the best scholarship available on how individuals can effectively study and transform the learning environments, cultural settings and organizational/community contexts in which they are operating. The purpose of the orienting theory is to introduce the learner to an understanding of how the system he or she is entering works when it is optimally functioning, the factors responsible for its ongoing maintenance and the forces that can lead to its transformation. Within this theoretical framework, learners are introduced to a practice setting that provides 'concrete experience', offering a rich and revealing exposure to the phenomena they are most interested in understanding. This opportunity to observe, influence and be affected by the factors and issues of most significance within a practice setting challenges learners to compare competing theories regarding these phenomena with their own experiences. Following a period of deep immersion in the organizational and/or community setting they are most interested in understanding, learners are invited to engage in a critical process of 'reflective observation' to identify the factors most responsible for maintaining the status quo within the organization and/or community, as well as those dynamics leading to significant forms of organizational or systemic change. Having done so, learners are subsequently asked to engage in a process of 'abstract conceptualization' to pinpoint the consistencies and contradictions between the current state of scholarship related to a particular phenomenon and their lived experience. In so doing, learners are asked to make the transition from being passive recipients, users, and objects of others' theoretical work to becoming active co-creators of new theories that better explain the world as it is and the process by which it might be transformed. In the final, 'active experimentation' phase of the process, individuals are invited to assume the role of a participatory action researcher, 'testing' the validity, reliability and replicability of their new theories and hypotheses by using these ideas to intervene in the organization and/or community of which they are a part to enhance its functioning. After years of systematic observation, Kolb and his colleagues observed significant differences in the manner in which individuals navigate the four stages of the experiential learning process. Over time, Kolb developed a highly reliable instrument for determining individual 'learning styles' that enables learners and their organizational/community partners to anticipate the kinds of support they might need at various points in the process to optimize their learning outcomes.

Kenneth M. Reardon and Laura Saija

See also Action Science; adult education; Community-Based Participatory Research; conscientization; critical reflection; double-loop learning; reflective practice; transformative learning

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Extended Epistemology

Extended epistemology is a concept originated by John Heron and developed in collaboration with Peter Reason to call attention to and legitimate the many ways in which individuals come to know beyond the boundaries of abstracted, intellectual thought alone. Heron and Reason offer four interrelated ways in which people know:

Experiential: knowing directly through experience

Presentational: knowing through artful means

Propositional: knowing conceptually

Practical: knowing through skilful doing

This, more inclusive epistemology, which moves from an over-reliance on concepts and theories to include embodied, expressive and practical action realms, offers a radical foundation for the participatory processes and exploratory practices upon which action research is built.

This entry introduces the idea of an extended epistemology and examines how this orientation towards knowledge is a key characteristic of action research.

learners for the remainder of their lives, constantly learning from the environment in which they are living, working and learning.

Origins and Evolution of Experiential Education

The importance of lived experience as a critical source of knowledge and wisdom was the basis of the ancient Greek concept of *phrónêsis* (practical wisdom) and is also at the centre of many philosophical works (e.g. Dewey, Bourdieu, De Certeau) and scientific research (e.g. Piaget, Maturana and Varela, Bronfenbrenner). Drawing from theory, education scholars have developed a critique of traditional pedagogy that views the learner as a passive recipient of 'preconceived' knowledge. On the contrary, experiential learning views the learner as an active agent of his or her own learning only if he or she is a part of collective learning and change processes. It is not surprising, then, that experiential learning has emerged within the context of pro-democracy movements all around the world in the early 1960s. At that time, educators like Illich and Freire in South America, Horton in the USA, and Dolci in Europe challenged what they described as the 'banking method' of education, in which students were viewed as little more than empty vessels to be passively filled with the received wisdom contained in society's great books. At that time, experiential learning emerged as a powerful new pedagogy to encourage oppressed people to recognize and challenge the status quo, pursuing individual emancipation through social change.

Inspired by liberation movements under way in Asia, Africa and South America and the American Civil Rights Movement, students started to demand more active and relevant forms of education. In the USA, supported by research funded by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the theoretical and pedagogical work carried out by scholars affiliated with organizations such as the National Society for Experiential Education, the Council of Adult Education and Learning and the Community Development Society, growing numbers of secondary and post-secondary teachers began to pursue various forms of field-based learning. Some added studio or workshop courses to their curricula, enabling students to apply and extend what they were learning within traditional classroom settings to solve challenging rural and urban problems identified by community residents, institutional leaders and municipal officials. Others created internship programmes through which students could earn credits in recognition for new knowledge and skills acquired while doing either placement or project-based work with local public, non-profit or private firms. Finally, many campuses, following the leadership provided by the Campus Compact in the early 1980s, established offices to encourage faculty to redirect a portion of their research and teaching effort to involve their students in collaborative research projects with local residents and leaders, focused on the resolution of thorny environmental, economic and social problems confronting poor and working-class communities.

Growing Popularity of Service Learning and Civic Engagement as One Form of Experiential Education

Between 1983 and 2012, the number of US college and university presidents supporting the Campus Compact's efforts to promote Boyer's notion of the 'scholarship of engagement' increased from 3 to more than 1,100, making this one of the most visible and significant transformation movements in American higher education. What explains this extraordinary growth? While the nation's economy showed modest signs of improvement during this period, the income, wealth and power disparities separating the haves and have-nots in society widened dramatically, causing an increasing number of American families to live in persistent poverty. In addition, students have become increasingly concerned about their ability to secure a decent job upon graduation regardless of the quality of the school from which they graduate. As a consequence, many undergraduate and graduate students decide to pursue a variety of 'hands-on' learning experiences to separate themselves from other equally qualified candidates seeking employment. Parents whose children have been forced to take on considerable debt to finance their education are also concerned about their ability to secure gainful employment upon completing their university studies, believing that the concrete work products generated during service learning courses and internships can provide their children with the labour pool advantage they require. Colleges and universities that consume vast amounts of municipal services and pay no local property taxes are being increasingly challenged to encourage their students, staff and faculty to contribute to the economic and community development efforts of the towns and cities where they are located. This pressure recently intensified when the US Congress held hearings on the rising cost of tuition, which has significantly outpaced inflation as well as increases in median incomes.

The Experiential Education Learning Process

The most popular explanation of the experiential learning process is provided by the Harvard University educator David A. Kolb, who views it as a cyclical process that introduces learners to an orienting theory summarizing

experiential educator, they create a learning plan for a specific period of time (6–12 months) that identifies two or three critical learning objectives focused on the acquisition of new knowledge, skills and competencies essential to making significant progress towards achieving their near-term life/career goal.

For each of these objectives, learners formulate a series of increasingly challenging field-based learning activities to pursue at work, at school and in the community to enable them to make progress towards achieving these milestones. In designing their plans, learners are often encouraged to construct a capstone-like project as a culminating activity for each of their objectives, which will challenge them to integrate all they have learned relative to a single learning objective, thereby demonstrating their mastery of this topic and/or skill. In addition to a clearly stated near-term life or career goal, specific learning objectives and a robust list of field-based learning activities culminating in a capstone project, learning plans provide the documentation individuals will generate to share their work with others, clear criteria for determining whether or not they have achieved their learning objectives, a list of skilled practitioners who, along with the learner, will help them evaluate their progress and a timeline for completing the plan.

Key Characteristics of Experiential Learning

A number of factors distinguish experiential learning from simple 'learning by doing'. Among these are the following.

Strategic Nature

Learners engaged in experiential education assume responsibility for establishing their own individualized near-term life and career goals. They subsequently undertake a systematic assessment of their ability to pursue these goals, formulating a detailed learning plan to acquire the knowledge, skills and competencies required to achieve this outcome. In this way, they function as self-directed learners who proactively choose what, when, how and with whom they wish to learn.

Highly Reciprocal

Experiential learners carry out an increasingly ambitious set of field-based learning activities, culminating in one or more capstone projects that require them to integrate all they have learned about a particular topic and/or field. Throughout this process, the learners, their teacher and the individuals within the practice setting (i.e. the organization or community) where they are working provide them with ongoing feedback on their performance. Such feedback often causes them to refine their approach to a particular task, an outcome that Argyris calls single-loop learning. Occasionally, input provided by colleagues and mentors prompts them to revisit and alter their world views, theoretical frameworks, learning goals and objectives and practice methods, in a process that Bateson calls deutero-learning, Argyris calls double-loop learning and Mezirow describes as transformative learning.

Reflective Practice

Experiential learners are expected to maintain a detailed field journal chronicling their major field-based learning activities, especially those that William Foote Whyte describes as 'critical incidents' that have a major bearing on their learning objectives. When reviewing their field notes, experiential learners are asked to critically reflect on those experiences that have major theoretical, methodological, empirical, policy, practice or ethical implications. During this process of systematic reflection, they are strongly encouraged to compare their lived experience in the field, which Clifford Geertz describes as 'local knowledge', with the 'expert knowledge' articulated by leading scholars within their discipline. Invited to critically examine the apparent contradictions between these two competing forms of knowledge, experiential learners are expected to move from being passive consumers of others' theories to active participants within the theory-building process. Asked to develop new theories that better describe the world 'as it is', experiential learners are subsequently asked to 'test' these new theories by implementing organizational and community-scale interventions based upon these ideas to determine if they, in fact, have the desired effect. Through what Schön describes as 'reflective practice', experiential learners are expected to become increasingly skilful practitioners as well as effective theory builders whose experientially generated theories, over time, affect the work of others in their field.

Highly Challenging

Experiential education requires learners to become highly skilled in individual goal setting, learning plan development, field journaling, critical incident analysis, reciprocal learning and theory building. This approach to student-centred education requires learners to be introduced to and trained in the fundamentals of experiential education, ethnographic fieldwork, micro- and macro-organizational behaviour and urban ecology. Having mastered the principles and practice of experiential education in a highly structured university setting, individuals are expected to use these newly developed competencies to function as self-directed

popular knowledge created serves to empower groups and communities to construct solutions for their shared burdens. Through participating in action research, people can come to understand themselves as experts in their own lived situations, thus heightening their confidence and self-belief as legitimate knowledge producers and users.

Accessing Experiential Knowing or Knowledge

Within action research, there are different means through which people can cultivate their experiential knowing in a richer way: These include knowing through words, knowing through images and knowing through the body. These ways of knowing also allow researchers to access their participants' experiential knowing and knowledge meaningfully. Action research often adopts communication strategies that have a hands-on nature. This is particularly so when the research involves vulnerable and marginalized groups. Many of the so-called unorthodox methods employed in action research are crucial if the researchers wish to give people an opportunity to participate fully. Examples of some of the means through which experiential knowing may be accessed include knowing through words or through storytelling, knowing through arts-based forms and visual forms and knowing through the body, embodiment, and performance.

Experiential knowing is a foundation of the knowing cycle in action research. Building on experiential knowing, presentational knowing can be developed, which leads to propositional knowing and practical knowing. Experiential knowing is of deep and immediate relevance and significance in the lifeworld and can ultimately lead to emancipation, which in turn enables people to alter their conditions for the better.

Pranee Liamputtong

See also arts-based action research; Co-Operative Inquiry; empowerment; extended epistemology; health care; narrative; narrative inquiry; performed ethnography; Photovoice; practical knowing; tacit knowledge; Theatre of the Oppressed

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Experiential Learning

Experiential learning is an alternative approach to adult education that developed along with advancements in the scientific and philosophical understanding of how humans develop their cognitive structures and deep knowledge. It emphasizes the importance of individualized learning goals and objectives pursued through a carefully crafted plan featuring a series of increasingly challenging field-based learning activities that students create and reflect upon with the assistance of one or more guides (teachers, mentors, coaches) in order to acquire important forms of new knowledge, skills and competencies.

Brief Overview

The following entry provides a brief description of experiential education, a review of the defining characteristics of this form of pedagogy, the history of experiential education's origins and evolution, an explanation of its growing popularity and a presentation of the typical experiential learning process.

At the beginning of many experiential learning processes, individual learners are often asked to imagine the life and career they would like to have 5–10 years from the present; they are then asked to identify the new knowledge, skills and competencies they will have to acquire and master to reach their near-term life/career goal. With the assistance of a skilled

reality (e.g. what it is like to live with poverty). Individuals become acquainted with things, people and places through feelings, the senses and bodily experiences. Thus, experiential knowledge is also an 'embodied knowledge'. It is embodied because it creates and depends on the specific circumstances of people's lived experiences. It is the product of reciprocation of one's body with the world. Embodied knowledge is subjective and is instantaneously known to the knowers.

In the health domain, as an exemplar, individuals acquire their experiential knowledge through being familiar with their own illnesses, through both their bodily experiences and the mental states that accompany the illnesses. It can also be acquired through their experiences with the care and support they encounter. The experiential knowledge of the patients can be used to complement the biomedical knowledge of the health professionals and is crucial for the provision of sensitive health care. It helps health professionals to know what it is like for patients to live with such illnesses, how they deal with such problems and what helps them deal with their condition. Subsequently, appropriate health care may follow.

In health care in most Western societies, this kind of knowledge is subsumed as 'lay' or 'non-expert knowledge' and is seen as less accurate than expert knowledge. As such, it often does not count as valid knowledge and has no power. However, although the experiential knowledge of one person may not have the same power as expert knowledge, the collective body of experiential knowledge of many individuals can transcend into what Maijer, Rijshouwer and Linse term *experiential expertise*. This experiential expertise can be used as a tool to bargain for better health care for the patients. Within the current model of patient-centred medicine, the experiential knowledge of patients or consumers plays a crucial role. This model necessitates the incorporation of both physical and emotional embodiments of the consumers in the provision of appropriate and sensitive health care.

The experiential knowledge of health-care providers themselves is also a valuable source of knowledge for the provision of care to consumers. Therapists who have cultivated experiential knowing and knowledge about a particular illness can have an enriched and profound connection with their clients. Jeffrey Hayes terms them as the 'wounded healers'. Because of their own experiential knowing and knowledge (through their own experiences of pain and fear, loss of the sense of self and utter intimate turmoil), these therapists would proclaim less stigmatizing conviction about their clients as well as have a deep sympathy towards them. They also hold a strong belief in their clients' capacity for recovery, even those who have been severely disabled by their health conditions.

Within the health sciences, it is noted that propositional knowledge grounded within a biomedical paradigm dominates the research domain. But propositional knowledge is built on other ways of knowing, particularly experiential knowing. Because of propositional knowledge is so dominant, other ways of knowing that access experience more immediately and richly (e.g. experiential knowing) tend to receive less attention. Experiential knowing may be perceived as an inferior kind of knowledge, since it fails to meet the so-called scientific standards of knowing, which are based on the presumed superiority of objectivity and absolute truths. But as this entry has discussed, the experiential knowledge of the consumers can contribute greatly to biomedical practices.

Similarly, in health research, the experiential knowledge of the consumers can contribute to both the relevance and the appropriateness of biomedical research. Based on their experiential knowledge of their illnesses, the consumers can be an important source of knowledge to researchers, which can complement their research conduct and outcome. The experiential knowledge of the consumers provides broader perspectives to which many researchers do not have access.

Experiential Knowing and Action Research

Action research is about creating spaces for communication. Rather than seclude people from their daily experiences, action research values 'other ways of knowing about the world'. In seeking to produce usefully and locally relevant knowledge which can respond to real-world problems, it necessarily values the experiential knowing of local people.

Simultaneously, action research aims to be a learning experience for inquiry participants. Establishing the direction of the research requires active and informed participation by the community. Thus, individuals are seen as active players within the research process, as opposed to passive citizens who have research performed on them, as is often the case in more orthodox research methods. Participants take an active role, preferably from the early stages of the project, and through this active, experiential involvement, they cultivate new knowledge and skills and hence have increased self-confidence. This process is professed to empower people and assist them to change their lived world.

Actively engaging in a process of learning helps people to realize what they know, and that their knowledge is valuable. This in turn empowers them to be able to take control of their situations more effectively. The production and/or articulation of experiential knowledge becomes legitimized through being publically shared and socially heard. The collective knowledge or

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Experiential Knowing

Experiential knowing is the ground form of knowing in what Heron and Reason refer to as 'extended epistemology', including experiential, presentational, propositional and practical knowing. In their everyday lives, people use these four forms of knowing and implicitly engage with them in different ways. Individuals cultivate their knowing through direct experience; they voice it through expressive imageries, such as stories, the arts and performances; they make sense of it through propositions that are intelligent to them and then they use it for their actions in their lives. These four forms of knowing are the essential bases for action research.

This entry discusses experiential knowing and experiential knowledge, as well as its relevance to participatory research. It also includes ways of knowing within the framework of action research.

Experiential knowing, at its simplest meaning and as defined by Heron and Reason, refers to individuals' direct familiarity with other people, objects, events and places that they personally encounter in their lives. It is implicit, but the moment the experiential knowing is cultivated, it becomes real to the knowers. Experiential knowing can also be simply put as 'felt' knowing. It is through people's subjective feelings and what they emotionally embody in the presence of others and the world that they come to know about other things. Often, it is difficult to express verbally and to explain to others, and it certainly cannot be captured objectively.

Additionally, experiential knowing signifies knowing that individuals cultivate by recalling their experiences: things that they learn or acquire tacitly (e.g. how to ride a bicycle). It also means people's perceptual experiences or understanding of things (such as what it is like to give birth, to live in poverty or to have HIV/AIDS). It makes use of their unconscious or implicit thinking and knowing, rather than relying on explicit propositional knowledge. The focus of experiential knowing is on situated and everyday existence as it unravels to the knowers, rather than the knowing that is imposed by outsiders.

Experiential knowing is instinctive and unknown to logic because individuals cultivate their knowing without having to consciously think about how it is known. This way of knowing unfolds from many forms of practices, including what people do in their everyday life. They use sight, sound, smell and touch to sense the things around them. Through their sense making and feelings, they can claim to have experiential knowing. They represent their experiential knowing in the form of idioms, such as stories and creative activities, as in the arts.

Experiential knowing is also intuitive because it coexists with the feelings of knowing, which often leads to some motive for action. To experience something is to embody it and to feel it, to know that it exists. In order to experience something, one must take part in it. To take part is to create and to realize. Thus, experiential knowing is inevitably both subjective and objective, and relational to both the knowers and what is known. The knowing is instantaneous and less immediately intervened by propositional knowing. When a person becomes HIV positive, his or her experience includes the subjective experience of living with HIV and the feelings of relief when having access to antiretroviral therapy, as well as the objective act of adhering to medications and having to deal with other disruptions in his or her life. This experiential knowing may be accompanied, for example, by the propositional knowing that his or her life is prolonged as long as medication adherence is strictly observed.

Experiential Knowing and Experiential Knowledge

Knowledge may be understood as the present existence of a continuing process of knowing. Thus, experiential knowing produces experiential knowledge. Knowledge here refers to the ingredients that represent the experiences of individuals. It includes knowledge of feelings and thinking. It is what Shapiro calls the knowledge of 'what it is like'.

To know 'what it is like', an individual must have a direct experience of an event, and must connect himself or herself meaningfully to the event (whether that is giving birth, swimming in the sea or being imprisoned). Experiential knowledge is what William James referred to as 'knowledge of acquaintance'. It is knowledge that people hold through being familiar with such

Phase	*Characteristics Emphasized*	*EI Activities*
Focusing	Dialogue Values oriented Community building Learning focused	a. Create EI team (teachers, parents, evaluators) b. Create opportunities for preschool programme stakeholders to share beliefs, values and knowledge about preschool: • Delphi technique c. Based on the above, define the theme(s) and foci of the evaluation: • *Theme:* play and academic preparation • *Specific focus:* curriculum d. Plan for how stakeholders will participate in the second phase of investigating
Investigating	Dialogue Learning-focused	a. EI team collects data to investigate the curriculum's contribution to both play and academic preparation: • Review of formal curriculum documents • Observations of preschool activities • Teacher report on student outcomes • Parent report on student outcomes b. Analysis of data
Learning	Dialogue Values oriented Reflection Community building Learning focused	a. EI team plans for communicating and reflecting on the results: • Day-long workshop for stakeholders to ◦ deliberate and reflect on how the curriculum does and does not support play and academic preparation ◦ plan curriculum revisions b. Organize stakeholders for the next cycle of evaluative inquiry c. Identify ways to support future evaluation: • Inventory of evaluation skills learned • Identify infrastructure that supports inquiry

Table 1 *An Evaluative Inquiry (EI) Illustration: Evaluating a Preschool Programme*

innovation are the new manifestations. EI has most notably been developed within organizational contexts, seeking ways to build positive, productive work environments concerned with efficiency and effectiveness in all these various forms.

Using EI as a primary strategy can facilitate developing an organizational culture that promotes learning and ongoing change. This strategy is enhanced when organizations are what are referred to as 'learning organizations'. Learning organizations are characterized by a number of attributes, including the following: (a) there is a clear mission that is supported by employees, (b) the organizational leadership empowers employees and encourages creativity, (c) experimentation and risk-taking are rewarded, (d) systemic ways exist for sharing and retaining knowledge, and (e) teamwork and co-operation are valued over individual accomplishments. These attributes represent a commitment to systemic learning and change that can be facilitated by evaluation. By using core attributes of evaluation, like stakeholder engagement and systematic problem definition and inquiry, EI becomes an organizational activity that supports and enhances these attributes.

The ideas inherent in EI are applicable to many contexts, but the ideas of sustainable learning through evaluation lend themselves especially well to understanding what works and to promoting values and goals within particular organizational contexts.

Sandra Mathison

See also Appreciative Inquiry; evaluation; organization development; participatory evaluation

through dialogue and reflection, such communities can be either reinforced or created. The success of community building is dependent on these processes, but it also requires trust, mutual respect and a willingness to de-privatize the practice or work within the context of the evaluative inquiry. The de-privatization of practice is especially critical in organizational contexts where individuals work alone or privately—teachers, computer programmers and park rangers are good examples of work roles that may naturally privatize practice. Evaluative inquiry through community building provides a context in which working alone becomes explicitly connected to shared goals, values and expectations for success.

