their garbage to see what was going on with the family and things like that. So she took his story and wrote it into a monologue of his life and it was one of the most moving things. The whole family came out to see the play, including the man who the monologue was about. It was wonderful watch him see his story being told; it was very powerful for all of us.

Research can involve cultural things as well as facts and figures and numbers. There are many types of information out there and it is really just a matter of how to use them most effectively.

The way the people in Ivanhoe began generating and using interactive knowledge shows its most important function in PR, which is to build and sustain community. This form of knowledge serves to function on even deeper levels when it is turned into direct action itself. At its most basic level it is the act of caring, and that is what makes community possible. It is the sharing of lifeworlds against the backdrop of experience, tradition, history, and culture, to merge self and other and to begin to see the social world from the eyes of the other and then through self. It is to establish

common meaning and communion and to care about fellow travelers on the planet. Dora Roman, an activist in the AFSC Border Monitoring Project, addressed this part of interactive knowledge when she summed up why she does participatory research.

Why I do this work the way I do is, or at least the best way I can translate it is, that of caring or nurturing. Sometimes more than anything else we can do in the creative process is to let that process grow, to nurture the seed. I want to be uplifting but at the same time standing next to. In a lot of my work I count on that feeling. In Spanish we call it "con carino." In translation it means the act of being there with love for creation in order to sustain the individual to grow. I think that is kind of how we need to feel that we are there for those we work with that we have a philosophy that guides us that is based on care and regard for the individual person.

As Dora spoke these words during the workshop I had my own epiphany. I think she is onto the basic reason why most of the people in these case examples worked for the changes they sought: they cared about the other. It isn't as though these participatory researchers have obliterated the self and become martyrs to the cause, but what each of the examples in this chapter represents is the ability of community members to care about the other. It is to have come to the critical understanding that communities can be developed in more sustainable ways through cooperation and care than competition and carelessness. Larry and Sheila Wilson offered two moving examples, where simply put, humanity and community overwhelmed the process. For Sheila and Larry, and I would suggest for many of the members of YCCC, it became clear what their struggle was really all about: people, family, and community.

Larry—Well, there are two things that really got to me and made me see what we were really working for. One of them was when the old house that was here fell down around our ears. It went a piece at a time and the bathroom fell off. We had no wall or roof but all the fixtures were there. I had lost a number of jobs as we went through all this and had lost probably the final one I was going to have around here, or at

least close to it. Some of the neighbors were onto me pretty heavy that I ought to repair that bathroom. Well what I couldn't, or didn't, tell them was that we couldn't afford to. There was no way. I didn't know what we were going to do. You know winter was coming up and everything was going to freeze up. Besides that Sheila and the girls going out to take a bath at night holding sheets up around them was bad enough. You had to make sure you stepped carefully on a floor joist or you'd fall through.

Every time someone would say something, we'd say it's our problem and we'll take care of it. One Saturday morning I heard a bunch of commotion. Somebody was knocking at the door, so I pulled on my jeans and Hotense Quillen was at the door and said, "OK, you son of a bitch either you get out here and help us build you a bathroom or get out while we do it. There was pickup trucks all over and covered dishes and stuff and they literally put the bathroom back on in one day. You know that was a defining moment right there. It was a powerful one. You know it wasn't directly to do with the creek, but it had to do with community.

We had a similar one to that when the water line came through. They were charging \$150 to hook onto the new line. The water line had just come through and we had gotten a grant for low income people to be hooked up on a sliding fee scale. We definitely could have qualified, but we had worked so hard and were so closely identified with the project, that Sheila and I talked about it and there was no way we could ask for that money, because that would give the impression that we had benefited personally from it. So that same evening we happened to be having a meeting and this was the final night to get everybody signed up to be on the water line. Well, we went to the library and Hotense came up and handed me an envelope and there inside was \$150 in mostly one dollar bills and silver. We had never said anything about not being able to afford the hook-up fee and never said anything about not applying for this grant money. But the rest of the community was perceptive enough that they knew that and they took up this collection and didn't make a big to-do about it: they just did it.

Sheila—*Well, you know you do all these surveys and you read all this stuff about diseases and everything and even to you it's still yet kind of statistics, like we talked about before. But then when you see this stuff in your own kids and as part of your own family you just really start....*

You know when Larry was talking about officials treating us like statistics? A few weeks ago our son and daughter had a miscarriage and that's just how we were treated. My daughter and I were just very upset and that doctor in the delivery room where we were talking about having an autopsy done, he just says to us, "This happens all the time." Like that should make us feel better.

You know they expect for this stuff to happen. It is becoming so normal to have babies born along the creek with their organs all messed up. It has been happening more and more these last few years. So even as a group working and saying all these things and knowing it, but it really touches you the closest when it's your family and you really hate the bastards that did it!

SUMMARY

Each of the case examples presented in this chapter demonstrate the usefulness and ability of participatory research to produce interactive knowledge to mobilize community organizations against systemic bias. They also show that sharing and using interactive knowledge can be the perfect entry point to begin to organize and empower grassroots people to act on local issues and problems. In each story, common, or interpreted, or interactive, knowledge provided the impetus for further research, education, organizing, mobilizing, and action. Then when powerless people combined their interactive knowledge with instrumental knowledge to mobilize against the powerful, critical knowledge was generated, and some success gained in altering oppressive institutions and structures in order to serve the community base.

CHAPTER 6

PR AND THE THIRD DIMENSION OF POWER: DEVELOPING AND SHARING CRITICAL KNOWLEDGE TO BUILD THE CAPACITIES TO TRANSFORM CONSCIOUSNESS

•

The most potent weapon of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.
Steven Biko

When we analyze the case examples in terms of the third dimension of power, which focuses on questions of knowledge, culture, and class consciousness, what people are participating about becomes the critical variable, and forms of political education, or awareness and capacity building, the crucial strategies for empowerment and transformation. To challenge the third form of power people need to develop the knowledge capacities to be active in their own efforts to make beneficial structural changes in their interests. In PR these are conscious actions, based on a thorough analysis of the workings of the social-cultural-political economy, that envision a better world for oppressed people, and are implemented, not for a single victory, but in order to empower individuals to transform basic social structures.

Each of the examples in this chapter demonstrates, that the empowerment of people is not achieved simply by political education that combines instrumental and interactive knowledge. Rather, the ability of powerless groups to achieve their own interests only grows from social action based on critical, collective analysis and reflection on local problems informed by a conscious, participatory, popular education effort. This kind of experiential education creates the opportunity for powerless individuals and collectives in turn, to become critical, and upon further collective analysis, action, and reflection, more critical yet. In the case examples, each element in

the participatory research process serves to develop the capacities of less powerful groups to devise more effective research, education, and action strategies to overcome ever larger problem-solving challenges.

WINDOWS ON THE WORK... PART THREE

#9—*Anishinabe Niiji, Treaty Rights, Environmental Protection, and Cultural Consciousness in the Upper Midwest*

Dick Brooks and Michael Goldberg work with a number of different projects in the Northern Midwest including the Long Haul Folk School, Access Media, and Anishinabe Niiji (Niiji). Niiji emerged as a cohesive group from the treaty rights struggles in the Northern Midwest of the late 70's and early 80's. In its present form, Niiji, which is Ojibway for "friends of the people," is a diverse assortment of indigenous tribes and local community-based organizations working to prevent ecological and cultural destruction in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Through their long-term work Niiji has come to understand the viable and valuable role that participatory research can play in the power struggles between communities with limited access to resources and power on one side, and state institutions and multinational corporations on the other. They have struggled with state legislatures and institutions who have the power and the ability to interpret and write the laws governing surface mining in the Midwest. They have also had to fight long and hard with powerful, large-scale, multi-national corporations intent on profit no matter the cost, their almost limitless pocketbooks, and huge staffs of experts. The state of Wisconsin and some of the world's largest multinationals have combined to produce a multi-headed monster that seldom concerns itself with grassroots communities' social and ecological needs or interests. So far, the community-based opposition to sulfide mining in the Midwest has

held the monster at bay at least in Wisconsin. Dick and Michael shared with us during the workshop aspects of Nijji's participatory research that have demonstrable results.

We work in the northern part of the Great Lakes around the headwaters of the Mississippi River. This area represents something like 40 to 50% of the fresh water supply in the United States. There have been a number of different proposals to do copper sulfide mining in this area by Exxon, Rio Tinto Zinc, Kennecott, Noranda, and a German mine company that has a huge smelter located in the area. None of this had really taken place until a major ore discovery in 1976. At that time a number of farmers began an effort to stop a mine near them. At the same time running on a concurrent track from 1974-1984, the Lake Superior Chippewa were suing the state of Wisconsin over treaty rights and in 1984 that was finally decided, giving back rights once treated to the Chippewa people. The northern third of Wisconsin and Minnesota has now been upheld by the US Supreme Court as ceded territory of the Lake Superior and Chippewa tribes of Wisconsin and Minnesota. So as a result of that you have the law of the land, the treaty rights, guaranteeing that certain things happen in terms of fish, wildlife, land-use, etc.

Concurrent with that decision over treaty rights, multinational mining operators announced in the early 1980's that they were planning to start going after the recently discovered ore deposits in Northern Wisconsin. So a coalition began to form quickly between the environmentalists and tribal concerns. Environmentalists saw treaty rights as maybe a way to stop some of the development projects and tribes saw the environmentalists as resource or ally with a great deal of technical expertise. So the job became to get the word out and develop the infrastructure to fight the world's largest resource mongers, Exxon and others. The group was named Anishinabe Nijji which is Ojibway and means basically "friends of the people." That is Why we do our work, now we will talk about what strategies and methods we have used.

What we had to find out was how the mining companies were controlling what was happening in the state. I mean what we needed to know is: What state laws were to be applied in the permitting of the mines? and How did these laws work and who were the people going to be that were in charge of figuring out whether or not the mine would be allowed to operate? Further, we needed to understand how all this was being operated behind the scenes by these multinationals? We had to find the connections between the state and the corporations. In 1991, six years in anticipation of their announcement for a request for a permit, Exxon laid out their plans for a large mine. So we needed to know what was the story of the mine.

We did not have any research design for this project, no academic or scientific people saying what are we going to research. But there was an academic type which is an important part of how we did our work. One professor at UW-LaCrosse, Al Gedicks, who had been working with the tribes for a number of years, was a tremendous wealth of information. He also set up an organization the Wisconsin Resource Protection Council so that other people could participate with him, but he was really operating as a rogue professor, without tenure. He has tenure now, even working with us through all this. Al really had a lot of information and, almost more importantly, people were able to find out from him where the information they needed existed.

A local resident, Evelyn Churchill, who died recently at the age of 82, became an absolute expert on the Department of Natural Resources rules and regulations and statutes regarding mining and exploration. She lived on a farm and in the basement are two 10x10 foot rooms filled with papers and stuff on mining, much of which she collected herself and some of which her neighbors etc. started to bring to her. We saw right away that the important thing we could build into the structure is the ability to share information, so we bought this 82-year-old woman a fax machine and a word processor. She went from a manual typewriter and a person who did not even believe in using an answering machine to eventually using e-mail and that just really changed things for her. We put a fax machine in LaCrosse at Al

Gedicks' house; we put them with our contacts in Madison and a few other key places. Then Evelyn started to figure this out and do all these legal analyses and share them with all sorts of different people. She became a real grassroots expert in this struggle for democracy, who always proved valuable to our cause and became quite a thorn in the sides of the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, the Governor's office, and the pro-mining interests.

One of the key legal issues for Niiji was a decision originally in our favor, that was just overturned on appeal, about whether or not the Department of Natural Resources has or is the statutory third party to issue a ruling about a type of mining: in this case sulfide rock. In other words, mining in rocks that have sulfide in them. You might want the copper or zinc or whatever but what it all has to come from is the rock which is full of sulfides and once the rock is mined the sulfides are released from the rock and will eventually pollute and toxify the ground and lake water in the area. Niiji found that it was able to build an alliance between environmentalists and the tribal people, but another thing we needed to be able to do was to talk to the environmentalists who lived in Madison, Minneapolis, and other places. We were able to talk to them because we had computers and that was a language they understood. This turned out to be really important because they had a lot of resources with information that we needed to know. They also had a full-time lobbyist in the legislature and we started to get a lot of information out of the legislature that proved quite useful to us. A lot of information has also been generated by the people living around the area, generally family farmers and residents on the lakes and in the woods. Local people have also started generating and pulling popular information together and have themselves begun to pick apart the mining companies' technical reports. Local residents are discovering the physical layout and the geography, geology, and social and economic characteristics of the area like they have never understood before.

Local people have found springs and water resources that are not mapped by the mining companies. They have just completely skewered the entire mining companies' whole water and hydrogeology research

based on their own painstaking community-based research efforts. As everyone argued about this in court and the mining companies' scientists were saying these are not spring-fed lakes, local people are going down into the lakes and bringing back proof that there are springs down there.

Grassroots communities got together and located three endangered species on the mine site after the Environmental Impact Statement was done. They brought in their own experts and in one situation they boated a specialist on the water—he was into mussels etc.—to look in the river for an endangered native species of mussel and once they got their boat on the river the dam upstream opened the locks unannounced. They had a diver with them and all the appropriate buoys and markers out on the water and everything. But someone opened the locks and threw the boat over and everyone into the river. Eventually the research did find the mussels that the mining reports stated categorically did not exist. As it turned out if we would have shown the Department of Natural Resources these endangered species before the completion of the Environmental Impact Statement we would have stopped all of the mining. But according to their rules, now it's too late. So the research was done but our timing was off, but we learned some valuable lessons for ourselves and have been able to share what we have learned with others.

We also have a coalition of the four tribes: the Oneida, the Stockbridge-Muncie, the Menomonee, and the Lake Superior Ojibway. These are separate nations, not Chippewa. These are four completely independent cultural nations who made an alliance and began sharing data between themselves on water resources, harvests, and cultural issues. They each had been working extensively preparing their own legal issues on separate tracks to stop the mines and save the land, and their work together is at least right now pretty much under wraps. So all of this kind of research is going on.

A number of the results can be traced to this work. A major one is to win our court case that upheld Native treaty rights, we have had legislation calling for a state moratorium on sulfide mining that passed the state house, but when it came to the senate they closed the senate and

adjourned for the year rather than deal with it. A major mining lobbyist was appointed by the Governor as a Secretary of the Department of Natural Resources and through a coordinated campaign and background search and everything else we did we got that appointment overturned. There has also been a new coalition between the local sports-people and the Native Americans. Hunters and fishermen who 10 years ago were engaged in violence and racist activity against those who struggled for their treaty rights are now working hand in hand to stop the mines that was originally scheduled to open in 1992. As they started to work together to stop the mines, folks who were at odds began to eventually see that they had more in common than different. Right now the mine is nowhere in sight and we don't even know if it's going to be possible for them to open in the future. We plan not!

#10—The University of California at Los Angeles Labor Center's Community Scholars Program and The Santa Fe Municipal Employees Union & Communities for a Better Environment Investigate Worker and Community Health

The Community Scholars Program (CSP) is a joint initiative of UCLA's Department of Urban Planning and the Center for Labor Research and Education. The CSP recognizes the important role that community and labor leaders play in sharing community development policy and implementation in Los Angeles. The goals of the program are to help local learners become more effective in the policy arena, provide an opportunity for diverse organizations to become familiar with each other through the program, and to exchange knowledge between the university and the community. The CSP offers an opportunity for community and labor activists, regardless of their educational background, to participate in a nine-month focused project seminar which involves both graduate students and Community Scholars. The purpose of the seminar is to examine an issue in depth, develop a project, and generate a useful product. Community Scholars are also welcome to participate in any other courses of their choosing offered through the Department of Urban Planning and through special

arrangements may take courses in other departments in the School of Public Policy and Social Research. The participants in the workshop from the CSP were Carlos Porras, a former leader in a local union building effort and now a community organizer for Communities for a Better Environment, Linda Delp with the UCLA Labor Occupational Safety and Health program, and Gilda Haas with the Community Scholars Program. As part of one of the cycles in the program Carlos, a Community Scholar, along with Gilda, and Linda, several graduate students, professionals, and a number of local residents and workers developed a participatory action-research project to investigate local environmental concerns. This is the story they told.

There are three different components of collaboration at work here. One is with the university, particularly the Community Scholars Program at UCLA, that contributed in part to the development of this process. Another is the Labor Occupational Safety and Health Program, at the Labor Center also at UCLA. And the third is the community that I work for, the Community of Sante Fe Springs, California, and the intersection of an oil refinery that was impacting the municipal workers there.

I was an employee of Sante Fe Springs and was also elected president of the local unaffiliated union representing municipal employees. Our public works yard was situated adjacent to an oil refinery and this refinery was emitting a lot of gummy substances that we really didn't know what they were. It would come down and settle on the cars and if you didn't wash the car right away it would start eating the paint. So this is what created some commotion among the workers because everyone wanted a clean car. You know everyone protects their car. At first nobody was really concerned about breathing the stuff it was their cars. . . . So it starts out with this situation with the refinery reacting to our concern about our cars. It wasn't only us as city employees who were questioning them but everyone else with cars in the vicinity as well. So their agreement, or solution, was to create an agreement with local car washes and they hired some private individuals

to do auto detailing. They set up little canopies in the parking lot and they would wash and wax your car right there on the spot free of charge. This was great for everybody, they really thought they had something. You know every Friday night you would be there to have your car washed, waxed, and ready to go cruising for the weekend.

In that same period of time, this went on for about a year and half, we had six employees from our public works yard retire and within one year four out of the six died of various cancers. As a small group of employees it was kind of like a family and everybody knew everyone else's families, so when they passed away we would go to the funerals and participate there and do our condolences to the families. At the fourth funeral the question was raised. I was sitting in the pew at the funeral home and an employee came up to me and said, "I just came from the car wash and am making this association. Could it be that what is eating the paint off our cars is doing something to us and when we retire we really don't have long to live?" So that was the key question that got us going.

That question really created a lot of turmoil because Powerine [the local refinery] was a heavy contributor in keeping dollars flowing to city hall here and city hall, who was our employer, was not really all that responsive to our concerns. Basically what city hall's response was, "If it was hurting you someone would have told you about it." So they really wanted us to kind of go away and not really respond to our questions.

We were not really satisfied with that so we went trying to seek answers on our own. First we started with AQMD, which is this mega-agency bureaucracy, meant to help folks looking for information about environmental concerns. At first they would not give us answers. We went to the Department of Health and they wouldn't give us any answers either. So it became quite a challenge for us but we didn't want to give up. Next, the employees and the union went to the university and we went to a group of students who were in the process of developing their master's theses and comprehensive projects for their masters. We made this presentation and said, 'Look we have got this situation happening in

Sante Fe Springs and here is what the results are and why we think it is important." Several of the students agreed to work with us.

We then brought the students and the union back to the community to start the research process. It developed that there was some conflict because the city of Sante Fe did not want outsiders coming in, so they immediately wanted to control the research and said, "We will hire some consultants, who will do the research, and we will give you the results." It kind of skewed the question a little bit because our question was, "What is this refinery doing to our health?" and they bring in the question, Sante Fe Springs is an industrial city with various sources of pollution so we are going to ask the question, "How do all of those sources contribute to the health impacts of our workers?" That was a project that got tremendously blown out. They did conduct their research and their research was inconclusive. You know there is no statistical significance between industry in Sante Fe Springs and Community health.

So we realized that our question was targeted at this one refinery and that's what we asked the students to help us research. Our research findings basically came back with what the various health impacts were. First of all we identified what was really coming down on the cars and eating the paint. Second, what the human health impacts were to long-term chronic exposure to those substances. And third what are the other problems that are related to refining industry located in communities that are densely populated. So our questions really led to some significant knowledge for the employees and the local community. Besides that the Sante Fe Springs Municipal Workers were able to leverage a Health and Safety Committee which they never had before. We were also able to leverage a contract in which the city would require Powerline, the oil refinery, to put in fence-line monitoring so that when they had disruptions, at least we would know the levels of exposures and we could at least track that in some way. The students and the union developed this research and when we went back to both AQMD and the Health Department with more focused questions we got information

from them that they always had but did not want to give us in the first place.

So anyway it ended up in this contract agreement between our union and the city which was really good for all of us. But, part of the results were a little bit negative in that city hall really reacted harshly to this because we the employees then had some power that we never had before. I personally [Carlos] ended up in a series of harassments and basically got demoted for my involvement in helping to protect worker's health. I was a supervisor at the time and through this documentation project little harassments such as writing me up because I was wearing my Caesar Chavez pin, or not answering the phone appropriately, led to my demotion and ultimately forced me out of my job. So that was one result we did not expect; I was fired from my job there. But that then led to my getting a position as a community organizer with an organization named Citizens for a Better Environment, which we later changed to Communities for a Better Environment (CBE).

Based on this work Carlos took his experiences with him to CBE and developed another community organizational effort connected to the UCLA Labor Center and grounded in the principles of participatory action-research. The importance of Carlos' experience with PR is in evidence immediately upon his employ as an organizer with "Communities for a Better Environment."

Communities are extremely disempowered when asking for answers to these types of questions about environmental health of bureaucracies and the power structure. So this is what I brought to CBE. We developed a target of the Southeast area of LA as our regional base, which Sante Fe Springs is a part of, but we were now working with a larger area. It is a largely immigrant community and very unstructured and in trying to develop some resources I knew that the university had helped me in Sante Fe Springs so that was kind of the model that I wanted to use for our organizing strategy for CBE.

So we targeted the most polluted region, Southeast LA, and these largely immigrant communities that did not have a lot of organization within the community. We went to the university again and collaborated with them to write a proposal to the National Institute for Environmental Health Science and got some funding. We then did some research which was first of all driven by CBE using the resources of UCLA. This led to a survey in which we hired people from the community to do the survey and collect data from the community about what health problems, or the perceived problems in the community. From that we developed a mass of data and that is where we are with that project. We have accumulated the data and are now in the process of collectively evaluating that data in our communities. We are attempting to use this process to mobilize more people for our effort. In the process of all of that we ended up with several struggles in communities in the Southeast where communities had some project that they needed assistance with. So we now have four different campaigns where we are trying to use our legal and science resources at CBE to intervene in site specific campaigns.

The story behind the name change of our organization is also partly tied to my experiences with participatory research and also my experiences as a person of Mexican descent. When I got hired at CBE it was called Citizens for a Better Environment. My campaign was partly in the immigrant community and the word "citizens" didn't really fit in the middle of the whole Proposition 187 thing, which many of you might know of. [Proposition 187 is an anti-affirmative action bill voted into law by California voters in November 1996. It was immediately challenged on constitutional basis and is presently under appeal.] I am running out of time so I can't go into details but anyway, we began by having to organize CBE not only in the communities, but the organization itself needed to do some re-thinking and raise its own consciousness before working to help others do the same. Our first step in that direction was to go through the process of consciously changing the name of the organization by dropping the word citizen and the connotations it entails that don't describe the status or situation of the large numbers of legal immigrants in the communities we were trying to

organize. We replaced "Citizens" with what we believe to be the more encompassing, inclusive, and descriptive "Communities" for a Better Environment. Through this process we as organizers at CBE came to a more critical consciousness and understanding about the people that we work with and I believe are doing better and more effective organizing within immigrant communities. After all, they tend to be the folks who suffer from the most environmental discrimination and racism and have the least power and resources to do anything about it.

#11—The East St. Louis Illinois Action Research Project

East St. Louis was once a prosperous industrial center in Illinois and served as the main entry point into St. Louis, Missouri. It is now one of the nation's most distressed central cities. In East St. Louis one is able to see the decay wrought by the suburbanization of the wealthy sectors of the population; the development of new technologies and the relocation of plants away from the central cities; children playing in unsafe sites once occupied by heavy industry that has since moved; young adults hanging out on street corners; older people sitting on deteriorating porches; and the debilitating influences of drugs, crime, and massive unemployment. Currently, the population of East St. Louis is 43,400. Of this population 98% are African-Americans, and 40% of families live below poverty level. This population is forced to live day to day with collapsing sewer and water lines, few job opportunities, deteriorating park facilities, poor educational services, inadequate housing, and hazardous materials left over by the pre-war industries.

Rocco Goins, Carolyn Fuller, Lorraine Jones, Angie Morgan, and Ken Reardon offered an overview of the successes the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) project has had in helping to rebuild this forgotten community. This ongoing participatory action-research effort gives guidance about the opportunities for progressive social change through community and university collaborations. This

example also shows that participatory action-research methods need not be limited to adults! Young people can also do some impressive things when given the space to participate in decisions that will impact their lives. Although the basic story remains intact, due to problems in the audio-tape, some holes in this discussion were filled in with details drawn from several of the articles written about the project by collaborators in the ESLARP endeavor (see Appendix 9).

In 1989 academic units at the University of Illinois began providing technical assistance to East St. Louis community organizations involved in neighborhood stabilization and improvement projects. At the end of the first year of activity the University project conducted a survey of East St. Louis leaders to solicit feedback on the project's effectiveness. The survey showed that very few people were even aware of the university's efforts and most were skeptical of commitment levels because according to them, the community had been the subject of much research in the past and few positive results had emerged. Inadequate needs assessments and faulty analyses of local conditions had produced plans that did not, from the perspective of local residents, meet community needs and these programs were then often implemented in the communities without their participation. Thus, we argued for a more participatory approach to community development planning. After reflecting on the results of the community survey, the Illinois planners and designers in conjunction with local communities aimed for a participatory action-research approach to the project.

In the summer of 1990 a university team, with the assistance of the Lessie Bates Neighborhood House, contacted the Emerson Park Neighborhood Association, which invited the team to its monthly meeting. At first, Emerson Park residents were very skeptical of the University's intention and scrutinized the activities of faculty and students. In late August, after the university team fully explained participatory action-research, Emerson Park Leaders showed great interest in having the university work with local residents in creating a comprehensive redevelopment plan for the neighborhood. During the

Fall of 1990, students enrolled in the Neighborhood Planning Workshop at the Department of Regional Planning at the University of Illinois worked collaboratively with Emerson Park residents to develop a five-year neighborhood stabilization and development plan for this community of 2500 low-income residents. With the success of this project and others, organizations began to seek out and be interested in doing similar work with the Urban Planning Department, like the Winstanley/Industry Park Neighborhood Improvement Project for an example.

In September 1991 local residents in the Winstanley/Industry Park Neighborhood contacted the Department of Urban Planning concerning a possible technical assistance project for the neighborhood. After hearing about the work in other neighborhoods local residents were eager to have similar work undertaken in their community. Reverend Gary Wilson of the United Methodist Church organized a small group of residents to work with Ken Reardon and a team of eight Masters students on a year-long planning and design project. This small group of residents provided valuable leadership throughout the planning process and formed the core of what was to become the Winstanley / Industry Park Neighborhood Organization (WIPNO).

During the first year of the project, the students worked with neighborhood residents to produce the Winstanley Industry Park Neighborhood Improvement Plan — a 487 page assessment of existing physical, economic, and social conditions, including preliminary programmatic solutions that respond to some of the neighborhood needs identified in the original plan. The primary data collected for use in this plan was gathered by the student project team. Residents participated in the planning process by reviewing the survey instruments and analyzing the data. Residents, students, and faculty worked together to identify community problems and develop preliminary solutions. The plan itself was completed in July of 1992 and focused on the following issues:

- Emergency Health Services and Infrastructure*
- Housing*
- Urban Design*

- *Economic Development and Job Generation*
- *Substance Abuse and Crime Prevention*
- *City and Regional Policies Affecting Neighborhood Stabilization*
- *Building a Viable Neighborhood Organization*

In addition to producing the plan, members of WIPNO and students solidified the organization's six person leadership core and build a membership base of 25 residents who actively participated in meetings and planning activities. We were also able to produce a Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Proposal, similar to funding proposals submitted by other neighborhoods. This proposal was funded making \$250,000 available for neighborhood housing and street improvement projects.

In August of 92 a year-end review of this initial Winstanley/Industry Park planning effort concluded that the Department of Planning should spend an additional year in the neighborhood to assist residents in implementing the Neighborhood Improvement Plan. In late August, the students approached the members of WIPNO to ask if they were interested in a second year of university technical assistance that would focus primarily on implementation: "getting things done, rather than talking and planning." The membership unanimously approved the proposal and together residents and students crafted an ambitious slate of activities for year two. All of the activities suggested were based on five main goals:

- *to achieve immediate, visible neighborhood improvements;*
- *to develop a five year implementation strategy to guide the organization;*
- *to pursue funding for full-time staff and program implementation;*
- *to build the membership base of the organization; and*
- *to formalize the organization and secure its legal incorporation and tax-exempt status.*

Rather than attempting to accomplish these goals sequentially, the Steering Committee and students decided that these goals should be

pursued simultaneously. In other words, organizational development would proceed along with planned development and neighborhood improvement activities. Organizers selected this approach because the goals were interdependent. For example, organizational development, which includes resident recruitment, leadership development, and formalization of the organization, would give WIPNO the legitimacy it needs to effectively lobby elected officials and public agencies to respond to neighborhood needs. It would also give WIPNO the legitimacy to seek further funds for program implementation and for full-time staff from both public and private entities. Neighborhood improvement activities would serve to expand WIPNO membership by demonstrating to area residents that the organization is serious about community revitalization. The implementation plan would provide a long-range vision around which residents could mobilize. The plan would also serve as an effective means to attract outside funding and as further evidence of the professionalism and legitimacy of WIPNO.

WIPNO was formalized as a non-profit organization in 1993 and has since initiated a number of successful community improvement projects and activities including: developing from scratch a safe playground for children 12 and under, designed in large part by the children themselves and built by local neighborhood residents and students; improving and upgrading the Head Start Playground at a local church; plans and a process including credit counseling and home mortgage loans for local residents to secure and upgrade existing structures; and a local farmers market owned by the local development corporation with the majority of its merchants from low to moderate income residents who sell fresh food items to predominantly low-income consumers, among a number of other projects.

Winstanley is by no means the only success story in the ESLARP over the last six years. The project has continued to grow and expand to include a large number of local residents, a variety of community organizations, and a number of students and faculty at the University of Illinois. A number of benefits both to local residents and

university programs are noted since the implementation of a participatory action-research (PR) approach to community development:

- Using PR, university planners, designers, and local residents have developed a more in-depth analysis of local conditions and their causes by drawing upon and assembling the considerable knowledge of the residents in the data-collection and analysis phases of the planning process.*
- PR has helped participants develop proposals which amplify residents' concerns for their community and helped encourage local leaders to mobilize their neighbors to support the planning effort.*
- PR has created within the project an environment that promotes social learning for residents, students, and faculty based on critical reflection and experience.*
- PR has helped university planners and designers to overcome the initial skepticism residents felt toward another campus-initiated technical assistance project and has helped to show that university collaboration can help rather than hinder community development efforts if it includes the participants in all phases of a project.*

CRITICAL KNOWLEDGE, EDUCATING, ORGANIZING AND TRANSFORMING CONSCIOUSNESS

Each example above demonstrates that critical consciousness and empowerment are not achieved through individual or collective action alone. In these PR examples, action is combined with participation in research, education, and critical reflection to empower people. Critical knowledge is produced when people come to understand and begin to make the connections between all three forms of domination and begin to work against them. This type of popular education values all forms of knowledge and uses them in order to build the capacities of people to impact decision-making through

advocacy, organizing, and direct action. Learning promotes the building of relationships between personal and structural problems during the problem-solving process. Critical education in these examples is noted in the collective analysis of ordered information in ways that proved useful to the group in examining and changing their realities. Each promoted a critical and collective analysis of the root causes of problems and issues and connected this analysis to people's experiences. Rather than doing research and education about social change, the participants in Nijji, UCLA, and ESLARP were doing education and research for social change. This involved linking the collective production, analysis, reflection, and evaluation of multiple forms of knowledge to inform locally determined and controlled social action as a planned consequence of inquiry. None of the examples in this chapter provides a clear recipe for social change, but they, along with the rest of the case examples presented, do offer solid evidence that people can become empowered and change oppressive social structures by applying democratic approaches to research, learning, and change.

Anishinabe Nijji began as a group effort to stop ecological destruction in Northern Wisconsin and to unite indigenous peoples and local residents. The main task has been to create opportunities for all groups to change or broaden their consciousness by producing knowledge and doing research. But certainly not research in the traditional sense, as is best described by workshop participant and Nijji member, Michael Goldberg.

It seems for me that research suggests that there is this reality out there and that if we work on these facts, this fact-finding research, that we will do this activity as research and we will go to where these facts are and bring them out somehow and put them somewhere. That is not actually my experience of learning to research. What it seems like we are talking about is getting knowledge in common, working in common to get knowledge, and that this research is really common knowledge. In other words what I want to do is use common knowledge to inform

research because it's a better type of knowledge than we produce the other way. This makes more sense to me anyway.

The work of Nijji has been primarily to increase people's willingness to unite in a common fight against the sulfide mines which will pollute the North country that everyone depends on to make ends meet. The organizing, education, and research activities stem from a critical, experiential base. Dick Brooks, one of Nijji's founders spoke about his understanding of their work and the critical nature of experiential knowledge.

I started working as a journalist for a number of years and found that when interviewing people knowledge was really important when it came to asking good questions. But, it seemed even more important to have when listening to the answers. So I see the process we have undertaken as equipping people with needs with the ability to ask the right questions to get a handle on their situations. I think that is a really powerful tool for anyone or group to have. To me knowledge is a very powerful tool. In fact, knowledge is power and I think that by working in a participatory way that we [Anishinabe Nijji and Access Media] are providing the tools to communities to help them to do their own community development and to allow them to start asking the right questions to create some useful knowledge to deal with their situations. Once people have analyzed their situations based on their own experiences and know where they are at as a part of that analysis, that's when folks can finally begin to make some difference in their own lives and situations.

This project involves two relatively small critically conscious groups and many others within the domain of semi-transitive consciousness. The critical groups are based in two different perspectives, one tied to the historical experience of domination and the history of indigenous peoples, the other, environmental activists, to an ecological critique of current economic and development practices. Nijji's goal was to unite these two critiques and develop "common knowledge" to help increase the scope of the critical

consciousness of already conscientized people. It is to make indigenous people more conscious that there are people who want some of the same things they do even though they are non-Natives. Environmentalists are thought to need to understand that there are other reasons, cultural ones, for protecting the earth. It is not simply about preserving and protecting nature for its own sake or for recreation, it is also about preserving indigenous cultures and rights. Through the mobilizing, organizing, and direct action activities of these folks, the goal is to impact uncritical indigenous people, local residents, and environmental activists at many levels and on multiple inter-connected issues. The work of Nijji has been more than to simply organize people to stop dangerous forms of surface mining. It has also been a long journey and process to inform and open opportunities for people's critical political, economic, and most importantly, cultural consciousness to grow.

The UCLA Community Scholars Program begins as free space for advanced community organizers to reflect on their practice and to explore new options. The goal is to lead to new and regenerated praxis at street level based on the principles of participatory research and popular education. In the case example of the Sante Fe Springs Municipal Workers, common understanding led to organizing, and that led municipal workers to question the power of decision-makers. Rebuffs at this stage took the workers to a more critical understanding of the city's political economy and toward the realization that they needed more concrete data (instrumental knowledge) to impact their situation in their own interests. This led to their experiences with participatory research, that when completed, yielded the evidence and the increased consciousness needed to successfully challenge power and force the polluters, Powerline, to at least monitor and warn of overexposures. In the process they also did some very good science. Linda Delp, a staff person at the UCLA Labor Center and participant in the

Sante Fe Springs project, reflected on the nature of their work from a university-based perspective and outlined what she believed to be the keys to their success.

We [the UCLA Labor Center] got a request from a union and they wanted information on workers' health and workplace hazards. So we got together with them and had these lengthy discussions about what it was we wanted to do. We decided that we at the university needed something valid enough that it would be some kind of science and the workers needed to get some kind of information out to use to protect their own health and also for future contract negotiations. Finally we ended up using a participatory research strategy to guide our work.

Beginning from the workers' own experiences in the workplace and helping them to do their own information gathering and analysis proved a very effective strategy on a number of counts. We actually put our knowledge into action in terms of changing things about workers' health and their control over it in the workplace. We got lots of information that we couldn't and wouldn't have gotten any other way, and we did some very good science. Plus it was really fascinating work to see how people actually started to explain what they were talking about and why it was important to them. So as a university-based person working like this provided good science and as someone who works to make changes in workers' health participatory research provided effective information and knowledge upon which to base our actions and struggles.

The UCLA example serves well to show the empowering and criticalizing aspects of social change work conducted in free spaces where democratic relations among equals are practiced and fostered. The example also shows that, based on his experiences in Sante Fe Springs and working with the Labor Center, Carlos Porras began his new job as an organizer with a community-based environmental group with deepening critical consciousness. He began as a newly hired organizer with a first goal to help increase the critical cultural consciousness of the group itself by changing the name of the organization from Citizens to Communities for a Better Environment. The

change, although quite basic, was brought at a time and in a place where "citizen's rights" are in the process of being redefined as Californians battle over immigrant rights. Many immigrants will no longer be considered "citizens" if Proposition 187 becomes law. Thus to name the organization in a fashion that was more inclusive than exclusive is certainly evidence of increased critical consciousness at multiple levels for Carlos and other members of the organization.

ESLARP demonstrates the efficacy of consciously using participatory action research and planning for community change. In effect, the project began with an order from a university, but the mandate, rather than for more research, was for technical assistance and action—to actually do something to help the community of East St. Louis, Illinois. For some this could have meant to go and do traditional community-service oriented projects in the community. But these had been tried and been utter failures for years. Instead, this project was conceived by Reardon and others on the notion of creating a free space for an alternative "participatory" development process through action research. The goal was to develop social and cultural capital for the base community in East St. Louis, not simply economic capital for the elites. The young people and their playground represent the practical and empowering capacities possible when applying PR to a community issue. The adults show us the possibilities for organizing, mobilizing, and action, while producing and developing critical knowledge through PR to help transform consciousness and empower people.

Although she was not part of the ESLARP project, Marie Kennedy, a community planner and an organizer for the RWARM project, talked directly about the kind of development that has gone on in East St. Louis in terms of transformative community planning.

*I am a community planner and I work in community development
and I think that the reason I do this work is from a very strong
conviction that community development depends on the development of*

people. The products or results we achieve are important; they are not sufficient for community development. For real community development to happen it means that a group of people have increased their capacity to control their own reality. They can develop from within. It is when groups of people can become more cooperative, courageous, and confident. Participatory research, if you call it that, or whatever you choose to name it, to me is just a tool used to bring people together to increase their knowledge about their own situation, to increase a feeling of solidarity and community, and to develop the capacity to work together to develop our communities. When I am talking about this subject in terms of planning I call it transformative community planning. I compare this type of community planning to something I call redistributive planning. I think that our task is not to just redistribute resources, but also to redistribute the control over those resources. For me that is the difference between doing the traditional redistributive planning and what I call transformative community planning.

Though the case examples presented in earlier chapters may have entered PR in different ways than those above, a number of people in each project came to new critical understandings of the social, cultural, political, and economic systems. The projects discussed in this chapter started their work based on a critical analysis of the workings of the social system. They are unlike the projects discussed in Chapter 5, which began mostly with the idea that all folks had to do was tell the right people and the problem would be fixed. Sheila Wilson described entering the problem-solving process with this attitude in Yellow Creek.

You know I went into this thing thinking that all we had to do was tell the people who had the power to do something about our poisoned creek about it and they would fix it. But then I began to see all these things that the state and the tannery knew about and had known about all along, and that they still weren't willing to do anything about it. That they could sacrifice a certain number of people's lives for one company and that was OK. But OK for whom? Us that live on Yellow Creek, or the tannery and the city? That made me realize really quickly

that the most renewable resource is people and that we are cared the least about. So I guess when I really started understanding how the system worked and how business, government, and the legal justice system keep people powerless is by trying to access them and then trying to get them to work for us rather than those in power.

The examples discussed in Chapter 4 began primarily by emphasizing research as a base for not only new knowledge, but also for education, the development of critical consciousness, and for mobilization for action. During the PR workshop, the director of the EZ/EC Learning Initiative, John Gaventa, spoke some about the inter-connections in their project between academic institutions, governmental units, and community-based organizations and people.

Some of you all may know about the President's program name Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. It is a big national program that is to fund social and economic development. We were given an opportunity in the process to give poor rural and urban community members the chance to be at the decision-making table in a program that would directly impact them. In McDowell County literally hundreds and hundreds of people came together to develop what the vision for the community should be and eventually they got joint funds from the EZ/EC initiative, one of the largest grassroots programs in this decade to go to community development.

The main research question we had was, "Who really monitors or measures whether this program makes a difference in people's lives?" So as a university-based person I was asked by some people in the federal government to devise an evaluation plan for this program that had a citizen's component. What we ended up doing is putting together ten groups with about 200 citizen monitors to evaluate the EZ/EC program. One of the results of this participatory evaluation research project is that we actually have a federal program where citizen's are being paid by the government to make sure that the money gets to who and where it can have the most impact for working people.

;

The Learning Initiative began based on the concrete needs of the federal government to monitor the use of tax-payers funds, not necessarily the empowerment of people. Yet even in this confining situation, participants were able to develop a free space that not only provided the hard data the government was looking for, but also helped to build the capacities to understand and challenge inequality by producing all three forms of knowledge. Because of earlier popular education and participatory research in McDowell County, they began the whole process with a great deal of participation and critical understanding about the process and their own community. In this case a number of people already knew how to make sure the process stayed democratic and participatory. They worked very hard and were indeed able to keep power over the development and evaluation process in the hands of grassroots people and not the local elites.

In the Cedar-Riverside example an evolving critical consciousness among participants is found in the grassroots planning for development that was part of the process. But, I think it is even more striking in that the community residents came to understand that they should and could use neighborhood people and businesses to carry out the physical labor required to re-develop the community. Organizer Tim Mungavan spoke about this phenomenon.

I think that one of the things that seems to be happening is that a lot of people say, "Oh that's participatory research. Yeah, that's what we do." For me it made a connection because of the work that we have done with community-based planning. When we started to talk about how to relate to researchers, I can really understand that, because I had to work in situations where we had to figure out how to deal with architects, bankers, and all kinds of people who are experts. For me it is understanding that research is just another of a lot of different skills that exist in the world that get professionalized and some people get very good at them.

I think we don't want to say that the only people who can do research are people in the communities either, because that is not true. There are people that know a lot about how to gather information and figuring out how to use that skill in a way that works in communities is what is really important. So that PR to me is another kind of skill. What we always tried to do was use every kind of skill out there. We had the idea that we would capture them for ourselves. We would do our development work with community-based planners, community-based masons, community-based carpenters, community based contractors. We would continue to use the process to develop our community from within.

In Yellow Creek Kentucky the participants also show evidence of deepened critical awareness in action and decision-making. Gene Hurst and Hotense Quillen, both of YCCC, in a running exchange during an interview, talked of experiences that helped to inform their own critical consciousness and the difficulty they encountered in learning the true nature of their oppressors.

Hotense—It would take a blundering idiot to not see what's going on in terms of our health survey. I mean, you go in and everyone is telling you the same thing. You can't keep hearing that without getting concerned about it. But according to the professionals you aren't supposed to get concerned about it. But if you are a human being how can you help it?! Doing each interview just gave us more proof that we were right about what we were doing and that we were going to succeed in what we had taken on. We were going to succeed because we had to; it was too important: there were people dying, children dying with leukemia, and people with cancer all over the place. The residents along Yellow Creek had those kinds of problems that were directly associated with the kinds of chemicals that were in our creek.

My involvement in YCCC changed my whole thought process. First it changed me politically from nothing to something because you have got the same thing either way you go. We are the country and we should be telling these folks what to do. What's changed me the most is how just knowing about our problems, more than maybe I want to....I

also see the lackadaisical people that don't do anything about it. Even my pop will say, "Well they were elected to do something about it." But I know now that most of them don't give a damn about us country folk anyway.

Gene—When this whole thing started, and this year makes 20 years for me, I was angry. Some part of my growing-up years enjoying the creek had been taken away from me and it had been taken completely away from my children and grandchildren. When I got into YCCC I wasn't angry anymore; I was scared. You know we here in Appalachia have always had a deep appreciation for the federal government. If they said it was OK, it was OK. What you realize growing up in rural Appalachia when you see the politics you see, you know that things aren't as they should be. Each county in Kentucky is like a little feudal system within that boundary. When I started I knew that about the county but the state I wasn't as familiar with. As we went on I began to see there wasn't much difference in how they did things either. It was a continuation of the same process; might makes right. I mean, if you have the power, the control, the money, whatever, regardless of who you hurt, or what it might effect, that's always right. Then when the federal government got involved, we found that we just had another layer of the same onion. It looked the same; it smelled the same. You take off each layer and it is just the same.

Hotense—For example, when the EPA sent their attorney in here to investigate, he began to make such comments. He made more fun of our new high school and said things like, "if it weren't for the house that would be a nice piece of property." He was just an ignorant son of a bitch and to send him in here to make fun of us and to think this is what we have got helping us really makes you mad. . . .

Gene—The first trip I made to Frankfort, Kentucky, the state capital, on business for YCCC, was quite a learning experience. We have always known that in Kentucky you have these sort of two states, the bluegrass area, and then us over here in the mountains. We walked in and met the lieutenant governor, and to be patronized by the very institution that should be helping you is an incredible thing. You know

they actually said thinks like, "Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hurst, we realize you are from the mountains and you just have to understand that's the way we do things here." I don't know what the word is: "patronized," I guess is best. That was probably the biggest thing I learned up to that point. I just found out the feelings of our political people, what they think about us, our environment, our lives. and I don't think I like what I learned. They still have that attitude today. We had a severe problem, not just for us but people 50 or 60 miles downstream who were drinking this stuff. We tried to tell these people from the state what was going on and they just kind of pat you on the head and say you'll hear from us. Just go on back down there and we'll handle it, which at this point we don't believe any of.

Let me tell you the first thing that strengthened us is that we did the health survey. It was all taken and all computed and showed us what was going on. But, before that was ever released, Jackie Sweigert, Secretary of Natural Resources, went public and said, "Whatever it says it's wrong, it wasn't sanctioned by us and the people who did it were not professionals, so regardless of what it says it isn't worth anything." In other words, what she was saying was that she really didn't care what our study said. She disowned every part of it and would not accept any part of it, just because it was done by local people. It didn't make any difference what we found. In fact, before we did our survey, she said that the state would take care of it, but of course they never did. You know as a state, if you don't recognize a problem you don't have a problem, but once you recognize it you have got to do something about it. It took us almost 5 years to get a state official to admit that our problems were coming straight from the water treatment plant by way of the tannery.

Hotense—We watched night after night, taking pictures of raw sewage and sludge going in. We had a state inspector here and it rained. He saw what they did in terms of emptying the lagoons and the sludge ponds and stuff going right into the creek. . . .but he went back and wrote his report and said everything looked like it was working just fine

to him! Well what are you supposed to do when the professionals tell you that stuff and then you see your neighbors dying....

Gene—It is a hard lesson when you learn that you can't trust your local businesses, or the federal, state, county, and then local governments to do what is right by you.

It is only when this shiny, thin veneer is stripped away from the surface of the political economic system that people begin to achieve more critical awareness. During the struggle in Yellow Creek an even more striking example of collective critical consciousness is seen when the community overcomes NIMBYism, or the Not In My Back Yard Syndrome. This syndrome occurs when local communities react to intrusions on what they deem as their sovereign turf. In most cases people don't want the toxic dump, or chemical plant, or nuclear reactor, in their backyard—but whether it goes in someone else's is rarely a concern. The members of the Yellow Creek community were more sophisticated in their analysis and failed to fall prey to the NIMBY syndrome. In fact the residents along the creek showed a great deal of critical consciousness in their collective decision to keep all of the cards themselves from the toxic hand that was dealt to them by the Middlesboro Tannery. YCCC organizer, Larry Wilson, identified this decision as a major turning point for many members in the organization.

I think there are a few things that I can think of that show some of the critical learning that went on for some of us in Yellow Creek, but I don't know how sharply defined they are. The development of the group has not been like a stair step. What I think you can see are a few certain actions or decisions that are an indication of that critical learning.

I think that one of them is when the group made a decision to oppose a plan by the Army Corps of Engineers to dredge the creek and take the toxins out of Yellow Creek and dispose of them somewhere else. The group didn't even hesitate in saying, "No don't poison another community." You see we had learned during our struggle that every place is somebody's backyard and that there is nothing to this not in my

back yard thing. That wasn't even a big battle, it was about a five minute discussion. But I think if the same thing had happened in the first year we were together, we would have all said, Great! Quick get this stuff out of here." And we would have thought we had won. I think this was a major turning point for a lot of us and shows just how far we had come in our thinking.

It would appear that trying to clean up their creek had a noticeable impact on many members of YCCC. Larry later talked about what he himself learned through his experiences with participatory research through the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens Organization.

What I learned from doing this kind of work is that I want a revolution. I think the only way to get one is to create a better understanding about why we need it in the first place. That means we have to have some information to work with about conditions and possibilities and about how to work differently and to do things differently. And I am talking about a revolution that changes the structure so the capitalists don't own the system and that grassroots folks do have some control. So as long as we keep trying to work at that concept we can't help but work in a way that includes participation and a way for people to act to change their own worlds. Doing participatory research offers those kinds of possibilities to people. The chance to work for an active democracy and to make changes in their own communities. To experience and get the kinds of knowledge about how the system works and develop ways to change it. That's what I have learned.

I can't think of one aspect of my life that hasn't been changed by this process. From what I buy at the store, to what materials I read, to how I view the news on television. The subtleties of news commentaries that used to indoctrinate me that I would have never seen. I can't think of any aspect of it. The relationship between Sheila and I. I can now see what a chauvinist pig I was and still am sometimes. But now I see it and am trying to get over it and do something about it. You know we are indoctrinated to be that way and all of this process has helped to bring that out.