Building community is a process, as described above, but it can also be a product. Through evaluative inquiry, there is a possibility that formal groups may develop: groups that coalesce around an evaluative inquiry project but that become an ongoing part of the organizational structure, with connections to other parts of the organization. For example, a group of faculty might come together to evaluate their teacher education programme and through that evaluative inquiry create an ongoing community: a community that sustains efforts to review and rejuvenate the programme, for example, through seminars, workgroups or providing services across the entire college. Such communities are often small (fewer than 10 people), and in organizations that embrace evaluative inquiry, there might be many such smaller communities connected through linkages that sustain the total organization.

Learning Focused

There are three primary ways in which evaluative inquiry focuses on learning: (1) developing shared values, (2) working towards an explicit sense of what desirable outcomes are and (3) developing evaluation skills that are sustained beyond a particular evaluation activity, what is referred to as evaluation capacity building (ECB). Through dialogue and reflection, as described above, evaluative inquiry emphasizes the importance of making more explicit what stakeholders value, including fundamental values (e.g. productivity, altruism, cost-effectiveness, engagement), and how those values reflect the desirable outcomes for a programme or organization (increased sales, lives saved, decreases in homelessness). Making values explicit may lead to a shared sense of what is important, which in turn facilitates the development of programmatic and organizational goals and activities that people can commit to and work collectively towards.

Another kind of learning that may result from evaluative inquiry is ECB. Through involvement in evaluation, particularly as it becomes a systemic activity, organizational members can develop evaluation knowledge and skills that lead to sustainable evaluation practices within that organization. To realize the potential of ECB, evaluative inquiry must plan specifically to use strategies that provide evaluation experience in an educative way, such as through coaching, mentoring, technical assistance, developing communities of practice and so on. Using a focused ECB strategy, evaluative inquiry is more likely to result in the creation of sustained information management systems, ongoing strategic planning and resources for evaluative inquiry and ongoing learning from evaluation processes and information.

An Illustration of Evaluative Inquiry

A concrete illustration of how the three phases and the five characteristics of evaluative inquiry are manifest may be helpful. Imagine that a preschool has decided to do an evaluation of its programme, motivated by a desire to provide the best experiences for children given the programme community's needs and values. Table 1 gives an overview of what this evaluative inquiry could involve. Although the example is brief and lacks much detail, it illustrates movement through the phases of the evaluation, identifies which characteristics of evaluative inquiry are emphasized at each phase and gives a brief description of possible evaluative activities.

EI in Organizational Contexts

Much of social life and programmatic efforts to improve the quality of social life are embedded in organizational contexts, which themselves are embedded within institutions. For example, we may teach at a particular school, which is in turn part of the institution of education. Institutions (e.g. education, religion, government, family, media) are complex social forms that are ethereal and often beyond our grasp. They embody established and structured roles, patterns of behaviour and relationships, and encapsulate the enduring features of social life. Social institutions are typically systems of organizations, and most often we focus on organizations as the concrete manifestation of institutions. Organizations are tangible, and as we live through particular organizations, we sustain or reinvent those more vague institutions. So organizations have become a key context for thinking about and improving social life. Organizations are concerned with efficiency and effectiveness; they manifest at one time primarily in static conceptions of productivity and profitability but are now additionally concerned with a more dynamic sense of efficiency and effectiveness. Learning, capacity building, social responsibility, sustainability and

Values Oriented

The dialogue in evaluative inquiry is decidedly values oriented, and the emphasis is on understanding the values of various stakeholders within the evaluation context. While there is a long-standing notion that facts and values are distinct, it is more frequently the case that the two are conflated. In other words, what we see as a statement of fact, the way things are, implicitly contains values about how things ought or ought not to be. This conflation is not problematic within a family of participatory approaches to evaluation, and parsing out the two is not particularly critical.

It is important, however, to distinguish between a perspective that sees values as data and one where values are integral to the evaluative inquiry. In the former case, the evaluative process may focus on procedural means for describing, negotiating and resolving the differences among values to identify what is problematic, to devise plans of action and to identify how one knows if the action is working as expected. Values are a property of individuals or organizations and can be described and analyzed in the same way as other data. So, for example, whether a parent values early-childhood education because it provides affordable childcare or because it provides preparation for school has the same meaning for the evaluation as, say, whether the parent is older or younger, that is, as demographic difference. The values are useful data points for making a judgement about whether early-childhood education is working. On the other hand, the evaluation process may be the means to continuously confront and critique values as an ongoing practice without the expectation that a single goal or strategy must be defined.

Evaluative inquiry adopts the latter position, that is, that values are integral to the evaluative inquiry, which itself becomes part of lived experience and professional practice. The disclosure of values, which are often competing, becomes integral to an ongoing discourse about how to achieve complex multiple goals. With the day care example, dialogue becomes critical to examining possibilities for the existence of multiple values and asks whether early-childhood programmes can provide both affordable day care and school preparedness by examining the complementarity and the contradictions.

Reflection

While dialogue illustrates that evaluative inquiry engages multiple stakeholders in building an understanding of what is valued and how to attain valued processes and outcomes, there is also a presumption that dialogue fosters reflection. This reflection includes both self-reflection and collective reflection. Often, the dialogue within evaluative inquiry elucidates what is valued and even how those values can be enacted or brought to fruition, and reflection is a part of dialogue. But reflection should also be understood as the extent to which the actions we take, individually and collectively, bring us along in our practice, whether that is a social or professional practice context. In other words, reflection is also about gathering and processing evidence about the relationship among values, plans, actions and outcomes.

For evaluative inquiry, reflection is more than the sort of personal reflection that has for some time been a part of good professional practice and is often associated with ongoing professional development and improvement of individual practice. This sort of personal reflection is built into learning to become a professional and continuing to hone knowledge and skills for being a good doctor, lawyer, teacher and so on. Reflection in evaluative inquiry also extends to a collective reflection within social and work environments, what has been referred to as productive reflection. Less a matter of particular strategies and more a perspective on the culture of workplaces and social contexts, collective reflection can be manifest in debriefing sessions, group meetings, and continuous-improvement sessions. This idea of collective reflection is meant to disrupt hierarchical relationships and to encourage challenging assumptions, consideration of the values and interests of all and disperse control across stakeholder groups. This collective reflection emphasizes the importance of building communities of practice and social life that create productive fulfilment for individuals as well as the organizational contexts within which they work and live.

Community Building

Evaluative inquiry, through dialogue and reflection, values individual contributions but emphasizes a collective engagement and responsibility for engaging in the continual process of examination and improvement of social and work contexts. Creating and sustaining communities is therefore a natural part of an outgrowth of evaluative inquiry. Clearly, evaluative inquiry is easily implemented when such communities already exist and are therefore reinforced, but critically, the evaluative process also builds these communities.

These communities are referred to variously as professional learning communities, communities of practice and communities of learning and practice. Regardless of the label, they are all characterized by continuous, structured collaboration that generates new understandings, a collective personal responsibility for valued outcomes and shared visions of the future. By participating in the three phases of evaluative inquiry,

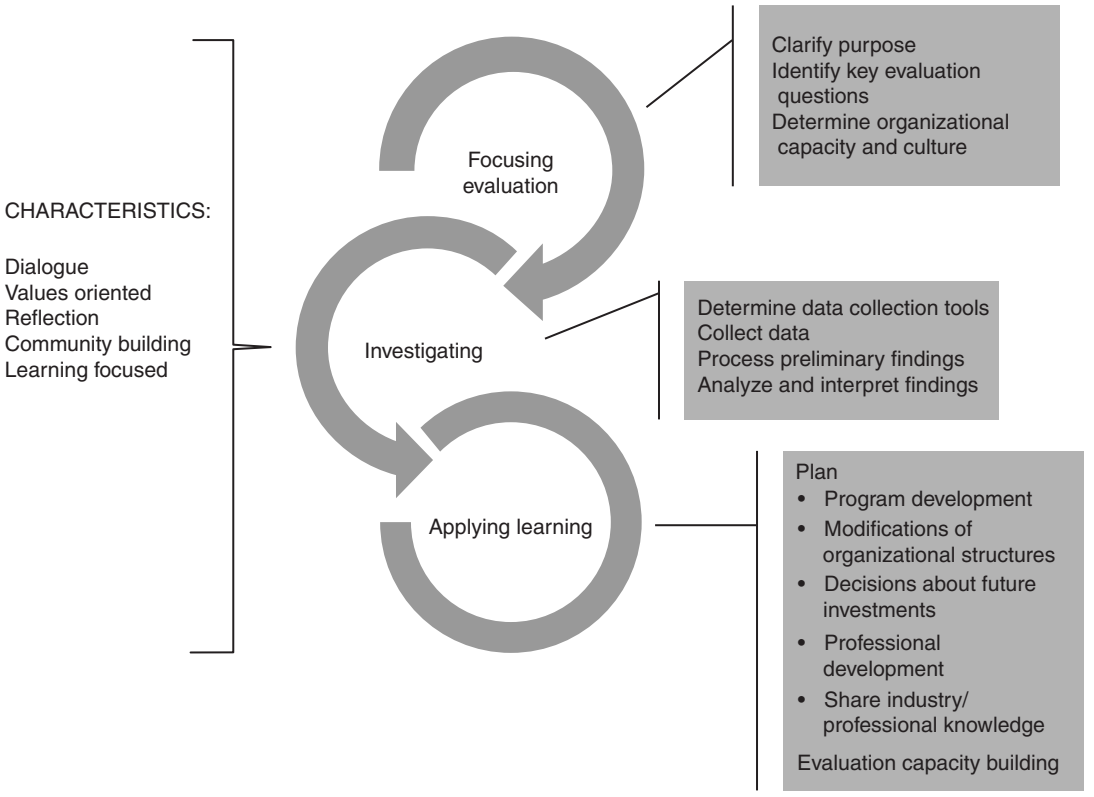

Figure 1 *Features of Evaluative Inquiry*

and undesirable. Deliberative forums can sustain this dialogue in later stages of the evaluative inquiry, when data can be put to use in the development of an action or learning plan. Strategies for dialogue that are most effective are inclusive and foster genuine participation among stakeholders.

A critical consideration for establishing and supporting dialogue among all stakeholders is attention to issues of power. Not all stakeholders, as groups and even within groups, are equally prepared and able to engage in dialogue with one another. These asymmetrical power relationships suggest that often stakeholders will be unwilling or unable to come to the table and that the evaluation process must create a dialogue that would otherwise not naturally occur. When the evaluation context is characterized by these power differentials, one strategy is to build a dialogue in stages. The first stage is to engage with individuals in the same role (service providers, service recipients with particular characteristics, managers, etc.) to build trust and elicit important issues for those stakeholders. All too often, this step is seen primarily and mistakenly as a means to developing a coherent view of common issues. For example, within a school evaluation context, the presumption is that teachers as a stakeholder group share a perspective on valued outcomes and the means of getting to those outcomes. In reality, there is often much variation within a stakeholder group. But beginning by creating a dialogue among those with common positionalities and roles can lead to the second stage, which is to bring together perspectives within and across stakeholder groups relevant to the particular evaluation inquiry context.

Dialogue may or may not result in consensus among stakeholders, and it is easy to assume that consensus building is a more valuable outcome. But for evaluative inquiry to have an edge in positive change, differences are critical. When all stakeholders see things the same way, value the same things and tell the same stories about themselves and their circumstances, things stay the same. Dialogue emphasizes engagement, not agreement, and is a means to learn about one's own position as well as that of others. Indeed, the idea of dialogue suggests that this engagement is less about revealing stakeholder perspectives and more about forging an understanding of perspectives through the dialogic process.

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Evaluative Inquiry

Evaluative inquiry (EI) combines the notions of investigation and evaluation to promote evaluation that is ongoing and embedded in routine practice. EI values both the processes and the outcomes of evaluation and therefore is juxtaposed with a view of evaluation that is episodic and oriented to specific points in time or specific decision-making needs. The development of EI parallels the focus on learning in organizations in the work of Peter Senge, Donald Schön and Chris Argyris beginning in the 1980s and into the 1990s. Evaluators attuned to organizational and human resource development saw the potential for evaluation practice to support individual and organizational learning through systemic and systematic inquiry built into routine organizational operations.

EI overlaps substantially with action research, particularly as it is done within organizational contexts. Both forms of inquiry employ an ongoing, iterative process or a spiral metaphor, and both seek positive change through examination of data and reflection on those data. Perhaps a key difference is that action research builds on a plan of action, while EI builds on a plan of inquiry about an evaluand, which results in a plan of action. Evaluative inquiry might therefore be a strategy that supports action research's stages of reflection and planning.

What follows is a description of evaluative inquiry: the process of evaluative inquiry, evaluative inquiry's basic characteristics and an example to illustrate more concretely what evaluative inquiry looks like. The discussion will conclude by illustrating how evaluative inquiry is particularly important in organizational contexts.

Evaluative Inquiry Process

Evaluative inquiry typically proceeds in three phases: focusing, investigating and applying what is learned. The first phase is focusing the inquiry, a phase in which a team or committee determines what the evaluation will focus on, determines who the stakeholders are and defines the most important evaluation questions. In the focusing phase, evaluation teams might make use of a wide range of strategies to create this focus, including the development of logic models, interviewing stakeholders to determine what the relevant issues are and using Q sorts or Delphi techniques.

The second phase of evaluative inquiry is doing the investigation or collecting the data and evidence to answer the evaluation questions posed in the first phase. The third phase, and the phase that most especially distinguishes evaluative inquiry, is applying what is learned from the evaluation. Many evaluations end with the delivery of a final report to decision-makers, but evaluative inquiry through continued engagement of an in-house evaluation team, and perhaps others within the organization, is committed to using the evaluation findings to (a) strategize about the findings, (b) develop action plans based on the process and findings and (c) monitor actions.

Characteristics of Evaluative Inquiry

Evaluative inquiry combines the fundamental purpose of evaluation (judging the merit, worth or value of something) with the idea of inquiry in a particular way. This approach is characterized by a number of features that may not be extant in every evaluation approach (see Figure 1).

Dialogue

Evaluative inquiry, indeed most forms of participatory evaluation and action research, calls for dialogue among stakeholders, including the evaluator. Dialogue presumes that there is a high likelihood that differences in aspirations and the means to achieve desirable ends will occur within an evaluation context, be it a programme, project, organization or community. Public and verbal articulation of perspectives is, however, key to the development of common understandings of what is and what ought to be, which are the essence of a plan for improving practice.

Many techniques can be used to create dialogue, for example, storytelling (individual and collective), Appreciative Inquiry, individual or group interviewing of stakeholders and deliberative forums. Deliberative forums illustrate the key features of dialogue. A deliberative forum is a face-to-face dialogue space that is managed by skilled moderators (often the evaluator), ranging from a few hours to a full day, and engages multiple and diverse stakeholder groups in discussions at potentially all phases of the evaluative inquiry. Such deliberative forums can be used to focus the inquiry by framing what the evaluand is, defining its features and beginning to develop a sense of what is desirable

political lines. External and internal politics may differ. The funding organization may want to either justify its spending or support closing a programme for a specific reason. Sometimes, a programme director requests an evaluation in order to terminate a programme that is politically threatening. The evaluator is placed in the awkward position of having the findings more or less dictated before the evaluation is even carried out. Evaluators tread a thin line between pleasing the commissioner and revealing the truth about a programme. Sometimes, a functioning but not very successful programme is preferable to no programme at all. Tact and interpersonal skills are part of the evaluator's toolbox. Strongly connected to these issues are the issues of ethics in evaluation and evaluation use.

Ethics

Ethics is an important element in the conduct of an evaluation. The evaluator collects data in order to allow decision-makers to make educated decisions and is privy to sensitive information in the process. Similar to other kinds of researchers, evaluators must abide by certain rules of conduct concerning informed consent, anonymity of sources, confidentiality and honesty. In addition, evaluators work closely with stakeholders to build, maintain and honour trust with respect. Many evaluation associations have published guidelines or standards according to which evaluators must work. Most of the guidelines are based on the North American Joint Committee on Standards of Educational Evaluation—for feasibility, utility, propriety and accuracy—with different organizations making adaptations according to the context and culture in which they operate. These are straightforward and apparently easy to follow; however, when confronted with the messy world of programming, reforms and interventions, evaluators face complicated and complex situations that are not always clear. For this reason, ethical dilemmas are a frequent subject of discussion among evaluators.

Use

One of the frustrating issues involved with evaluation is its use. Since evaluation is a form of applied research, one expects it to be applied. Such is not always the case. There are two kinds of evaluation use: process use and use of findings. Process use means that the organization has learned to be more reflective and responsive about its actions from having participated in the process of the evaluation. Use of findings refers to changes in the programme that result from the recommendations of, or the knowledge generated by, the evaluation. This use focuses on decision-making concerning continuation, termination or dissemination of the evaluand. Although evaluators have found that the more involved the stakeholders are in the evaluation, the greater the chance for either kind of use to occur, budgets do not always include the extra time and funding needed to allow for such involvement. In addition, timing is a crucial factor in the use of evaluation findings. If the evaluation is commissioned after an activity has taken place, then the knowledge it generates is minimal in terms of that activity. If the deadline for the renewal of funding precedes the deadline for the evaluation report, then the evaluation findings might be irrelevant.

At the outset of an evaluation, many evaluators design the evaluation for maximum intended use by the intended users.

Evaluation is akin to action research in that both fields promote learning about and from our actions, which can be used to improve our actions. Using similar methodologies, they both seek to generate knowledge that will create better, more efficient and more meaningful activities.

Barbara Rosenstein

See also Action Evaluation; Appreciative Inquiry; ethics and moral decision-making; evaluative inquiry; focus groups; mindful inquiry; multi-stakeholder dialogue; participatory evaluation; quantitative methods; reflective practice; theories of action

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focus groups, case studies, narratives, photographs, video and more, to obtain a clear picture of the implementation of the programme. Evaluators can administer pre- and post-questionnaires in order to examine the immediate influence of the programme upon termination. Questionnaires are a quantitative instrument and can be analyzed statistically. However, when the numbers are insufficient to conduct a significant statistical analysis, analysis can be conducted qualitatively.

Summative evaluation usually relies on standard quantitative methods: RCTs of quasi-experimental designs that compare the programme population with a control group, either pre and post, or over time at fixed intervals. Frequently, since some summative evaluations are commissioned after the programme begins, they employ a pre- or post-design, relying on self-reporting. RCTs are preferred by many commissioners but are difficult to conduct unless the subject of the evaluation serves a very large population in a context where a similar population can be randomly selected for the research. This kind of evaluation study is furthest from action research in concept and nature.

Both formative and summative evaluations take into account the theory that drives the programme, *programme theory.* In most cases, programme theory is not explicit. It is not conceptualized and documented by stakeholders. In many evaluations, it is the evaluator's task to reveal the theory that drives the intervention, through careful investigation. This process often entails converting tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge. Sometimes, the evaluator and the stakeholders build a logic model that clearly outlines programme theory so that it can be examined from a number of perspectives. Are the assumptions behind the intervention logical, well thought out and evidence based? Are the necessary inputs available in order to carry out the programme? Do the activities actually take place? Do the outcomes follow logically from the outputs? Where are the discrepancies? What's missing? What are the unintended outcomes? The questions *why* and *why not* should accompany each of these questions.

The evaluation methodology closest to action research is responsive, participatory and context-bound evaluation. As mentioned, the kind and number of participants in an evaluation vary. Some evaluators consider the subject of evaluation from the outside and do not involve any of the stakeholders other than for data collection purposes. Others involve participants on an administrative, operative level at all stages of the evaluation: formulation of evaluation questions, deciding on the appropriate research design, collecting data, analyzing findings and drawing conclusions for decision-making, programme changes, disseminating or termination. Still others conduct a participatory process, including all levels of stakeholders, from programme funders, designers and operators to programme beneficiaries. All forms of participatory evaluation can take place at all or some of the stages of the evaluation depending upon the degree of participation desired and feasible for a given programme. Many evaluators maintain that all the stakeholders can learn through the process as well as the findings of evaluation by reflecting on their actions in a mindful and educated manner and by generating knowledge that will help them design and implement better programmes. This approach to participatory evaluation most closely resembles action research approaches.

Evaluation Issues

Evaluation issues fall into four main categories: context, politics, ethics and use.

Context

With the spread of globalization and increasingly heterogeneous populations, evaluators are paying greater attention to context and its influence on the success or failure of programmes as well as on the evaluation itself. It has become more difficult to attribute changes in attitude and behaviour to a specific programme or intervention. Evaluators have to take into account the context of each programme site and examine other factors that may contribute to the intended outcomes. This attention to context has given rise to contribution theory, which attributes outcomes to a combination of factors that produce the same result. Thus, the knowledge generated by the evaluation covers a broader range of phenomena and is difficult to apply to other programmes at a superficial level of dissemination. In other words, the programme could be excellent in a specific context but would not work well in a different one. Programme success or failure to produce intended outcomes can be due to the fact that implementation took place at the wrong time, in the wrong place or with the wrong population.