Clyde Smith also traced a good deal of empowerment to his experiences with YCCC. At the time of our interview he was in an active lawsuit with a multinational company over a property line dispute. When asked how his work with YCCC had carried over into other portions of his life, Clyde had this to say.

Well, attending those council meetings, the hearings, and the rest, taught me a lot of things. You see I am pretty uneducated. About the fifth grade is as far as I went, so what I have learned has been by experiences. When we started going to these hearing and things I got to begin to see how these kind of people operate. Then I ended up in a law suit of my own. I would have never even attempted to do that if I had not been involved and educated about all of that. So it's helped me a whole lot.

My law suit is still going. I got a hearing set for October, this coming fall, the 16th I believe. They are going to take my depositions on Monday. So we will know how it goes after that. Buddy, I would have never even attempted to go to court if I hadn't have been with this group and learned how things operated. When you get to dealing with these kinds of people—you know politicians and such—it's like butting your head against the wall, so when you got to you can't back down from these people. You know land grabbing has been going on for a long time around here because people felt like they didn't have the power, or the ability, or the money to do anything.¹ Something kept them from fighting for their rights.

I have some neighbors that the same company is trying to take advantage of just like they are me, but they aren't doing anything about it. Will and Clifford and I were with all with YCCC, and are fighting them and some of them successfully too. A number of others in the community that weren't involved with us aren't doing anything; they aren't even fighting. Clifford even won his case. I hadn't really thought

¹ Illegal and legal land grabbing by timber and coal mining companies, and recently by other sorts of multinational corporations, has been a long-time feature of the Appalachian Region's political economy. It is only in the last few years that local grassroots people are having some minimal successes in their battles to keep their property and maintain their rights. For historical descriptions, analysis, and personal accounts of this phenomenon see the Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce (1981); Gaventa (1982); Lewis et al. (1978, 1990a, 1990b); Williams (1993). For recent examples of successful resistance see Fisher (1993).

about that you know. Clifford probably would have done just like I would have if he hadn't been involved with the Yellow Creek citizens' organization. We would have just said, "Oh we'll just let them have it." Now he's done won his case and I am hoping I will win mine. But they are going to try a different strategy on me than they did on him. They tried to say that Clifford's deed wasn't good but you see it didn't work, Clifford won his case. So they aren't going to try that on me they are going to try get the property by adverse possession. That might work; we'll find out....

So being in this organization has helped me to know some things about how to go about changing things and get things done. But even more it's helped me to know to even try to fight things, because otherwise I wouldn't have even known to do it.

In individual and collective ways, Clyde, Sheila, Larry, Hotense, Gene, and a number of others from YCCC have taken more control over their own lives, have clearly come to define their own interests, and are working to achieve those interests. They may not have power, but they certainly are becoming empowered and gaining critical consciousness through their experiences with participatory research. In similar fashion a number of the people who went on Maquiladora Worker Exchanges through TIRN came to a more critical analysis of the capitalist world-system. Lavernal Clark, factory worker and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) member, and Shirley Rheinhardt, a dislocated East Tennessee auto worker, each putting their burgeoning critical consciousness into action, were taped testifying in public hearings. They spoke passionately about what they were learning about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) based on their experiences as workers and through the TIRN Maquiladora Worker Exchange Program.

Lavernal—Twelve years ago I was employed at a plant that had over 3000 workers. The place was booming: we had contracts with General Motors, Ford, and other big auto manufacturers. In early 80's things slowed when lots of operations were transferred to a non-union

plant in Alabama. But, the jobs didn't stay there long and they went to Abu Parada in Mexico. We are not against trade with Mexico, and we are certainly not against Mexicans having jobs. But we are against any kind of system which pits workers against workers and forces them to take the lowest wage, a system that encourages multinational corporations to shop for the lowest wage, or seek the places with the most lax environmental laws, or the biggest tax breaks. Going to Mexico made me realize what a huge gap there is between our wages, law enforcement, and living and working conditions. Our government's reaction to the global economy is that corporations need more freedom. A visit to the Maquiladoras will show you what freedom without responsibility can mean.

Shirley—The colonias [slums] to me are living proof that corporations have no bottom line, no minimum standards you can trust them to honor. We saw conditions that were so bad I simply cannot possibly describe them to you. I can close my eyes and see them in my mind: one- room houses overflowing with people; suffocating summer heat filling the tiny boxes where mothers fanned their sweating babies; standing, stagnant pools of water with garbage and scum right next to the houses people lived in; drainpipes carrying toxic industrial waste into ditches that ran through neighborhoods; awful smells, sick animals, and open sores. The multinational corporations bear much of the responsibility for what is happening. But it is not just the multinationals that I blame: it is our government too.

Our government should be insistent about cooperation and accountability. Instead, it rewards irresponsibility. Our government should set some ground rules so that companies are not pressured to compete with each other on the basis of how much they can gouge their workers. Instead, it pushes a version of free trade that pushes low-wage competition. We must learn from the failure of the Maquiladora program and not promote the same patterns. We need jobs with decent wages for workers on both sides of the border. We need roads and sewers, and schools, and health care, and retirement plans, safe workplaces, and playgrounds on both sides of the border. Any trade deal we reach with

Mexico should start with a commitment to healthy development for both countries. It should not be a get-richer-quick scheme for the wealthy and powerful, so until they decide that they have used up some more land and some more people, and now it is time to move on again. You can only keep using people up and throwing them away for so long before your own wastefulness comes back to haunt you.

Last, I would like to say to you that in both countries nothing is free: somebody has to pay. Be careful it is not the poor working people in both countries. Thank you.

Lavernal and Shirley are learning, experiencing, and exhibiting critical consciousness. They are beginning to connect their own struggles to the larger matrix of domination. Critical consciousness and awareness is growing. In fact, all of the examples above serve to show how people can come to understand that the social-cultural-political economy is structured to benefit those with money and capital and to exploit those without.

DISCUSSION

What the individuals and groups described and analyzed in this chapter have really begun to see is how they have been “indoctrinated,” in Larry Wilson’s phraseology, or in Gramsci’s, how they have consented to dominant hegemonic ideology. In this case the dominant consumer-capitalist ideology. The participants in these PR projects are not only understanding this in an intellectual way, but are also acting to resist that hegemony. While individuals and groups are resisting the capitalist ideology in terms of directly challenging social structures, they are also working to produce their own knowledge, in all three forms, to inform their local social change efforts and to share with others. They are thinking about and analyzing the world from a different philosophical framework—one that is based on a critical analysis of the present

workings of the socially structured social-cultural-political economic system. Beyond that they are also attempting to envision and produce more just ways of structuring organizations, communities, institutions, social structures, and even the social system. In ways that are participatory, democratic, and created in, by, and for the interests of working people.

I think that one of the biggest realizations that people have on the path toward critical consciousness is to realize that we *really* do function in a socially structured system. After beginning to authentically understand that the world is socially structured, the next step toward critical consciousness is to begin to understand for whose benefit the system is structured. People come to know that if the institutions that govern our daily and working lives are socially structured to exploit working people, they can also be changed and socially re-structured to assure authentic justice and liberty for the subaltern. Maybe utopia can be reality.

If genuine democracy and equality are our aims we must also be concerned with knowledge. We must ask, "who has power over what knowledge is produced?" "How is it produced?" "Who produces it?" and "For what reason?" The answers to these questions become the keys for understanding something about the opportunity the knowledge we need for participatory and democratic social system. We need to know and understand what sorts of knowledge production strategies are available to sustain a democratic citizenry and that can help to build the capacities that will be needed by grassroots individuals, organizations, social movements for democracy building here and now. Thus as put here we need to know what sorts of capacities allow us to deal with the third dimension of power—the conscious control of ideas. An appropriate place to search for an answer to our query is in free social spaces where marginal groups learn to develop knowledge and dissident social consciousness. These are the places and

spaces, like those in the case examples presented in this report, where democratic, participatory, critical, political education is practiced.

Free social spaces are also a necessary element in the processes of empowerment and transformation. Whether it is the Highlander Research and Education Center, the Community Partnership Center, the UCLA Labor Center, or the University of Illinois Planning Department, or any of others associated with the projects herein—there must be some place where participatory democracy is practiced. Spaces where both experts and community-based people are willing to actually practice and experience the impacts of a participatory knowledge democracy. It is in these spaces that the public and hidden transcripts of resistance are developed.

The public transcript is what we have in documents like this, and what we can learn through interviews and the like with participants. But I would suggest that there is also a deeper hidden transcript that includes things like group meetings, functions, activities, and even during “downtime.” It is what is spoken during the drive to and from the library, to and from the city council meeting, over the phone, at family gatherings, or in a hundred other places that are out of the view of those with power. I take Scott’s (1985) notion of “everyday forms of resistance,” to mean just that. Resistance is indeed found in songs, poems, jokes, and other cultural forms. I also think it is found in the everyday conversations that went on among “Yellow Creekers,” or the residents of Cedar-Riverside, or the member of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network. Working in these participatory research projects with others gave individuals spaces where critical consciousness could be worked out through “interaction” and “dialogue” with others. What some would call the “mundane” features of social-change work are here thought to be the very experiences that help to grow and give roots to the seeds of critical consciousness. Transformation is not achieved simply through action and political education, but is connected to both the production and consumption of

interactive knowledge as well. It is in these dialogues with others that critical consciousness is validated and deepened.

The case examples demonstrate a number of ways in which people come to understand the third dimension of power. In each of the case examples people find that when they take their legitimate grievances to those with the power to do something about them, these representatives don't really represent them, nor do they do anything about the community's problem. Then through participatory research, or democratic practice and experience in free spaces, they begin to see that it is indeed possible for other forms of organization and democracy to exist. Through the analysis of "hard" data and information about problems in a community, local people deepen the skills necessary to analyze and make sense of other problems. In addition individual and collective transformation can be further enhanced by connecting research and action to a conscious education effort. A popular educational approach, one that seeks connections between individual experience and social issues and between single problems and the larger social system, can then develop these skills ever further.

When knowledge produced in this fashion is validated by the very institutions communities are challenging it can be a very empowering thing for those involved. Legitimizing a community's experiential and interactive knowledge in eyes of power is also a feature of critical transformation. YCCC members Gene Hurst and Hotense Quillen, spoke about the feelings they had as the knowledge the group produced through participatory research was legitimated.

Gene—Because of the self-education we did early on. Being able to identify our problem, who was causing it, who was responsible for regulating it, what they were doing to us, and the effects it was having on us. We were comfortable with what we knew and how we were going about trying to address our problem.

Hotense—We maybe even felt superior to some of the people in power because we knew things they could never learn. You know what

happened with us here in Yellow Creek is that we opened the doors. You know when we started out we were just old ignorant "Yellow Creekers" and all that. Then we began to gain respect everywhere we went because we won every court case we got into and were eventually victorious in everything we wanted to do. You see what we really learned about was the strength in our own bodies....

How did people come to learn the strength in their own bodies? The people in the participatory research projects analyzed in this chapter produced their own knowledge and used it to serve the community's efforts to solve problems first and foremost. In each of these examples the community organizations involved retained control over the knowledge that was produced during the participatory research process. They, in essence, maintained control over how they would interact with professional researchers and experts. The groups did things like determine what research activities would be useful to the group, and also what would be published or disseminated, when, and by whom. In each case, knowledge was produced and used primarily by communities. But as local problems became more complex and people began to connect their individual community's problems to structural causes, they freely shared their knowledge, strategies, and experiences to inform and learn from other grassroots group efforts to grapple with pressing problems. The participants in these projects know and understand how to sow the seeds of resistance, grow popular knowledge, and make participatory democracy happen. The struggle now is how to sustain and multiply.

SUMMARY

This chapter has analyzed the experiences of transformation and critical consciousness by participants in grassroots participatory research endeavors. What we have seen is that it is necessary for participants to produce and use the three basic forms

of knowledge to learn about the concrete social and physical world in order to actively sustain; to know what others think, feel, and experience, and to be able to empathize with the other, and then to understand self as other; and to begin to actively participate in a democratic process along with others to challenge and change unjust social institutions and structures. This is to develop critical consciousness and to have begun to overcome the third dimension of power. It is to begin to create counterhegemony. If power is altered in the third dimension and critical consciousness is informed by collective action, it is then likely that we will see some success in dealing with the structural mobilization of bias and the incapacity of decision-makers to address the grievances of oppressed people. What participatory research offered to the participants in each of the case examples was the chance to produce useful and critical knowledge and to participate in individual and collective empowerment in all three dimensions of power. PR provided the tools to make democratic social changes by changing "common sense" into "good sense."

CHAPTER 7

FROM COMMON SENSE TO GOOD SENSE:

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH AND GRASSROOTS EMPOWERMENT

For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.
They may temporarily allow us to beat him down at his own game,
but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.

Audre Lorde

Over the last three chapters I have examined power, empowerment, and transformation within the contours of participatory research as practiced in communities throughout the United States. The analysis and discussion was informed and deepened by using individual experiences. In this concluding chapter I will offer a more directed comparison between the illustrative case examples, outline the major findings of the study, and discuss some theoretical and practical implications of the findings. I will first analyze the similarities and differences across projects based on the research techniques, action and mobilizing strategies, and education methods. Next is an examination of the study's findings in light of what has been learned to inform our theoretical understanding of participatory research, power, knowledge, and empowerment. The analysis continues with an investigation into implications of the findings for participatory research in terms of praxis. Following is a discussion of some of the barriers in participatory research, the limits of this study, and some the new questions for participatory research, knowledge production, empowerment, and individual and social change raised by this investigation. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the study and some personal reflections on the lessons learned through the endeavor.

PR AS METHOD: TOWARD IMPROVED STRATEGY

In this section I compare and contrast the illustrative case examples in terms of research techniques, mobilization strategies, and educational methods. These individual facets of PR will be examined in terms of the types of knowledge produced, the forms of empowerment created, and the dimensions of power addressed. What I have done initially is to reverse Figure 3.1 from Chapter 3 from right to left, in order to make Figure 7.1. I did this to enhance the flow and effectiveness of the analysis presented below. Instead of beginning with the Dimensions of Power and ending with Participatory Research, Figure 7.1 starts from Participatory Research and ends with the Dimensions of Power. Following this figure, Table 7.1 presents each illustrative case example in terms of research, action, and educational methods. A comparative examination of the findings is then presented based on an analytical exercise conducted by taking each case, or column, in Table 7.1, and placing it iteratively in each column denoted in Figure 7.1. This process allowed me to easily follow and discuss the elements of PR offered in the table, through the theoretical empowerment process outlined in the figure.

One of the most striking findings is that in every example participants conducted straight-forward power-structure research. This gives a good deal of support to a number of PR theorists and practitioners who agree with Patricia Maguire's (1987: 37) statement that "the core issue in participatory research is power....the transformation of power structures and relationships as well as the empowerment of oppressed people." There is ample evidence in each of these projects that power and empowerment were major concerns of the participants. In terms of power-structure research, what I mean is loosely defined, when participants in a group problem-solving effort use multiple

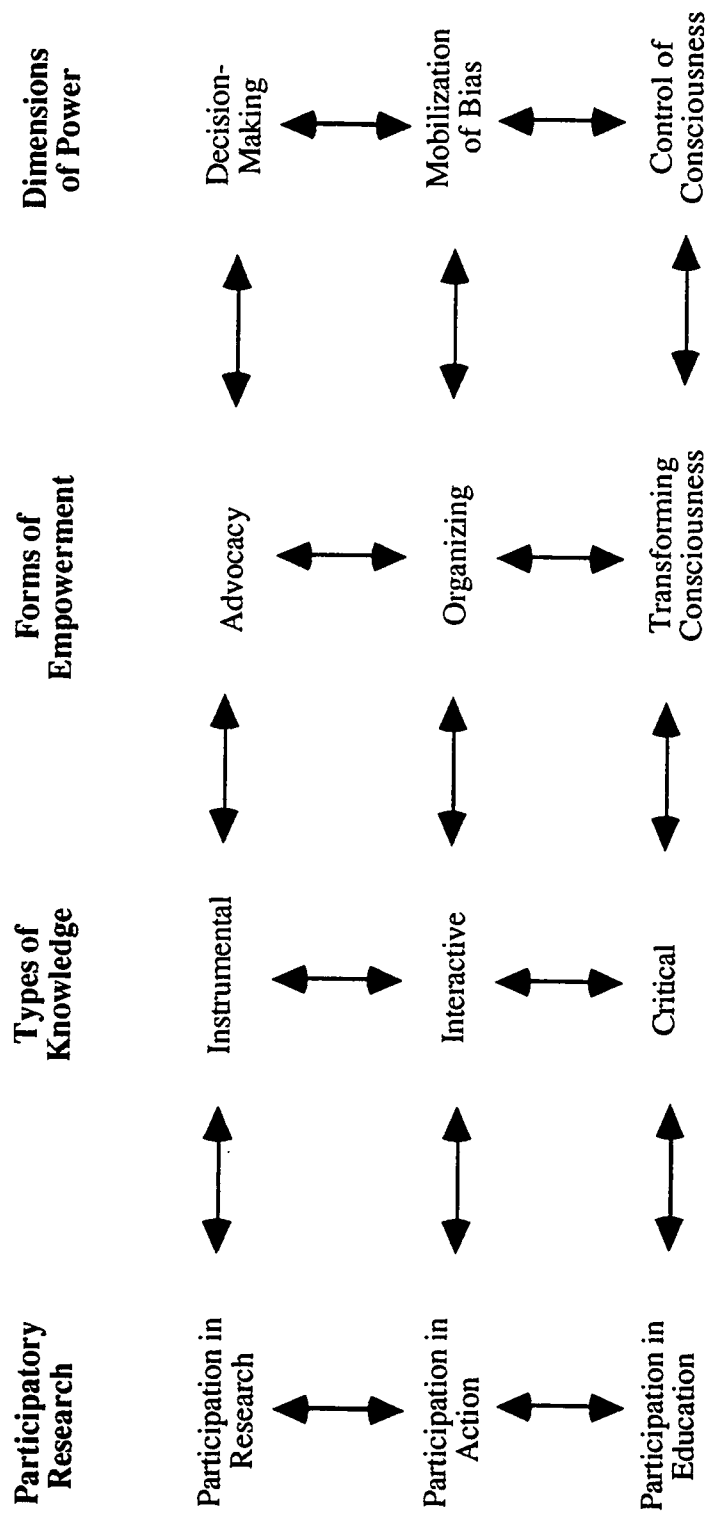


FIGURE 7.1

**RECONCEPTUALIZING, PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH,
KNOWLEDGE, EMPOWERMENT, AND POWER**

TABLE 7.1
COMPARING THE CASE EXAMPLES, PART ONE

	AFSC	RWARM	UUN	EZ/EC
Research Methods	Survey (Social) Interviews Power Structure Research Participant Observation	Survey (Social) Interviews Focus Groups Oral Histories Learning Groups Literature Reviews Power Structure Research Participant Observation	Survey (Social and Computer Capabilities) Interviews Learning Groups Network Analysis Power Structure Research Participant Observation	Survey (Social and Physical Characteristics) Interviews Focus Groups Learning Groups-Local, Regional and National Secondary Data Analysis Document Research Oral Histories Power Structure Research Participant Observation
Action and Mobilizing Strategies	Legal Challenges Political Action-Local, Regional, and National Direct Action-Local, Regional, National Disseminating New Knowledge	Political Action-Local, Regional and National Direct Action-Local, Regional and National Disseminating New Knowledge	Connecting Through Internet Across and Within Urban Areas Local and Regional Conferences, Workshops, and Gatherings	Learning and Working Groups-Local, Regional and National Seats for GrassRoots Participants at Decision-Making Table Research Informs Program Operations
Education Methods	Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Connected to Human Rights Issues Associated With International Peace, Justice, and Human Rights Organization	Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Learning Groups Workshops Connected to Poverty Issues Associated with University	Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Workshops Learning Groups Connected to Technology Issues Associated with University	Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Workshops Learning and Working Groups-Local, Regional, and National Connected to Economic Issues Associated with University

TABLE 7.1
COMPARING THE CASE EXAMPLES, PART TWO

	Cedar-Riverside	RSVP	YCCC	TIRN
Research Methods	*Mapping and Modeling Survey (Social and Physical Characteristics) Secondary Data Analysis Power Structure Research Participant Observation	Surveys (Social) Interviews Participant Observation	*Videography Survey (Social and Health) Interviews Documentary Evidence *Physical Science (Ecology and Collaborative Chemistry) Secondary Data Analysis Power Structure Research Participant Observation	*Worker Exchange Trips Interviews Power Structure Research Participant Observation
Action and Mobilizing Strategies	Tenants Union and Rent Strike Neighborhood Organizing Local Organizations Networked to Political Action Committee Local and Regional Political Action	Individual and Household Organizing Organize Around Findings of Survey Local Direct Action	Legal Challenges Individual and Household Organizing (During Survey and From Results) Produced Video Local and Regional Direct Action Local, Regional, and National Political Action	Worker Exchange Trips Local and Regional Organizing Local Organizations Networked into TIRN Local, Regional, National Political and Direct Action Share Experiences Through Video
Education Methods	Collective Analysis of Problems and Solutions (Mapping and Modeling) Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Connected to Economic and Property Issues	Communications, Organizing and Direct Action Training Collective Analysis of Survey Findings Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection	Collective Analysis of Problems and Solutions to Everything Produced Video Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Associated with Popular Education Center Connected to Environmental, Health, and Economic Issues	Actively and Collectively Produced Education Materials Collective Analysis of Problems and Solutions Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Connected to Global Social-Political Economic Issues Associated with Popular Education Center

TABLE 7.1
COMPARING THE CASE EXAMPLES, PART THREE

	Anishinabe Nijji	UCLA	ESLARP	
Research Methods	*Physical Science (Geography, Geology, Hydrology, Ecology) Documentary Records Oral History Secondary Data Analysis Power Structure Research Participant Observation	Surveys (Social and Health) Risk Mapping Document Research Secondary Data Analysis Interviews Power Structure Research Participant Observation	Survey (Social and Physical Characteristics) Mapping Interviews Oral Histories Produced Video Power Structure Research Participant Observation	
Action and Mobilizing Strategies	Political Action-Local and Regional Legal Challenges Local and Regional Gatherings Direct Action-Local and Regional	Union Organizing Neighborhood Organizing Organize Around Health Issues Popular Education Center Local and Regional Gatherings Direct Action-Local and Regional	Community Development Projects Community Cultural Events Produced Video Direct Action-Local and Regional Political Action-Local, Regional and National	
Education Methods	Protect the Earth Gatherings Community-Based Center on Mining Research Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Associated with Folk School Connected to Indigenous Rights, Ecological, Economic, and Political Issues	Community Scholars Program Conferences, Workshops and Gatherings Learning Groups Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Connected to Labor, Health, Economic, Political Issues Associated with Popular Education Center, Labor Center, and University	Local and Regional Learning Groups Conferences, Workshops and Gatherings Produced Video Participation in Research and Action Experiential Education Self-Education Collective Critical Reflection Connected to Economic and Political Issues Associated with University	

methods to understand the combination of people, agencies, and structures involved in creating and maintaining a given problem situation. Further, it is to analyze, understand, and act within the hierarchies of power to address and solve problems.

Examples of this form of research include the process participants in the YCCC used to come to understand the relationship between the City of Middlesboro and the Middlesboro Tannery. They also had to learn about the governmental agencies that regulate water pollution, hazardous wastes, solid waste, air pollution, and on and on. In the case of Anishinabe Niiji, the participants in the project had to uncover the underlying connections between those in charge of regulating mining in Wisconsin and the very industries these people were hired to regulate. In every sense they accomplished the epitome of power-structure research. In this case when the connections between the industry and the regulating agencies were made crystal clear in public forums, the Office of the Governor quickly shuffled it's appointees to hide their complicity in allowing sulfide mining operations to move into communities, that given a choice in a participatory democratic process, would themselves choose not have them. The impact of power-structure research is also in evidence in the case of the Sante Fe Springs Workers, as they learned more about city government, Powerine, and the agencies designed to regulate and inform the public of health hazards.

In each case example people had to learn, whether as systematically planned research, or through action, who has power, how they are connected, who is in charge of regulating, monitoring, preventing, or cleaning up the problem, and finally identifying authentic allies to provide free spaces, or cracks, in the structures of power. Participants in the successful participatory research efforts analyzed in this study made the deeper connections between all of the actors involved in a particular situation and began to understand the workings of all three dimensions of power. Groups analyzed power in its structural forms, but more important to their immediate concerns was to

grapple with issues of power in communities and in the community-based organization itself. Each form of power analysis played an important role in the empowerment process.

One of the important research methods related to power-structure research that cross-cuts each of the examples is document research, also referred to as content analysis.¹ YCCC and UCLA used public records and documents to identify the toxic effect of chemicals in their creek and work space. RWARM connected women's homelessness to larger issues of poverty and inequality and investigated this literature. The people in McDowell County in the EZ/EC Project, Cedar Riverside, and the ESLARP utilized public records and census data to inform community development efforts. The participants in Nijji investigated the available literature to assess the effects of sulfide mining in other places and to gauge what impacts it might have on the people and the environment if the technique was used to mine ores in northern Wisconsin. They also used existing evidence to show the interconnections between mining companies and regulators, to eventually force the ouster of the man appointed to head mine licensing in the state. In each of the examples basic problem-solving skills are enhanced by having participants carry out this sort of research, rather than leaving it to specialists who know how to search out information for a living.

¹ There is a range of resources that a researcher can draw on for evidence about questions and problems of interest: newspapers (local, state, and national) and other written records (minutes of meetings, letters, memos, publications, photos, etc.), and public records and archives (land and tax records, sunshine law reports on chemicals used in businesses, etc.). Document research is intended here to involve the investigation and analysis of current and historical documents and records and other sorts of written material related to particular problems and issues. This includes the written records for, from, and about the people and institutions involved in causing and/or addressing the problems which created the need for the research in the first place. It is important to remember that most written documents represent the official version of reality, hence they are useful to find out what an organization, or a particular group of persons are doing, or think they are doing. But there might be quite different perceptions when speaking informally with a low level worker or bureaucrat. Their story may even be at odds with the official version. For this reason most written accounts should be supplemented, as they were in the case examples, with some primary community collected data (interviews, surveys, photos, etc.). When such records are used and read with the research questions clearly in mind and the information used to support or refute the analysis at hand, groups were doing what is referred to in text-books as "content analysis."

Certainly we need experts and the information they can access and produce, but we can see in these examples that people are able to learn more directly about the structures of institutional power by having to come up against them themselves in the quest for access to “public,” or in some cases, “not-so-public” information. The people involved in these activities are able learn more about how to collect and analyze all sorts of information on related problems and issues, develop communication and research skills in the process, and also learn about the freedom (or lack of it) to access information that exists. Each of these skills and capacities are important aspects of the PR process that serve to empower individuals and groups in all three dimensions of power. They are some of the myriad of skills people need to really carry on democracy-building.

In essence, through power-structure research and content analysis, the participants in these PR projects learned to access, gather, and analyze basic information that already existed about a problem and/or the actors involved. Effective power-structure research and content analysis appear to be very basic features of successful participatory research. These strategies served to build the skills and capacities of the participants in terms of their abilities to find information, synthesize it, analyze it, and apply it directly to the problem-solving effort. The refinement of these capacities would seem indispensable to citizens living and working in a democratic society. In fact, they are the tools of a democratic citizenry as identified by John Dewey, Horace Mann, Paulo Freire, Myles Horton, and a host of other educators, social theorists, and political activists (Williams 1993b, 1994, 1995).

Another finding is that nine of the eleven groups, all but Nijji and TIRN, have used, or are using, one of the most traditional methods of modern social science—the survey. But in these examples of collective problem-solving the construction and application of the survey was emphatically not traditional, rather the survey was

accomplished by applying participatory methods. In each of the nine cases the surveys were designed, administered, analyzed, and results disseminated by people in communities. In several cases these activities took place with collaborative assistance from professional researchers. The results were used first and foremost to inform problem-solving in the powerless groups and communities doing the research. The participatory survey methodology was quite useful and successful in helping to provide answers to community-based problems and in empowering people and collectives in a number of forms.

The survey method proved a proficient way to learn and generate a great deal of information about and to community members and groups. In YCCC and UCLA examples community health issues were recognized and shared. The AFSC project documented, for the first time for the world to see, human rights abuses along the Mexico and US border, while in the UUNN example computer capabilities and connectability among progressive, urban-based, community organizations in Ohio was assessed. In the work of RWARM, women's homeless experiences were investigated from new vantage points. ESLARP, EZ/EC, and Cedar-Riverside are examples of participatory community development informed by surveys of the social and physical characteristics of communities.

The survey method also provided a great deal of hard data to show that problems that went unrecognized by those with power to resolve them, indeed existed. This is best evidenced in the YCCC, AFSC, UCLA, UUNN, RWARM case examples. The participants in these projects accomplished an important step in the problem-solving process by working by legitimate means, to prove to social, political, and economic institutions, that problems were real and solutions immediately necessary. The participants were able to organize and mobilize future support through the survey

method and generate information with which they could advocate for and with relatively voiceless and powerless groups.

One of the benefits of the survey method in participatory research is found in the large numbers of people that can be involved, both in terms of those who do the survey and also those who respond to it. The people doing the survey build communication skills as they administer the surveys with people. They build analytical skills as the results are collectively studied and build upon their abilities to present and analyze issues as the findings are disseminated. In each of these steps participants are given the opportunities to build the capacities to hone concrete and useful real world analytical and communication skills. As these basic skills are shared and broadened among people involved in a given project, further gains toward becoming empowered are gleaned each time the skills are used in individual and collective problem-solving efforts.

Not only did the participants have the chance to learn and share a great deal of information about their community and the problems they were grappling with, the surveys also involved large numbers of respondents and the process was used for further organizing and mobilizing. RSVP offers a useful model and approach to this sort of strategic information gathering and individual and household organizing through survey research. The results from AFSC, EZ/EC, RWARM, UUNN, and YCCC demonstrate very effectively that participatory surveys can be used to produce legitimate instrumental knowledge, organize in communities, and challenge decisions and decision-making bodies.

Every project investigated here also involved two basic features of qualitative social science research: participant observation and interviewing. Each is an important element in social research and is also important to the empowerment of individuals and collectives during participatory research. All of the examples discussed involved

participant observation in which group members honed basic participation and observational skills. They came to do more thorough analysis of situations and more critically define situations as they existed. Participant observation is to follow the most basic tenet of qualitative social science and is the foundation for all other more refined research techniques. According to a number of anthropologists and sociologists its impacts on professional ethnographers and the research they produce include detailed knowledge of everyday life, check and balances for information gathered by more specialized techniques, and heightened understanding of the activity, people, or community being observed (see Burawoy et al. 1991; Harrison 1991a, 1991b; Pelto and Pelto 1984 for examples). Why would we not believe that the same impacts are felt by grassroots participants involved in similar situations and processes? In fact, we can see in a number of cases how the capacities to participate and observe were indeed built and fostered. In one of the more visible examples of this phenomenon, the participants in the YCCC used their videos to analyze and self-critique their activities to hone their observation and participation skills.

The participants in the TIRN worker exchanges serve to show the importance of experiencing things first-hand whenever possible. These workers from East Tennessee, could not get the knowledge, experiences, insights, or feeling of what it was like to be worker in the Maquiladora Zone until they saw and felt it for themselves. The impact of that experiential knowledge changed the entire focus of TIRN's social change and organizing efforts. It also broadened the members critical understanding of the global social-political-economy at many levels. One could say that these workers began to understand and see the matrix of domination more clearly than ever before.

Beyond participant observation, each of the people in the projects investigated also did a great deal of formal and informal interviewing throughout the course of their work. Interviewing, another staple of qualitative social science, is used for a number of

purposes. The task here is to highlight the ability of interviewing to build the broader capacities of individuals to communicate. Communication involves both speaking and listening and thus to do interviewing is to learn more about the other and the self. It is to learn to produce and use interactive knowledge. Thus in all its forms, as instrumental knowledge in terms of information generated, as interactive knowledge in learning about others and self, and as critical knowledge in terms of learning of and experiencing relations with the powerful, the process of interviewing can build a number of important capacities necessary for a democratic citizenry to make social changes.

Although there is a great deal to be learned from the similarities in the research methods used in these examples, we can also learn from some of the different forms of participatory research utilized in several of the projects. Although some of the methods may actually be fairly traditional, in these cases they are given some novel twists. These strategies include participatory physical science, participatory community modeling, worker-to-worker exchanges, and video-documenting (discussed above).

Several instances of the physical science used to support the work of YCCC and Nijji help to show that no type of science is beyond the realm of a participatory approach to research; community-based people can inform the production of physical scientific knowledge too. A number of grassroots researchers have been helping scientists collect data on the physical and natural world for years. People have collected things like insects, animals, spiders, soil and water samples, and monitored temperatures and other weather conditions throughout the world. In this traditional version of knowledge production the participants are seldom involved beyond gathering samples from the field so that the "expert" can carry out the analysis and disseminate the results. The residents of Yellow Creek and in Northern Wisconsin show, however, that grassroots individuals can do more than simply collect data. They can inform scientists about the physical surroundings in ways that a non-resident could ever know. In turn, in a collaborative

relationship, the scientist can inform local residents of things about themselves, or their surroundings, that they may not have access to. In Yellow Creek, local residents were important collaborators and helped to inform a number of biological studies on the toxic creek and the surrounding area. In several cases popular knowledge could have saved the so-called experts many hours, if not days and weeks, of wasted time, labor, energy, and tainted data, if only local people had been involved in the research process in the first place.

Grassroots people can combine skills and hobbies in doing participatory natural science research. In the Niiiji example local divers pursued hard data about the lakes near the mine site and whether they were spring fed or not. The importance of these results was situated in learning whether the toxic sulfides that would likely leach from the mine site, could infiltrate the ground-water through the springs at the bottoms of the lakes. If no springs existed this was not a problem; but if they did, much stricter environmental operating standards would be enforced on the mining operation by the state itself. Local residents also located endangered species that were "not discovered" by scientists hired by the companies to do Environmental Impact Assessments on the area surrounding the proposed mine sites. As is increasingly well known, had these scientist documented the existence of an endangered species in the Environmental Impact Statement covering the proposed sites, Federal Law in the form of the Endangered Species Act would have come into play. Again, another much stricter set of guidelines would have to have been employed to establish the operating standards the mines would be forced to follow. The watershed and ecosystem in Northern Wisconsin would have been better protected, but at the cost of some of the multinational mining corporation's profit.

In both cases the people themselves collected, analyzed, and disseminated research results that completely countered the scientific findings provided by the multinational corporate knowledge-producers. In essence, they uncovered lies. Not only

did they uncover them, but they provided the hard data needed to disprove them as well. In this case objective results, or the truth, was achieved, but rather than produced by those formally trained in the positivist methods of "objective" knowledge production, the people that would live with the impacts of the mine proved much more capable. Maybe it does make a difference for whom and for what purpose the research!

The Cedar-Riverside example highlights the need to share all available information gathering and producing strategies and techniques with the people involved in the research. The lesson we can learn, from their "stumble" into putting the scaled models of the community planners in the hands of local residents, is that no research tools should be held back, or left uninvestigated. If the technique is not useful it will soon enough be pushed to the side. But the decision as to whether a technique is used or not, and how it might be applied, must be left up to the people involved in the project.

In each of these examples, regardless of the research methods applied, their success is tied to the facts that they were done in participatory fashion and they ultimately followed some very rigorous methodological procedures. But the participants in these studies were not so wedded to their methods that they were inflexible in their quest to develop information and insight related to their concerns. We can see that in each community-based collective change effort presented here that those impacted by a problem were involved in the research undertaken to understand a problem, prove a problem existed, or disprove research findings produced by others, and to connect the results from the research directly to action. The research process was used not only to gather information about particular problems, but also to educate and build the capacities needed by less powerful groups to organize and successfully challenge power and participate in the democratic decision-making process.

Several of the methods that seem most important for helping to build these kinds of capacities in people are participation in the collection and analysis of information

gathered through power-structure research, document research, interviewing, social surveys, and participant observation. Through these people can learn to better produce and consume all three forms of knowledge. They can learn more about their community problem or concern, communicate with and understand others more effectively, know more about how institutional power operates, and know how to analyze information and situations more critically. By connecting action to information gathering and analysis participants can also build the skills necessary to act and organize more effectively against the structural mobilization of bias.

Budd Hall (1994) and Rajesh Tandon (1988, 1993) suggest that the primary role of participatory research is found in its ability to organize people at a local level, and then to make ways for people's connections to begin to happen at more structural levels. The action and organizing techniques demonstrated in the projects involved many strategies that have been analyzed in detail in a number of good books (see for example Bobo et al. 1991; Fisher 1993; Kretzman and McKnight 1993; La Botz 1991; Pretty et al. 1995; Wiggington 1992). For the task at hand, it is not necessary to identify and discuss each specific action, or mobilizing, technique used, but rather what is important is found in the ability of the project participants to move to ever more complex and direct relationships with larger movements. In each project, action, organizing, and mobilizing took place at multiple levels ranging from individual and household-based techniques to national and international strategies. No matter where each group entered the process, they ultimately began to hook up to larger movements and through that, to other larger problems and issues related to what they originally thought was simply a local problem.

Equally important are the direct actions taken at solving whatever problem was being addressed in each community, whether it was in the workplace (the Sante Fe Municipal Employees), at city hall (Cedar-Riverside, ESLARP, YCCC), within state government (Nijji), the national government (AFSC, EZ/EC), or in other political and

economic structures (RSVP, RWARM, UUNN). It is through action and mobilizing that people came to understand and interact with others to hone critical consciousness. Through action people began to really learn how important social structures and institutions operate and for whom. Certainly this outlook is important for informing action to redress imbalances of power (e.g. learning about the legal system, government regulations, the immigration system).

For example, many of the projects in the illustrative case examples involved legal actions and challenges. This is germane because we live in a society that is based on the rule of law, so it is important for people living here to learn how legal structures function and for whom. By learning more and acting to challenge things from within this structure people produced knowledge about workings of our system of law and governance. In essence, they did what most of us would consider a good thing: people helped to make themselves into a more civic and informed citizenry seeking to make our democratic social system work for them.

In terms of education each project represented shows that participants were involved in a myriad of learning activities that I would put into four categories: critical, experiential, self, and reflexive education. Each project is based on the experiential knowledge of people and these experiences were used to guide critical reflection on problems and on process. Each project had a core group of people, and in some cases many participants, who were self-educators. In other words, they took it upon themselves to begin to learn and understand things, but were not under anybody's tutelage: they learned by doing. In terms of critical education, the projects always connected their local problems to larger issues. For example the people in YCCC did not just say that they had a toxic creek, but began to tie to larger political economic issues. The RWARM participants were not just interested in women's homelessness, but tied this problem to the larger issues of poverty and the economy; The workers in the TIRN

were not just concerned about plant closings, but moved toward action based on a new and more critical understanding of the global political economy. Sometimes critical, or political, education is more basic: how to use the library, how to use freedom of information act, how to phrase requests from agencies to get needed information. It is basic education concerned with learning how to operate within the imposed rules of the social-political-economic system.

Although much of the focus in participatory research is to make connections between local problems and structural causes, there must also be a focus on human connections too. The educational efforts of each project hold the keys to these human connections and are also the spaces for experiencing knowledge democracy through the collective analyses of problems. This is what I mean by reflexive education: the combining of theory and experience to collectively produce instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge to overcome powerlessness. It is to turn knowledge into action and action into knowledge.

The keys to the success of the projects analyzed in this study are noted in that each group linked the causes of their local problems to larger structures of inequality. They each shared a similar philosophy based on the liberatory approach to participatory research. In each example they all followed appropriate and vigorous methods and procedures to do good research. In fact, in some cases better knowledge than that produced by so-called experts. Shared power and ownership between participants is also an important feature of each example. Power analysis and power-structure research were also keys to success. Internally people tried to share power and externally they tried to understand how power worked against them and how they could empower themselves to overcome it. The empowerment strategies used in the case examples were all based on finding real ways for the people involved to participate in research, action, education, and reflection, as individual and group processes.

PR AS EMPOWERMENT: TOWARD IMPROVED THEORY

The theoretical implications of these findings supports and offers new directions for participatory research. Critical theoretical perspectives on the knowledge production process have done much to help us understand the operation of and the possibilities for critical consciousness in a capitalist world-economy. The work of reproduction theorists has shed a great deal of light on the workings of the traditional institutional structures that are used by the powerful to reproduce the class system within society (see for example Bordieu 1977, or Bowles and Gintis 1977). Basically, they have helped to identify what we as popular researchers and educators do not want to emulate. On the other hand, production theorists like Antonio Gramsci, Paulo Freire, and others have helped to renew and reinvigorate our visions of what is possible within society by offering cogent ideas about how to do education and research to make socially just changes. Based on these ideas, participatory researchers like Deb Barndt, Orlando Fals Borda, John Gaventa, Patricia Maguire, and each of the participants in this study, are helping to develop a counterideology, or a negation, to the dominant forms of knowledge production. They are creating and growing a transcript of resistance. The transcript, the principles and methods of participatory research, provides information on some of the fundamental ingredients that people need to overcome powerlessness.

When working for bottom-up structural social change the questions asked by the pluralists—who makes decisions and how—are indeed crucial ones that need be answered during the early efforts of any group doing community-based problem-solving research. People doing participatory research also must be keenly aware of the mobilization of bias, or non-decisions, at structural levels. As suggested by the second dimension of power, people need to learn how items that are not addressed at the

decision-making table were kept off, in order to mobilize and do effective actions that can give voice to the grievances of the people. In addition and most importantly, we must also deal with the control of consciousness identified in the third dimension of power and begin to work with people to develop critical consciousness and counterhegemony.

The third dimension of power suggests that grassroots researchers must enter the murky waters of socialization, media, culture, knowledge, information control, and the shaping of beliefs and ideologies in order to understand power and empowerment. This approach begins to resemble Gramsci's ideas about hegemony, specifically the notion that the prevailing ideas of any era serve certain interests over others. If then culture and the construction of consciousness are important to resistance, how does this translate to the political work of using participatory research as a tool for empowerment? A first step is to understand the process by which resistance is developed and codified. This involves the specification on how free spaces for participatory research are created, defended, and multiplied. It is only then that we can begin to move from an analysis of individual resisters to the socialization of resistant knowledge production practices.

We are all informed to some degree or another by the hegemonic ideologies of the day (e.g., capitalism over all other economic forms, free market ideology over planned markets; representative democracy over all other forms of democracy; individualism over collectivism). It is a difficult task for anyone to unlearn all these facets of the dominant social paradigm and to see the new possibilities and doors critical thinking and consciousness can open. A first step requires us to move from seeing oppression to seeing resistance to oppression. The burgeoning field of resistance theories clearly denotes the fact that this shift is already taking place. Certainly we cannot forget to understand the oppressors, but it is time we began to attend more closely to the needs of the oppressed. The subaltern must have voice.

The concept of free space can help to further our understanding of the social sites where participatory research takes place. Most of the political life of subordinate groups is to be found neither in overt collective defiance of powerholders nor in complete hegemonic compliance, but in the vast territory between these polar opposites (Scott, 1990:136). Community-based participatory research offers one vantage point into this middle ground where free social space exists to carry out and grow the discourse of resistance. If the strong turnout and intense discussion at the Workshop on Participatory Research is any indicator, we have only begun to see the myriad of critical community issues that can be investigated and likely solved by applying participatory research.

When grappling with issues of power and empowerment it is clear, at least in participatory modes of investigation like those represented here, that research, education, and action are each empty without being connected to the other. The advocates of participatory research make no pretense that this alternative investigative approach will, by itself, create "a revolution." Rather, by emphasizing the sharing of power in the knowledge production process and stressing the collective analysis and working out of problems and solutions, the process reinforces and builds the capacities and potentials of powerless individuals, groups, and communities to successfully make social changes. By learning through doing, people can strengthen their awareness of, and belief in, themselves and their abilities and resources for organizing, educating, acting, and thinking critically.

Participatory research is at its base about transforming individual and collective consciousness and behavior through participation in research, action, and education by powerless people. In the participatory form of knowledge production the activities involved are about addressing and effecting the structural, relational, and on-going nature of unequal power relations in society; it is to address all three dimensions of

power. Knowledge produced in this fashion not only empowers participants in the process, but in most instances it also provides a much more thorough understanding of the physical, social, and existential world than knowledge produced and disseminated by the minions of capital. Figure 7.2 is intended to outline the theoretical understanding of the relationship between power, empowerment, knowledge, and the elements of participatory research. The point is that while the forms of power, knowledge, and empowerment have been analyzed as discrete entities, successful social changes are based on the ability of people to empower themselves in each of the areas.

What Figure 7.2 says is that if we approach the idea of building people's skills to overcome powerlessness attention must be given to each of the three dimensions of power. If looked at from a pluralist framework, with the focus on the decision-making process as it actually occurs (the first dimension of power), our emphasis must be on building the political efficacy and advocacy skills necessary to influence decision-making and decision-makers on key issues (Gaventa 1995). An informed and empowered citizenry would need concrete information, or instrumental knowledge, to advocate for or against particular issues and agendas in order to influence and alter the process in their favor. Thus the elements of PR that become most important for this strategy are participation by the powerless in the research process and consequently reflection on the process. This does not mean that education and action have no role in building the capacity to advocate; rather, research is of primary importance and education and action supplement the research process.

If we use the second dimension of power to understand empowerment, which argues that our political system is not as open as we might believe and that barriers are constructed that hinder authentic participation at the decision-making table, our emphasis is on promoting participation in decision-making (Gaventa 1995). In order to build the skills of citizens to challenge this form of power our energies must be on mobilizing and

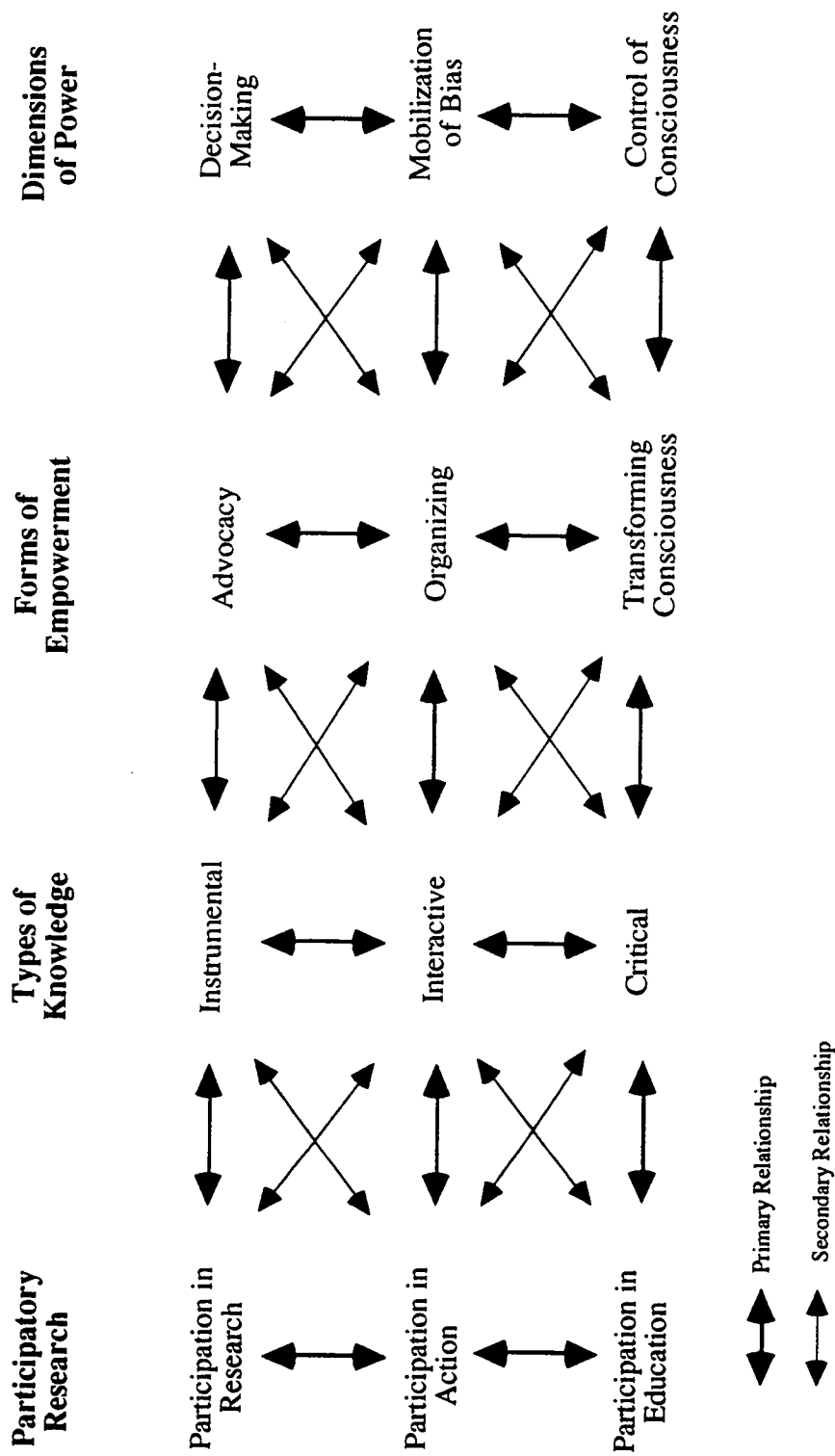


FIGURE 7.2
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH AS GRASSROOTS EMPOWERMENT

organizing broad-based and participatory peoples organizations that can gain access to the political arena and turn non-issues into issues. Who participates becomes as important as how to participate effectively. In PR participation is stressed in each facet of the approach, though for our purposes it is through collective action that people can begin to understand their common problems and begin to organize to do something about them.