Politics

Evaluations are conducted in order to investigate the merit, value and worth of an activity, and the findings of that investigation are sometimes used to either extend or terminate that activity. As such, evaluations are driven by funding considerations and are, thus, often commissioned for political reasons. Most evaluation commissioners have some kind of agenda associated with the investigation of an intervention or programme. Furthermore, different stakeholders have different agendas depending upon their stake in the evaluand. Large national programmes involve huge sums of money, which are often distributed along

the organization. These evaluators are called *external evaluators* because they are not part of the organization. Other organizations hire evaluators to be part of the organization and to conduct evaluations from within. These evaluators are called *internal evaluators*. Each kind of evaluation has advantages and disadvantages that can be offset. On the one hand, internal evaluators are deeply familiar with the evaluand and may therefore be subjective. On the other, while more objective, the external evaluator can be too far removed from it. There are methodological tools that can compensate for these factors: triangulation, validity testing, peer testing and so on. Whether external or internal, evaluators usually begin an evaluation by thoroughly acquainting themselves with the evaluand. Some evaluators begin by studying the goals of the programme, with the aim of matching the goals as stated with the goals achieved. This is termed *goal-oriented evaluation*. Other evaluators prefer *goal-free evaluation*, in which they learn the goals through observation of action in the field.

Stakeholders and participants of an evaluation have different functions in the programme, for example, as the funding agency, director and staff and programme beneficiaries. They also vary in the extent of their involvement in the evaluation. Participation can run the gamut from minor participation, signing a contract and answering questionnaires to participating fully at every stage of the evaluation, from conception to final recommendations. The latter is most closely related to action research. These types of evaluation will be discussed further on in this entry.

Relevance of Evaluation to Action Research

Both action research and evaluation are forms of applied research. The principle difference between the two lies in the driving force of the research. The reasons for conducting an evaluation are usually external. Someone commissions the evaluation. The reasons for conducting action research are internal. An organization or a group of people decides together to undertake an exercise of action research in order to examine and learn from its actions. It should be noted, however, that some organizations decide to conduct an evaluation and the impetus comes from within, using either an internal or an external evaluator, similar to action research.

Action research and evaluation are large, multidisciplinary fields that overlap in significant ways. Both forms of inquiry seek to examine action, learn from it and make decisions based on the knowledge produced through the process. Similarly, they are action oriented, providing information to inform either ongoing action or future action. In addition, they are both rooted in an iterate process of observation, data collection, analysis, reflection, renewed observation, data collection, analysis and reflection, and so on. Moreover, both forms of inquiry are applied to a variety of pursuits: business, education, health, medicine and welfare, to name but a few. Finally, both action research and evaluation produce evidence-based insights through the use of a broad range of research methodologies and techniques. These are discussed in the next section.

Evaluation Methodologies

A wide range of research approaches is available to evaluators. In broad terms, these include quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods approaches. Evaluators choose their approach based on the context of the evaluand, the purpose of the evaluation and their own research predispositions. The context of the evaluation often dictates the methodological direction since it can pose numerical, linguistic and logistic constraints. The purpose of the evaluation also indicates methodological approaches. If the purpose is to better understand a large programme, then a mixed-methods approach may be preferable to either quantitative or qualitative methods. If statistics are desired to confirm or disaffirm the effectiveness of an intervention, then quantitative methods would be most appropriate. Some commissioners prefer random control trials (RCT) to determine the impact of a programme; however, it is very difficult to design the perfect RCT evaluation programme given the large number of variables involved and the difficulty in selecting a 'matching' population. Increasing numbers of evaluators employ a combination of methodologies to ensure a deeper understanding of the evaluand so that correct and meaningful decisions can be made concerning it.

Research designs vary as well and also depend upon the context, the questions the evaluation seeks to answer and the purposes of the inquiry. Evaluators use descriptive and exploratory designs, such as surveys, case studies, narratives, comparisons with an absolute standard, comparisons over time using pre-, post- and periodic designs within one population. They can also follow quasi-experimental designs, in which they compare the study population that participated in the intervention with a control group that did not.

Formative evaluation is normally conducted through observations, interviews, focus groups and the examination of programme documents. In other words, formative evaluation instruments tend to be qualitative instruments. In order to validate these instruments, evaluators employ triangulation, a method used to minimize bias and error through the use of multiple sources of data collection; multiple observers, times and spaces and other data collection methods. A variety of methodological instruments is available to them, including

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Evaluation

Evaluation is a field of inquiry that generates questions, seeks answers, examines action and impact and promotes change. Despite the fact that we are constantly evaluating in our daily lives, many people do not understand evaluation. The reason for the confusion stems from the fact that like action research, evaluation strives to observe, analyze and stimulate change. These activities are often perceived as a form of inspection and are met with suspicion and negativity. Both fields deal with the following questions: What are we doing? How are we doing it? Does it work? Can we do it better? The main difference between the two is that evaluation looks at someone else's programme or intervention while action research examines one's own programme or action. The first part of this entry will present a broad description of the field of evaluation. Then we relate it to action research, followed by evaluation methodologies, and ending with the issues facing evaluation, including ethics, politics and use.

In order to understand the field of evaluation, it is necessary to define the major players in an evaluation and the purpose for which an evaluation is commissioned. The commissioner of the evaluation is the person or persons who have a financial, administrative or ideological stake in the operation and results of an intervention. Commissioners enlist the help of an evaluator to determine questions of the value, worth and merit of a programme or intervention. The object of the evaluation, be it a programme, an intervention or an organization, is called the *evaluand*. In addition to the commissioner, *stakeholders* include those who operate the evaluand, those who participate in it and those who benefit from it. The evaluator or evaluation team consists of professionals trained in research methods and evaluation approaches, often in another, related discipline, such as anthropology, education, management, psychology, sociology and statistics, to name but a few. Evaluations are commissioned for a variety of reasons. Funding agencies often request an evaluation to verify that their money is spent well. Governments request evaluations to make sure that the taxpayers' money is invested well. Programme designers and providers request evaluations to determine whether to continue, disseminate or terminate interventions. Organizations commission evaluations to examine the effectiveness of the organization or the effect of interventions on and within the organization to learn from their success or failure. Decision-makers and policymakers request evaluations to help them make educated decisions concerning an intervention, programme or policy. All evaluations should inform stakeholders and generate knowledge and learning that lead to a better functioning society. However, it is important to keep in mind that the reason for the evaluation drives the evaluation design and frequently involves either internal or external political concerns.

Programme evaluation traditionally belongs to two separate but sometimes overlapping types: formative and summative. Formative evaluation examines the implementation of the programme, and summative evaluation examines the impact of the programme. Formative evaluation focuses on studying the intervention, its goals and its strategies and examines the extent to which the actual implementation matches the intended implementation. Furthermore, formative evaluation can examine short-term results. The evaluator provides stakeholders with a thick description of the programme, and they decide whether it is being implemented as intended and, if not, what changes need to be made in order to fulfil their expectations.

Summative evaluation examines the short-, mid- and long-term results of an intervention once it has been implemented. It examines the extent to which intended and unintended changes have occurred as a result of the intervention. Sometimes, summative evaluation ignores the implementation of the programme and examines only the results. This is called *black box* evaluation, as opposed to *process* evaluation, which examines the process of an intervention as well as the outcomes. Over the years, more and more evaluations take into consideration both formative and summative considerations while focusing more on one or the other.

Many organizations hire evaluators to conduct an evaluation of their organization or of an intervention or programme within the organization or carried out by

throughout the project. Ethnography is an iterative process in which the researcher alternates between data collection and data analysis in a continuous feedback loop, constantly testing what she thinks she knows against new evidence. Periodically during the fieldwork, the researcher should write a brief paper or a long abstract of her findings to discover, provisionally, what she knows. These provisional findings can then be critiqued to reveal the weaknesses, gaps, overconfident assertions or wrong-headed ideas that inhabit the text. These problems signpost further steps in data collection. It may be appropriate to ask key consultants to read the abstract (or discuss a verbal equivalent) in order to gain some feedback on the analysis, provided no promises of anonymity are compromised. In participatory research, the data analysis may be a team project involving both the ethnographer or facilitator and the community.

Reciprocity

A prerequisite for a successful project is not only to obtain permission to do research with the relevant population but to establish an ethical and transparent relationship with the persons involved as well. Fieldworkers are often drawn into a variety of collaborative roles during their research and sometimes become a resource for the local community, even after their departure. In the interest of reciprocity, the fieldworker needs to be alert for opportunities to be helpful. Personal gifts for those who have been most valuable to you may also be appropriate. Make certain that consultants have the contact information for fieldworkers after their departure.

Writing Reports

Since the ethnographer is the most important tool of research, ethnographic writing is more personal than most social science reports. Over the past few decades, ethnography has been critiqued from several perspectives: positivist, naturalist, feminist, constructivist and postmodernist, among others. One outcome of these legitimacy battles is the recommendation that authors reveal their thinking and acting in the field reflexively, making the reader more conscious of the positioning of the author in the text. Ethnographers, of course, are positioned in time, culture, history, gender and political situations. Increasingly, we expect them to reveal how these factors have informed their research decisions and their writing. Ethnography remains a powerful, if imperfect, method for action research and for conveying an understanding of the lived experience of persons to others who are differently situated.

D. Douglas Caulkins

See also action anthropology; case study; co-generative learning; cognitive mapping; collaborative action research; community development; Grounded Theory; narrative; organization development; organizational culture; Participatory Action Research; symbolic interactionism

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The fieldworker can explore cultural domains by 'freelisting', or asking consultants to talk about the elements or components of a particular domain, such as 'business success' or 'problems facing this organization'. The fieldworker can also freelist the components of business success with other cultural experts until no new components are mentioned. From this complete list of culturally relevant forms of business success, the fieldworker can then explore individual priorities—which kinds are most important—by using a card sort technique. Starting with a set of cards, with each form of success on a separate card, ask consultants to sort the cards into three piles: (1) most important, (2) moderately important and (3) least important. Taking this procedure a step further, the consultant can sort each of the three piles by importance, producing a complete ranking of forms of success. The degree of agreement or disagreement among cultural experts can be determined empirically, using consensus analysis or other statistical methods. When dealing with organizations, it may be helpful to use the freelisting and card sort approach to explore the variations in the participants' priorities concerning the mission of the organization and the challenges it faces. Since it may be important to discover the multiple realities for different persons in the community or setting, the researcher needs to develop a sampling strategy, involving either probability sampling or non-probability sampling.

While building a foundation of data, the fieldworker can seek additional sources of information that illuminate the research question. For example, after completing a study of several themes of Welsh personhood, a research team constructed and validated a series of scenarios or brief narratives exemplifying each of the themes. The scenarios were then shown to samples of Welsh residents in different communities, who were asked to rate the 'Welshness' of the behaviour in the scenario. The analysis of these structured interviews gave further nuanced support to the initial ethnography. This process of gathering different kinds of data to reflect on a research problem is sometime called 'triangulation', using additional types of data to either reinforce or modify the initial interpretation. In action research, the use of multiple forms of data lowers the risk that the project will fail to illuminate the problems facing the community or organization.

Additional Techniques

While ethnography usually employs participant observation and interviewing, these foundational methods can be partnered with a variety of other qualitative research techniques, such as mapping or creating diagrams, flow charts, organizational charts and decision trees. These concepts can be helpful for collecting information as well as representing it in reports. By asking persons in a range of ages to draw maps of the city of Londonderry, Northern Ireland, we found that young persons were less likely than middle-aged adults to describe the city in terms of exclusively Protestant and Catholic territories. Flow charts can be used to trace and describe processes, particularly those complex processes involving many actors and different organizations or agencies. Decision trees show the way people evaluate the factors that go into a decision, such as which crops to plant. This approach can clarify the issues and the steps involved in individual decision-making, leading to structural change. In organizational research, the formal structure of the organization chart may be contrasted with the informal structure, including personal networks that enable workers to bypass particular procedures.

Narrative analysis, imported from the humanities, provides a framework for assessing the meanings of key events, natural disasters, community crises or personal challenges. Stories may have thematic similarities, such as self-sacrifice for the community, a martyrdom motif. Plot structures have at least three stages, beginning with (1) an initial circumstances or condition, followed by (2) a challenge to that status quo and (3) a resolution (or not) of that challenge. 'How did you come to start this business?' is a question designed to evoke an entrepreneur's story. Entrepreneurial stories can be characterized by different plot types, including the 'opportunity plot', in which an employee gets an exciting and unexpected chance to start a new firm and launch a new career direction.

Comparative Perspectives

One valuable way of learning more about the chosen social setting is, ironically, to study another similar social setting. Even a brief comparative study of another site can reveal important similarities as well as differences in the two sites and can reduce the 'risk' that the research design will not be successful in producing key understandings. The study of a web-based self-managed system for diabetics on Lakota reservations featured two different sites, one where computers were available only at the community health centre and one in which home computers were given to each of the diabetics. The persons with home computers were more empowered: They were more successful in managing their illnesses, and their children tended to excel in school, an additional benefit.

Data Analysis

Data analysis should not be a separate or distinct stage of the research process. Instead, analysis runs

situated meanings for the employees. Ethnography can address this diversity to identify people who agree or disagree with each other and what life circumstances may have contributed to that agreement or difference.

Much of ethnography involves collecting narratives or stories: explanations of how and why things happen, how some processes work, how change occurred and how persons feel about it or what people expect of the future. Historically, the ethnographer's relationship with participants has ranged from exploitive to collaborative, with current ethical practices favouring collaboration.

Participant observation—'being there' in the field—has been the hallmark of ethnography. It includes a variety of activities, ranging from virtually pure observation to fully engaged participation. Using both approaches may be appropriate to gain different kinds of information. In a study of heritage sites, for example, one could silently observe and record the way visitors experience and use museums. The fieldworker could also participate in guided tours with children, families or young adults to see how persons of different ages and interests respond. In participatory research teams, members of the community may be collaborators in collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data for the public. Who owns the data? Different approaches to ethnography provide different answers.

Field Notes

Even before researchers enter the field, they should begin recording field notes of several kinds, beginning with a description of their expectations for the study. As the fieldwork gets under way, begin with 'jotted notes' with phrases and names, taken down during or shortly after the interviews or observations. These notes can then be fleshed out in digital files. Written notes can be coded as descriptive notes, analytic notes or personal notes, separating the 'factual' description from theoretical or methodological interpretations and from descriptions of the fieldworker's personal emotions or reactions to the research experience. The analytic notes should be revised as new ideas or understandings develop in the course of the fieldwork. Notes should be archived rather than deleted, as earlier drafts form a record of the evolution in thinking. In another iteration of the descriptive field notes, the researcher can code the notes for focal variables, themes or patterns of interest, using numbers or phrases recoded and explained in a code book key. In longer term projects, the management of texts and documents becomes potentially burdensome and may be best done with database software. In any case, a record of the trajectory or cycles of the co-generative learning in action research should be preserved.

Interviewing

Additional techniques include several different types of interviews: long interviews with cultural experts and structured or semi-structured interviews with a wider range of persons, as needed in different phases of the research. Given the convenience and reliability of digital recording technology, it is often best to record interviews if the consultant gives permission. The 'empathetic interviewer' doesn't just gain information from the consultant but helps produce it by listening, questioning and reacting in the conversation. Interviews can evoke strong emotions, and the researcher needs to be thoughtful about the relationship with the consultant in order to avoid any form of exploitation, either of the consultant or of the interviewer.

Early in a project, the researcher may be interviewing leaders or gatekeepers who may help with access to the community or research site. Relatively brief, informal interviews help fill in many of the broad outlines of a research site. It may be appropriate to begin with a 'grand tour' question, such as 'Tell me how this office operates' or 'What is your typical day like?' Such interviews help indicate which variables may be most important for the subsequent research. To avoid confusion, it is best to start with no more than five important variables in the project. Most questions will be open-ended until the ethnographer gains a basic understanding of the site. Short interviews could be used to verify and extend the information, particularly with persons in different structural positions. Semi-structured interviews and structured interviews can be used to discover how widespread the agreement (or lack of agreement) is concerning key issues. Only when the fieldworker has a better grasp of the social setting should she use structured interviews or questionnaires. Nothing is more off-putting for a consultant than to be asked culturally confusing or meaningless questions.

Multiple Realities

Among the possible initial analytic frameworks for studying social situations is the following set of categories, organized by John Lofland: actors and acts (participants and what they do), activities (how acts are organized into a larger whole), settings (the spatial and temporal location and positioning of the activities), ways of participating (the roles available in the setting), relationships (the relationships among the actors and their activities) and meanings (the cultural or countercultural import of the activity for the participants). This framework moves from persons and their behaviour to the increasingly macro aspects of the setting, including the meanings that unite or divide the participants in the setting.

of anthropology under Franz Boas in the USA and Bronislaw Malinowski in England. These pioneers shaped the practice of living in field communities for months or years as participant observers and as collectors of texts and accounts. For sociologists, the important methodological moment was the development of the Chicago School of ethnography, led by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, whose interest in 'natural areas' and social ecology produced a vigorous and wide-ranging set of studies of urban social change. Ethnography, much expanded and much interrogated as a methodology, was subsequently appropriated and honed in a wide range of disciplines and subject areas, including education, medical studies, science and technology, deviance studies, innovation and entrepreneurship, conflict resolution, international development, communications, organizational development and, not least, action research. All these fields use ethnography as a means of illuminating lived experience where social and cultural contexts are poorly understood. Ethnography, which intrinsically involves a feedback cycle of using newly acquired information to inform and modify the direction of the inquiry, fits well with the process of collaborative or co-generational action research, in which researchers and practitioners develop an increasingly comprehensive understanding of an actual or potential social, community or organizational change. The following entry deals with the general uses of ethnography, the varieties of ethnographic approaches, the basics of research design, approaches to data collection, the writing of field notes, interviewing and capturing multiple realities.

Ethnography is primarily used for discovery and secondarily for verification, while quantitative studies are best for assessing the distribution or range of known phenomena in different populations. Ethnography is often seen as an alternative to quantitative research; however, it can be combined with a variety of quantitative approaches, using an ethnographic 'wrap' around a quantitative method. In ethnography, the researcher is the primary instrument of fieldwork, usually within a natural community, often as a guest in face-to-face interaction with other participants, with no more than moderate control over the field situation, particularly in Participatory Action Research, in which the community collaborates in the research.

Theoretical Perspectives

Ethnography is a contextual method that seeks holistic understandings of persons in social settings. It can be used in a deductive framework but is more often used inductively. A widely used inductive approach is 'Grounded Theory', pioneered by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, which seeks to identify emergent themes in the data and to construct abstract categories to explain the social processes observed. This 'objectivist' Grounded Theory attempts to explain and predict social formations, while the twenty-first-century 'constructivist' version of Grounded Theory by Kathy Charmaz and others emphasizes the multiplicity of realities and the need for researcher reflexivity. Another prominent perspective, symbolic interactionism, focuses on community life and the construction of intersubjective understandings rather than individual perspectives. While some ethnographers limit their craft to a discovery role, others use ethnography for hypothesis testing and verification, using the many 'natural experiments' of social, cultural and economic change occurring all around us. Ethnography is useful whenever the research goal is to discover how people experience events and processes and create or change meanings in communities.

Research Design

A research design should specify the initial question or research problem under investigation, the kind of data and sample needed and a strategy for analysis. Alternately, a research design can be developed through a process of co-generated learning by the community and an ethnographer or facilitator, intended to empower the participants. A research question might focus on a natural experiment in which an organization or community is coping with change or initiating an innovation. Will a new, web-based diabetes management programme on Lakota reservations be more accepted and effective than current health programmes? Can heritage sites in Derry-Londonderry, Northern Ireland, co-operate to create a more comprehensive public narrative of the contested history of this city? Whether these experiments succeed or fail, the lessons learned should be helpful in understanding the struggles for or against change in these communities. Projects can be focused, efficient and even relatively 'quick' if the ethnographer plans carefully, builds a foundation through open-ended interviews, develops a database through semi-structured and structured interviews and uses project management techniques to keep the project on track. Informal, open-ended interviews can reveal whether or not the initial research question is salient for the research population.

Diversity and Data Collection

Earlier, ethnographic studies tended to assume consistency or homogeneity within study populations. However, the culture of a corporation, to take a convenient example, is not simply the creation of the founder or the CEO but is likely to exhibit diverse

we treat others. He fundamentally shifts the moral focus from ends to means. As a model for decision-making, the first task is to strip away our particular wants and needs, our particular time and place, and ask, 'Is the moral principle I am choosing one others should follow if they were in a similar position?'. The second task is to ask, 'Will my action treat others in a manner that respects their moral dignity?'. For Kant, it is our self-governing reason that establishes the equal worth of all people and requires us to respect the humanity in others. Embedded in Kant's formal system is a very strong link with the moral principle known as the golden rule: 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you'.

Mill is identified as a consequentialist because in his account of utilitarianism the moral rightness of the action is based upon the ends to be achieved. In such a system, the ends are often said to justify the means. Mill defines morally justifiable actions as those that bring about the greatest amount of good (pleasure or happiness) for the greatest number of people. Likewise, immoral actions are those that result in more pain or displeasure for the most people. As a model for decision-making, the morally correct choice is one that will result in the most good for the most people. For Mill, moral action is about what we aim to achieve and not the qualities of character or the duties we have to others.

Action research can be defined, at least in large part, by a shared approach to moral decision-making and values that includes (a) respect for the knowledge and experience of others (Aristotle and Kant), (b) a commitment to democratic participation and process (Mill) and (c) a commitment to working towards greater equality and social justice in our own communities and on a global scale (Rawls).

The practice of action research reflects an Aristotelian emphasis on the moral qualities of mentors in scientific research and the integrity and moral character researchers demonstrate in interactions with participants and the communities in which they work. Action research, following Kant's model, is grounded on a fundamental recognition of the moral worth of each person in the community and the professional obligation to treat individual volunteers with respect. And, guided by a concern for working towards the greater social good, action research also adheres to the precepts of Mill's utilitarian model.

Action researchers are keenly aware of the ever-changing nature of ethical practice. Each of these models, and others, can be helpful in clarifying misunderstandings between researchers, volunteers and the communities. Ethical models can help us identify situations in which values conflict, for instance, when acting on the researcher's interest to improve overall social welfare may injure a volunteer and violate the duties to a community.