The third dimension of power raises questions about how the values, views, culture, and knowledge of community-based people are shaped. This in turn raises more questions about the perception of grievances and the possibilities for acting upon them. So, if we are empowering citizens to deal with the third dimension of power and questions of knowledge, culture, and consciousness, what people are participating about becomes the critical variable, and the forms of political education and awareness building the crucial change strategies (Gaventa 1995). To challenge the third dimension of power people need to develop the capacities to be active in their own efforts to make change. It is to bring about individual and collective critical consciousness, in order to more thoroughly understand the workings of the global social-political-economic system, envision a better world for dominated and oppressed people, and put those visions into action in order to transform society into a truly just, equitable, and participatory democracy. It is through collective and critical education that people begin to learn the true nature of the oppressive structures they are challenging. They begin to understand the matrix of domination as they connect different forms of oppression together, in turn becoming more critical, and upon reflection, able to devise better strategies to overcome powerlessness in all its forms.

What is depicted in this analysis is that the essence of PR as an empowerment strategy, is found in the fact that it combines participation in research, education, action, and reflection. None of these elements are treated as discrete units and divided up

according to area of expertise, or the most rational division of labor. Rather, a host of participatory research theorists and practitioners are indeed correct when they find that it is the combination of these processes that is a major strength of PR (see Cancian 1992; Fals Borda 1981; Hall 1994; and Maguire 1987 for examples).

By combining research, action, and education to solve community problems, participants are involved in producing and using each of the three types of knowledge needed to understand the world. During participatory knowledge production participants are also building the capacities to advocate, organize, and transform consciousness. Each of these activities in turn helps people and their organizations advocate for their issues, connect their issues to larger ones, and organize against the mobilization of bias in decision-making. This leads people to begin to understand the true nature of domination in the present social-political-economic structure of the global system. Participatory research then becomes a strategy for building awareness, mobilizing for action, and for overcoming internalized oppressions. It is to develop popular knowledge, to create political pedagogy, and to promote peoples culture as a form of knowing. All are crucial elements in the process of community-based problem-solving, but what really allows people to sow the seeds of fire is to pursue these strategies simultaneously.

PR AS PROCESS: TOWARD IMPROVED PRAXIS

What I heard from study participants, both during the workshop and interviews, was how they were unable to draw distinctions between research, education, and mobilizing for action when they reflected on their experiences doing participatory research. As they described, considered, and self-analyzed their PR activities,

participants found that each element blended into the other. It was even more apparent during the collective discussions on participatory research at the workshop. As people shared their stories and attempted to do collective analysis and reflection on their experiences they had great difficulty categorizing their techniques. We kept coming to the conclusion that the elements and activities involved in doing participatory research were happening all at once. In fact, a number of times people expressed the sentiment that to treat these elements as discrete entities was to do serious damage to the beauty and effectiveness of the PR approach. My understanding of what people were saying is that participatory research is an interaction-based phenomenon, or a relational process. The experiences of people suggest that a better way to think about PR at an individual level than any yet presented, is to conceive of it as an interactive, or relational process.

Figure 7.3 depicts the Cyclical Model of PR presented by the International Council on Adult Education (ICAE) (1983:8). This was one of the first visual representations of participatory research to receive wide attention. It provides a useful model for explaining the PR process in step-by-step fashion to those unfamiliar with the method. It also shows the reflective and cyclical nature of the work via the feedback loop. This conceptualization of participatory research is also beneficial for reflecting back on the group process as it is happening and for analyzing similar themes when reflecting on a project in hindsight. But, the ICAE model fails to really account for the role of individuals in the process. It does not allow for individuals to really place themselves inside the model as active participants. Rather, they may become passive followers of a defined process. Beyond that, this conceptualization offers little support for analyzing people's individual experiences inside a participatory research project.²

² It should be understood that none of the models of participatory research presented here were created with the express task of bringing the individual into the model. Thus, the critiques are not direct attacks on the models, rather they are used to show how the thinking on participatory research has evolved in recent years.

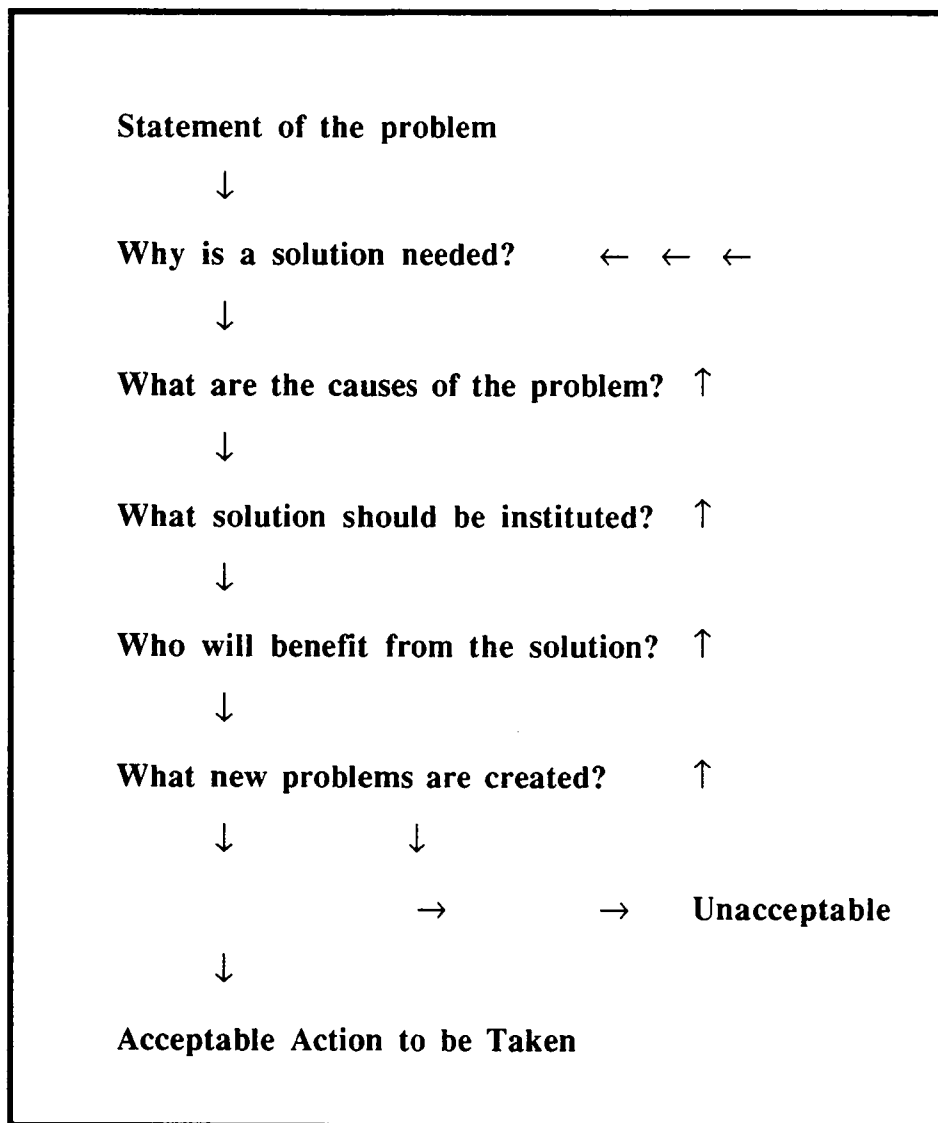


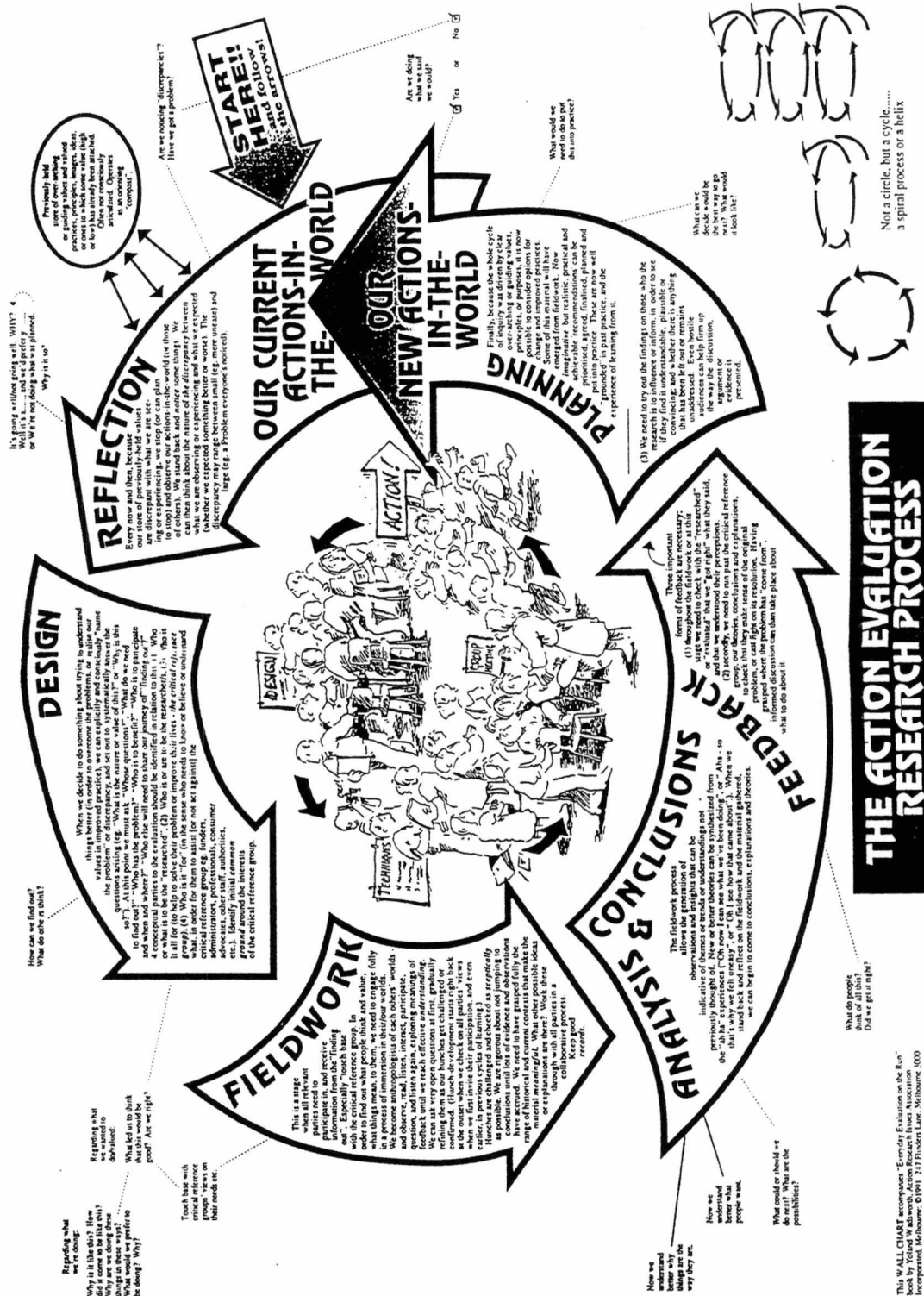
FIGURE 7.3
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON ADULT EDUCATION CYCLICAL
MODEL OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH ³

³ Figure taken from International Council for Adult Education (ICAE). 1982. *Participatory Research: An Introduction*, page 8. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

Figure 7.4 shows Yoland Wadsworth's Spiral Model of Participatory Evaluation Research (1991). This approach shows the spiraling and cyclical nature of participatory research. Much of the same praise and many of the same critiques levied at the ICAE model apply here as well. Like the ICAE model, Wadsworth gives us an extremely useful conceptual tool for describing the participatory research process and introducing it to people unfamiliar with the method. The model is also useful for examining certain facets of the collective process in participatory research but does not offer much help in addressing individual experiences within a particular project. Wadsworth's model does provide a much better way for people to visually insert themselves in the process than does the ICAE version, but if we listen to the voices of the people in this study, new conceptions emerge. We find that it is not as depicted in the Figure 7.4, as if people are on a racetrack, or road, that spirals upward through each stage in the participatory research process. Rather, most of the time each of these things are happening to individuals simultaneously.

Denise Nadeau (1996:20) represented in Figure 7.5 also offers a spiral interpretation of popular education and organizing in her highly recommended workbook, *Counting Our Victories: Popular Education and Organizing*. Although her spiral presents the same problems mentioned above, in her text she offers a number of insights on popular education and the spiral (Nadeau 1996:19).

Unlike traditional education which says that knowledge is the source of action, popular education [likewise participatory research] is based on the principle that action and experience are a source of knowledge. Reflection on that action in the context of a desire for social change can then lead to new action. This is the action-reflection-action principle....The visual image of the spiral best illustrates this process. The spiral moves from bottom to top. The process always continues in that once you have acted you return to reflect on you action—your new experience—this time at a deeper level. Sometimes you might skip a stage in the process; sometimes stages collapse into one; sometimes you may go back and do another activity at the same stage, but at a deeper level. It is not a mechanistic formula but a way of thinking about design and organizing.



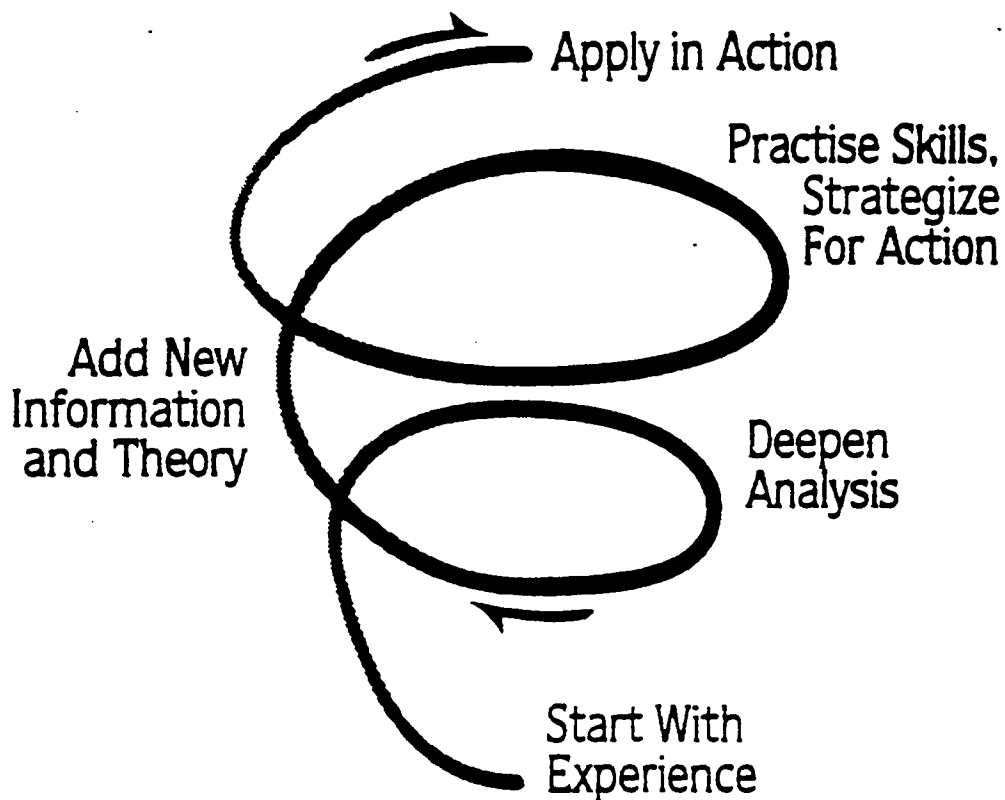


FIGURE 7.5
DENISE NADEAU'S SPIRAL MODEL OF ORGANIZING AND
EDUCATIONAL DESIGN ³

³ Figure taken from Nadeau, Denise. 1996. *Counting Our Victories: A Training Guide on Popular Education and Organizing*, page 20. New Westminster, BC, Canada: Repeal the Deal Productions. Video available.

Nadeau explains the spiral model as a form of the basic action-reflection-action principle in community organizing and social change work. But, we must go beyond these spiral models and embrace the feminist advances to participatory research and popular education. As Nadeau herself suggests, we must involve the whole person in the endeavor; the personal and interpersonal must be considered along with the structural. It is to have an "integrated," "holistic," approach to organizing, "because the intent is to involve the body, spirit, mind, and emotions of women and men in the process" (Nadeau 1996:21; see also Maguire 1987:48-71, 200-216). Thus, what I am showing in Figure 7.6, is participatory research as a holistic, interactive, and relational process. It is to involve the whole person in the model.

As a way to move toward this goal, I pull out reflection and make it a visible element in the participatory research approach. In my oral defense hearing, Professor Helen Lewis described what I was trying to say about reflection in terms of "self-criticism." While this certainly explains a good deal about what I am trying to say, I don't think it gets at the entire definition. My conception of the term is partly found in self-criticism, but it is also to embrace one of the feminist additions to the practice of participatory research to bring individuals back in. It is also to confirm the role of spiritual knowledge along with that of instrumental, interactive, and critical knowledge (see especially Colorado 1988). To make reflection a visible element in the participatory research model takes it out of the realm of education, where it is conceived to fit in the model of participatory research subscribed to many PR practitioners, and helps to confirm the personal and the interpersonal as both a source of knowledge and as an arena for action in each of the facets of participatory research.

Beyond that, what I term here as reflection is one of the major activities that goes on in the free spaces during mundane times in the participatory research process. It is found in the drives to and from meetings with group members, or with people from

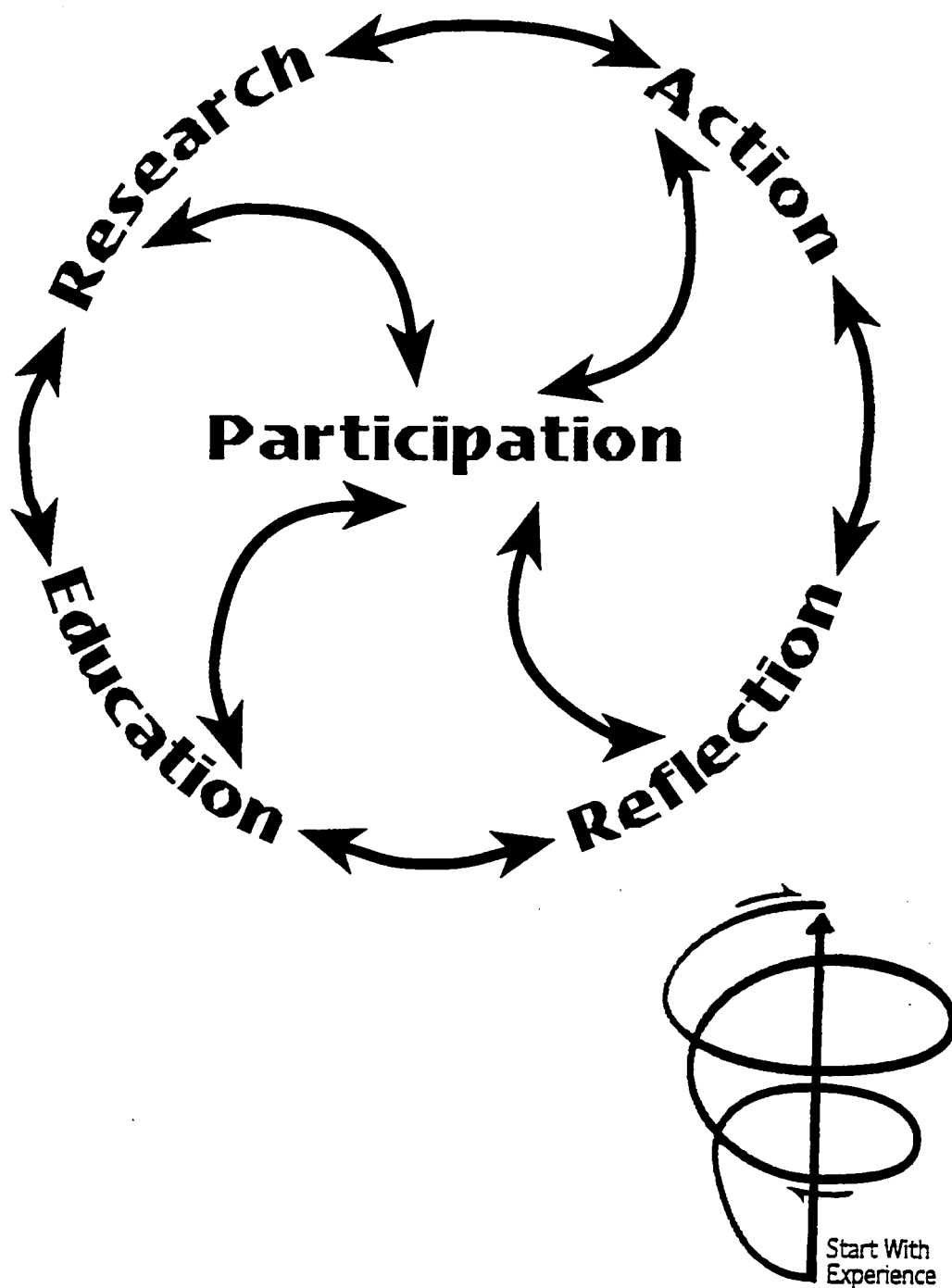


FIGURE 7.6
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH AS PRAXIS
AN INTERACTIVE MODEL

other organizations. Reflection happens on research excursions, or during meals with friends and family. I believe that it is during these periods of individual and small group reflection that people truly begin to work out the details of critical consciousness. It is to reify what Collins (1989, 1990) and a number of others describe and say, that people work out their individual critical consciousness in dialogue with others. These are the spaces and places where people begin to explore the connections between what they are learning about their specific community problem and what they are learning about related wider issues and concerns. During the participatory research process these spaces are where people move toward understanding and then actively working to oppose not just a single issue, but to confront the matrix of domination.

What I am doing is putting the whole person back into the model of participatory research. This is depicted in the helix where I have tried to show, albeit very crudely, the individual inside the spiral of participatory research. I understand it as if a individual person were inside a tornado in terms of imagining how PR works at its most basic level. The general spiral is indeed a good for model to show the process as a whole, but the interactive spiral model is a great deal more appropriate for analyzing and trying to understand how PR effects individual's consciousness and behavior. It is only from this vantage point that we can begin to really examine what features of PR actually impact individual people's capacities to advocate, mobilize for action, and develop critical consciousness.

What I have illustrated in Figure 7.6 is well described, by PR practitioner John Gaventa, in an interview with John Forester (1996:1).

You see lots of things happening all at once. In any one of these meetings, just with a tape recorder like we have now, we would have gotten incredibly powerful information and data. So you're documenting knowledge. But you're also producing networks: people are making connections, making relationships with each other, which is strengthening for them, and we are also talking about action. All those things are happening simultaneously—which I think is the essence of the

participatory model. It's about knowledge production, about education and capacity building and consciousness, and about action all at once. But in our traditional research model, or the "research for change" model, you do the research, and that's one piece. Then you educate people, and then they take action. Its linear. In participatory research this happens all at once.

Overall, we must conceive of the participatory research process as cyclical, or moving between action and reflection; individual and collective critical consciousness, and skills and capacities to make change, are indeed improved and spiraling upwards. But, it is also important to understand that the process of participatory research and the multiplicity of activities it entails are really happening to people all at once. People are producing the three forms of knowledge, they are challenging power at all three levels, and are also growing increasing their skill as active participants in their daily and civic lives. This is what I mean when I say that participatory research is relational, or interactive, in every-day praxis.

DIFFICULTIES IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Relations between researchers are problematic at each stage of a participatory research project. One of the other common features between the projects represented here is the fact that they were able to avoid some of these difficulties and develop attachments with professional practitioners, researchers, and others, who consciously worked to share ownership of the information produced and power over the process by which information was produced. As these relationship developed and strengthened, people in communities soon learned to work with experts and professionals in ways they never had before and also learned to demand equality from other "professional experts."

In each of the projects academics, professionals, and community members embraced radically different relations with each other, and understood the dynamic of information that has shared ownership. Participatory researchers in these cases were involved in the creation of popular knowledge in which the owners of the information were the people themselves. Before we can accomplish our goal of a more democratic society people must reclaim what they already know. In such work, research becomes a process of developing people's knowledge and simultaneously of organizing and building awareness. It is at once necessary to be honest and accountable with your own self, others, and the agenda. All parties involved in gathering data are part of the process and share equally in the production of the knowledge that takes place, without regard for the level of one's individual critical consciousness. Academics can neither play nor fulfill the role of the traditional expert. Rather, they must operate as facilitators, or "upside-down intellectuals." Scientists and educators can no longer be the owners of expert, cultural, informational knowledge, nor may they lay claim as the sole owners of the material gathered while doing primary research. Scientists must understand the complexities of the information dynamic from the perspective of oppressed groups. An alternative research model envisions a participatory experience in which both communities and academics benefit from the research. This participatory research model involves the community in defining the issues that need to be addressed from the conceptualization of the project, includes them as democratic partners throughout all facets of the process, and gives the community control over the information that is generated.