Three very different models for ethical decision-making were considered, and yet each represents ethical decision patterns common in human experience. Mill in his treatise *Utilitarianism* specifically refers to features and arguments found in Aristotle and Kant. These three models for decision-making each reveal to us aspects of Western ethical thought that are present in decision-making today. Understanding, comparing and contrasting these models can assist us in being more informed ethical decision-makers. The tools they provide may help us be more aware of the basis for our own ethical decisions. They may not only help us understand how others make decisions but also reveal some of the reasons that give rise to moral disagreement.

Stuart D. Yoak and Mary Brydon-Miller

See also communitarianism; Confucian principles; covenantal ethics; feminist ethics; indigenous research ethics and practice; liberation theology; *phrónêsis*

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Ethics Protocols

See Institutional Review Board

Ethnography

Ethnography originated as a distinct methodology in the early twentieth century with the professionalization

rational capacity to enact moral law upon ourselves. It is our autonomy as moral agents that gives us moral rights and enables us to bind ourselves to being held accountable for the moral duties we bear towards others. To understand the moral relationships we have with others, Kant's system counsels us to ask the deontological question: What obligations do I have in this relationship?

Mill and the Ethics of Utility

Mill opens his most influential work in moral philosophy, *Utilitarianism* (1861), with the observation that 'from the dawn of philosophy, the question concerning the summum bonum [highest good], or, what is the same thing, concerning the foundation of morality, has been accounted the main problem in speculative thought' (chap. 1, para. 1). Like Aristotle, and contrary to Kant, Mill takes a naturalistic approach to moral theory building. Relying on science and observation of human actions, he argues,

> The creed that accepts as the foundation of morals 'utility' or the 'greatest happiness principle' holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness; wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain and the privation of pleasure. (*Utilitarianism*, chap. 2, para. 2)

Mill was certainly not the first philosopher to propose utility as a moral system, but his concise and clear statement of its principles has guided much of the discussion ever since.

Mill refines the utilitarian principle in two very significant ways. First, he argues that in calculating the amount of happiness an act may produce, we can distinguish between the amount of pleasure and the quality of that pleasure. For instance, an act that may produce more physical pleasure would not on quantity alone supersede intellectual or aesthetic pleasure. Both quantity and quality matter when measuring the happiness an action may produce.

Second, in an attempt to refute charges of egoism, Mill argues that when an individual seeks to maximize his or her own happiness, the overall consequence will be to maximize the well-being of all people. He writes that the utilitarian standard 'is not the agent's own happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether' (chap. 2). And, as a forerunner to contemporary environmental advocates, Mill goes even further in suggesting that 'the end of human action . . . the standard of morality . . . [is] to the greatest extent possible, secured to all mankind; and not to them only, but, so far as the nature of things admits, to the whole sentient creation'.

Although Mill argues that the moral worth of actions is to be judged in terms of the consequences of those actions, he also acknowledges that our actions may have multiple ends or may be done for multiple reasons. For instance, he argues that the Aristotelian virtues are not intrinsically good but are only valued as a means to happiness, no matter the praise we may give to them. 'The utilitarian doctrine is that happiness is desirable, and the only thing desirable, as an end; all other things being only desirable as a means to that end' (chap. 4).

However, Mill's text is less clear when it comes to the status of moral rules. Act utilitarianism claims that we can only judge the moral worth of an individual act—as in 'Did my singular act of truth telling result in a greater degree of happiness or not?' In contrast, rule utilitarianism claims that because the moral rule that we should tell the truth can be shown to bring about the greatest degree of happiness, if we follow that rule our act will be morally justifiable even if the consequences do not result in the greatest happiness. Act and rule utilitarianism both find support in Mill's work, and thus, the discussion continues.

Conclusion

It was noted at the outset that ethical systems may function as models for decision-making. They can illuminate the values we use in everyday decision-making and help us identify the basis upon which moral confusion or moral disagreement occurs. This concluding section provides a brief look into how these ethical systems may serve as useful models for decision-making.

Aristotle is often identified as the originator of virtue ethics. His system, and that of other virtue ethicists, examines human actions and identifies the qualities those actions represent. His moral qualities or virtues (compassion, courage, fairness, generosity, honesty, honour and temperance) are praised, and their opposites are condemned. We hold in high regard as exemplars of moral behaviour individuals who consistently reveal these qualities in their ethical decision-making and refer to a life lived as demonstrating one's moral character. As a model for decision-making, virtue ethics counsels us to make moral decisions based on the qualities of moral behaviour that the act illustrates. Faced with a moral choice, what quality of moral character will my choice represent? Will I be acting courageously or in a cowardly fashion, generously or in a miserly manner?

Kant is identified as a deontologist because he stated that the moral rightness of an act depends on doing one's duty and conforming to the moral laws we have imposed on ourselves. He rejects the consequentialism of Mill, which justifies moral action based on achieving an end result and argues that moral action must be judged not upon what we may or may not accomplish but upon how

function or activity, the good and the "well" is thought to reside in the function, so would it seem to be for man' (1097b25). Although he recognizes that there is a wide variety of human activities with just as many goals, these are just intermediate goods. His search is for an intrinsic good that is common to all human activity. After examining a number of instrumental goals, Aristotle concludes that the end towards which all human activities ultimately aim is our pursuit of well-being or happiness ('eudaimonia').

His task, then, as an ethicist is to give an account of how we may achieve this good. Aristotle argues that the unique capacity and skill of all human beings that enables us to achieve the good lies in our ability to make rational choices based on moral virtue. ('Human good turns out to be activity of soul in accordance with virtue' [1097b22–1098a20].) Practical reason coupled with moral virtue enables us to fulfil our nature and achieve well-being. However, for Aristotle, ethics is more than just knowing what is good; it is about doing and living a good life through action. Happiness is virtuous activity, and we achieve well-being through doing virtuous actions. This he identifies as moral excellence.

A fundamental ingredient in achieving ethical excellence is developing a moral disposition. Like a star athlete who builds muscle memory through practice, excellence in moral behaviour can only be achieved by building moral 'muscle memory' through practice. The moral virtues that we recognize and praise—compassion, courage, generosity, honesty and temperance—are the building blocks to a disposition that we commonly identify as one's moral character. Moral wrongdoing, by contrast, results from acting in a manner that violates the moral virtues (e.g. acting in a cowardly or dishonest manner) or from faulty practical reasoning (e.g. seeking the wrong end, an end that will not bring about well-being).

Embodying good moral character means using our practical reason not just on one or a few occasions but over a lifetime. A truly virtuous life requires consistent and coherent practice and results in a natural harmony between our actions and the end—the good towards which we all aim.

Kant and the Ethics of Respect for Persons

Kant begins his effort to construct a moral system in much the same manner as Aristotle by defining what we mean by the word *good*. ('Nothing in the world—indeed nothing even beyond the world—can possibly be conceived which could be called good without qualification except a good *will*' [*Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*, 393]). However, he proceeds in this endeavour in a far different manner and reaches a much different outcome in terms of both the structure and the content of his moral system.

Kant, in arguing that a good will is the only thing that we can conceive as good without qualification, sets his theory of practical ethics apart from the others in three critically important ways: First, the good will is not based on empirical observations but rather on rational argument. Second, the good will is not an instrumental or teleological good; the rightness of the good will is not based on achieving some end or goal. Third, the good will is a free will, the rational capacity to impose on ourselves moral laws. Kant argues that what is unique about human ethical decision-making is our autonomy or freedom to construct moral laws and impose those laws on ourselves. Moral laws cannot be derived empirically from observing the various things people do, nor can they be based on a generalization that all human actions aim at some end.

Kant argues that moral laws, like the physical laws of the universe, must apply to all people without qualification. These laws take the form of a categorical imperative (CI). He distinguishes CIs, which command without exception ('Do X'), from hypothetical or instrumental imperatives, which tell us how to act if we wish to bring about some end result ('If you seek Y, do X').

Kant identifies three fundamental moral principles:

1. 'Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law' (CI #1, 421).
2. 'Act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of another, always as an end and never as a means only' (CI #2, 429).
3. 'Act according to the maxims of a universally legislative member of a merely potential realm of ends' (CI #3, 439).

Taken together, these three moral laws constitute the basis for Kant's ethical system. These moral laws apply to all rational moral agents, at all times and places; they dictate that we are morally obligated to treat one another with dignity and respect and that it is our moral autonomy, our rational free will, that binds us together as moral agents. In Kant's system, moral law constitutes the fundamental principles of how we ought to treat one another.

A fundamental key for understanding Kant's ethics is human freedom. Moral agents are autonomous beings who have both the freedom to make moral law and the freedom to impose that law upon themselves. Freedom for Kant goes beyond the common notion of freedom as the absence of law or constraint (negative freedom) to a positive concept of freedom as the

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Epistemology of Practice

See Practical Knowledge

Ethics and Moral Decision-Making

Ethics is a practical science focused on how we put values into action. It is the study of ethical relationships we have with human beings, sentient creatures and the physical world in which we live. It is the study of what we value in these relationships and the decisions we make based on those values. As a study, ethics develops both conceptual and empirical frameworks to articulate meaning and practice.

Ethical systems are intended to clarify and advance our understanding of moral relationships and the value-based decisions we make. Ethical systems give us basic tools for practical reasoning and define fundamental terms used in moral discourse so that in our relationships with others we may avoid misleading ambiguities. As models for moral action, these systems help us critique our actions and the actions of others. Ethics may also refer to a specific set of values that define a group or a pattern of decision-making. Codes of ethics define and set the standards for many professions, corporations and organizations.

This entry provides a brief description of three major ethical systems as developed by Aristotle (384–322 BC), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and John Stuart Mill (1806–73). The intent is to illustrate how these systems function as models for ethical decision-making and describe how these models may inform the work of action researchers in community and organizational settings.

Two general observations about these ethical systems: First, since the very earliest writers and continuing actively today, philosophers have developed numerous ethical systems. None of these systems were developed in a vacuum. Many authors preceded these three theory builders, and their work continues to generate new revisions and extensions as well as new theoretic models. They were selected based on the stature these systems hold among the philosophical community of scholars and because they identify important conceptions of ethics commonly in use and practice throughout society today.

Second, none of these accounts has proven to be without its merits or its faults. Critics find the systems powerful enough to warrant exploring ways to improve them, and followers find ample opportunities for building upon the positive qualities as they take into consideration an increasingly complex and changing ethical landscape.

Most important of all, each of these systems illustrates a significantly different approach to ethical decision-making. Although philosophical theorists focus on detailed nuances in each system, the intent here is to identify the practical lessons we can acquire from these models, ones that will assist us in moral decision-making and in understanding values in action.

Aristotle and Virtue Ethics

In building an ethical system, Aristotle takes as his starting point a search for the good. He states in the opening words of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, ‘Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and pursuit, is thought to aim at some good’ (1094a) (this and the following textual citations are from Immanuel Bekker’s 1831 translation of Aristotle’s work from the original Greek). The ethical question, for him, is to find the good that all human beings seek and the special qualities we have as human beings that enable us to achieve the good. In what follows, he proceeds to give us both a definition of the good and a functional analysis of how human beings ought to live their lives in order to achieve that good. Aristotle is writing in what will become a naturalistic tradition. Trained as a biologist, he looks at human behaviour as a scientist—using observation to build a moral system grounded in what he argues to be fundamental conceptions of human nature.

Aristotle’s approach to finding the good towards which we all aim is to examine human activities, the things we do. ‘For just as for a flute-player, a sculptor, or any artist, and in general, for all things that have a

avenues towards change and their consequences. Practical knowing is therefore consistent with the participatory role of an action researcher, who co-constructs information that leads to action. Acts are directed towards the fulfilment of specific goals and purposes.

Justification of Knowledge Claims Made Through Action Research

An important consideration when discussing how epistemological positions inform inquiry is to examine the criteria utilized to justify knowledge claims. As is evident from the preceding sections, the collapse in subject/object distinctions and the value-laden nature of the knowledge creation process pose challenges for using objectivist criteria to justify knowledge claims. Experimental design and methods coincide with objectivist aims, which seek both internal and external validity. An experimental design may implement various controls (e.g. methodological or statistical) to remove validity threats. Thus, action researchers have faced the burden of justifying their research as a contribution to knowledge as opposed to being a polemical device for advocacy.

Some action researchers respond to such critique by challenging the very presuppositions upon which positivist criteria for validity stand. They argue that the role of the subject as being a mere conduit between the object and knowledge is unrealistic and fundamentally deceiving. As previously discussed, objectivist criticism presumes a dualistic divide wherein the creation of knowledge requires purifying the knower from the known. According to many action researchers, this kind of purification is both impractical and unproductive. Instead, knowledge is co-created, given valued aims and purposes. This practical form of knowing may therefore require distinct validity concerns. Validity is not ensured from eliminating the knower, but it may instead be grounded within the utility of pragmatic resolutions aiming to solve problems. As an illustration, consider an action researcher entering a local school district. She may work with new science teachers as they navigate the curriculum, parental and administrative demands, as well as state standards with respect to teaching evolution. This may entail working directly with hostile parents and political advocacy at a local level. Validity in the context of an action research study may therefore extend beyond score-based interpretations and instead be exhibited by monitoring the development of praxis within social settings.

Engagement is not a choice in action research; it is required. Hence, action researchers from various epistemological traditions have developed criteria for maintaining validity in action research. They proposed democratic validity, which requires the researcher to consult and present the widest spectrum of perspectives or opinions on the issue and to accurately represent the voices of all parties involved. Outcome validity demands that the action resulting from the research lead to some form of resolution to the problem. To maintain validity of process, action researchers have developed and used qualitative strategies like reflexivity, triangulation, prolonged engagement, participant debriefing and member checking. Catalytic validity requires that there be active participation by both the researcher and the participants in an effort to facilitate change within and beyond the research setting.

Therefore, action researchers seek the credibility and trustworthiness of the researcher and the research process and link the outcomes of research with involvement in its implications. Given that values are an impetus for action, research quality is exhibited by the extent to which the ends of such action are manifest. Knowledge is useful when it leads to transformation or praxis. Practical knowing is therefore concerned with 'what works' here and now. Validity concerns may therefore be restricted to an examination of this aspect of practical knowing.

Conclusion

Many positions towards epistemological questions reflect the influence of a subject/object dichotomy inherited from a dualistic depiction of humanity. This dichotomy reinforced a view of knowledge consisting of a subject who discovered meaning residing within an object of investigation. Such a dualism is antithetical to the aims of action researchers, who have sought to clarify how practical knowing can transform the world into a better place. This requires abandoning a 'God's-eye' view, wherein the researcher has special access to universal knowledge. Instead, knowing is much more tentative, problem focused and driven by a concern to better the human condition. This practical form of knowing occurs via direct participation, and this in turn collapses strong subject/object divisions. Action, and thus research, is value driven. Evaluation of research quality therefore tends to be utility focused in that useful knowledge leads to valued transformations.

John D. Hathcoat and Mark C. Nicholas

See also ontology; philosophy of science; *phrónêsis*; practical knowing; praxis; validity; Wittgenstein, Ludwig

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mirror aiming to reflect the world, but it is instead a practice whose meaning is socially negotiated.

Prior to Wittgenstein's critique, epistemological questions based on Cartesian dualism took centre stage in many philosophical circles. The theoretical language of science, at least in order to be considered knowledge, must correspond to the world in the right way. However, Wittgenstein's later work challenges this view by looking at language as a practice. This focus not only poses problems for subject/object dualities, but it also acted as an impetus for examining how language informs reality. Moreover, viewing language as a communicative tool and as an element of culture suggests that meaning is understood via action by examining how words are actually used. In many respects, Wittgenstein's critique provides a basis for examining meaning-in-action that simultaneously criticized dualities that are antithetical to the aims of action research.

Inquiry as Action and the Basis of Practical Knowing

Action research is more than a singular method merely accumulated within a researcher's methodological toolbox. However, there are particular aspects of action research that have informed epistemological considerations. These considerations stand in contrast to objectivism, which is reliant upon the subject/object dualisms. Just as Wittgenstein's critique has contributed to what has been labelled a 'linguistic turn' in many disciplines, action researchers have called for an 'action turn' in social inquiry. This action turn consists of an articulation of inquiry as action, coupled with a concern for co-constructing actionable knowledge for problems encountered within specific social contexts. Put differently, action researchers aim to develop a working knowledge via participative interaction that is useful in fulfilling the desired aims and purposes.

Conceptualizing inquiry as action has two epistemological implications that are worth considering. First, action researchers embrace a participatory world view that is both collaborative and value laden. For example, researchers with an objectivist epistemology may attempt to study community organizations in order to discover the universal factors that facilitate worker well-being. Their methodology may entail representative sampling of workers, measurement of working conditions and experimental manipulations. Action researchers, on the other hand, would engage these workers in a collaborative effort to facilitate the desired change. This may require clarifying desirable ends, articulating what is needed to facilitate these changes and evaluating the extent to which the implemented change resulted in valued outcomes. Action research is therefore future directed in that it aims to facilitate change based on an assessment of improvement or human well-being. In fact, action researchers approach a topic or issue because of an assumption that it is primarily deficient or in need of change. The facilitation of change requires an articulation of what is desired or valuable within the partnership. This partnership exists between the researcher and those who are immersed within a particular social system. Thus, the action researcher rejects the role of researcher as observer and, instead, grounds inquiry within democratic processes. This also entails questioning fact/value distinctions by arguing that values guide inquiry. To put this succinctly, values are the stimulus for action.

This leads to the second epistemological consideration, which is a focus on situational as opposed to universal knowledge. Action researchers are concerned with lived problems encountered within specific sociocultural settings. The circumstances within these environments, valued outcomes and pathways to facilitate change are unique. For example, one community organization may desire to improve the lives of youth subjected to gang violence, whereas a second community organization may aim to assist families living in impoverished conditions. Each organization has constructed aims, a distinctive cultural milieu and social systems that have questionable generalizability across other settings. Consequently, the knowledge needed to enact change is idiosyncratic to the concerns and constructions within each social system. What works in one social system does not necessarily work in others. However, in experimental design, an important consideration is establishing external validity. This involves examining the consistency of causal effects across distinct populations and settings. What is desired in action research is a practical form of knowing grounded in an ability to achieve desired ends within unique contexts. Contrary to an examination of external validity, action researchers are concerned with transferability, or the efficacy of strategies that lead to change across various circumstances.

The epistemological considerations addressed in this section provide a framework for elucidating the concept of practical knowing. Practical knowing contrasts with efforts to derive universal knowledge, or knowledge that generalizes to all settings and populations. Practical knowing stems from the idea of praxis. Though many philosophers and social researchers have discussed this idea, Paulo Freire in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* considered praxis to be a form of knowing that allows people to act upon ideas in the pursuit of transformation. This focus on transformation is central to the values exhibited by action researchers, who seek to foster social change towards the betterment of humanity. Practical knowing entails an understanding of the conditions that inhibit transformation, possible

followed by placing the subject/object duality within a historical context. This background serves to contextualize the response of action researchers who have rejected such dualities in an effort to develop useful knowledge that facilitates human flourishing. The final section addresses the justification of knowledge within action research or validity concerns.

Synopsis of Common Epistemological Positions

In *The Foundations of Social Research*, Michael Crotty describes three epistemological positions embedded within theoretical frameworks and methodologies. These epistemological positions are objectivism, constructionism and subjectivism. Objectivism contends that the objects or phenomena under investigation have existence irrespective of human input. This position imposes a sharp distinction between the knower and the known. Under this view, truth is something an observer aims to discover. Knowledge coincides with the correspondence version of truth, wherein theory aims to apprehend the pre-existent structures of the world. Weaker versions of objectivism, though still reliant upon a strong subject/object division, recognize objectivity as a regulatory ideal. Under this weaker version, researchers strive to eliminate bias, though inferences drawn from research can at best approximate the intrinsic structure within a particular phenomenon. Constructionism questions this view, which depicts truth as inherent within an object of investigation. Constructionists argue that truth is instead constructed through engagement with an object of investigation. This position does not necessarily deny the existence of objects, but instead, it contends that meaning is emergent via interaction. Subjectivism contends that truth is subjective as meaning is completely imposed by human subjects. This position reflects the most drastic departure from realism by contending that the meaning of a phenomenon is a sole act of human creation.

These epistemological positions inform methodological choices. For example, if meaning resides within an object irrespective of human input, then an investigator may distort this untainted image. Thus, objectivists argue that various controls should be implemented to eliminate this form of bias. These controls aim to create distance between the researcher and the object of investigation. Both constructionism and subjectivism reflect a rejection of this view when depicting knowledge as inseparable from human action. They differ, however, in the extent to which meaning is imposed, with subjectivism exhibiting a more radical departure from realist sympathies. To some extent, both constructionism and subjectivism illustrate a movement away from the dualistic world view inherited from René Descartes. Action researchers have also rejected a strong subject/object division by emphasizing a form of researcher participation that embraces a vibrant intermingling between the knower and the known. A distinct separation between the subject and the object has therefore become suspect. The next section places the subject/object divide within a historical context.

Placing the Subject/Object Divide Within a Historical Context

In his *Meditations on First Philosophy*, Descartes provides a basis for a dualistic division between a subject and object. Descartes attempted to provide a secure foundation for knowledge by separating true from false beliefs. Anything beyond doubt, Descartes accepted as certain. He then questioned whether all of his experiences could be the result of a deceitful demon. Given this scenario, he could not initially escape the possibility that the external world was illusory. However, there was one thing beyond doubt—namely, that he was capable of posing questions. This led to *ergo cogito sum*, or the famous 'I think, therefore I am'. From this secure foundation, Descartes attempted to establish knowledge of the external world. In subsequent arguments, he also reasoned that since the mind could be clearly and distinctly imagined from the body, it must be a separate substance. The mind was therefore immaterial, whereas the body was extended in space like other physical objects. This dualistic depiction of humanity was extremely influential in Western thought, and various philosophers sought to derive knowledge from an apparently certain truth that there is an 'I' that exists.