Thus, to prevent co-optation of the process and the knowledge produced, key attributes for people practicing participatory research include: having respect for people; knowing when and how to validate people's experience(s); being properly prepared to provide an effective learning experience and environment, and doing your best to have

the right questions; maintaining clear vision while helping to heal others; being responsible and flexible to persons and situations; understanding the privileges one holds as a convenor; and being extremely process conscious. In a practical sense the role of the popular educator can be seen as one driven by the need to think through problems with all learners to the point that you can begin to understand, address, and begin to undo what's wrong. An important facet of this role is to understand the decision-making process that takes place at each structural boundary within a political system. This role cannot be taught; it must be learned by doing, and informed continually by actions and reflection on the part of anyone involved.

For many in academia, research is guided in support of the status quo (e.g., tenure, promotion, grant moneys). If we want active participants in the political and cultural events of the day we need to practice participatory principles in our own work. The issues and problems with which we work must stem from the people in the community. We can no longer be so arrogant as to think that in a few hours, or even weeks, that we can understand, with any clarity, the problems faced in a community. We can not reproduce existing power relations; rather, the goal must be to promote democracy in the class room, the community, and in society at large. We need to understand the importance of issues like the development of collective identity, the construction of meaning and culture, and resistance to oppression.

The material conditions of everyday life for oppressed people must also be considered when doing participatory research. Unlike those with a more voluntarist bent, people operating from a critical perspective remain acutely aware of the fact that people may make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please. People participating in collective efforts to solve community problems must begin to recognize the power of structural determinants in the sense of material practices, modes of power, and economic and political institutions. Once realized, however, these same people must

then confront, through their own work, the basic notion that when doing participatory research we must be held accountable to people, not to structures. This means that the work cannot become stifled by methodology or theory; rather, the work must strive for an accountability that is based on flesh and blood individuals. Each facet of a project must be informed by praxis in the day-to-day operation of the social, cultural, political and economic systems in which we have lived historically, but it is even more pressing to work with people to better the conditions they live in here and now.

Although historical conditions and the present context in which knowledge is produced are vital to a fuller understanding of any situation, we must also strive to produce counterhegemony that is based on a critical consciousness that goes beyond historical materialism and class consciousness to understand other forms of domination. That is to say, the consciousness produced through participatory research cannot be simply reduced to class; rather, we need create consciousness that helps people to struggle against the matrix of domination. This would be individual and collective consciousness that is working to understand individual and social relations as gendered, raced, cultured, abilitied, etc. This kind of critical thinking would not be found in consciousness alone, but would be connected to behavior; the kinds of behavior that show that people understand and are working to correct the "ism's" they perpetuate in their own life. It is to begin to connect environmental issues with gender, race and culture, or to begin to connect indigenous rights to other more deep seated ethnic and cultural concerns. It is to come to know that different people do get treated differently by the social system and by other individuals. In each of the examples in this report the people involved moved forward in this direction, but each could have done better. It is only by connecting struggles against domination and power that we may succeed in the bottom-up restructuring of society.

In fact, as suggested to me by several people who have commented on this study, maybe to understand and move participatory research forward practically and theoretically, we need to focus on a fourth form of knowledge, namely revolutionary knowledge. This type of knowledge would be defined by action that it is connected to the struggle against structural domination and oppression. Hence a key question for participatory research becomes: Is the transformative, or critical, knowledge we are writing about in the literature on participatory research revolutionary knowledge, or some other type? Based on this study, I did not gather the appropriate information to give much if any answer, other than to say that this line of thinking certainly deserves some serious and thoughtful attention that I am unable to offer here.

LIMITS OF THE STUDY AND NEXT STEPS

Putting these stories into categories and boxes as I have done here, may provide a nice framework for analysis, but it does some damage to the stories, both in terms of presentation and interpretation. This way of working also creates an artificiality that doesn't exist in daily life. I would like to suggest in doing this analysis that it is possible, with more thorough data, to draw direct ties to particular strategies and techniques within the participatory approach to individual and collective empowerment and transformation. What I could do in this analysis was bounded in scope because of my own time constraints and limits on the data I collected. I did not ask enough of the right questions during my interviews. Only now after transcribing and analyzing what I have done, do I think I know enough to go back and re-interview people and be able to probe their comments in deeper ways that makes direct connections between participatory research methods and individual and collective empowerment.

Another limit is in the amount of on-site participant observation I was able to do in the communities represented in the study. The initial research design called for visits ranging from 3-7 days with each of the community-based organizations that agreed to participate in this study. Due to limits in funding, I was only able to visit four of the eleven sites personally. The investigation would certainly have improved if I had been able to follow the original research design. As it is the data is limited in terms of providing adequate context in which the participatory research activities took place. Due to the lack of site visits, I was unable to achieve the depth of analysis I would have liked in terms of direct one-on-one interviews with the participants in this study. I was able to use the telephone, but no matter what they say, it is not the same as being there. Thus, if I had been able to spend more time and thoroughly participate and observe at each site, the study would have been improved in terms of depth, breadth, and context.

In terms of next steps, I would suggest that an important theoretical and practical concern is to investigate the existence and role of revolutionary knowledge in participatory research. At a more general level, this may be a question for social change work itself. A more immediate concern might be to think more about how we can use what was learned through this study to ask better questions to provide improved insights that directly relate specific features of participatory research to different forms of empowerment and ultimately to develop better theories and methods of popular knowledge production. As mentioned in the problem statement, there is still a dearth of comparative studies in participatory research and this should be remedied. We have a number of solid case studies in the literature on participatory research, we now need to draw some of the lessons and themes learned together through comparative analyses. As for me, my next steps related to this work are to select three or four case examples and try to accomplish some of the things set out above.

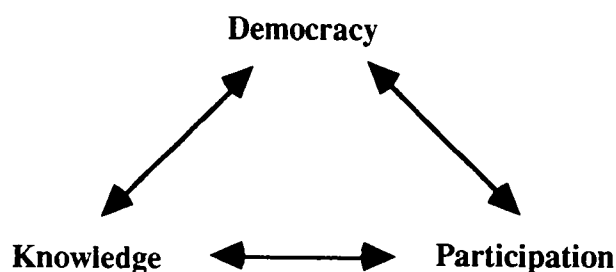
CONCLUSION

Successful individual and social change through PR is created through a unified movement that educates for critical consciousness, mobilizes for action, and advocates on issues. People must have the capacities to build lasting community-based organizations, promote and advocate for particular issues and leaders, produce knowledge, and to develop counterhegemony through critical education, participation, and practice. Each of these activities is strengthened in participatory research by collectively producing, using, and developing popular knowledge, information, and culture. This recurring theme of interconnectedness is the key to social change through participatory research.

The central concern of this report has been to show how participatory research can help powerless people deal with the three dimensions of power. Overall, five significant aspects of successful participatory research emerged from the analysis in this investigation: (1) the work must be committed to the self-determination and emancipation of subordinated groups within society; (2) people must be seen as self-conscious political actors capable of changing themselves and social structures; (3) loyalties must be developed and maintained in terms of people, not institutions; (4) the endeavor must help people to learn to critically analyze individual and collective experiences and to transform consciousness in ways that foster progressive social action; (5) the process must be about facilitating learning through practice that is based on peer teaching in which all persons learn with and from each other. Participatory research must be informed by praxis that is dedicated to the individual and collective empowerment of powerless people and grounded in resistance to the day-to-day domination and oppression meted out by the social-cultural-political-economic system

that we live in here and now. The underlying principle in participatory research is to have a deep and abiding respect for the people who are closest to the struggle.

As eloquently stated by Audre Lorde, in the quote that opens this chapter, "... the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may temporarily allow us to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change." Participatory research is one strategy that can be used by powerless people to dismantle the master's historical structures of inequality, domination, and oppression, to create new social relations built from the bottom up and based on the principles of equality, liberation, justice, and participatory democracy. We can turn common sense into good sense and produce participatory democracy based on popular knowledge and culture that people have developed themselves. Through participatory research the grassroots can unmask the myths of the powerful and bring about genuine social change by putting power back into the magic hands of the people.



EPILOGUE

Knowledge becomes wisdom only when it can be applied to daily life.
Joseph Cacannover

I thought I'd end my story with a little fable that equates well with one of the important lessons I learned while completing this dissertation. It's an anecdote I first heard my friend Larry Wilson tell a number of year ago during a workshop at the Highlander Research and Education Center. He retold the story as we closed our gathering on participatory research, and the more I struggled to produce this body of work, the more I came to appreciate the story's meaning.

Early one morning an old man and his grandson headed off the farm to go across the mountains to buy a donkey. They had to walk several hours to go get their new donkey and it took most of the morning to get there. Just before noon, they had made their purchase and the grandfather, grandson, and new little donkey all relaxed in the shade to eat some lunch before they began their lengthy homeward journey. Early in the afternoon the three of them started to walk back across the mountains. As they walked along, they passed some fellows along the way and the old man overheard them say, "Isn't that something both that man and the boy are walking when one of them could be riding that nice little donkey." The old man thought about it a little and decided that was really a very good idea. He jumped up on his new donkey and started to ride while his grandson led them along. A piece further down the road they met some more people and the old man heard them say, "Isn't that something, here is a grown man riding his donkey and

that poor little boy has to walk.” Naturally the grandfather felt bad about this and jumped down off the donkey. He picked up his grandson and put him on the donkey’s back and started to walk again. This time the boy was riding and the grandfather leading. Soon after they met another group of people and the old man heard them comment, “Isn’t it awful, look there is a young healthy boy riding and that poor old man is walking when that donkey could carry them both.” The old man mulled this over for a while and finally thought, “You know they are right.” So, the old man jumped up on the donkey’s back behind his grandson, and off they went at an easy gait. They rode this way for quite some time until they passed by another group of people who are heard to say, “Isn’t it terrible what they are doing to that poor little donkey? Look, that boy and that man on his back riding while the donkey does all the hard work.” The old man thought about what he had heard for a little while, and eventually he started to feel sorry for the donkey, so he got down from his back and then he helped his grandson off. Then, the old man picked up the little donkey and threw it over his shoulders, and that’s how they continued on their journey. The old man carried the donkey across his shoulders and his grandson walked along beside him. As they wound up the road for home, they came to a high swinging bridge that people have use to get across some of the deeper ravines in the mountains. As they started to cross the swinging bridge, the little donkey looked down and got really scared. He started bucking and jerking and finally got so frightened that he leaped of the old man’s shoulders and crashed to his death on the rocks below. . . .

The old man and I learned:

When you try to do for everybody you are going to lose your ass!!!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Frank. 1972. "Highlander Folk School Getting Information, Going Back and Teaching It," *Harvard Education Review*, 42(4): 433-56.
- . 1975. *Unearthing the Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair Publishers.
- Alinsky, Saul. 1946. *Reveille for Radicals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Random House.
- American Sociologist*. 1992, 23(4) and 1993, 24(1).
- Ansley, Fran and John Gaventa. 1997. "Researching for Democracy and Democratizing Research," *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 29(1): 46-53.
- Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce. 1981. *Land Ownership Patterns and Their Impacts on Appalachian Communities*. Vols. 1-7. Washington DC: Appalachian Regional Commission.
- Arnold, Rick, Bev Burke, Carl James, D'Arcy Martin, and Barb Thomas. 1991. *Educating for A Change*. Toronto: Doris Marshall Institute for Education and Action.
- Babbie, Earl. 1989. *The Practice of Social Research Fifth Edition*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.
- Bailey, Darlyne. 1992. "Using Participatory Research in Community Consortia Development and Evaluation: Lessons from the Beginning of a Story." *American Sociologist*, 23(4):71-82.
- Bailey, Kenneth D. 1978. *Methods of Social Research*. New York: The Free Press.
- Barndt, Deborah. 1981. *Education and Social Change: A Photographic Study of Peru*. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.
- . 1990. *To Change This House: Popular Education Under the Sandanistas*. Toronto: Doris Marshall Institute.
- Barnsley, Jan and Diana Ellis. 1992. *Research for Change: Participatory Action Research for Community Groups*. Vancouver, BC: Women's Research Centre.
- Beckwith, David. 1996. "Ten Ways to Work Together: An Organizer's View," *Sociological Imagination*, 33(2):164-72.
- Bell, Daniel. 1974. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. London: Heinemann.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1969. "Sociological Analysis and the Variable," in Herbert Blumer (ed.), *Symbolic Interaction: Perspective and Method*, pgs. 127-39. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

- Bobo, Kim, Jackie Kendall, and Steve Max. 1991. *Organizing for Social Change: A Manual for Activists in the 1990's*. Washington DC: Seven Locks Press.
- Bordieu, Pierre. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. 1977. *Schooling in Capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brydon-Miller, Mary. 1993. "Breaking Down Barriers: Accessibility Self-Advocacy in the Disabled Community," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall, and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*, pgs. 125-144. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Burawoy, Michael, Alice Furton, Ann Arnett Ferguson, Kathryn J. Fox, Joshua Gamson, Nadine Gartrell, Leslie Hurst, Charles Kurzman, Leslie Salzinger, Josepha Schiffman, and Shiori Ui. 1991. *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1991. "Reconstructing Social Theories," in Michael Burawoy et al., *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*. pgs. 8-28. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cable, Sherry. 1993. "From Fussin' to Organizing: Individual and Collective Resistance at Yellow Creek," in Stephen L. Fisher (ed.), *Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change*, pgs. 69-84. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Callanan, Charlie and Pat Hann. 1992. "Participatory Research and Community Television Technology in Rural Newfoundland: 1979-1989," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 185-190. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Cancian, Francesca M. and Cathleen Armstead. 1992. "Participatory Research," in *The Encyclopedia of Sociology*, pgs. 1427-1432. London: Pergamon Press.
- Carawan, Guy and Candy Carawan. 1989. *Been in the Storm So Long*. Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.
- Carr-Hill, Roy A. 1984. "Radicalizing Survey Methodology," *Quality and Quantity*, 18: 275-292.
- Chambers, Robert. 1981. "Rapid Rural Appraisal: Rationale and Repertoire," *Public Administration and Development*, 1: 95-106.
- . 1983. *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Essex: Longman Scientific and Technical.
- . 1994a. "The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal," *World Development*, 22(7): 953-969.

- _____. 1994b. "Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): An Analysis of Experience," *World Development*, 22(9): 1253-1268.
- _____. 1994c. "Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): Challenges, Potentials, and Paradigm," *World Development*, 22(10): 1437-1454.
- Chin, Sony J., Luz Canave, and Mindy Antopina. 1992. "People's Participation in the Study of Their Own Situation: The Davao (Phillipines) Experience," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 103-117. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Colletta, Nat J. 1982. "Participatory Research or Pretense? Reflections on the Research Phase of an Indonesian Experiment in Non-Formal Education," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillete and Rajesh Tandon (eds.), *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 87-102. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1989. "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14(41): 745-773.
- _____. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Colorado, Pam. 1988. "Bridging Native and Western Science," *Convergence*, 21(2-3): 49-68.
- Comstock, Don. 1982. "A Method for Critical Research," in Eric Bredo and Walter Feinberg (eds.), *Knowledge and Values in Social and Educational Research*, pgs. 370-390. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Comstock, Donald E. 1993. "Participatory Research as Critical Theory: The North Bonneville, USA, Experience," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall, and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*. pgs. 103-124. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Convergence*. 1981, 14(3) and 1988, 21(3).
- Curtis, Karen A. 1989. "Help From Within: Participatory Research in a Low-Income Neighborhood," *Urban Anthropology*, 18(2): 203-217.
- De Koning, Korrie and Marion Martin (eds.). 1996. *Participatory Research in Health: Issues and Experiences*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- de Roux, Gustavo I. 1991. "Together Against the Computer: PAR and the Struggle of Afro-Colombians for Public Service," in Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman (eds), *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*, pgs. 37-53. New York: Apex Press.
- de Wit, Ton an Vera Gianotten. 1981. "Rural Training in Traditional Communities of Peru," in Dubell Folke (ed.), *Research for the People, Research by the People:*

- An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 131-142. Linköping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- Dennison, Derek. 1994. "Defending the Land With Maps," *World Watch*. January/February: 27-31.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.). 1994. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Draper, James A. 1982. "One Step Forward: A Community Project in Northern Canada," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillete, and Rajesh Tandon (eds.), *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 175-184. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Dunn, Timothy J. 1996. *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexican Border, 1978-1992: Low-Intensity Conflict Comes Home*. The Center for Mexican American Studies: The University of Texas at Austin.
- Epstein, Steven. 1991. "Democratic Science? AIDS Activism and the Contested Construction of Knowledge," *Socialist Review*, 21(2):35-64.
- Evans, Sara M. and Harry C. Boyte. 1986. *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Ewald, Wendy. 1979. *Appalachia: A Self Portrait*. Frankfort, Kentucky: Gnomon Press for Appalshop.
- Fals-Borda, Orlando. 1981. "Science and the Common People," in Dubell Folke (ed), *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 13-40. Linköping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- . 1982. "Participatory Research and Rural Social Change," *Journal of Rural Cooperation*, X(1): 25-39.
- . 1985. *Knowledge and People's Power: Lessons with Peasants in Nicaragua, Mexico and Colombia*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- . 1996. "Research for Social Justice: Some North-South Convergences," *Sociological Imagination* 33(2): 154-163. The Plenary Address at the Southern Sociological Society Meeting, Atlanta, GA, April 8, 1995.
- and Muhammad Anisur Rahman (eds.). 1991. *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*. New York: Apex Press.
- Fetterman, David M., Shakeh J. Kaftarian, and Abraham Wandersman (eds.) 1996. *Empowerment Evaluation: Knowledge and Tools for Self-Assessment and Accountability*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Feyerabend, Paul. 1978. *Against Method: An Anarchic Theory of Knowledge*. New York: Verso Press.
- . 1993. *Against Method*. New York: Verso Press.
- Fisher, Stephen L. (ed.). 1993. *Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Folke, Dubell (ed.). 1981. *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*. Linköping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- (ed.). 1984. *Research for the People, Research by the People: Selected Papers from the International Forum on Participatory Research in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 1980*. Linköping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- Fonow, Mary M. and Judith A. Cook. 1991. *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Fordham, Paul, Geoff Poulton, and Lawrence Randle. 1982. "Research in the New Communities Project: An Urban Housing Estate in England," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillete, and Rajesh Tandon (eds.), *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 127-152. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Forester, John. 1992. "Critical Ethnography: On Fieldwork in a Habermasian Way," in Mats Alvesson and Hugh Wilmott (eds.), *Critical Management Studies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- . 1993. *Critical Theory, Public Policy, and Planning Practice: Toward a Critical Pragmatism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- . 1996. Transcript from Interview with John Gaventa on his experiences with participatory research. Forthcoming as part of Forester et al. (eds), *Profiles of Participatory Action Researchers*. Ithaca: Einaudi Center for International Studies and Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University.
- , Jessica Pitt, and John Walsh (eds.). 1993. *Profiles of Participatory Action Researchers*. Ithaca, NY: Einaudi Center for International Studies and Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University.
- Forrester, Keith and Kevin Ward. 1992. "The Potential and Limitations: Participatory Research in a University Context," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 165-184. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Freidenberg, Judith. 1991. "Participatory Research and Grassroots Development: A Case Study from Harlem," *City and Society*, 5(1), June: 64-75.
- Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

- _____. 1973. *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Continuum.
- _____. 1978. *Pedagogy in Process*. New York: Continuum.
- _____. 1982. "Creating Alternative Research Methods: Learning to Do It by Doing It," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillete, and Rajesh Tandon (eds.), *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 29-40. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- _____. 1985. *The Politics of Education*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Frideres, James, U. Fleising, S. Goldenberg, and J. DiSanto. 1992. "Community Participation: Natural Resource Development in Rural Alberta," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 191-203. North York: Captus University Publications.
- _____. (ed.). 1992. *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Garsonin, Jean and Padam Lal Devkota. 1992. "Community Health Development Project Mehlkuna, Nepal," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 58-68. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Gaventa, John. 1981. "Land Ownership in Appalachia, USA: A Citizen's Research Project," in Dubell Folke (ed), *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 118-30. Linkoping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- _____. and Bill Horton. 1981. "A Citizen's Research Project in Appalachia, USA," *Convergence*, 14(3): 30-41.
- _____. 1982. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- _____. 1988. "Participatory Research in North America," *Convergence*, 24(2-3): 19-28.
- _____. 1993. "The Powerful, the Powerless, and the Experts: Knowledge Struggles in an Information Age," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall, and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*, pgs. 21-40. Toronto: OISE Press.
- _____. 1995. "Citizen Knowledge, Citizen Competence and Democracy Building," a working paper presented at the "Political Economy of the Good Society Conference on Citizen Competence and the Design of Democratic Institutions," Washington DC, February 10-11.
- Gianotten, Vera and Ton de Wit. 1991. "Action and Participatory Research: A Case of Peasant Organization," in Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman

- (eds), *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*, pgs. 64-83. New York: Apex Press.
- Gibbs, Lois M. 1995. *Dying from Dioxin: A Citizen Guide to Reclaiming Our Health and Rebuilding Democracy*. Boston: South End Press.
- Giroux, Henry A. 1988. "Culture, Power and Transformation in the Work of Paulo Freire: Toward a Politics of Education," in Henry Giroux (ed.), *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*, pgs. 70-90. South Hadley: Bergin and Garvey.
- Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Press.
- Glen, John. 1988. *Highlander, No Ordinary School*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- . 1997. *Highlander, No Ordinary School Second Edition*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Goldman, Alfred E. and Susan Schwartz McDonald. 1987. *The Group Depth Interview: Principles and Practice*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.
- Hall, Budd L. 1979. "Knowledge as a Commodity and Participatory Research," *Prospects*, 9(4): 4-20.
- . 1981. "Participatory Research, Popular Knowledge and Power: A Personal Reflection," *Convergence*, 14(3): 6-19.
- , Arthur Gillette, and Rajesh Tandon (eds). 1982. *Creating Knowledge a Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*. Toronto: International Council for Adult Education.
- . 1982. "Breaking the Monopoly of Knowledge: Research Methods, Participation and Development," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillette, and Rajesh Tandon (eds), *Creating Knowledge a Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 13-28. Toronto: International Council for Adult Education.
- . 1994. "Participatory Research," in Torston Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, pgs. 4330-36. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Harding, Sandra. 1986. *The Science Question in Feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Harrison, Faye V. 1991a. *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further Toward an Anthropology for Liberation*. Washington DC: American Anthropological Association.

- _____. 1991b. "Ethnography as Politics," in Faye V. Harrison (ed.) *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further Toward an Anthropology for Liberation*, pgs. 88-109. Washington DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Heaney, Thomas W. 1993. "If You Can't Beat 'Em, Join 'Em: The Professionalization of Participatory Research," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall, and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*, pgs. 41-46. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Henry, Colin. 1992. "Participatory Research in Australia: Action Research in Human Rights Education," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 30-48. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Highlander Research and Education Center. 1989. *Highlander: An Approach to Education Through a Collection of Writings*. 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.
- Hinsdale, Mary Ann, Helen Lewis, and Maxine Waller. 1995. *It Comes From the People: Community Development and Local Theology*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1993. "Why Advocacy Research?: Reflections on Research and Activism with Immigrant Women," *American Sociologist*, 24(1): 56-68.
- hooks, bell. 1984. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press.
- _____. 1989. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. Boston: South End Press.
- Horton, Bill D. 1993. "The Appalachian Land Ownership Study: Research and Citizen Action in Appalachia," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change in the United States and Canada*, pgs. 85-102. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Horton, Myles. 1966. "'It's a Miracle I Still Don't Believe,'" *Phi Delta Kappan*, May: 490-97.
- _____. 1972. "A People's Movement to Liberate Education," *Cutting Edge*, 4(1): 2-3.
- _____. with Bill Moyers. 1981. *Adventures of a Radical Hillbilly*. Videotape available from Highlander Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.
- _____. with Judith and Herbert Kohl. 1990. *The Long Haul: An Autobiography of Myles Horton*. New York: Doubleday.
- _____. and Paulo Freire. 1990. *We Make the Road By Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change*. Brenda Bell, John Gaventa, and John Peters (eds.). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Hutanuwatr, K., B. Prabnasak, A. Yamtree, B. Muktabhant, S. Lowirakorn, S. Chuangchum, P. Uttamavatin, B. Panomarattanak, H. Hutanuwatr, G. Chata, N. Sinsupan, S. Piniwatsoontorn, J. Pipanon, K. Kunaratapruk, and S. Saowakontha. 1992. "Community Participation in Food Habitat Modification of Upper-Northeast Villagers in Thailand," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 84-102. North York: Captus University Publications.
- International Council for Adult Education (ICAE). 1982. *Participatory Research: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Jackson, Ted, Greg Conchelos, and Al Vigoda. 1981. "The Dynamics of Participation in Participatory Research," in Dubell Folke (ed.), *Research for the People, Research by the People*, pgs. 41-60. Linkoping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- Jalata, Asafa. 1995. "Poverty, Powerlessness, and the Imperial Interstate System in the Horn of Africa," in John Sorenson (ed.), *Disaster and Development in the Horn of Africa*, pgs. 31-48. London Macmillan Press.
- . 1996. "The Struggle for Knowledge: The Case of Emergent Oromo Studies," *African Studies Review*, 39(2): 95-123.
- Janesick, Valerie. 1994. "The Dance of Qualitative Research Design: Metaphor, Methodolatry and Meaning," in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pgs. 209-219. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Johnson, Glenn Steve. 1996. *Toxins! Tocsin: The North Hollywood Dump in Memphis, Tennessee—A Community's Struggle Against Environmental Racism*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Jordan, June. 1985. *On Call: Political Essays*. Boston: South End Press.
- Kanhare, Vijay P. 1981. "The Struggle in Dhulia: A Women's Movement in India," in Dubell Folke (ed.), *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 110-117. Linkoping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- . 1982. "India: Tribal Women Organize," in International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), *Participatory Research: An Introduction*, pgs. 24-25, 35-36. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Kassam Yusuf. 1981. "The Issue of Methodology in Participatory Research," in Dubell Folke (ed.), *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 61-68. Linkoping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.

- and Kemal Mustafa (eds.). 1982. *Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research*. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Kelly, Diedre M. 1993. "Secondary Power Source: High School Students as Participatory Researchers," *American Sociologist*, 24(1): 8-26.
- Kemmis, Stephen and Robin McTaggart. 1988a. *The Action Research Planner, Third Edition*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- . 1988b. *The Action Research Reader, Third Edition*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- Kraai, Ziki, Bob MacKenzie, and Frank Youngman. 1982. "The Use of Popular Theatre for Adult Education in Botswana and its Relation to the Concept of Participatory Research," in Yusuf Kassam and Kemal Mustafa (eds.), *Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research*, pgs. 154-178. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Kretzmann, John P. and John L. McKnight. 1993. *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Communities Assets*. Chicago: ACTA Publications.
- Kuhn, Thomas. 1970. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- La Botz, Dan. 1991. *A Troublemaker's Handbook: How to Fight Back Where You Work — And Win!* Washington DC: Labor Notes.
- Lather, Patti. 1986. "Research as Praxis," *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(3): 257-77.
- LeBrun, Olivier. 1982. "The Ambiguities of Peasant Participation: Problems of Participatory Research in a Non-Conventional Education Project in Senegal," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillete, and Rajesh Tandon (eds.), *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 103-112. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Lenin, V. I. 1929. *The Collected Works of V. I. Lenin*. New York: International Publishers.
- Levin, Morten. 1981. "A Trade Union and the Case of Automation (Norway)," in Dubell Folke (ed.), *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 153-168. Linköping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.
- Lewis, Helen M., Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins (eds.). 1978. *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case*. Boone: Appalachian Consortium Press.
- , Linda Selfridge, Juliet Merrifield, Sue Thrasher, Lillie Perry, and Carol Honeycutt (eds.). 1986. *Picking Up the Pieces*. Working Paper Series # 4,

Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820..

_____, Suzanna O'Donnell, and the Ivanhoe History Project (eds.). 1990a. *Ivanhoe History Book Volume 1: Remembering Our Past Building Our Futures*. Ivanhoe, VA: Ivanhoe Civic League.

_____, and the Ivanhoe History Project (eds.). 1990b. *Ivanhoe History Book Volume 2: Telling Our Stories Sharing Our Lives*. Ivanhoe, VA: Ivanhoe Civic League.

_____, and John Gaventa. 1991. "Participatory Education and Grassroots Development: The Case of Rural Appalachia," Working Paper Series # 18, Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.

_____. 1995. "My Life and Good Times in the Mountains, or Life and Learning in Central Appalachia," Working Paper Series # 21, Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.

Lindqvist, Sven. n.d. *Dig Where You Stand: How to Research a Job*. Stockholm, Sweden.

Lukes, Steven. 1974. *Power: A Radical View*. London: MacMillan.

Lynd, Mark. 1992. "Creating Knowledge Through Theater: A Case Study With Developmentally Disabled Adults," *American Sociologist*, 23(4): 100-115.

Maguire, Patricia. 1987. *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. Amherst: Center for International Education.

Mandel, Ernest. 1983. "Vanguard Parties," *Mid-American Sociological Review*, 8(2): 3-21.

Manning, Marable. 1992. *The Crisis of Color and Democracy: Essays on Race, Class, and Power*. Monroe: Common Courage Press.

Marika, Raymattja, Dayngawa Ngurruwutthun, and Leon White. 1992. "Always Together, Yaka Gana: Participatory Research at Yirrkala as Part of Development of a Yolngu Education," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 147-164. North York: Captus University Publications.

Martin, Brian. 1996. *Confronting the Experts*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. 1971. *The German Ideology*. New York: International Publishers.

Masisi, Y.K.C. 1982. "Demystifying Research: A Case Study of the Chiwanda Nutrition Education Project," in Yusuf Kassam and Kemal Mustafa (eds.),

Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research, pgs. 179-197. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

McTaggart, Robin. 1992. "Institutional Impediments to Cross-Cultural Research Action," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 118-146. North York: Captus University Publications.

Mduma, E. K. 1982. "Appropriate Technology for Grain Storage at Bwakira Chinni Village," in Yusuf Kassam and Kemal Mustafa (eds.), *Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research*, pgs. 198-213. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

Merrifield, Juliet. 1989. *Putting Scientists in Their Place: Participatory Research in Environmental and Occupational Health*. Working Paper Series # 12, Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.

———. 1993. "Putting Scientists in Their Place: Participatory Research in Environmental and Occupational Health," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall, and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*, pgs. 65-84. Toronto: OISE Press.

Mills, C. Wright. 1959. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Morrissey, Janice, Wanda Edwards and John Gaventa. 1995. "Do Empowerment Zones Create Empowerment?" paper Presented at the American Sociological Association Meeting, Washington, DC, August 9-12.

Mountain Women's Exchange. 1987. *Claiming Our Economic History, Jellico, Tennessee*. Working Paper Series #'s 7,8,9, Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.

Mshana R. and T. Biti. 1982. "Rural Vocational Education in Tanzania: An Exploratory Research," in Yusuf Kassam and Kemal Mustafa (eds.), *Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research*, pgs. 139-153. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

Mustafa, Kemal. 1981. "The Role of Culture in Development: Jipemoyo Project, Tanzania," in Dubell Folke (ed.), *Research for the People, Research by the People: An Introduction to Participatory Research*, pgs. 143-152. Linkoping: Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education.

Nadeau, Denise. 1996. *Counting Our Victories: A Training Guide on Popular Education and Organizing*. New Westminster: Repeal the Deal Productions. Video available.

Nash, Fred. 1993. "Church-Based Organizing as Participatory Research: The Northwest Community Organization and the Pilsen Resurrection Project," *American Sociologist*, 24(1): 38-55.

- Nkrumah, Kwame. 1966. "African Socialism Revisited," *African Forum*, 1: 3-9.
- Nyoni, Sithembiso. 1991. "People's Power in Zimbabwe," in Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman (eds.), *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*, pgs. 109-120. New York: Apex Press.
- Ornelas, Arturo. 1992. "Regional Community Development in North Morelos," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 49-57. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Park, Peter. 1993. "What is Participatory Research? A Theoretical and Methodological Perspective," in Peter Park, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall, and Ted Jackson (eds.), *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*, pgs. 1-20. Toronto: OISE Press.
- , Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall and Ted Jackson (eds.). 1993. *Voices of Change in the United States and Canada*. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Pelto, Periti J. and Gretel H. Pelto. 1984. *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Piyaratn, Prapont. 1992. "'Quality of Life' Development in Thailand," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *A World of Communities: Participatory Research Perspectives*, pgs. 69-83. North York: Captus University Publications.
- Plaut, Thomas, Suzanne Landis, and June Trevor. 1990. "Focus Groups, Participatory Research and Community Change: Experience Gained in the Madison County, NC Community Oriented Primary Care Project," paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Portland, Oregon, October 4-6.
- . 1992. "Enhancing Participatory Research with the Community Oriented Primary Care Model: A Case Study in Community Mobilization," *American Sociologist*, 23(4): 56-70.
- Pretty, Jules N., Irene Guijt, John Thompson, and Ian Scoones. 1995. *Participatory Learning and Action: A Trainers Guide*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Portelli, Alessandro. 1991. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Rahman, Muhammad Anisur. 1991. "The Theoretical Standpoint of PAR," in Orlando Fals-Borda and Md. Anisur Rahman (eds.), *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research*, pgs. 13-23. New York: Apex Press.
- . 1991b. "Glimpses of the 'Other Africa,'" in Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman (eds), *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the*

- Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*, pgs. 84-108. New York: Apex Press.
- . 1993. *People's Self Development: Perspectives on Participatory Action Research*. London: Zed Books.
- Reardon, Ken, John Welsh, Brian Kreiswirth, and John Forester 1993. "Participatory Action Research from the Inside: Community Development in East St. Louis," *American Sociologist*, 24(1): 69-91.
- Reason, Peter. 1988. *Human Inquiry in Action: Developments in New Paradigm Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- . 1994. "Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry," in Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. pgs. 324-339. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- . (ed.). 1995. *Participation in Human Inquiry: Research With People*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- and John Rowan (eds.). 1981. *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*. London: John Wiley and Sons.
- Reidman, Agnes. 1993. *Science that Colonizes: A Critique of Fertility Studies in Africa*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Ritzer, George. 1992. *Contemporary Sociological Theory Third Edition*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Royal Society of Canada. 1995. *Study of Participatory Research in Health Promotion*. British Columbia: The University of British Columbia Institute of Health Promotion Research.
- Rugh, Jim. 1992. *Self-Evaluation: Ideas for Participatory Evaluation of Rural Community Development Projects*. Oklahoma City: World Neighbors Publications.
- Salazar, Maria Cristina. 1991. "Young Laborer's in Bogata: Breaking the Authoritarian Ramparts," in Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman (eds), *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*, pgs. 54-63. New York: Apex Press.
- Sanchez, M. Eugenia and G.H. Eduardo Almeida. 1992. "Synergistic Development and Participatory Action Research in a Nahuat Community," *American Sociologist*, 23(4): 83-99.
- Schiller, Herbert. 1981. *Who Knows: Information in the Age of Fortune 500*. Norwood: ALEX Publishing.
- Scott, James. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- _____. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University.
- Shor, Ira. 1992. *Empowering Education*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Simonson, Lynnel J. and Virginia A. Bushaw. 1993. "Participatory Action Research: Easier Said Than Done," *American Sociologist*, 24(1): 27-37.
- Smith, Dorothy. 1990. *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- _____. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- _____. 1979. "A Sociology for Women," in Julia Sherman and Evelyn Beck (eds.), *The Prism of Sex: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge*, pgs. 135-87. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stoecker, Randy and David Beckwith. 1992. "Advancing Toledo's Neighborhood Movement Through Participatory Action Research: Integrating Activist and Academic Approaches," *Clinical Sociology Review*, 17: 198-213.
- _____ and Edna Bonacich. 1992. "Why Participatory Research?" *American Sociologist*, 23(4): 5-14.
- Swantz, Marja-Liisa. 1982. "Participatory Research as an Instrument for Training: The Youth Development Project in the Coast Region of Tanzania," in Yusuf Kassam and Kemal Mustafa (eds.), *Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research*, pgs. 117-138. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Szakos, Joe. 1993. "Practical Lessons in Community Organizing in Appalachia: What We've Learned at Kentuckians for the Commonwealth," in Stephen L. Fisher (ed.), *Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change*, pgs. 101-121. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Tandon, Rajesh. 1981. "Participatory Research and the Empowerment of People," *Convergence*, 14(3): 20-29.
- _____. 1982. "A Critique of Monopolistic Research," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillette, and Rajesh Tandon (eds), *Creating Knowledge a Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 79-84. Toronto: International Council for Adult Education.
- _____. 1988. "Social Transformation and Participatory Research," *Convergence*, 21(2-3): 5-18.
- _____. 1993. "The Historical Roots and Contemporary Urges in Participatory Research," Keynote Address at the International Symposium on Participatory

Research in Health Promotion, Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, U.K., September 9-14.

- Tandon, Kalpana and Kawaljit Singh. 1982. "Agricultural Farmworkers' Union in India," in Budd Hall, Arthur Gillete, and Rajesh Tandon (eds.), *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly? Participatory Research in Development*, pgs. 185-201. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network. 1991. *From the Mountains to the Maquiladoras: A TIRN Educational Video*. Available through Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.
- Troppe, Marie. 1994. *Participatory Action Research: Merging the Community and Scholarly Agendas*. Providence: Campus Compact, Brown University.
- Vio Grossi, Francisco. 1981. "Socio-Political Implications of Participatory Research," *Convergence*, 14(3): 43-51.
- Wadsworth, Yolanda. 1984. *Do It Yourself Social Research*. Melbourne: Victorian Council of Social Service and Melbourne Family Care Association.
- _____. 1991. *Everyday Evaluation on the Run*. Melbourne: Action Research Issues Association.
- Walker, Alice. 1988. *Living by the Word*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- _____. 1989. *The Temple of My Familiar*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Waring, Marilyn. 1984. *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and Women Are Worth*. Melbourne: Allen and Unwin.
- Whyte, William Foote. 1991. *Participatory Action Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Wiggington, Eliot. 1992. *Refuse to Stand Silently By: An Oral History of Grass Roots Social Activism in America, 1921-1964*. New York: Doubleday.
- Williams, Lee L. 1993a. *Making Ends Meet in Rosey Hollow: The Semiproletarianization of the Household*, M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- _____. 1993b. "Conservatism, Liberalism, Reformism, and Radicalism: Competing Perspectives on Education and Social Change," paper presented at the Graduate Colloquium on Social Science, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, April 7.
- _____. 1994. "Free Spaces and Resistance: Issues for Critical Adult Educators in the Nineties," paper presented at the Adult Education Research Conference, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, May 19-22.

- _____. 1995. "First Enliven, Then Enlighten: Popular Education, Free Spaces and the Pursuit of Social Justice," paper presented at the Southern Sociological Society Meeting, Atlanta, GA, April 7-9.
- _____. 1996a. *An Annotated Bibliography for Participatory and Collaborative Field Research Methods*. Available from the Community Partnership Center, University of Tennessee, Hoskins, Room 108N, Knoxville, TN, 37996-4015.
- _____. 1996b. "First Enliven, Then Enlighten: Popular Education and the Pursuit of Social Justice," *Sociological Imagination*, 33(2): 94-116.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

These are brief introduction to the participants who attended the Workshop on Participatory Research at the Highlander Center, June 28-30, 1996. The introductions are condensed and edited from the audio-tapes of our opening circle. Each person was given a few minutes to say something about themselves, their work, and what they hoped to get from the workshop.

Fran Ansley lives in Knoxville. She teaches at the University of Tennessee (UTK) College of Law, is a member of Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN), and is an active supporter of the work at Highlander. Fran is co-director, along with John Gaventa, of the Community Partnership Center (CPC) at UTK. The CPC tries to promote and practice participatory action-research with community-based organizations throughout East Tennessee. She is presently involved in a participatory study on the impacts of globalization on Tennessee workers.

Dick Brooks lives on the Namekagon River in Northern Wisconsin. He works with Michael Goldberg, doing media advocacy for grassroots groups through their organization Access Media. For the last 15 years Dick has been working with the Lac Courte Oreilles People and the other Lake Superior Chippewa Nations on environmental and mining issues and economic justice through the organization Anishinabe Nijji.

Delores Dell is from Boston and with the Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization (RWARM). She is one of 6 formerly homeless women who have interviewed 115 homeless women in Massachusetts. She has been looking at and

working with the participatory research methodology for the last several years. Along with her activities as a college student and participant in the RWARM study, Delores is active in addressing poverty and homelessness working in local government.

Linda Delp lives in Los Angeles, and works at the Labor Occupational Safety and Health Program in the Labor Center on the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) campus. She does education and organizing around workplace safety, general worker education, union education, workplace environmental issues, and other areas that are of concern to local workers. Linda is also part of the Community Scholars Program at the Labor Center and works at a local popular education center in Central LA.

Brenda Farrell is with the Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization project (RWARM). She lives in Framingham, and is a student at the University of Massachusetts-Boston. In addition, Brenda works with a grassroots organization out of the Framingham, area that focuses on homeless issues and struggles to address the root causes of poverty and homelessness, while trying to make life in the shelters better for those who are currently homeless.

Catherine Ferreira is from Boston. She is a full-time student at the University of Massachusetts-Boston. Catherine is with the Roofless Women's Action Research Project (RWARM). She is one of 6 formerly homeless women who have interviewed 115 former and homeless women in Massachusetts as part of an action-research project. Catherine joined RWARM first, as a participant in one of the focus groups held to gather information about the homeless experience, and is a testament to the power of participatory research.

Carolyn Fuller lives and works in East St. Louis, Illinois. She is a community organizer in the Winstanley Industrial Park Neighborhood Organization and the East St. Louis Community Action Network (ESLCAN). Carolyn has participated in the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) as both a community member and as a student. She has used her experiences as a life-long resident in the community and her participation in the action-research project to inform a Masters Thesis based on their work in East St. Louis.

John Gaventa is with the Sociology Department at the University of Tennessee (UTK). He has been involved with the Highlander Center for over 25 years serving in a number of capacities, most recently on the board of directors. He is co-director, along with Fran Ansley, of the Community Partnership Center at UTK and has coordinated a number of participatory action-research projects including the Appalachian Land Ownership Study. He is currently a Fellow at the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Sussex in England.

Rocco Goins lives in the Olivette Park Neighborhood, an historic district in East St. Louis, Illinois. He works with Southern Illinois University and functions in the community in a variety of capacities around comprehensive community economic and social re-development. Rocco has been involved in the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) for a number of years. He is presently working for social justice as a part of the Olivette Park Neighborhood Association and the East St. Louis Community Action Network (ESLCAN).

Michael Goldberg lives in the woods in Northern Minnesota on the North side of the Mississippi River. He and Dick Brooks work through Access Media to do media

advocacy work for grassroots organizations working for environmental and economic justice. One of the organizations he is active in is Anishinabe Niiji, a group attempting to work with indigenous peoples and local activists in the Northern Midwest. Michael is also part of a group of people in Northern Minnesota, who have started the Long Haul Folk School inspired by Highlander.

Emma Gonzales lives in New York City and works with Educators for Social Responsibility. Her primary activity is to do programs in the schools for students, teachers, and administrators on and about democracy. The goal of their work is to restructure the schools in a democratic way to meet the needs of all learners in the community.

William Hartsock lives in the mountains of Western North Carolina and works in Burnsville, about 50 miles north of Ashville. He works for a group called the Rural Southern Voice for Peace (RSVP). They do what are called "Listening Projects" which are deep, empathetic, types of listening, "that bring folks together that normally wouldn't want to be together because of their diversity." Bill's most recent work is to do Listening Projects around racially motivated church burnings in the South.

Gilda Haas hails from Los Angeles and works with the Community Scholars Program at the Labor Center at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). A major emphasis in the program is participatory research on community economic development issues. Gilda is also involved with the Los Angeles Popular Education Center, a community-based popular education center in Central LA. Gilda's primary tasks at the Center are doing grassroots economic education, research, organizing, and strategizing with community-based organizations.

Melissa Jeter is from Toledo, Ohio and works for the Bancroft Upton Monroe Area Redevelopment Corporation. Besides her daily work at the Redevelopment Corporation, Melissa has collaborated with students at the University of Toledo interested in learning how to do participatory research. In addition she is working on the Urban University Neighborhood Network a participatory research project that involves a number of community-based organizations and the seven urban universities in Ohio.

Maria Jimenez lives and works in Houston, Texas. She directs the Border Rights Project, which coordinates the Participatory Border Rights Monitoring Project for the American Friends Service Committee. She has been involved with a great deal of community organizing on both sides of the border by working for social and economic justice with local people and organizations from all over Texas and Mexico. Maria was influential in suggesting the need for a grassroots guide to community research.

Lorraine Jones lives in East St. Louis, Illinois just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, MO. She works as a community organizer with the Winstanley Industrial Park Organization. Lorraine has been involved as a participant in the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) for a number of years. The action-research project broadened into the East St. Louis Community Action Network (ESLCAN), a network of neighborhood organizations. Lorraine's work has been important to the success of the project.

Marie Kennedy is from Boston, and presently works with the Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization Project (RWARM). She teaches "transformative" community planning at the University of Massachusetts-Boston. Marie has helped to coordinated a number of successful participatory action-research projects on a wide

range of topics, some directly with community-based organizations and others that involved students working within communities. She has written a number of articles on participatory research.

Helen Lewis lives and works at the Highlander Research and Education Center. She has worked for social justice for over 40 years with rural communities mainly involved in revitalization and economic development. Most of her work has been to research local economies, local histories, and the background of why things are the way they are through oral community histories, economic assessments, and economic profiles of communities. Most recently she has documented, along with Maxine Waller and Mary Ann Hinsdale, a long-term participatory research project in Ivanhoe, Virginia.

Angie Morgan works in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana, where she is also a graduate student. Angie is one of the project coordinators of the East St. Louis Action Research Project. She helps to coordinate large numbers of students involvement in the community change efforts in East St. Louis, manages volumes of written material on the action-research project, and carries out her own contribution to the research within the context of the larger community re-development effort..

Tim Mungavan lives and works on the West Bank of the Mississippi in Minneapolis. In 1977 he graduated from the University of Minnesota School of Architecture and went to work as a community organizer for the Cedar-Riverside Presbyterian Community Church. Over the next 10 years he helped to lead a major community organizing effort that led to major changes in local development in Minneapolis based on community needs. Since that time he has worked primarily as a community organizer with other

grassroots groups, most recently with the West Bank Community Development Corporation.

Chris Pelton is from Knoxville, Tennessee. Right now he works with Fran Ansley, the CPC, and the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN) trying to document some of the effects of globalization on the economy of workers in East Tennessee. Chris has also worked closely with the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens Association to document their participatory research efforts and struggles for justice in Yellow Creek, Kentucky.

Lynn Peterson is from Boston and has worked with the RWARM project since its inception. She works at the Women's Institute for Economic Development at the University of Massachusetts-Boston actively addressing issues of concern to women. An important part of her duties is to help find funding for the RWARM project.

Carlos Porras lives in the Los Angeles, area and currently works with a grassroots organization, Communities for a Better Environment (CBE). Previous to that Carlos was with a small employee group where he got his introduction to participatory research. He has since used the approach in successful organizing efforts with the City of Sante Fe Springs public employees and at CBE. Carlos was selected to participate in the Community Scholars Program through the Labor Center at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Ken Reardon works in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana. He is one of the founders of the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) where he has been deeply involved in the

successful social and economic re-development efforts within local neighborhoods. Ken learns about and practices participatory research in the community and promotes it at the university, where he involves a large number of students in practical, hands-on community change work. He has written a number of articles on participatory research and the work in East St. Louis.

Dora Roman is employed with the Human Rights Coalition in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas. She has lived and worked for social justice on the Mexico/US border for over 10 years. Dora's most recent work has centered on the American Friends Service Committee's Border Rights Project where she is involved with the Participatory Border Rights Monitoring Project. Dora is helping to investigate and document the US Immigration Services Border Patrol's physical and psychological abuse of immigrants crossing the between Mexico and the United States.

Betsy Santiago currently lives in Boston, where she is a student at the University of Massachusetts-Boston and is also part of the RWARM project. Betsy is one of 6 formerly homeless women who have interviewed 115 homeless women in Massachusetts as part of a participatory action-research project. Betsy is also interested in and investigating children's experiences with homelessness.

Richard Simpson is a carpenter and a graduate student at Cornell. He has worked with the Participatory Research Network at Cornell and has participated in several other community-based research projects. Lately he has been working along the Mexico/Texas Border doing participatory action-research in El Paso, and also in a Mexican town. Richard works with the American Friends Service Committee and other

groups in the Border Rights Coalition which is part of the implementation of the Participatory Border Monitoring Project.

Randy Stoecker is a sociologist at the University of Toledo. He is currently working on a participatory project which involves over 100 community organizations and people from seven urban universities in Ohio called the Urban University Neighborhood Network (UUNN). Randy has been involved in a number of participatory research projects including one in the Cedar-Riverside Community in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He has written a number of articles on participatory research.

Susan Williams lives in New Market, Tennessee, where she works as a popular educator on the Economy Team at the Highlander Research and Education Center and also as an organizer with the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN). Susan has been involved in a number of projects that have used information gathering as a strategy for organizing in communities.

Lee Williams lives in Knoxville, where he is a sociology student at the University of Tennessee and works with the Community Partnership Center (CPC). Prior to that he was an aide in a mental institution and a union representative for the Wisconsin local 227 of the American Federation of County, State, and Municipal Employees. Lee has been involved with the work at the Highlander since 1991, the CPC since its inception in 1993, and is the coordinator of this project.