Descartes views the 'I' as independent from the world. This set the stage for various positions towards the subject-object relationship. For example, since we have certain knowledge of a 'self', how does this subject come to know a seemingly distant world? A good analogy is that of a mirror. Knowledge consists in reflecting the external world and thus coincides with objectivist discourse. It is critical to point out that this separation between a knower and the known depends upon a privileged first person perspective. Descartes presumes that his internal thoughts are meaningful. However, if it could be shown that internal thoughts are only meaningful because we inhabit an external world, then the subject/object divide is suspect. In other words, our internal language has meaning only because we embody an existent social reality. This is the general conclusion of Ludwig Wittgenstein, who suggests in *Philosophical Investigations* that Descartes's 'I' is a function of grammar. This entailed a radical shift in understanding language. Language is no longer a

and enhance the expertise, capacities and perspectives of the partners in order to meet, primarily, the needs of the communities and, secondarily, the aims of the researchers. Creative scholarship exploring practical strategies and tools for successfully building and managing these collaborations is demonstrating how such partnerships can strengthen and enrich research outcomes and how Participatory Action Research can advance the goals of community activists in the best of cases.

Principles of collaboration that are emerging include attention to the preservation of voice and decision-making authority for the community, arrangements in which the ownership and control of the data generated by the research is maintained by the community, as well as the authority to share it. Effective collaborations also often include an explicit commitment from researchers that they will try to increase the capacity of existing community groups and individuals over the course of the partnerships (leaving the organization in 'better shape than they found it') and that they will appropriately compensate individuals and organizations that contribute to the work for their expertise, time and intellectual work.

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See also agriculture and ecological integrity; social justice; social movement learning

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EPISTEMOLOGY

Epistemology is concerned with studying the nature, limitations and justification of human knowledge. Epistemological questions focus on issues such as what is knowledge, what the relationship is between the knower and the known and how knowledge claims are justified. For example, is it possible to obtain objective knowledge about the world? Is human knowledge a social construction or even an illusion? Does a knower actively create knowledge, or is knowledge something discovered by a disinterested observer? Epistemological considerations underlie assumptions about how to conduct research, the appropriateness of methodological choices and the kind of knowledge sought through investigation. Action researchers, in an effort to articulate, and to some extent justify, their own practices to a wider community of scholars, have contributed to these ongoing discussions. Broadly speaking, action researchers have called for a practical form of knowing generated through participative, collaborative interaction that is simultaneously context specific and value driven.

To understand the epistemological positions taken by action researchers, it is beneficial to place such questions within a historical context. Many epistemological problems stem from the distance one assumes between a subject and object or a knower and the known. For example, a central issue in epistemology is how a knower can come to have knowledge of an external world. This duality between the subject and the object has framed the different epistemological positions taken towards social research. However, various vantage points have challenged a strong subject/object division. Action researchers have joined this reappraisal in an effort to formulate their own epistemological perspective. The first section of this entry provides a brief overview of three epistemological positions: objectivism, constructionism and subjectivism. This is

indigenous communities, in many parts of the world bear much more than their 'fair share' of environmental burdens; it is also becoming increasingly clear that the disadvantaged and historically oppressed peoples *within* those communities will often be disproportionately harmed, often along the familiar social gradients of gender, class, sexuality, caste, (dis)ability and so on. With respect to gender, it is worth noting that at the second People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 2002, Peggy Shepard of West Harlem Environmental Action argued that women on the ground are driving this movement, despite the fact that they remain under-represented in leadership roles. And as Barbara Rahder has demonstrated, there are structural and spatial inequities in production and reproduction inherent in the neo-liberal political economy that serve to perpetuate this reality. Deficiencies in childcare and eldercare regimes and the persistently uneven and gendered division of domestic work exacerbate the problem. Debates persist over whether the central role of women in this movement is an expression of an inherent ethic or politics of care or, as Sherilyn MacGregor has put forward, a form of politicized ecological citizenship.

As environmental justice activists began to encounter success in their battles against the siting of industrial facilities and hazardous waste sites, the charge of 'NIMBY-ism' (Not in My Backyard syndrome) began to plague the movement. It became clear that the successful grass-roots struggles in the USA, Canada and other nations of the Global North, led by women, could be displacing heavy industrial facilities and hazardous waste disposal sites in a way that would intensify the burdens facing people in the Global South. The rallying cry 'Not in Anyone's Backyard' was the movement's answer. The Anti-Toxics Movement, the Climate Justice Movement and the resistance to tar sands pipelines that is currently building across North America, all serve as important examples of how movement activists and scholars have put forward solutions that seek to address the root causes of problems rather than simply pass the impacts of business-as-usual industrial development on to the next most vulnerable community.

The notion of climate justice illustrates the North-South dynamic: It is indisputable that the most marginalized peoples and impoverished countries of the world are the least responsible for greenhouse gas emissions, and yet they will and do bear the biggest brunt of the burden of climate impacts. Juan Martinez-Alier's phrase 'effluents of affluence' describes the way in which overconsumption in the North fuels much of the problem in both the North and the South. The notion that the 'environmentalism of the poor' is a *new* phenomenon, however, is highly contested. While activists in the Anti-Toxics Movement sometimes posit that a whole new brand of environmentalists is emerging and that this group is composed of youth and women from working-class, immigrant and racialized communities, for whom the environment is not an abstract ideal but an immediate, concrete reality, others counter that these grass-roots, participatory and community-based organizations build on a rich history of resistance. Environmental historians have challenged the once popular notion that racialized and immigrant populations are 'too busy surviving' to care about the environment. In fact, it has been argued that it was instead a question of redefinition: Once the 'environment' was conceptualized to include housing, transit, work and pollution concerns, it became obvious that poor and marginalized people have been 'environmentalists' all along. Other scholars do acknowledge the real barriers that being 'busy surviving' creates, and they also highlight the lack of meaningful opportunities to participate for many disenfranchised local residents and the way the prevailing benchmarks for demonstrating credibility and authority are highly skewed towards the expert knowledges of elites.

Important questions around representation and agency inherent in the idea of 'speaking for ourselves' persist as difficult ones to resolve for movement activists and environmental justice scholars. It seems clear that, as Ramachandra Guha has argued, what is 'new' about the environmental justice movement is not the 'elevated environmental consciousness' of its members but the ways in which it is transforming the possibilities for fundamental social and environmental change through collective action and the forging of new forms of grass-roots political organization. A key element in the process through which local residents transition from victims to agents of change—participants in the decisions that affect their everyday lives—is the realization by ordinary people that the power relationships within a given policy setting or decision-making structure are fluid and contestable and can be shifted. Environmental justice struggles thus often become battles over data and expertise, as local residents engaged in popular epidemiology come to recognize the way power and authority are gained and held. It is a movement fundamentally engaged in a transformative politics.

Environmental Justice and Action Research

Effective research in the environmental justice framework has tended to involve robust partnerships between local communities, organizations and/or groups of activists seeking to achieve environmental justice and university-based researchers employing participatory action methodologies. These collaborative efforts have proven to be very fruitful in many cases, but they should not be understood as easy or straightforward to implement. New models are emerging that seek to combine

urban planning and transit decisions, conditions in public housing projects (e.g. lead paint or mould), water and sanitation services on native reserves, urban 'food deserts' and so on. Their work highlights the relationships between profit incentives, the unsustainable production of waste, exploitative labour practices and differential exposure to pollutants. At the same time, environmental justice activism and scholarship emanating from within indigenous communities tends to emphasize the interconnectedness of people and their environments and the narrowness and short-sightedness of the approach that would separate the well-being of ecosystems from those who depend on them.

Origins

The environmental justice movement is often considered to have emerged in the USA in the late 1980s as poor communities of colour organized to fight the disproportionate siting of hazardous waste facilities in their neighbourhoods. In this context, an 'environmental justice community' came to be understood as a racialized population of a lower socio-economic level surrounded by or affected by dirty industry, typically petroleum refineries or coal-fired utilities, chemical plants, municipal landfills, nuclear plants or hazardous waste dumps. It is commonly said that these are the communities that need the most, in terms of resources and policy attention, but receive the least. The US Environmental Protection Agency defines environmental justice as 'the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, colour, sex, national origin or income with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies'.

The origins of the environmental justice movement in the USA are sometimes traced to Love Canal, where a low-income community of mostly White residents plagued by birth defects, cancers and respiratory problems in upstate New York in the 1970s was led by a determined group of self-identified 'housewives' to both trace the path of the contamination (to a toxic underground 'plume' from leaking drums of chemical waste left behind by Hooker Chemicals) and eventually win compensation and relocation for the residents. The state agency's meagre initial attempts to buy out homes in the area became a notorious example of the devaluing of low-income people's health, and it cemented the inclusion of America's poor in conceptions of environmental justice. Lois Gibbs, who led the struggle and went on to found a national environmental justice organization, would later say that the 'media and general public . . . have *finally got it* . . . [the environmental justice movement] . . . is about people and the places they live, work and play'.

The centrality of race to the US movement was established by the iconic uprising in Warren County, North Carolina, that played out in the early 1980s. When Warren County, a predominantly African American community, was chosen as the state's dumping ground for truckloads of soil laced with PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls), the people of Warren County unexpectedly rallied. The struggle, although ultimately unsuccessful, drew national attention to the issue and stimulated a rash of empirical studies that would later provide support for the phenomenon of environmental racism. The most important of these studies was undoubtedly the 1987 report by the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, which defined environmental racism as 'intentionally selecting communities of colour for waste disposal sites and polluting industrial facilities' and demonstrated that race, and not household income or home prices, was in fact the best predictor of the location of hazardous waste facilities in the USA.

If the environmental justice movement was conceptualized in the 1970s and 1980s, it had been building for a long time, like a river 'fed by many tributaries', in Luke Cole and Sheila Foster's words. Important influences included the American Civil Rights Movement, the struggles of migrant farmworkers led by Cesar Chavez in California in the 1960s and the struggles against uranium mining by Native Americans. In Canada, indigenous people fought in the 1960s and 1970s against the pulp-and-paper industries, which were making them ill through mercury-poisoned water; the aluminium and auto manufacturing industries, which fouled their territories and their bodies, and the long-range transport of industrial pollutants that penetrated even mother's milk. The movement has gathered strength over the past three decades as residents of affected communities and their allies have come to realize that the disproportionate impact of environmental hazards today can be traced to the same social and economic structures which have produced slavery, colonization, segregation and other forms of systemic oppression. These connections were articulated at the First National People of Colour Summit in 1991 in Washington, D.C., which produced 17 principles of environmental justice drafted by hundreds of grass-roots and national leaders from the Americas and beyond. The sociologist Robert Bullard, co-founder of the summit and one of the first to sound the alarm on 'environmental racism', called the conference the most important single event in the movement's history.

Tensions and Questions in Contemporary Environmental Justice Research

It is now well documented that racialized and marginalized communities, including and perhaps especially

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Environmental Justice

Environmental justice is a social movement and theoretical lens that is focused on fairness in the distribution of environmental benefits and burdens and in the processes that determine those distributions. That is, it is concerned with both the fair treatment and the significant involvement of poor, racialized and indigenous communities in environmental policy and natural resource development decisions that have typically resulted in those communities bearing more than their 'fair share' of environmental harms. Jonathan London and Julie Sze have conceptualized environmental justice as praxis, noting that it draws from and integrates theory and practice into a mutually informing dialogue. Framing environmental justice in this way provides the flexibility needed to allow it to encompass the wide variety of dynamics that are brought forward by many different populations, problems and places.

Theoretical Lens

Academic research employing an environmental justice lens tends to be interdisciplinary, participatory and concentrated in the social sciences. It is concerned with systemic issues of power and ownership in relation to nature, capital and labour that produce disparities in access to environmental benefits, such as parks, gardens, bike paths or farmer's markets, and in the distribution of environmental burdens, such as air and water pollution, contaminated soils and toxics in the workplace. Scholars working in this area tend to cast a broad net to allow consideration of how the exploitative relationships between industrial actors and marginalized communities, including workers, transcend into peoples' everyday lives. These scholar-activists are typically interested in breaking down the disciplinary boundaries that may exist between research on health, work and environmental issues. At its most basic, employing an environmental justice lens means that we take account of the sharing of costs and benefits associated with environmental policy and natural resource development decisions and the extent to which the decision-making has meaningfully included the participation of the affected communities.

Social Movement: 'We Speak for Ourselves'

The environmental justice movement distinguishes itself from the mainstream environmental movement by making grass-roots political organizing its central priority. Where environmentalists over the past three decades have invested heavily in legal strategies as a means to achieve social change, the environmental justice movement, in contrast, explicitly calls this focus on law reform into question by noting how it continues to privilege elites at the expense of people working on the ground to improve their communities. Similarly, the environmental justice movement has focused on the health and well-being of people rather than on the need to protect 'the environment', conceptualized as wilderness spaces, endangered species or national parks, with the last sometimes dismissed as 'playgrounds for the rich'. Thus, activists in the environmental justice movement are increasingly turning their attention to environmental harms derived not only from air, water or soil contamination but also from toxic workplaces,

to a low-carbon economy, also using a Learning History approach. While providing significant insights into the challenge of large-scale transformations, the project was subject to the inherent limitation of the Learning History approach, that it does not fully take the 'action turn'.

Co-Operative Inquiry

David Ballard undertook a substantial and protracted collaborative inquiry with a group of managers into how a major UK construction company could respond to the challenge of sustainability, focusing on climate issues. Participants, in cycles of action and reflection, radically changed their position on the issue and were successful in stimulating a step-change improvement within their organization. However, while progress was consolidated after the project, the learning process itself did not become self-sustaining within the company.

Several of the second person approaches described above attempted to take learning to the third person level, with all failing for different reasons. For instance, the Participatory Action Research approaches quickly uncovered constraints (e.g. strong vested interests) that were difficult to engage with. The project led by Peter Reason on low-carbon innovation was part of a mainstream social science research initiative managed by the UK Research Councils. Although the project was well received, the inter-project learning architecture was not sufficiently developed to allow emerging research questions to move forward. In the example of Co-Operative Inquiry, it was not possible to find the institutional partners to carry emerging research questions to the next round of inquiry.

However, there have been some interesting examples of large-scale projects from outside the action research community that come close to third person action research approaches:

- The EU-funded multi-country SLIM project (Social Learning for the Integrated Managing and sustainable use of water at catchment scale) of 2001–04 was one of these. 'Social learning' was seen as the 'collective learning process that can take place through interactions among multiple interdependent stakeholders when proper facilitation, institutional support and a conducive policy environment exist'. Action in pursuit of learning was actively encouraged, and much of the approach would be familiar to action researchers. This project helped establish the EU's 'Water Framework Directive', which arguably brings social learning into a vitally important aspect of policymaking that is deeply affected by climate impacts.
- The Netherlands is among the nations most threatened by climate impacts. The government-funded and ambitious 'Knowledge for Climate' programme comes as close as any initiative to a full third person action research programme (although this term might not be recognized). Action inquiry is carried out in a set of 'hotspots' across the nation, where challenges are investigated in depth by practitioners who are supported by natural and social scientists of various disciplines but not directed by them. Long-term climate resilience is explored alongside current extreme weather or shorter term trends. Learning flows have been strongly established, with the research agenda being updated over time through lively participative conferences.

Opportunities for Action Researchers to Contribute

The arguments and examples above show that action research has already contributed in several important ways but that its full value appears not yet to have been realized. They suggest that the following challenges are among those that need to be addressed to build upon this early work:

a. Finding ways of engaging with future and geographically distant climate impacts that lie beyond the experience of participants in projects
b. Focusing research onto longer term decisions, where prospects for change are greater and which potentially leave the participants and future citizens at risk if these opportunities for change are not realized
c. Building collaborative working relationships with researchers from other disciplines, including natural scientists and other social researchers, for example, economists and those active in the environment and behaviour field
d. Engaging with policymakers at various levels (e.g. in ministries, in cities and in industries) to help design and facilitate large-scale programmes of research, designing and facilitating the learning architecture that can potentially integrate many different streams of research to develop more systemic approaches to change

David Ballard

See also action turn, the; Co-Operative Inquiry; environmental justice; first person action research; Participatory Action Research; second person action research; sustainability; systems thinking; third person action research

of CO_2 emitted in Beijing has exactly the same 'climate-forcing' effect as one emitted in Wichita, Kansas. A carbon-trading scheme creates an immediate incentive to 'offshore' carbon-intensive manufacturing to other, less regulated parts of the world, with potential increases in carbon intensity. Even the effectiveness of saving energy is questioned in reducing carbon emissions since the money saved is then invested in carbon-generating activities. On the adaptation side, the paving of a front garden upriver contributes to flooding far downstream, and moving to a more resilient supply chain may radically reduce the capacity of discarded suppliers.

In other words, even at the smallest scale, climate change actions cannot be separated from their systemic context, but this context is so vast that even in theory it would be impossible to draw an adequate boundary to contain it. Again, learning from action and consequence is profoundly challenged.

Multidisciplinarity

It would clearly be naive to think that social sciences can contribute much in isolation when even crucial process skills (e.g. reflection on outcomes) cannot be separated from the physical or engineering context. Nor can technical solutions be pursued without consideration of the social context: If climate change is to be contained and reversed, then many people need to behave differently.

Climate change research must therefore be an inherently multidisciplinary endeavour. It is natural, probably appropriate, that natural scientists and engineers should play a leading role in responses to climate change. For action researchers, who may sometimes consider themselves to be at the edges even of social science, it may be hard to enter, let alone find influence within, potentially transformative projects. To the extent that they do, their continued influence depends on them also being able to bridge the divide between natural and social sciences.

Examples of Practice

The examples of action research in the climate change field can be evaluated against the extent to which they engage the challenges above.

First Person Approaches

Climate change is an issue of such scale and urgency that first person action and reflection cycles investigating the generic question 'How can I improve my practice?' are manifestly insufficient: The challenge is not only to reduce one's own emissions but also to understand and intentionally to transform the systems that govern one's own emissions and those of multitudes of other people. Nonetheless, first person reflective practices are an invaluable tool for change agents on any issue, including climate change. Examples of this, some of which are in the climate field, were provided by work in the Centre for Action Research in Professional Practice at the University of Bath in the UK, which is described elsewhere in this volume.

Second Person Approaches

Second person approaches help action researchers support, collaborate with and sometimes lead others who work in this field. When used alongside sympathetic reflection processes, such practices are helpful in identifying and making sense of the barriers to change. They are perhaps the core of action research for climate change, since few actions to respond to an issue of this scale can possibly be effective at an individual level.

Third Person Approaches

Third person approaches can potentially enable learning (e.g. about barriers to change) to be taken from the project to the systemic level (e.g. from the company to the industry and from the local to the national or international level). They are essential to effective action research for climate change. However, there are challenges both in devising the appropriate learning 'architecture' and in handing learning over from the insight-rich but more case-based world of action research to the more methodologically conservative domain of mainstream social and natural science.

Participatory Action Research

There are an increasing number of projects in the development field. For instance, Paul Mapfumo and colleagues used Participatory Action Research in Ghana and Zimbabwe to empower communities to mobilize and self-organize in responding to climatic changes. Again, in Ghana, Blane Harvey and colleagues collaborated with local radio stations to support research by farmers into the challenges of soil erosion and sea level rise. Both projects successfully identified constraints to change, potentially moving the research agenda forward. Not surprisingly, both also focused on the impacts that are already being experienced and did not engage particularly with future changes.

Learning Histories

Peter Reason led a multi-university UK government–funded collaboration with industrial partners to investigate how to accelerate the transformation

Some Major Challenges to Action Researchers

Nonetheless, despite the apparent potential, there is as yet relatively little evidence of action researchers engaging in a satisfactory way with this issue. There are some important barriers that need to be overcome that might explain this. Some are present in other fields (e.g. in work on HIV/AIDS) but not necessarily to the same degree; others may be unique to work on climate change. The following are among the more intractable.

Need to Work Beyond Participants' Current Experience

We are still at the very earliest stages of climate change. While the earliest impacts (e.g. flooding) are probably already happening, it is as yet difficult to differentiate the early signs of climate change from normal weather variations. Potential major thresholds (e.g. methane release, rainforest combustion and major changes to ocean currents such as the Gulf Stream) still lie in the future. This means that many of the more significant impacts and energy constraints to which responses need to be found are not yet within human experience but *must* be encountered conceptually, for example, through global climate models. Many attempt to overcome this by engaging with current extreme weather or with incremental energy conservation measures, and these may be skilful first steps. However, action researchers need to be clear that these are far from representing adequate engagement with the issue of climate change.

Repressed Awareness

There is considerable evidence that there is significant repression of awareness of climate change. For instance, a study in Hampshire, UK, for the ESPACE project showed that those most at risk of flooding (one of the most common climate impacts) were (with high statistical confidence) significantly less likely to think that they were at risk from climate-related flooding. Again, action researchers are likely to find considerable difficulty in finding co-researchers who actually wish to engage with the subject matter in any depth.

Radically Different Capacity

Even when there is some awareness that climate issues may be relevant, people's capacity to engage with them varies significantly and is often extremely low. Several surveys (e.g. of almost 2,000 organizations carried out for Defra, the UK Environment Ministry, in 2012–13 and of European cities conducted for the European Union [EU] in 2012) have demonstrated that organizational capacity varies significantly and that high capacity remains extremely rare. It is still rarer in the general population, where the issue of climate change is often confused with issues such as recycling or ozone depletion. This means that the 'framing' of projects is typically often at a frustratingly low level. Action researchers, to the extent that they themselves are of sufficient capacity, are likely to need considerable time to help co-researchers identify interesting questions.