Larry and Sheila Wilson are from Yellow Creek, Kentucky. They are both on staff at the Highlander Research and Education Center and work on the Environment Program. They were and are deeply involved in the struggle for environmental justice in

their own community with the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens (YCCC). They have spent the last 17 years carrying out a participatory action-research project first aimed at proving the creek was an environmental and health problem, then at cleaning up the toxic mess in and along the banks of the creek, and finally at getting some kind of compensation for the families poisoned by the deadly toxins released by a tanning factory upstream from their homes.

APPENDIX 2
PEOPLE INTERVIEWED IN ADDITION TO WORKSHOP
PARTICIPANTS

This section provides a brief introduction to those persons who are participants in the projects used as illustrative case examples and participated in in-depth interviews for this study, but were not part of the Workshop on Participatory Research. The introductions are condensed and edited from the transcripts of the interviews.

Dave Anderson is an ecologist and economic adviser to a number of Native American Groups in the Upper Midwest. He has been working to stop sulfide mining in Northern Wisconsin for a number of years and has recently become involved in the activities of Anishinabe Nijji.

Bob Becker is an organizer for the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network in Knoxville, Tennessee. He has been a long-time advocate of working people's rights. He has been involved in a number of efforts to understand and do something about plant closings in East Tennessee and was part of the second group of workers to participate in the Maquiladora Worker Exchange.

Walter Bresette is a long-time organizer and educator in the Upper Midwest. He is one of the founding members of Anishinabe Nijji and has struggled to preserve indigenous people's rights and ecological destruction throughout the country. He is the co-author of a book that connects those themes titled *Walleye Warriors: An Effective Alliance Against Racism and for the Earth*.

Al Gedicks is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. He has been instrumental in the battle to stop sulfide mining in the North Country by founding a community-based research center that studies mining issue. He is also the founder of a state-wide environmental organization, The Wisconsin Resources Protection Council.

Gene Hurst is a founding member of the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizen's Group and has spent a good deal of the last 17 years struggling to fight the toxic pollution in his community, from the Middlesboro Tanning Company in Middlesboro Kentucky.

Sandy Lyons is a founding member of Anishinabe Niiji, and serves as coordinator for Niiji's annual Protect the Earth Gathering, held on the Mole Lake Indian Reservation each year. She works at many levels to educate and link the twin concerns of indigenous and ecological justice in schools and communities throughout the Upper Midwest.

Hotense Quillen is a resident of Yellow Creek, Kentucky and one of the founding members of YCCC. She was one of the lead organizers on the door-to-door health survey that helped to document the real and toxic health impacts incurred by those people living along the Yellow Creek.

Clyde & Laureen Smith are life-long residents of Yellow Creek, Kentucky. They were early members of the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens and each played vital roles in the success of the project. Laureen was an active interviewer in the health survey done with persons who live along the creek, and Clyde was the videographer for the organization.

APPENDIX 3
IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name: _____
Name of organizational affiliation(s) _____
Address _____

Job (include name of organization) _____

Age _____ Ethnicity _____ other _____

Individual Role and Involvement

What experience(s) have you had doing participatory research?
Could you describe it/them?

Overall Project

What has been the nature of those experiences?
Who was involved? (organizations, institutions, other)
What was the nature of the problem investigated?
How did you come to be involved in the project?
What happened?
What research techniques and strategies did you employ in the process?
What worked and did not work?

Individual Experiences and Reflections

Please talk about your experiences doing participatory research
How did you get involved?
What sorts of research have you done?

Empowerment and or Transformation

How did your own involvement in the participatory research process transform you as an individual?

Your organization?

Your community?

The larger social structure?

What is the most powerful or important thing or things that happened while doing participatory research?

What is the most powerful or important thing or things that happened to you while doing participatory research?

Were you empowered in any way during the participatory research process?

How?

Research

Did the research yield valuable results?

How is the data/information you are generating (the researcher is generating) being used?

Did the research/information generated have any effect?

What sort?

Education

What education has happened?

What sort of educational experience was built into the research project?

Mobilization/Action

What collective actions have emerged from this process?

What has your organization learned from doing participatory research?

What happened in terms of organizational development stemming from the participatory research project?

Influences on Community Organization

What influence does the organization have on the research process?

Has the group done anything to insure a real and dynamic role in the knowledge production process?

Do you own/control any of the information?

What has your group done to insure that they will be/ are included at each step in research process?

If the organization has hired researchers to provide information on some aspects of the study what are they? Why was this strategy chosen?

Working with Professionals

What sorts of professional researchers helpers etc., have you worked with?

What are their affiliations? (e.g., university, private research firm; government)

What sorts of problems have professionals helped out on?

What resources were provided by the professional personally? professionally? institutionally?

What were the relations between you and the professional researchers involved with your project?

What were relations like between professional researchers and your organization? community?

Why has your group chosen to work with professionals?

Did they choose you or did you choose them?

How did they involve community members in the production of information?

How did the community involve professional researchers in the production of information?

How was information shared with the organization? the community?

Was information disseminated at any larger levels?

How?

What was the effect of the collaboration in solving the original problem?

Was the relationship between you and the researcher empowering?

How? or Why not?

Are there things you would do differently in the future when working with professional researchers

What are they? Why?

Working with Students

What have been your experience working with students?

What are they like?

Do they differ from working with professionals you have worked with?

How so? Good? Bad?

Individual Learning and Unlearning

What if anything have you “unlearned” in the process of doing community-based research?

What did you learn from the participatory research project you were involved with?

What have you learned about obstacles to social change?

Given the chance, what do you think might have been done differently to make the participatory research project more successful?

Advice for Others

What advice would you give to others ready to begin to do community-based research?

What advice would you give to others ready to begin to do community-based research which involves collaborations with professionals and professional researchers?

What advice would you give to prospective academics and the like who wish to do research with grassroots community organizations?

APPENDIX 4

WORKSHOP AGENDA

Agenda for the Workshop on Participatory Research
Highlander Research and Education Center, June 28-30, 1996

WORKSHOP GOALS & OBJECTIVES

Collectively Share and Analyze Participatory Action-Research Strategies

Identify and analyze through our experiences and stories:

the major themes in participatory research;

some of the things we should or should not be doing in our work; and

ways to share what we are learning with others.

Provide Guidance and Substance for a "GrassRoots Guide to PAR"

Develop a Collective Workplan for Crafting the "GrassRoots Guide"

28 Friday

4:30 pm *Reception at the Horton House*

6 pm *Dinner*

7 pm **Who Are We? and Why Are We Here?**

29 Saturday

8:00 am *Breakfast*

9:00 am -12:00 pm **Windows on Our Work**

12:15 pm *Lunch*

1:30 -3:00 pm **Do's, Don'ts and Maybe's. . . Lessons We Have Learned**

3:15 -5:30 pm **Part 1: What's Participatory Research All About?**
Part 2: What Difference Does Participatory Research Make?

6:00 pm *Dinner*

7:30 pm **Cultural Sharing**

30 Sunday

8:00 am *Breakfast*

9:00 -10:15 am **How Can We Best Share What We Are Learning?**

10:15 -11:00 am **Where Do We Go From Here?**

11:00 -12:00 **Head, Heart, and Feet**

APPENDIX 5
PRE-WORKSHOP QUESTIONNAIRE

Name

Address

Phone/Fax/Email

Would you be interested in the workshop on Participatory Research In Communities? If yes how many people would like to come? Please list their names.

What group or organization do you work with? What projects and/or issues do you work on?

How do you use participatory research in your present situation?

How would you like to apply participatory research in your present situation?

What are the critical issues that you would like to learn about and discuss with others?

Do you need funding for travel? If so, how will you travel and how much will you need?

Please send to:

Lee Williams / Workshop on Participatory Research

Community Partnership Center

University of Tennessee

1400 Cumberland Ave.

Hoskins, Room 108

Knoxville TN 37996-4015

phone (423) 974-9030 or (423) 974-4847 fax (423) 974-9035 email leewill@utk.edu

APPENDIX 6
POST-WORKSHOP QUESTIONNAIRE

I am extremely interested in your own individual experiences and perceptions of the empowering or strengthening aspects of participatory research. Part of my dissertation research attempts to investigate participatory research as an empowerment strategy. We did not have enough time during the workshop to really talk individually and at length about how participatory research has effected you as a person, your community organization, and your larger community.

Now that the workshop is over and your experiences with participatory research are fresh in your mind, I would like to ask that you take a few moments and answer the following questions and mail them back to me as soon as possible. You may write as much or as little as you choose, but please send in some sort of response to each question. THANKS!

What important or meaningful events or interactions have influenced you while you have done participatory research?

How did your involvement in the participatory research process transform you as an individual? What events influenced this transformation?

How did the participatory research process transform your community organization? What events influenced this transformation?

How did the participatory research process transform your community? What events influenced this transformation?

Were you empowered or strengthened in any way by your involvement in participatory research? How?

Please also include any pertinent comments about the workshop itself.

When you have finished your responses please send them to:
Lee Williams / Workshop on Participatory Research
Community Partnership Center
University of Tennessee
1400 Cumberland Ave.
Hoskins, Room 108
Knoxville TN 37996-4015
phone (423) 974-9030 or (423) 974-4847 fax (423) 974-9035 email leewill@utk.edu

Thank you for your time and thoughtfulness. I greatly appreciate it. I will be in touch....lee

APPENDIX 7
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH STUDY
INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

Participatory Research Study

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

We invite you to participate as a member of a national research initiative to better understand participatory research methods as a strategy for individual and organizational empowerment. As part of the requirements for a doctoral degree I am conducting my dissertation research on the experiences of participants in community-based grassroots research projects. The study focuses on ways the information production process can be democratized by both grassroots and professional researchers. It is important that we ask people like yourself to describe their perceptions and experiences as they relate to doing participatory research in order to find ways to improve knowledge production and dissemination processes to make them more effective in addressing grassroots community needs.

The purpose of the research effort is: to inform a dissertation written for the Ph.D. in Sociology, by Lee Williams, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, on Participatory Research Methods as an Empowerment Strategy; and to provide the basis for a collaboratively produced "GrassRoots Guide to Participatory Research."

Your participation and collaboration on the project will be to:

- provide individual in-depth interviews on your personal experiences doing community-based research;
- participate in a collective interview with other members of your community participatory research team on your collective experiences doing participatory research;
- participate in an all-expense paid workshop and focus group at the Highlander Research and Education Center, New Market TN;

- collaborate with other members of the national research team to produce a "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research" and
- comment on, review, and revise written documents before they are submitted for professional review and dissemination to the general public.

This project is being coordinated by Lee Williams, through the Department of Sociology and the Community Partnership Center at the University of Tennessee. It will involve a number of professional and grassroots researchers from throughout the US. The project is partially funded by the American Sociological Association's Sydney S. Spivack Program on Applied Social Research and Social Policy Community Action Research Award and a US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Grant to the Community Partnership Center at the University of Tennessee for University Community Outreach.

Any comments that you provide will not be kept confidential in publicly shared documents. You will be listed as a collaborator in Williams' dissertation and be listed as an author of the "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research. The comments and insights which you share in group meetings and workshops will be known to other members of the research group. The results from the individual interviews, collective interviews, and workshop will be taped for analysis, kept confidential, and be returned to you or destroyed at the end of this study.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time without penalty. Should you decide to withdraw from the project, any portions of the tapes or field notes related to your participation will be erased at your request. If you need further information, you may contact Lee Williams, the project coordinator, at the University of Tennessee.

APPENDIX 8
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH STUDY
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I understand that the purpose(s) of the (individual in-depth interview, collective interview, and focus group and workshop) are to collect information and identify lessons I have learned in my experience with participatory research methods to: inform a dissertation written for the Ph.D. in Sociology, by Lee Williams, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, on Participatory Research Methods as an Empowerment Strategy and provide the basis for a collaboratively produced "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research."

My participation and collaboration on the project will be to

- provide individual in-depth interviews on my experiences doing community-based research;
- participate in a collective interview with other members of my community participatory research team on our collective experiences doing participatory research;
- participate in an all-expense paid 3 day workshop and focus group at the Highlander Research and Education Center, New Market TN;
- collaborate with other members of the national research team to produce a "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research" and
- comment on, review, and revise written documents before they are submitted for professional review and dissemination to the general public.

I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason without penalty. Should I choose to withdraw from the project, any portions of the tapes or notes related to my participation will be erased at my request.

I understand there are no anticipated risks from my participation in this project. Potential benefits include personal satisfaction in that I am contributing quite directly to an

important body of knowledge which may help individuals and institutions better serve the public interest and as a study collaborator I may have the opportunity to participate in an educational workshop and focus group designed to aid me in my community-based research efforts.

I understand that if I am able to participate in the 3 day focus group and workshop at the Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market, TN in June of 1996, my costs will be reimbursed for: travel expenses, room, board, and educational materials.

I understand that individual interviews, collective interviews, and the focus group and educational workshop will be taped and managed in the following manner:

- the researcher will store the tapes in a locked cabinet until the end of this study at which time the tapes will be destroyed;
- only the researcher and the participants in this study will have access to the recorded tapes;
- tape transcribers, if hired, will sign agreements of confidentiality.

I understand that written taped transcripts of the tapes will be maintained in a locked cabinet by the researcher for a period of 3 years from the completion of the study, with access limited to the participants involved in this study and the principal investigator. At the end of the three years, the transcripts will be archived for educational purposes at the Community Partnership Center, University of Tennessee, Hoskins, 108N, 1400 Cumberland Ave., Knoxville, TN 37996-4015.

I understand that the researcher will maintain field notes and a research journal related to the project. These materials will be maintained, in perpetuity, by the researcher and stored in a locked file in his office. Access is limited to the principal investigator.

I understand that my comments and input related to this research project are not confidential and that the final results of this research will be shared with the general public in the form of Williams dissertation, the "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research," and possibly other professional and popular publications and that my

specific comments and input are not confidential to others involved in collective interviews, the workshop, and focus group.

I understand that I will be listed as a collaborator for the purposes of Williams' dissertation and further understand that my specific comments and input will be attributed to me in all written reports and that I will be listed as a co-author for the "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research." unless otherwise requested.

I understand that I will have the opportunity to review and comment on documents stemming from this research project before they are submitted for professional review and, if substantially revised, again before being shared with the general public. I will receive a copy of the final research summary for Williams' dissertation and a copy of the "Citizen Guide to Participatory Research."

I understand that signed consent forms will be maintained by the researcher for a period of three years from the completion of the study in a locked cabinet. At the end of three years the consent forms will be destroyed.

If I would like additional information on the study I may receive it by contacting Lee Williams at any time at the University of Tennessee Department of Sociology, 901 McClung Tower, Knoxville TN 37996-0490, phone (423) 974-6021, or at the Community Partnership Center, University of Tennessee, Hoskins, 108N, 1400 Cumberland Ave., Knoxville, TN 37996-4015, phone (423) 974-4542.

Thank you for agreeing to collaborate in this study. Your participation will make this a stronger project.

Printed Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX 9

SECONDARY DATA SOURCES FOR CASE EXAMPLES

The following is a list of secondary sources consulted to aid in background preparation for the in-depth interviews, the workshop on participatory research, and in setting up the case examples presented and analyzed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

The American Friends Service Committee's Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project (AFSC-ILEMP)

AFSC-ILEMP. n.d. Abuse Documentation Form. Prepared by AFSC-ILEMP. All AFSC-ILEMP publications are available from The American Friends Service Committee, 6926 Navigation, Houston, TX, 77011.

AFSC-ILEMP. 1995. "Women at the US-Mexico Border: Violation of Women's Rights as Human Rights in Border Crossings," A Special Report of the AFSC-ILEMP. Houston, TX.

AFSC-ILEMP. 1992. "Sealing Our Borders: The Human Toll," A Special Report of the AFSC-ILEMP. Houston, TX.

AFSC-ILEMP and America's Watch. 1992. "US Frontier Justice: Human Rights Abuses Along the US Border With Mexico," A Special Report of the AFSC-ILEMP, Houston, TX and America's Watch, Washington, DC.

AFSC-ILEMP. 1991. "In Defense of Our Dignity and Rights," A Special Report prepared by the AFSC-ILEMP for a National Conference on Immigrant and Refugee Women, Berkeley, CA, October 5-7, 1991.

AFSC-ILEMP. 1990. "Human Rights at the Mexico-US Border," A Special Report of the AFSC-ILEMP. Houston, TX.

Center for Immigration Research. 1996. *Migrant Deaths at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1984-1994*. University of Houston and AFSC-ILEMP.

Dunn, Timothy J. 1996. *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexican Border, 1978-1992: Low-Intensity Conflict Comes Home*. The Center for Mexican American Studies, The University of Texas at Austin.

Jimenez, Maria. 1992. "War in the Borderlands," *Report of the Americas*, XXVI(1), July: 29-33.

Jones, Jonathan T., 1996. "Abuse Report: Complaints Filed Against the INS and the U.S. Border Patrol During the Year 1995," A Report of AFSC-ILEMP and the Refugee/Immigrant Rights Coalition of the Rio Grande Valley, Harlingen, TX.

Anishinabe Niiji, Treaty Rights & Environmental Protection in the Upper Midwest

Masinaigan. A Publication of the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission. 1996. "Sulfide Mining: The Process and the Price," A Special Supplement to the Spring 1996 Issue of *Masinaigan*, Triangle Press, Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin.

Numerous short articles about sulfide mining taken from local and regional newspapers from throughout the Midwest. The packet was prepared by Anishinabe Niiji as part of the press materials for its 11th Annual Protect the Earth Gathering, held on the Mole Lake Indian Reservation, Mole Lake Wisconsin, July 26-28, 1996. I attended this gathering.

Report on the Track Records of Exxon Rio Algom. Wisconsin Review Commission, March 24, 1995.

Whaley, Rick and Walter Bresette. 1994. *Walleye Warriors: An Effective Alliance Against Racism and for the Earth*. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Wolf Watershed Educational Project. 1996. "Mining Information Packet," A Special Project of the Wolf Watershed Educational Project.

The Cedar-Riverside Participatory Community Re-Development Project

Stoecker, Randy. 1994. *Defending the Community: The Struggle for Alternative Redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

The East St. Louis Action Research Project

Annual Reports from the East St. Louis Action Research Project of the College of Fine and Applied Arts, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana 1992-1996.

ESLARP Information Packet. 1996. Available from ESLARP, 9071/2 West Nevada, Urbana, IL, 61801.

ESLARP. 1995. "Action Research in East St. Louis: An ESLARP Educational Video," available from ESLARP, 9071/2 West Nevada, Urbana, IL, 61801.

Goodrich, Kirk and Lucia Resende. 1993. "Participatory Action Research in East St. Louis," *Colloqui*, Spring: 40-48.

Reardon, Kenneth M. n.d. "Re-writing the Rules of the Game in a River Front Community: Action Research for Municipal Reform in East St. Louis, Illinois," UNRISD Research Paper. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Reardon, Kenneth M. 1991. "Action Research in East St. Louis," *Planning and Public Policy*, November, 16(1): 1-5.

Reardon, Kenneth M. and Thomas P. Shields. 1996. "Town/Gown Conflicts: Campus/Community Partnerships in the 90's," *Planners Network Newsletter*, March 1996.

Rural Southern Voice for Peace "Listening Projects"

- Imlay, Jo and Jerry Howard. 1993. "Listening for Change," *New Age Journal*, November/December: 45-50.
- O'Roark Dowell, Frances. 1995. "Listening to the Opposition," *Now and Then*, Winter: 21-24.
- RSVP. 1996. "The Listening Project: How It Works, The Listening Process, and Requesting a Listening Project." RSVP materials produced to support the Listening Projects. Available from RSVP, 1898 Hannah Branch Road, Burnsville, NC, 28714.
- RSVP. 1992-96. *Voices*, The Networking Journal of RSVP. Various Issues. Available from RSVP, 1898 Hannah Branch Road, Burnsville, NC, 28714.
- Walters, Herb. n.d. "Listening for Justice and Reconciliation." Available from RSVP, 1898 Hannah Branch Road, Burnsville, NC, 28714.

Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization

- Kennedy, Marie and Betsy Reed. 1996. "Homeless in Massachusetts," *Dollars and Sense*, January/February: 27-29, 39.
- Kennedy, Marie. 1996. "A Hole in My Soul: Experiences of Homeless Women," in Diane Dujon and Ann Withorn (eds.), *For Crying Out Loud*, South End Press. Philadelphia, PA.
- Replogle, Elaine M. 1995. "The Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization (RWARM)," *The Evaluation Exchange*, pgs. 4-5.
- RWARM. n.d. "RWARM Survey of Currently Homeless Women," available from the University of Massachusetts at Boston, Department of Community Planning.

The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network's Maquiladora Worker Exchange Project

- Gaventa, John. 1988. "From the Mountains to the Maquiladoras: A Case Study of Capital Flight and It's Impacts on Workers," Working Paper Series #10, done for the Economics Education Project, Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.
- Gaventa, John and Peter Wiley. 1987. "The Deindustrialization of the Tennessee Economy," Background Information Prepared for the Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, Working Paper Series # 6, available from the Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.
- TIRN. 1991. "From the Mountains to the Maquiladoras: A TIRN Educational Video," available from the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network, 1515 E. Magnolia Avenue, Suite 403, Knoxville, TN, 37917

_____. 1992. *A Hands-On Guide to Dealing With the Threat of Plant Closings and Supporting Laid-Off Workers*. Available from the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network, 1515 E. Magnolia Avenue, Suite 403, Knoxville, TN, 37917

**UCLA Labor Center's Community Scholars Program & The Santa Fe Municipal Employees Union and Communities for a Better Environment
Examine Worker and Community Environmental Health**

Community Scholars Program. 1996. "Education for Social Change: Building a Popular Education Center in Los Angeles," Community Scholars Program, UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.

McMahon, June. 1995. "A Voluntary Organizers Guide to Researching Employers," UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education July/August, 1995.

UCLA-Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Program. various dates. "Worker Connection," Newsletter of the Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Program." UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.

UCLA-Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Program. n.d.. "Risk Mapping: A Group Method for Improving Workplace Health and Safety," UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.

The Urban University Neighborhood Network of Ohio

Stoecker, Randy. 1996. "Putting Neighborhoods On-Line; Putting Academics In Touch: The Urban University and Neighborhood Network," draft paper, University of Toledo.

UUNN. 1996. "Limited Access: The Information Superhighway and Ohio's Neighborhood-Based Organizations," report prepared by UUNN, May, 1996. Available from University of Toledo.

The CPC Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community's Learning Initiative and the McDowell County, West Virginia Citizen's Action Network

Community Partnership Center. 1996. *The Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Learning Initiative Trainer's Manual*. Available through the Community Partnership Center, University of Tennessee, 108N Hoskins, Knoxville, TN 37996

_____. 1996. *The Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Learning Initiative Workbook*. Available through the Community Partnership Center, University of Tennessee, 108N Hoskins, Knoxville, TN 37996

Morrissey Janice. 1995. "McDowell County, WV: Field Report for the EZ/EC Learning Initiative," EZ/EC Evaluation Project University of Tennessee Knoxville.

Patton Rutherford, Frances and Helen M. Lewis. 1997. "McDowell County, WV Enterprise Community Program—Learning Team Report." Draft of Report that will be submitted to the EZ/EC Evaluation Project University of Tennessee Knoxville.

The Yellow Creek Kentucky Concerned Citizen's, Toxic Waste & Community Environmental Health

Merrifield, Juliet. 1989. "Putting Scientists in Their Place: Participatory Research in Environmental and Occupational Health," Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820, Working Paper Series #12.

Wilson, Larry. 1995. "Popular Education and Community Organizing: The Bell County Example," Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820, Working Paper Series # 22.

Yellow Creek. 1986. *Yellow Creek, Part One*. Video Available from Appalshop, Box 743, Whitesburg, KY, 41858.

Yellow Creek. Various video-tapes on the activities of the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens Organization from 1980-1996. On file in the Lasker Library, Highlander Research and Education Center, 1959 Highlander Way, New Market, TN 37820.

VITA

Lee Lyle Williams was born August 22, 1962, in Omro, Wisconsin. He graduated from Omro High School in May 1980. From 1980-83 he was a member of the United Auto Workers while employed at a truck assembly plant in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. He entered college in Fall 1984, and pursued his education while working full-time as a residential care technician in a State Mental Institution. During this time he was also an active member and representative for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union. In May 1990 he earned a Bachelor of Science in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. He entered the University of Tennessee in August 1990 as a Research Fellow with the Environment, Energy, and Resources Center. He completed his Master of Arts in Sociology in December 1993. His Master's thesis was an ethnography titled "Making Ends Meet in Rosey Hollow: The Semiproletarianization of the Household." He continued his graduate studies in Knoxville serving as a Graduate Teaching Associate and as a Research Fellow for the Community Partnership Center. He earned his Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology from the University of Tennessee in August 1997. Beginning in Fall 1997 he is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Indiana University Southeast, New Albany, Indiana. His professional interests include applied sociology, participatory research, popular education, political sociology, political economy, and environmental and community-based sociology.