Different Timescales

Action researchers are used to working with predominantly social systems, where examples such as the fall of the Berlin Wall or of apartheid in South Africa show that transformations even of seemingly intractable problems may occur remarkably quickly. However, climate change actions need to take account of two very different systems that intertwine with people's behaviour in complex ways and that radically challenge notions of rapid change.

First, people's actions both condition and are conditioned by long-lasting technical systems such as energy production and distribution, transportation, public and private buildings and irrigation and drainage. When bad decisions on these are taken, later actions can be 'locked into' a particular trajectory for many decades or even centuries. Human behaviour then becomes predominantly path dependent, with little or no potential for 'emergence'. The challenge for action researchers and other change agents is to identify such decisions early and then to build the necessary capacity to take them well very quickly.

Second, such 'socio-technical' systems then influence natural systems, for which the timescales range from a few decades to many millennia. The impact of actions on natural systems, which underpin both economies and social systems, is a crucial test, but of course, these lack 'voice' and can be very difficult to understand.

Both the complexity of interactions (between a particular decision and the wider social and ecological context within which it sits) and the extended timescales make direct evaluation of any particular decision extremely challenging and probably unrealistic in most cases. These factors make the very notion of 'learning from experience' very challenging in a climate change context. Again, the action researcher may have little option but to rely on surrogate measures (e.g. complex conceptual models of energy or of climate impacts) to evaluate outcomes.

Need to Work Across Scales

Action and consequence on climate issues are greatly separated not only by time but also by space. A gram

field's engagement with these issues and opportunities for future development.

Background on Climate Change

The contribution of greenhouse gases (GHGs) such as carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane and water vapour to the 'greenhouse effect' that raises the earth's temperature to habitable levels was demonstrated by John Tyndall in 1859. In the 1890s, the Swedish scientist Svante Arhennius calculated the effect of doubling atmospheric CO_2 to be an increase of global temperatures of around 5 °C (broadly in line with current estimates).

Emissions of CO_2 rose by a factor of 16, to around 35 billion tonnes per annum, between 1900 and 2008 (US Environmental Protection Agency data). Polar ice records show that the long-run variation over the 740,000 years prior to the industrialized period had been between 180 and 280 parts per million (ppm). In the spring of 2013, the concentration of CO_2 passed 400 ppm. When the contribution of methane and other GHGs is added, the effective concentration is higher still. Climate policy appears to have had little or no effect on this trend.

These increases in atmospheric CO_2 come from increasing use of fossil fuels, deforestation and also agricultural practices. There is reason to expect some 'feedback effects' (e.g. the release of methane from beneath the Russian tundras) that could suddenly accelerate warming. Some opposing feedback effects (e.g. if cloud cover were to increase the reflection of radiation from the sun) are also likely. Nonetheless, there is broad consensus that increases of between 2 and 4 °C in temperature are likely within the twenty-first century; that these will have serious consequences on the well-being of humans, on economies and on ecosystems and that the greater the warming, the more serious the impacts will be.

The water cycle will be particularly affected by climate change (e.g. by floods and droughts), with knock-on impacts on the design of buildings, on agriculture and in many other economic and social areas. The impact of temperature on ecosystems is likely to be very significant as species travel towards the poles (or to higher elevations) at differing speeds, risking what the UK scientist Sir John Lawton called 'unravelling the fabric of nature'.

Climate policy addresses two concurrent and urgent transformations: (1) *adaptation* (adapting human and natural systems for the climatic changes that are expected and that may already have begun) and (2) *mitigation* (reducing emissions of GHGs and other 'forcing activities' so as to stabilize temperatures). Both are essential: adaptation because delays in the climate system mean that climate change will continue for decades, even if all emissions were to stop tomorrow, and mitigation because changes much beyond 2 °C may be beyond our species' capacity to cope.

Both are extremely challenging. Human socio-technical systems (e.g. settlements, employment, water distribution and use, distribution, agriculture and energy systems) have typically been designed with broad stability in *climate* (as opposed to short-term *weather* fluctuations) and easy availability of energy as taken-for-granted assumptions. This means that current social and economic behaviour is to a large extent 'locked in' to poorly adapted, high-energy patterns. This, alongside the huge scale of change that is required, is why responses appear to be so difficult.

The Potential Relevance of Action Research

There are several compelling reasons why action research could assist these transformations:

a. There is a strong ethical alignment. Many have argued that human and ecosystem flourishing is at the core of action research.
b. Reflective practice, a core aspect of action research, is crucial when calling taken-for-granted assumptions into question.
c. Research shows that working together with other people is very strongly correlated with pro-environmental behaviour. Action research, as an inherently relational and action-oriented discipline, provides many opportunities to facilitate this.
d. Research also shows that finding a sense of 'agency' (i.e. finding responses that are personally meaningful in response to information about potentially distressing issues such as climate change) is crucial to people moving from suppression of awareness to engagement. The reflective practices typically used by action researchers can help people access their deeper motivations.
e. Different responses to climate change are urgently needed. Action researchers' willingness to risk creating new knowledge, rather than merely researching what already happens, is essential.
f. Kurt Lewin's insights that change is facilitated more by identifying and removing barriers than by reinforcing enablers and that the best way of understanding a system is to attempt to change it (because hidden and perhaps unconscious barriers that reinforce the status quo become more evident) show the benefit of action and reflection cycles in addressing large-scale changes.

change to illustrate the DAR methodology. The investigation involved a 2-year longitudinal investigation of innovation in a multinational corporation's subsidiary, where the researcher had the status of a temporary employee. The first year took a case study approach with interviews across a wide area of the organization, together with the specific examination of one process innovation: a lean manufacturing initiative. The second year focused on an innovation management project and the introduction of another process innovation SIM (short-interval management) in the subsidiary using the DAR approach. In the area of theory, the research built on antecedent innovation perspectives and argued that the discontinuities resulting from advances in information and communications technology, together with developments in the innovation literature, pointed to the need for an ecological approach. In the area of practice, the main conclusions of the study were that the research approach provided an interpretive space for the practitioner. The joint development of a localized innovation framework and the adoption of a process innovation SIM facilitated a conceptualization of the sometimes obscure notion of innovation. Furthermore, the work suggested that there is still a gap in the understanding of the role of information systems in supporting innovation and proposes that a return to broader definitions of an information system can support practitioners tackling this complex area. The findings of this case study indicated that DAR can help address the perennial call for more relevant and rigorous collaboration between academics and practitioners and is a pertinent example of engaged scholarship in action.

This claim can be examined in more detail vis-à-vis the steps, stages and forms of engaged scholarship outlined above. The study was in the engaged scholarship category of *action/Intervention Research* in that it involved an intervention to treat a practitioner's problem—the need to change the subsidiary to become a recognized innovative location. The case study followed four steps: (1) *grounding* the research in a real-world study of information systems innovation, (2) *underpinning* the research with a number of alternate theories (e.g. resource-based theory, process innovation theory and ecological systems theory), (3) *evaluating* these theories through interviews and other recommended case study data-gathering techniques and (4) *communication* of the findings through the publication of academic papers. There were four stages in the project as proposed by the engaged scholarship taxonomy: First, the problem was *formulated* through intensive interaction with practitioners throughout the organization; second, theory was built through *abductive* reasoning since the identification of ecological systems theory involved a creative leap; third, DAR was *devised* as the research strategy based on its initial publication in a leading journal and, fourth, the findings involved the *interpretation* of the data gathered through the detailed transcription of interviews during the DAR process.

Brian Donnellan

See also Action Science; action turn, the; dialogic inquiry; dialogue; large-group action research; Participatory Action Research; *phrónêsis*; Pragmatic Action Research; praxis

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Environment and Climate Change

Climate change is defined by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change as 'any change in climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity'. There is now widespread scientific agreement that human activity has been primarily responsible for recent climate change. This entry briefly summarizes the empirical background to this phenomenon and the policy implications, before reviewing past and present action research efforts that seek to respond to the various ecological and social issues that are posed by it. The entry focuses on outlining the various opportunities and challenges arising for action researchers, including the current state of the

Engaged Scholarship

Andrew van de Ven describes engaged scholarship as a participative form of research for obtaining the views of key stakeholders to understand a complex problem. By exploiting the differences between these viewpoints, he argues, engaged scholarship produces knowledge that is more penetrating and insightful than when researchers work alone. Engaged scholarship has a number of facets: a *form of inquiry* where researchers involve others and leverage their different perspectives to learn about a problem domain; a *relationship* involving negotiation, mutual respect and collaboration to produce a learning community and an *identity* of how scholars view their relationships with their communities and their subject matter. Furthermore, the likelihood of advancing knowledge for science and practice can be increased by engaging with practitioners and other stakeholders in four steps: (1) firmly *grounding* the research problem or question in a real-world scenario, (2) *underpinning* the research with alternate theories, (3) *evaluating* these theories through the collection of relevant evidence and (4) *communicating and applying* the findings vis-à-vis the research problem.

According to this schema, there are four stages in an engaged scholarship project. The stages can happen in any sequence and can be summarized as follows: (1) formulating the problem using the *who*, *what*, *where*, *when* and *why* approach; (2) building theory through *abductive*, *deductive* and *inductive* reasoning; (3) devising a research strategy to empirically examine the proposed theories and (4) *interpreting* and *applying* these finding to solve the problem identified at the initial stage.

Typically engaged scholarship will fall into one of the following categories: (a) *informed basic research*, which is normally undertaken to describe, explain, or predict a social phenomenon; (b) *collaborative basic research*, which comprises greater stakeholder involvement than basic research; (c) *design and evaluation research*, which addresses practical problems and (d) *action/Intervention Research*, which involves an intervention to treat a practitioner's problem. In keeping with the theme of this encyclopedia, we will now examine the last category, drawing on a specific form of action research.

Dialogical Action Research

Action research originated from the work of Kurt Lewin during the 1940s and has been summarized as an approach that synthesizes both theory and practice together with researchers and practitioners involved in a programme of change and reflection. DAR is a proposed novel variant of this methodology. In DAR, the scientific researcher does not *speak science* or otherwise attempt to teach scientific theory to the real-world practitioner, but instead, he or she attempts to speak the language of the practitioner and accepts the practitioner as the expert on his or her organization and its problems. In practice, the approach involves regular face-to-face dialogues between the researcher and the practitioner to examine and remedy the research problem. In their schema, the role of the researchers consists in suggesting actions based on one or more theories taken from their discipline. The implementation of these suggestions is left to the judgement of the practitioners based on their experience, expertise and tacit knowledge, together with their reading of the organizational situation that confronts them.

DAR draws heavily on Donald Schön's model of professional inquiry, consisting of a pattern of five features: (1) a situation requiring attention, (2) a surprising response, (3) a reflection-in-action, (4) critical examination and restructuring and (5) an on-the-spot experiment. These features make a fundamental distinction between traditional forms of consulting and DAR in that the latter always involves reflection and learning. Furthermore, action research, unlike consulting, involves someone who has academic expertise rooted in some scientific discipline, where teamwork takes place between researcher and practitioner and where *negative feedback* is seriously taken on board.

There are two concepts, the scientific attitude and the natural attitude of everyday life, that form four features which differentiate dialogical DAR from existing forms of action research: (1) adopting the scientific attitude, (2) adopting the natural attitude of everyday life, (3) accepting the role played by the social and historical context and (4) understanding the role played by the social and historical context. It is incumbent on researchers to obtain an understanding of the social, cultural and historical context of the organization in which the research is embedded. As regards the philosophical underpinnings, they classify DAR as viewing reality through a social constructionist lens. In this vision of DAR, the scientist makes suggestions to the practitioner, but the practitioner remains the *agent of action*, using his or her explicit and tacit knowledge. Furthermore, DAR sees the role of the researcher as having the following attributes in the one-on-one dialogues: firstly, to *listen* in order to identify the problem that requires some action; secondly, to *gather* the facts to form the basis of deciding what suitable theory can be applied to the problem area and, thirdly, to *suggest* appropriate actions to the practitioner and *monitor* them.

A Practical Application of DAR

We will now provide a brief summary of a study of the role of information systems in the facilitation of

and goals, the collection and analysis of problems, the design of programmes and the use of the analysis for empowered knowledge creation. The notion of empowerment builds upon the Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire's work on 'conscientization' in adult literacy and community development. Conscientization, or 'critical consciousness', involves a critical analysis of social and economic systems, development of a sense of self and collective efficacy to work towards greater equity in those systems.

Production of knowledge must be complemented by the action upon it. Participants in the process of knowledge production must find space for critical investigation and informed self-assessment of their reality in order to effect change. By involving people in gathering information, knowledge production itself becomes a form of mobilization. New solutions are tested and tried again. Knowledge is, thus, embedded in the iterative cycle of action-reflection-action. Through such processes, the notion of action can be deepened from solving day-to-day practical problems to more fundamental social transformation. The process of empowerment, while instrumental in bringing about change at an individual level, also emphasizes the importance of collectives of individuals in understanding and transforming social reality. The process of collective discovery and decision-making enables individuals to accept change more readily.

The coming together of people around a specific issue to think, plan and act is 'mobilization'. People start with problems of immediate concern. With increasing conscientization and the experience of participation in planning action, they diversify their actions to include larger issues. The success of one action sets in motion the flow of successive joint actions. Collective actions require (a) consciousness of the need for organizing and (b) the availability of organizational mechanisms in which people have confidence, over which they have control and which they can use as organs for their actions. People may construct new organizations of their choice or use the existing ones over which they have effective control.

Since the process of empowerment is initiated in the context of the actual reality, an existing problem provides the initial motivation for engaging in the research process. People are more likely to initiate the process of change for situations in which they are already aware of the problems and are articulate enough about them, though they may or may not employ the resources of trained experts. In some other situations, some outsiders—activists, educators, facilitators, community animators or researchers—provide the initial problem focus. The interveners adopt the position of facilitators, catalysts or change agents, rather than assuming positions of condescension. Their role is to initiate a participatory process and to take steps to ensure a steady increase in the level of control local participants have over the process.

Here, Participatory Action Research assumes significance. By enhancing stakeholders' critical consciousness and resources such as knowledge, social networks and a sense of community, Participatory Action Research ensures that they have a voice in the process of decision-making and can play a concrete role in solving their own problems effectively.

Mandakini Pant

See also Community-Based Participatory Research; conscientization; Participatory Action Research

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Engaged Scholarship

The engagement of practitioners within the action research field is a source of ongoing debate. This entry argues that engaged scholarship addresses this issue by locating action research in the wider domain of research perspectives ranging from basic research to co-production of knowledge and design science. The layout of this entry is as follows. Firstly, the concept of engaged scholarship is explained, with action research being proposed as an exemplar and subset of that approach. Locating action research within the engaged scholarship framework is done by examining one novel form of action research called dialogical action research (DAR). Furthermore, a case study is briefly presented that synthesizes both of these concepts.

of power animate some of the basic principles for constructing empowering strategies.

'Power with' has to do with building collective strength and with finding common ground among different interests. Based on mutual support, solidarity and collaboration, 'power with' multiplies individual talents and knowledge. It can help bridge different interests to transform or reduce social conflict and promote equitable relations. Advocacy groups seek allies and build coalitions drawing on the notion of 'power with'.

The notion of 'power to' is based on the presupposition that every person has a unique potential to shape her life and the world. When based on mutual support, power opens up the possibilities of joint action—of 'power with'. Paradigms of citizen education and leadership development for advocacy are based on the belief that each individual has the power to make a difference.

'Power within' has to do with a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge; it includes an ability to recognize individual differences while respecting others. 'Power within' is associated with the capacity to imagine and to have hope; it affirms that there is a common human endeavour for dignity and fulfilment. Many grass-roots efforts use self-reflection as a tool to help people affirm personal worth and recognize aspects of their 'power to' and 'power with'. Both these forms of power are referred to as 'agency'—the ability to act and change the world.

Power and Knowledge

Unequal relations of knowledge perpetuate unequal power relations. Inequalities abound in access to information, in the definition and production of legitimate knowledge, in the preference for expertise over practical know-how and in decision-making. The printed word is almost universally given greater validation than practical engagement. Elements of the power of expertise are generally assailed by a lack of accountability on the part of experts towards those affected by the knowledge produced.

The production of knowledge is perceived to be a specialized profession, legitimately produced only by those formally trained in it. Such institutionalization of expertise results in knowledge being divided into specialities and organized into disciplines. Special disciplines, journals and guilds of experts—or the 'knowledge elite'—research the problems of community to evolve new insights and theories. While reporting on community issues, experts often tend to distil community knowledge so that it fits into predetermined external data requirements, which further form the basis of lopsided interventions. As a result, the self-assessed priorities of the community itself often remain unaddressed or even unacknowledged.

The cult of expertise supported by institutions of research over the years has neglected the actors in the situation as sources of knowledge as well as its legitimate owners. Professionally trained researchers are seen as bona fide producers of knowledge, while others are seen as lacking the capacity, insight or techniques for knowledge production.

The disenfranchised and poor members of society, who are often the subjects of research, not only internalize the inevitability of socio-economic inequalities but also doubt their capacity to produce knowledge and to utilize it for solving their own problems on their own terms. Consequently, the experiential and intuitive insights of popular knowledge have been devalued. This crisis of knowledge is further reflected in the fragmentation of practical wisdom; in the distortions in the local, regional, and national ecosystems and in the tensions related to cultural revitalization and reclamation.

Countering power hegemony involves producing and using knowledge in a way that affects popular awareness and consciousness. Empowerment entails the exercise of informed choices within an expanding framework of information, knowledge and analysis of the available options.

Knowledge, Social Change and Empowerment

Empowerment is about understanding existing power relations and taking practical actions that challenge oppressive power structures. It involves the exercise of power by the powerless, such that they become more able participants in decision-making processes and gain control over the resources in their environment.

Knowledge that responds to the ideas, experiences and needs of ordinary people promotes empowerment. The process of inquiry or knowledge production brings people together to critically reflect on common problems and needs. Further, it relates particular experiences to general sociopolitical realities. This kind of collaborative activity creates a living and practical knowledge, based as much on intuition and experience as on technical expertise. An understanding of the existing oppressive reality and control over the process of knowledge generation are empowering. People not only learn to value their own knowledge, but they also use any new knowledge they create. The synthesis of popular knowledge with new knowledge strengthens the capacity for change.

Participation is the core concept in empowerment. It implies active involvement of the concerned persons in various stages of the learning process—in other words, the definition of the problems, the learning needs

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EMPOWERMENT

To empower is to give power or to enable. As a process, empowerment fosters capacities in individuals, groups and communities to make purposive choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. As a transformational approach, it takes into account the felt needs of the actors and encourages collective involvement. However, such mobilizations and the actors' transformative agency do not develop in a flash. Social and political contexts too emphasize particular issues around which transformative initiatives tend to get organized. Participatory Action Research creates conditions that foster empowerment and initiates alternative paradigms of change based on the principles of social equity and justice.

This entry discusses the underlying assumptions of empowerment paradigms. The first section reflects upon the notion of power. The second section situates the issue of unequal power relations in the context of knowledge production and its use. The third section defines empowerment, analyzes its dimensions within the framework of knowledge production and utilization and highlights the importance of Participatory Action Research in facilitating the process of reflection, analysis and action.

Understanding Power

At the heart of the concept of empowerment is the idea of power. There is, however, no one way of understanding power. Its meanings are diverse, ranging from the pejorative to the positive, from absolute domination to collaboration and transformation.

Power has two central aspects: (1) control over resources (physical, human, intellectual, financial and the self) and (2) control over ideology (beliefs, values and attitudes). The stratification and hierarchy within society excludes some individuals and groups from accessing valuable resources that confer power. Powerful groups have access to and control over the resources and mechanisms that shape social, cultural and ideological notions of what is normal, acceptable and/or safe. They have access to formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of decision-making. They can exert control over the decision-making agenda by devaluing, discrediting and excluding the concerns and representation of less powerful groups. The views and meanings of people who control strategic relationships and resources are frequently thought of as 'real' and are regarded as unquestioned 'givens'. Internalization of the ideologies of power relations as a natural state of affairs affects the ability of powerless groups to participate influentially in formal and informal decision-making. Powerlessness is, therefore, linked to the devaluation of their own knowledge by those who are powerless.

The most commonly recognized dimension of power is domination—power *over* others. Broad historical, political, economic, cultural and social forces inculcate certain abilities and dispositions in some actors to affect the actions and thought of others. Having 'power over' has pejorative associations with repression, force, coercion, discrimination, corruption and abuse. In the absence of alternative models and relationships, people tend to repeat what we can call the 'power-over' pattern in their personal relationships, communities and institutions.

The 'power-over' dimension takes on visible, hidden and invisible forms. Visible power derives from the formal or public rules and processes governing interpersonal processes such as membership in collectives, electoral laws and budgets. Hidden power determines which agents/agendas become part of interpersonal processes and the ability to control (often from behind the scenes) the settings in which agents interact. Invisible power is defined through the processes of socialization, culture and ideology that undergird what is considered normal, acceptable and safe. This kind of power constitutes and maintains the macro-political economy and serves to define the possible field of action of others.

Contemporary research has offered new perspectives on power characterized by collaboration, sharing and mutuality. Three alternative modalities—'power with', 'power to' and 'power within'—offer positive ways of expressing power that create the possibility of forming more equitable relationships. By affirming people's capacity to act creatively, these expressions

strongly influenced by the action research approach of Kurt Lewin. Emery completed his Ph.D. at the University of Melbourne in 1953.

His return to the Tavistock Institute in 1958 led to a fruitful collaboration with a group of practical researchers. Key among them was Eric Trist, who with Emery contributed to a version of systems thinking known as open systems theory. Together, in 1965, they published their much cited *Causal Texture of Organizational Environments*. Their collaboration continued after Emery returned to Australia in 1969; in 1972, they published *Towards a Social Ecology.* Both documents, though cognitively sophisticated, are understandable and have clear practical implications. So are several other theoretical publications by Emery from this time.

In 1969, Emery became a senior research fellow in the Department of Sociology at ANU, the Australian National University. Then, still at ANU, he joined the Centre of Continuing Education in 1974. He continued to develop open systems theory, theories of employee participation and the practical applications of both.

His appointment with the Centre for Continuing Education at ANU was discontinued in 1979. From then until his death in 1997, he persevered with his theoretical and practical work as an independent scholar. His house at Skinner Street, Cook, was in continuous intellectual ferment as international and local scholars, business people and community activists moved through his lounge room on a daily basis.

The Australian National Library has a collection of over 700 of his unpublished documents and letters. His work has been continued and extended by his wife, Merrelyn, who has also made contributions to theory and practice in her own right.

Contributions

Emery is known for impactful practical work that is based on an integration of theoretical understanding and practical experience. This work has been influential in some organization development and community development practice. Underpinning his extensive work was a profound conceptual understanding of the relationship between organizations or communities and their environment. This he formulated as open systems thinking. In addition, he understood well the relationship between individuals, teams and organizations or communities and how to engender genuine and full participation. The two theory-backed processes for which he is best known are the participative design workshop and the Search Conference.

A participative design workshop consists of a number of simple but penetrating analytical tools that a work team can use to redesign their work to be more democratic, satisfying and productive. Using it, a team shifts from a typical command-and-control structure closely managed by a team leader, characterized by the concepts the Emerys named Design Principle 1. It becomes a self-managed team following Design Principle 2, in which the team takes responsibility for most of the functions previously exercised by the team leader. The team leader then becomes a 'boundary rider' (in Emery's words), managing relationships with other teams. In addition to improvements in worker engagement and satisfaction, very substantial improvements to productivity have been documented.

A Search Conference (formerly known as a futures search) is a participatory visioning activity. It was originally developed by Emery and Trist and further refined by Fred and Merrelyn Emery. It is used in organizations and communities, desirably always tailored to the specifics of the client group. Though there are variations, it usually begins with a consideration of the wider context in which the client group operates. It usually takes place over 2 days and nights with a 'deep slice' of participants—that is, a sampling of all organizational levels so that participants are the organization in microcosm. It is usually conducted off-site. The outcome comprises both a strategic set of goals and specific action plans for achieving them. The size of each Search Conference is limited to allow full interaction. To involve larger numbers of people, it may consist of several parallel or sequential conferences.

In both participative design workshops and Search Conferences, participation is full rather than consultative. Senior managers do not use their formal authority except where boundaries are negotiated at the beginning or at the end of the activity. The people who have to implement the agreed-on actions are those who decide the actions to be implemented. Consequently, there are cultural outcomes in addition to the more practical outcomes. The culture of the system shifts to become more democratic and engaging, making better use of its people while better satisfying their needs. Participants become more aware of the environment with which they must interact if they are to be successful. It is not unusual for Search Conferences and participative design workshops to be used in conjunction.

Alan Davies

See also Norwegian Industrial Democracy Movement; Search Conference; socio-technical systems; systems thinking; Tavistock Institute

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to communities, unions or social action advocates. In this, there can also be a narrow or limited view that 'educational' refers only to benefits for those in the profession, rather than the whole public. In this way, EAR produces knowledge for a new market, but it does not produce new knowledges for social change.

As a result of the strong political attention paid to education sectors in most countries, the politicization of research—what counts as evidence, who is licensed to conduct research—has tended to work against EAR whilst creating conditions which call forth attention to ethical and collaborative investigation. Neo-liberal conditions for human services have had particular impacts in education sectors, making educational qualifications part of the individualization and privatization of work. Teachers, schools and their students, for example, are praised for successful competition in areas measured by test scores, while educational institutions in areas of high poverty have become seriously underfunded in many countries. These are not conditions conducive to co-operative or collaborative action research. The emphasis on accountability and means-end measurement also makes it difficult for educators to have research which works from lived experience taken seriously as a form of research. Nevertheless, many educators have managed to find ways to build community and investigate urgent problems that emerge in their daily practice towards social justice ends.

In struggling with the current conditions, including political and economic pressures, action researchers in education fields have continued to find EAR important, an approach that usually needs continual new introduction and exploration. The term *EAR*, because of its almost generic use, could be seen as encompassing a wide range of methods and research approaches, from positivist to emancipatory. However, the conditions also make it more likely to resonate with a claim on the term as highlighting the educative-interpretive and educative-emancipatory aims and processes needed to explore new practices and new explanations for educational practices and their settings.

Susan E. Noffke and Marie Brennan

See also classroom-based action research; collaborative action research network; Critical Participatory Action Research; Noffke, Susan; practitioner inquiry; Tavistock Institute

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Emery, Fred

Frederick Edmund Emery (1925–97) was better known as Fred Emery. His contributions to organization development—and social science generally—were substantial. The methodology which underpinned his theory and practice was action research, evidenced by a strong emphasis on democratic participation and practical change and underpinned by his deep analysis of communication, learning, social systems and participation. This entry summarizes his history and some of his more important contributions to integrated theory and practice.

History

Emery was born in Narrogin, Western Australia, a drover's son. His early career demonstrated his academic prowess. At the age of 14, he was Dux (the highest ranking student in a class) of Fremantle High School in Western Australia. He studied science at the University of Western Australia, graduating with an honours degree in 1946 and joining the university staff the following year. Then, moving to the psychology department of the University of Melbourne, he contributed to the literature on rural sociology. He was a UNESCO research fellow in social sciences in 1951–2, developing an association with the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, whose research methods were

shared assumptions and characteristics. Probably the most important of these is the idea that all people involved in educational practice (students, community members, parents, teachers and administrators) can be vital generators of knowledge—not only appliers of 'best practices', determined by researchers often at a distance from educational practice. In this, it shares with many forms of action research a challenge to traditional power-knowledge relationships. Specific to EAR, however, is the focus on educational knowledge production.

An important aspect of the generation of knowledge through EAR is that it builds the capacity to educate. This sometimes focuses on the professional knowledge base (understanding how learning takes place or how teaching could be improved), while at other times, it has focused on individual professional development (teachers learning more of how they personally could enhance their work). The capacity to educate, however, is deeply connected to the social context. Some forms of EAR emphasize this dimension, looking not only at individual student or teacher learning but also at the multiple factors which influence important outcomes, such as equality of income or autonomy. In this sense, EAR pushes beyond truncated views of 'what works', towards questions that address the inherent worthiness of educational actions. While this area is frequently articulated only within localized contexts, articulation with broader social movements could possibly be dependent partly on the breadth of the attempt at broader social explanations.

Perhaps true of other forms of action research, 'actions' in EAR are by nature tentative—they are not based on the 'results' to be applied but rather are hypotheses to be continually tested. Making change and creating knowledge are thus inherently interconnected. This is particularly important to action research in education due to the long-standing tensions over the nature of an educational science. For EAR, the purposes of educational action are always open to examination, not externally fixed, with ends and means equally problematic.

Early forms of EAR in the UK and Australia were deeply connected to changes in curriculum and evaluation. Proponents were able to build on newly developing forms of case study and qualitative research. Stenhouse and others were certainly aware of the group dynamics and organizational development work of the Tavistock Institute, quoting their work and sharing concerns with links between theory and practice, yet EAR emerged as distinct, teacher- and curriculum-centred work. From the outset, too, it recognized students as agents in their own education. This form of EAR has explored the meanings of 'educative' in terms of both action and research. Most simply, EAR highlights the ways in which one of the main purposes of the research is that of educating the participants in the research process, as well as those to whom the work is disseminated.

Enduring Dilemmas and Ways Forward

Much of action research in education has developed with deep ties to universities and to teacher education. While this has served both to support and to legitimate EAR, it has also meant that some of the tensions currently experienced by universities have worked antithetically to EAR's aims. Increasingly, universities themselves have been under significant threat, with the underfunding, audit cultures and managerialism common in other education and public sector organizations making significant impact. This has tended to privilege research that brings in money, results in speedy refereed publications and that adds cachet to the university's public image. The role of universities in contributing to human knowledge for the public good has been significantly eroded as universities have become increasingly embedded in the struggle for market-driven knowledge economies. Such conditions make it increasingly difficult for action researchers in education to pursue questions in which means and ends are intertwined. While some staff continue to privilege work with communities, pro bono research and long-term projects with action research methodologies, others (particularly new faculty) feel pressured to comply with narrower and shorter term research agendas.

A further consequence of associating EAR with universities has been the individualization of projects as a result of teachers doing action research as part of their graduate diploma or master of education qualifications. While many such EAR projects can be connected to significant issues of educational practice, the use of projects for individual assessment and qualifications has contributed to conditions which are inimical to co-operation and collaboration. If projects are carried out by individuals on their own practice, this raises questions about the extent to which a change in context could be achieved, with a tendency to focus more on change within narrower fields of practice under the control of the individual educator. Issues of how action or activity is linked to social or institutional practices receive minimal attention when the field of action is individual rather than collaborative.

This is particularly true when collaborations among interest groups (students, parents, community members, professional educators) are not encouraged within the individual knowledge-credentialing links in universities. Articulating EAR projects with local or larger political struggles over education remains difficult because of their connections to universities rather than

use of the term *teacher as researcher*, have had wide influence, developing further first through the efforts of John Elliott and Clem Adelman in the Ford Teaching Project. The Center for Applied Research at the University of East Anglia was a key site, fostering the establishment of the Classroom (later, Collaborative) Action Research Network and eventually leading to the establishment of the journal *Educational Action Research*. In the last two activities, Bridget Somekh, a classroom teacher who studied with Elliott, played a major role.

Stenhouse's influence also extended to Australia through activist curriculum circles in state education authorities who were reading Elliott and Adelman's work. 'Teachers as researchers' became something of a movement in Australia, connecting to the school-based curriculum development policies of several states and the expansion of upgrading teacher qualifications, especially among primary (elementary) teachers. Many teachers undertook further study, learning more about action research, including reporting their work in minor theses. Major Commonwealth government projects during the 1970s and 1980s in Australia, such as the Disadvantaged Schools Program, the School to Work Transition Program and the Participation and Equity Program, used action research to underpin their projects in schools and to conduct participatory and/or community-oriented evaluations. Stenhouse's ideas fitted well with the school-based curriculum ideas, building up teacher judgement through teacher research. They also challenged project groups to go further and claim that space more academically or theoretically.

The influence of the Deakin University Action Research group, led by Stephen Kemmis, extended the work through its distance education postgraduate courses from the late 1970s on. Through the materials developed for these courses, primary sources on action research were made available. The course teams were also able to publish and use a number of project reports, making them more widely available and spreading the ideas and methodological debates around action research in education. Wilfred Carr and Kemmis also published the initial version of their book *Becoming Critical*, which presented EAR through the lens of the critical social theory of Jürgen Habermas, advancing a socially critical, emancipatory model of EAR. It is also important to note that the developments in EAR in Australia in the 1980s involved connections between educational action researchers and people in other arenas, for example, Yoland Wadsworth, who came largely out of the public health sector, and through her a whole range of other sectors engaging in action research, enriching the debates through cross-fertilization of ideas, facilitation workshops, sharing writing and supporting another across sectors. Bob Dick's action research and Action Learning courses and resources have provided community and educational researchers access to a wide range of networks, particularly assisted in recent years by an active website and his biannual reviews of books in the field in the journal *Action Research.*

The US 'teachers as researchers' movement in the 1980s tended also to spread through partnerships with teacher education programmes, for example, at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where partnership projects with schools and doctoral projects began to circulate through theses and project reports. The long-standing progressive educational work of Vito Perone and the North Dakota Study Group is another example of work that embodies the deep connections between practitioners and systematic inquiry. At the same time, though not initially connected, the concept of 'inquiry as stance', to explore the necessary association of research with the work of teachers began to be developed by Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan Lytle, eventually confirming the growth of another generation of teacher-research work into the twenty-first century. EAR also re-emerged in master's programmes for teachers and in professional development programmes, often authored by scholars with connections to the early USA work. A recent volume in this tradition, Gerald Pine's *Teacher Action Research*, highlights the crucial role that the knowledge generated by teachers plays in educational improvement.

Unless associated with universities, EAR project reports are rarely to be found in refereed journals or books; rather, school authorities, professional development publications and professional journals provide records beyond the project participants. This has made it difficult to gauge the spread of ideas and practices of action research, particularly historically. The difficulty of building knowledge in a cumulative way—both about the processes used for action research and the substantive knowledge generated—has attracted debate on all continents, as people seek out advice and reports through networks, often in translation. The Spanish-speaking networks have been particularly strong in bringing together key players to share their knowledge. The Collaborative Action Research Network (noted above) has provided a useful gathering place and record, spilling over into the work of the *Educational Action Research* journal and to numerous websites that have been developed to disseminate both the ideas and the works of EAR. The latter have increased the visibility of EAR, but they vary greatly in their orientation and standards.

Key Characteristics of EAR

Despite the large variance and debate over whether EAR is a distinct methodology, there are many widely

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Educational Action Research

There are two distinct ways of engaging in action research which can be classified as educational action research (EAR). One of these designates any action research that is done within the larger field of educational practice—it is action research that is done with a focus on learning, in schools, community settings and other service settings and professions. This is a very large body of work, spanning a time period most often noted as beginning in the1950s in the USA and re-emerging strongly in the 1980s. The second and more specific use of the term emerged in the 1970s in the UK, initially through the work of Lawrence Stenhouse, whose work in the Humanities Curriculum Project embodied core ideas of EAR. The focus of this project was on what we might now label as an 'underserved student population' and on curriculum as a set of principles (rather than set content) to be trialled in practice by teachers who were seen as researchers in a practice setting rather than as implementers of theories and curriculum established by academics and policymakers. This form of EAR became influential in Australia and has been disseminated widely in many education sectors and in a large number of international contexts.

It is important to note that there are widely differing orientations to the purposes and practices of EAR. Some have a strong professional focus, emphasizing the building of forms of collegiality and knowledge that can serve to enhance the functions and status of educational professions. Others have a strong personal focus, indicative of the identities of the researchers and their growth through the research process. Both of these have connections to social structures and therefore embody political focuses, as they articulate with or in opposition to systems of power and control. All share an emphasis, too, on building capacities for actions that promote learning for both educators and those with whom they work—students and colleagues, as well as community members.

There is a longer and more international context for the term dating back to the early 1900s, most notably in popular education work, well developed in Danish folk high schools, and also in the initial development of social action–oriented forms of social sciences by scholars such as W. E. B. Du Bois and C. Wright Mills in sociology and in the social psychology of the Austrian J. L. Moreno. This particular antecedent, alongside work such as Jane Addams' in the settlement houses for immigrants to the USA, is important to understanding the conceptual connections to the more collaborative, democratic (involving students and communities) and socially critical dimensions of EAR that gradually emerged in the 1970s and 1980s in some of the work in the UK and Australia and later in some US efforts.

The next section provides an overview of significant historical lines that have been influential in the development of EAR. It then outlines the unique and shared characteristics of EAR. The final section addresses the recent context and how it potentially both enhances as well as subverts educational agendas in the interests of neo-liberal global capital.

Brief History of EAR

Some of the earliest action research in education was done in the 1950s in the USA, associated with Stephen Corey and Hilda Taba. While this work planted seeds for later work emphasizing the importance of establishing links between educational practice and the need for teachers to be active in knowledge building about their work, it faded from prominence fairly quickly in the USA. In other parts of the world, however, there were the beginnings of constructions of what would be recognized as teachers as knowledge workers. The work and ideas of Stenhouse, noted earlier, in particular his

In Action Science, the concept of double-loop learning can be recast in terms of the epistemology of practice developed by Donald Schön in *The Reflective Practitioner*. Schön emphasized the activity of framing by which we make sense of a situation, setting the problem that we will seek to solve. Double-loop learning can be seen as reframing how we define situations, how we construct our role and what we take to be desirable outcomes.

Single- and double-loop learning can occur at any level of social analysis, including individuals, interpersonal relationships, groups and organizations. For example, as an organization grows, it undergoes changes that may require double-loop learning at several levels. It may shift from a traditional hierarchy to a matrix structure, requiring individuals to learn how to surface and manage conflict across boundaries. It may need to shift from a technology-driven, 'If we build it, they will buy' approach to a customer-focused approach that takes account of different needs in different regions. Customary work practices must change, and the changes must become integrated into the professional identities and working relationships of members of the organization.

Double-loop learning is unsettling, almost by definition. When individuals, groups and organizations face challenges, they typically respond with single-loop learning. When these attempts do not succeed, the most common responses are more single-loop learning and blaming others or the environment. Few individuals and fewer organizations are good at double-loop learning.

We can distinguish between behavioural double-loop learning and double-loop learning for instrumental, technical or policy issues. Double-loop learning on technical or policy issues may occur when individuals or small groups have breakthrough insights. Creating a culture conducive to breakthrough insights, however, often requires behavioural double-loop learning. And implementing new policies or strategies may require behavioural double-loop learning.

Behavioural double-loop learning entails changes in the values and frames governing how people interact. For example, rather than suppressing or avoiding conflict, people may learn to surface and resolve conflict. Rather than assuming that their own or their group's point of view should prevail and strategizing to make that happen, they may learn to invite other perspectives. Rather than leaving difficult or embarrassing issues unspoken, they may learn to raise them. This kind of double-loop learning increases the learning capability of an organization. It makes it more likely that the assumptions underlying current ways of dealing with technical, instrumental and policy issues will be identified and questioned.

Behavioural double-loop learning requires at least three stages. The first is discovering how current values and frames contribute to ineffective behaviour and identifying alternative values and frames that could lead to more effective behaviour. The second stage is developing the skill necessary to produce the new behaviour in actual situations. This can take considerable practice, as initial attempts to produce the new behaviour often result in what Argyris has described as 'gimmicks', with the seemingly new behaviour used in the service of the old values and frames. Gimmicks are usually ineffective because other people see them for what they are. For example, recognizing that involving others in a decision process can increase their commitment to implementing the decision, people may attempt to 'involve' others in ways that do not give them any actual influence. The third stage in behavioural double-loop learning is to integrate the new behaviour, as informed by the new values and frames, into group norms and relationships so that it becomes the new normal.

It is possible to achieve some double-loop changes in organizations while bypassing behavioural double-loop learning. One approach is to bring in consultants or to convene a task force that is authorized to circumvent normal practices that keep problems hidden. The limitation of this approach is that it leaves in place the behavioural routines that prevented the organization from correcting the problem earlier and that will likely prevent correcting problems in the future. A second approach is to introduce systems and processes that make visible information that drives action, for example, the total costs across the organization for developing, producing, selling, delivering and servicing a product. Implementing these systems often runs into barriers rooted in the behavioural routines that are being left untouched, but it can be an effective way to improve some areas of organizational functioning. A third approach is to bring in new management with a mandate to make sweeping changes. Effective implementation of these changes may require behavioural double-loop learning on the part of organizational members, as when it is necessary to work more interdependently across units.

Robert W. Putnam

See also Action Science; advocacy and inquiry; ladder of inference; theories of action

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and desirable. Self-location as a change agent is crucial to the rigour of an action research dissertation, requiring that the author take a personal, involved and self-critical stance, as reflected in the clarity about the author's role, experimentation, self-interrogation and learning through the action research process.

Reflection on the Story in the Light of the Experience

Participants in a master's programme engaging in, for instance, an action-oriented M.B.A. programme use conceptual frameworks to make sense of what is going on. Their use of these frameworks aligns the story to theory, and through this alignment, they demonstrate their understanding of the theory and its application. For example, a conceptual framework that describes business strategies in developing better customer relationships may act as the foundation for a particular set of actions and reflections by the action researcher in an M.B.A. dissertation aiming to improve customer relationships for that researcher's firm.

Participants in a more research-oriented programme, such as a master's by research or a doctorate, not only align the story with theory but extend and develop the theory. This extension is an inductive process, coming out of the meta-learning of reflecting on the implementation of the action research cycles with the members of the systems as they enact the action research project. This extension or development of existing theory may be in content, process, methodology, presentation or form. In fact, it is here that much of the space and freedom to construct diverse and original forms of action research dissertations exist. Depending on the particular requirements and idiosyncrasies of specific degree programmes or awarding bodies, not to mention the author's own background, interests and points of focus, action research dissertations vary significantly in terms of the theoretical conceptualization, the methods developed and, significantly, the presentational forms through which the learning of the dissertation is communicated (see, e.g., the entry 'Extended Epistemology').

Extrapolation to a Broader Context and Articulation of Usable Knowledge

Action research projects are situation specific, and do not aim to create universal knowledge. At the same time, extrapolation from a local situation to more general situations is important. Action researchers are not claiming that every organization, situation or inquiry will unfold as the one presented in the dissertation. But they can focus on some significant factors, consideration of which is useful in other settings, such as organizations undergoing similar types of change processes. As a consequence of the reflection on the story and articulation of usable knowledge, they need to articulate how the research project can be extrapolated (or transported) to a wider context.

David Coghlan and Patricia Gaya

See also academic discourse; quality; reliability; validity

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Double-Loop Learning

Double-loop learning refers to the distinction between learning that keeps a behavioural system operating within a field of constancy and learning that changes what the system seeks to achieve or to keep constant. It is related to the distinction between first-order and second-order change. The emphasis on learning rather than change highlights the processes by which members of the system seek to improve how it functions. Double-loop learning is an important concept for action research because it focuses on what it takes for people and systems to make fundamental changes.

The distinction between single- and double-loop learning comes from the cybernetic theorist W. R. Ashby. Ashby used the example of a thermostat that turns heat on or off to keep the temperature near a set point. This is single-loop learning. When someone changes the setting, the system engages in double-loop learning.

Chris Argyris and Donald Schön introduced this distinction to the domain of leadership and organizational learning. They defined double-loop learning as behavioural learning that changes the governing variables (values, norms and goals) of one's theory-in-use: the theory of action that can be inferred from behaviour. They argued that learning processes and research approaches that may be adequate for single-loop learning are inadequate for double-loop learning. They developed the theory-of-action approach, also known as Action Science, to create knowledge that is useful for double-loop learning.

that a rigorous and credible method of research—which sits within a well-developed and established research tradition and is appropriate to the specific inquiry—is being adopted. The section critiquing other approaches to social science is particularly relevant where these have dominated previous research in the field and contributed to gaps and problems both in understanding and in practice. A balance is therefore needed between a critical appreciation of action research's suitability and rigour and a critical understanding of how this sits alongside other social science approaches.

While the section on methodology provides the ontological, epistemological and axiological justification for the choice of action research, the section on methods describes how the action research is conducted. Methods of inquiry refers to the content and process of how issues are framed and selected, how participation is developed, how data is accessed and generated, how data is captured—extracts, notes, and minutes of meetings, journals, interviews or survey instruments, as well as visual or other sensory data—how others are engaged in the action research cycles of implementing the project and how political and ethical dimensions are addressed.

While all research demands rigour, action research has to demonstrate its rigour more particularly. This is because action research typically starts out with a fuzzy question, is fuzzy about methods in the initial stages and has fuzzy answers in the early stages. As the research project develops, methods and answers become less fuzzy, and so the questions become less fuzzy. This progression from fuzziness to clarity is the essence of the spirals of action research cycles. Accordingly, the dissertation needs to demonstrate clearly the procedures adopted to achieve rigour and to defend them. This means showing

- the use of action research learning cycles,
- how multiple data sources to provide contradictory and confirming interpretations were accessed,
- evidence of how one's own assumptions and interpretations were challenged and tested continuously throughout the project and
- how interpretations and outcomes were challenged, supported or disconfirmed by drawing on existing literature and how this literature itself was challenged, supported and/or disconfirmed through the dissertation's interpretations and findings.

Discussing Quality

It is important to be explicit about efforts to ensure quality in the action research project. Several frameworks are useful in establishing quality criteria and in exploring quality in action research, and these can be applied to the dissertation work. For further details about these frameworks, see the entry 'Quality', which lists seven quality criteria. These typically refer to quality of participation, engagement with real-life issues, quality of the engagement in inquiry-in-action and development of sustainable outcomes. Action researchers face constant choices on these issues as they work through cycles of action and reflection: Being transparent about how these choices are addressed throughout the project is an important element of quality.

Story and Outcomes

The heart of the dissertation is the story or course of events. A critical issue is to consider the choices to be made, and the balance to be struck, between presenting, firstly, 'the story' (including perhaps even multiple versions or accounts, i.e. 'the stories') and, secondly, the meanings and interpretations attributed to these. The narrative of the story (or stories) needs to be sufficiently comprehensive and transparent so that the reader can arrive at the end of it and be able to judge for himself or herself the validity of the research, its claims to the creation of knowledge and any claims for its transportability. A degree of distance or separation between the story and its sense making can help demonstrate methodological rigour. At the same time, in justifying the methodological and presentational choices made around this, it is also important to acknowledge that the more interpretivist, constructivist epistemological paradigms (with which action research aligns itself) would argue that a seemingly factual representation is always still a particular, partial representation and that authorial and performative choices are made even at this stage. Given, therefore, that the separation of fact and interpretation is not a straightforward, uncontroversial matter, the author of an action research dissertation also needs to demonstrate discernment and critical subjectivity in addressing this tension and challenge.

Self-Reflection and Learning of the Action Researcher

An important part of the action research dissertation is the action researchers' reflection on their own learning. The project may have challenged many of their assumptions, attitudes, skills and existing organizational relationships. This first person material is important as it contributes to the integration of the three voices—first, second and third person. It also corresponds with quality criteria related to reflexivity and critical subjectivity. This, of course, is one of the key ways in which an action research dissertation differs from many in the traditional social sciences, where value neutrality and detached objectivity are presumed to be both achievable

dissertation is viewed as a formal, academic document, usually contributing significantly to the subsequent granting of a postgraduate degree.

An action research dissertation is an academic document and therefore needs to conform to academic requirements of justification of the topic and approach, demonstration and defence of rigour in methodology and methods of inquiry, familiarity with existing content and process literature and contribution to knowledge. In these ways, an action research dissertation is no different from most other social science dissertations, though its presentation and argument differ from traditional presentations.

Constructing and Writing an Action Research Dissertation

Practices describing action research dissertations typically suggest that it should be structured to deal with

- the purpose and rationale of the research,
- the context,
- the methodology and method of inquiry,
- the story and outcomes,
- self-reflection and learning of the action researcher,
- reflection on the story in the light of the experience and the theory and
- extrapolation to a broader context and articulation of usable knowledge.

This is not to say that such a structure would necessarily mean that each of these headings has to be a chapter in itself, or considered sequentially, but rather that these issues should be clearly dealt with formally. For example, the story may be spread over several chapters, depending on its length and complexity and the extent of the research project. Each of these broad expectations is explored in turn below.

Purpose and Rationale of the Research

The section on the purpose and rationale of an action research project presents the case, stating why the specific piece of action research is worth doing for whomever, why it is worth studying and what it is that it seeks to contribute to the world of theory and of practice. It is critical at the outset of an action research dissertation to make both a practical and an academic case for the research. This is not just an argument for credibility but a formal effort to locate the work in both a practical and an academic context. This is related in particular to two of the quality criteria generally associated with action research (see the entry 'Quality'), those of 'actionability' (i.e. the extent to which the paper provides new ideas that guide action in response to need) and 'significance' (i.e. the extent to which the insights in the manuscript are significant in content and process, where *significant* refers to the meaning and relevance of the action research beyond its immediate context in support of the flourishing of persons, communities and the wider ecology).

Context

Context here refers to the social and academic context of the research. There are several context areas: the broad general context at the global and/or national level—culturally, politically, economically; the local geographical, organizational and/or discipline context, that is, what is going on in a selected organization, community, initiative or movement, and then the specific topic area. In action research, framing the social context is very important. For example, in the case of action research undertaken with a business organization, this description contains not only a presentation of the facts of the organization in its competitive setting but also a review of the relevant literature on the setting. Academic context is also important. Not only do researchers review the practical and sociopolitical context of their research, but they also review and critique the research carried out in that context to date and locate their action research in that tradition, thus laying the ground for their hoped for contribution.

Methodology and Methods of Inquiry

In all action research dissertations, there needs to be a chapter (or two) on methodology in which the action research approach, methodology and methods of inquiry are described. Methodology is the philosophical approach; methods describe what the researcher actually does. Accordingly, both methodology and methods of inquiry need to be discussed. As with any research dissertation, the theory and practice of the chosen methodology needs to be introduced. This is a matter of providing definitions of action research, some history and its main philosophical tenets. Secondly, a review of the practice of action research in the field in which the research is being undertaken may also be necessary, such as in nursing, education, information systems research and so on. Thirdly, this chapter needs to describe and review the particular approach within action research that is being considered, particularly if one approach is being used predominantly. Accordingly, for example, an introduction, review and critique of the theory and practice of Appreciative Inquiry would be needed if Appreciative Inquiry was going to be used in the dissertation.

On the subject of methodology, it is important to strike a balance between a critique of the limitations of other approaches and the need to solidly assert the fact

Kathryn Church, a disability studies professor at Ryerson University, worked with colleagues, students, alumni and other activists to create the exhibit 'Out From Under: Disability, History and Things to Remember' as part of an action research project. This interactive, award-winning, educational installation on Canadian disability history was prominently featured in a widely attended exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Ontario, and then in Vancouver, British Columbia, for the Olympics.

Nancy Davis Halifax, a health professor at York University, worked with Street Health (a community-based agency) to engage homeless and under-housed individuals in a Photovoice (participatory photography) project. The photos and accompanying written and oral narratives were turned into a travelling display that was featured at City Hall. By creating an interactive, highly engaging exhibit, the team was able to initiate a dialogue with city staff and politicians about the possibilities for change.

Tara Goldstein, an education professor at the University of Toronto, works with community groups to turn ethnographic research into play scripts that can be read aloud and performed by different readers and performers for a variety of different audiences. By scripting performances, Goldstein seeks to engage a wider public in thinking about the results of social science research. These examples demonstrate that 'writing up' action research can take a variety of different formats. Often, these more creative popular education strategies can help broaden the reach of research results.

One risk of this approach is that tenure and promotions committees at conservative academic institutions may not see these alternative forms of dissemination as 'valid' research outputs. While this seems to be changing in many places as universities become more interested and knowledgeable about community-engaged scholarship, it can still be an issue for junior scholars. The health field has been at the forefront of trying to creatively address this gap. A number of organizations have banded together to create an alternative peer review location for these sorts of original outputs. www.CES4Health.info is a free, online mechanism for peer-reviewing, publishing and disseminating products of health-related community-engaged scholarship that are in forms other than journal articles. CES4Health publishes videos, manuals, policy briefs, presentations and curricula.

Conclusion

Action researchers all strive to be 'good' writers and produce works that are strong, clear, cogent, concise, creative, logical, engaging, inspiriting, fair and honest. The only way to get better at the craft is through extensive reading and lots of practice. The more they create, the better they will get at sharing their messages and developing their fields. Careful attention to audience, message and messenger can improve the likelihood of their messages getting heard.

Sarah Flicker

See also academic discourse; collaborative data analysis; data analysis; dissertation writing

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Dissertation Writing

Outlining how action research dissertations may be written is a complex task for several reasons. Firstly, as this encyclopedia demonstrates, because action research is a family of approaches that operate in a wide variety of settings and with great diversity, there is no single version of action research where one set of criteria might be considered definitive. Accordingly, there is no consensus on any one approach. Secondly, regulations and practices for the presentation of dissertations differ from university to university and from programme to programme. Thirdly, whether a dissertation is written by an undergraduate, a master's or doctoral student or a practitioner, doctorate accreditation sets norms for what a dissertation has to contain and how it is presented. This entry focuses on the broadly shared characteristics of an action research dissertation, which are generally seen as essential because the

Target	*Medium*
Academic audiences/other researchers	Publishing peer-reviewed journal articles
	Conducting numerous presentations at key conferences
	A doctoral dissertation
Diverse youth	Distributing a youth-friendly poster highlighting key results
	Producing a youth documentary (getting involved in research)
	Producing a short public service announcement series to answer common sexual health questions
	Promoting through YouTube and Facebook
	Creating a website
Funders and policymakers	Producing a brief overview project report written in plain language/ accessible text and including actionable recommendations
	Hosting a public launch with panel discussions
	Hosting key one-on-one meetings with decision-makers, senior bureaucrats and ministry officials
	Providing in-house training for municipal public health staff
Service providers	Producing eight population-specific short bulletins that attend to the specific issues facing various groups of young people (e.g. newcomers or partnering youth)
	Holding community-specific launches in partnership with large policy organizational partners
Popular press	Producing press releases
	Acquiring radio, television and newspaper coverage
	Writing op-ed pieces

Table 1 *Target and Medium of Different Messaging*

It was put up in recreation centres and health clinics across the city. The goal of the poster was both to report back what was found and to embed health promotion messaging. For instance, 'Seven per cent told us you never got sex ed. Anywhere. If you aren't getting what you need in school, call one of the numbers below to get the facts you need about sex and health'. In addition to the poster, the youth advisory committee drafted a bill of sexual health rights that was translated into seven languages, created mini-videos to answer common sexual health questions, designed a website and created a documentary about participating in research.

Funders and policymakers were targeted with key one-on-one meetings and a short but comprehensive report that was highly graphical and contained key stats, actionable recommendations and an accessible executive summary. Short (four-page) bulletins were also created to help service providers who worked with specific communities focus on the results that were relevant to them. An integrated media advocacy strategy also helped ensure that the right messages were 'written up' in the popular press.

Process evaluations of these outreach efforts showed promising results. Municipal and provincial governments made changes to their policies and procedures. Many organizations that attended TTS events and/or received materials also made changes (e.g. changed clinic hours and developed confidentiality policies). Campaign materials garnered significant media attention, and over 1,000 people watched the documentary online. Academic articles have been widely cited.

By clearly delineating target audiences, relevant messages and messengers, the team was able to galvanize a broad-based response.

Expanding the Possibilities

Many other action research projects have also been creative about how they 'write up' their work to reach diverse audiences.

- Does it make any new contributions to action research *theory or practice*?
- Is there an explicit description of *methods and process*?
- How *actionable* is the work? (Does it provide new ideas for action?)
- How *reflexive* is the work? (How have the authors acknowledged their own role and social location(s)?)
- Is it *significant*? (Does it have meaning beyond its immediate context?)

Similarly, Kathryn Herr and Gary Anderson have asked writers to consider different forms of validity in action research work: the generation of new knowledge (dialogic validity), the achievement of action-oriented outcomes (outcome validity), the education of researchers and participants (catalytic validity), results that are relevant to local settings (democratic validity) and sound and appropriate research methodology (process validity).

When drafting a manuscript, it is important to pay attention to journal guidelines and features. In addition to style and voice, journals also have maximum word counts, which may limit what can be accomplished in one article. It is rare to be able to describe everything about a project in one article. It is best to focus on one clear part of the story. Some articles can focus on process (or methodological considerations), while others might delve more into results or outcomes.

Report Writing

In addition to publishing their work in academic venues, action researchers may also want to consider sharing their lessons learned in other, more accessible formats. Many projects choose to create a community-friendly or government report. These are generally concise overview documents written with a larger public audience in mind.

The Canadian Health Services Research Foundation recommends a 1:3:25 template for reports. It should start with one page of main messages. These should be takeaway actionable items and answer the following questions: What needs to change? By whom? When? Rather than focusing on all the results, this 1-page upfront is where the 'ask' goes. It should be followed by a 3-page executive summary that highlights key findings and then be supported by a more detailed 25-page report. The whole document should be written in plain language without too much research jargon.

Ideally, the report should cover context, implications, approach or methods (note that it may be best to use appendices for highly technical material), results and conclusions. The Canadian Health Services Research Foundation also recommends using charts and tables to graphically portray data and make it more accessible. While not absolutely necessary, having the document professionally designed and rendered visually appealing can help with its uptake. Dollars spent on giving the product a published look are well spent when trying to engage a public audience that will be hesitant to read long documents that 'look boring'.

A Case Study: The TTS

The aim of the TTS was to gather information on the assets, gaps and barriers that exist for young people attempting to access sexual health services. The TTS team was a collaborative group of service providers, students, researchers and policymakers. Over the course of 3 years, over 1,000 surveys were collected from diverse teens across the city, and focus groups were conducted with hundreds of youth and service providers. This information was used to develop community-specific strategies to increase positive sexual health outcomes for diverse youth in Toronto. The initial intention was to produce one report that would highlight key study findings. However, through the data analysis process, the researchers became increasingly convinced of the importance of tailoring the messages and strategies for specific communities of youth and decision-makers. They developed an innovative knowledge translation and exchange strategy. They worked with a graphic design firm to develop a look and feel for the integrated messaging. They identified various stakeholders and developed tailored products and messaging for each. These included (a) academic audiences/other researchers, (b) youth, (c) funders and policymakers, (d) service providers and (e) the popular press (see Table 1).

In order to target academic audiences, the TTS published many articles. The team negotiated with the *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* to dedicate an entire issue to the findings. Additionally, other articles were submitted to different journals (e.g. *The Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *The Journal of Adolescent Health* and the *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*) to maximize the audience. The team not only considered substantive issues as worthy of publishing but also wrote about ethical and methodological considerations in separate, focused manuscripts. In addition, a doctoral student nested her dissertation within the larger project.

Another important audience was the youth. The project had engaged over 1,000 youth across the city in an effort to improve youth services. In order to address the perception that nothing ever changes as a result of research, the team created a poster titled 'You've been heard', which fed results back directly to the community.

Consequently, writing is not so much a choice as an imperative.

Regardless of motivation, finding the time, energy and resources to write is necessary. The first step is to carve out time and space. Next, researchers need to figure out what they want to say. They will then need to identify who they want to say it to (and why). They need to assemble their authorship team, begin scripting, edit and then share the final products with the appropriate audience. Much like action research itself, the process is often cyclical and iterative. It is rarely linear or as easy as it sounds.

There are many ways to 'write up' a project and many potential audiences for the messages. Action researchers may choose to communicate the knowledge generated in the form of journal articles, reports, community newsletters, policy briefs, blogs, books or dissertations. The first step is to figure out *who* needs to know *what*. Deciding on the audience(s) and key message(s) helps the researcher figure out *how* he or she is going to tell the project's story.

Writing for Peer-Reviewed Journals

Publishing work in peer-reviewed journals has a number of important advantages. First, the work is afforded greater credibility if published in a respected journal that is known to have a rigorous peer-review process. Second, it is very likely that the work will be improved by revisions made as a result of helpful comments from expert reviewers. Third, the work gets indexed in a standardized format in databases, where those seeking information are likely to find it for many years to come. This means that it is more likely to have a long and sustainable impact and to contribute to advancing the field of practice.

For a long time, action researchers felt that it was difficult to publish their work in academic journals. However, in recent years, action research has gone from the margins to the mainstream, particularly in the fields of health, education and development studies. Today, many conventional journals are publishing action research papers. In addition, there are an increasing number of journals that are interested in publishing action research work. Some have an explicit mandate to focus on participatory projects. Here are several examples:

- *Action Learning: Research and Practice*
- *Action Research*
- *Education Research for Social Change*
- *Educational Action Research*
- *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*
- *Health Promotion Practice*
- *Journal of Critical Thought & Praxis*
- *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*
- *Journal of Urban Health*
- *Living Knowledge: International Journal of Community Based Research*
- *Manifestation: Journal of Community Engaged Research and Learning*
- *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Indigenous and Aboriginal Community Health*
- *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action*
- *The Canadian Journal of Action Research*

One challenge for the action researcher is to carefully balance an emphasis on the conventional manuscript elements that journals often require with the unique qualities expected of action research reports. What differentiates action research writing from other, more conventional types of academic outputs is a great attention to context, process and action. In other words, the goal is to share not only what was learned but also how it was learned and what was or will be done with the knowledge. Action research is also often about specificity rather than generalizability. Nevertheless, providing a 'thick description' or enough detail about what happened enables readers to determine in what ways the lessons are applicable to their own contexts. Action research manuscripts are more likely to be written in the first person and to include vivid descriptions of the authors, the project partners and their respective roles and contributions. Generally, a greater emphasis is placed on issues of partnership and process. For instance, it is not unlikely for manuscripts to describe the successes or difficulties encountered in carrying out the research or provide an explanation of the levels of participation among partners.

Often, manuscripts are written in more conventional formats that follow the model of introduction, literature review, methods, results and conclusions. Sometimes, the boundaries are more fluid. Other times (depending on the journal guidelines), manuscripts can be more creative. Usually, action research manuscripts end with some 'actionable' items or reflection outlining project outcomes and next steps—for the researcher, participants, settings and field.

Action Research has set out some clear criteria for manuscript review that may be useful for authors to consider regardless of where they are publishing:

- Does the paper have a clear articulation of *objectives* and explanation of how these were met?
- Is there evidence of partnership and participation?

forms of exclusion, and this means that every discursive structure is finite, uneven and hierarchical. The emergence of crisis and dislocations in such systems enables agents to produce change by constructing and identifying with new discourses and projects.

Future Outlook

The discursive turn in the social sciences informs important trends in much social and political analysis, and this trend promises to continue in the future. The challenge for those employing the many versions of discourse analysis currently in circulation is to supplement their undoubted theoretical advances with greater attention to methodological questions about research design, the choice of appropriate techniques and research strategies and the articulation of adjacent theoretical approaches that can add more explanatory bite to their analyses. Critical in this regard is the production of exemplary case studies and comparative research that can demonstrate the importance of discourse in different disciplines and fields.

David Howarth

See also agency; hegemony; philosophy of science

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Disseminating Action Research

It is important to share the results of action research endeavours. The written word is one popular way to disseminate the process and findings. This entry talks about the process of 'writing up' an action research project. It will pay special attention to the unique features of action research writing. First, this entry reviews common barriers to writing and then discusses why it is important to overcome them. Next, it explores the process of writing up action research for peer-reviewed publications. The entry will also cover report writing and other creative possibilities and will provide a case study, the Toronto Teen Survey (TTS).

Overcoming Barriers to Writing

After being involved in a project for a long time, it can sometimes feel overwhelming to actually sit down and start writing about it. Often, when feeling exhausted from the efforts of *doing*, writing can feel onerous. This can be especially true when projects have already resulted in substantive community change or when they have resulted in no change at all. It can be particularly discouraging to write about failures. Sometimes, a researcher may feel shy about authoring a collective story or may feel that by putting ink to paper, he or she is appropriating the voice of others. Many researchers would rather be out in the community organizing than recording what has already happened. Writing, for whatever reason, is a real struggle for many.

Nevertheless, finding the motivation and stamina to write about research is valuable for a number of reasons. First, deep reflection can improve personal practice. The writing process forces researchers to think through, synthesize and organize their ideas. As they reflect on their project stories, they have an opportunity to creatively imagine new projects and possibilities for change. The experience can be generative and energizing. It gives researchers a contemplative opportunity to celebrate their successes, mourn their mistakes and, most important, learn from both.

Moreover, by documenting their work, researchers give others the opportunity to learn from the experience too. Knowledge generated through hard work, dedication and deep analysis can then inform the work of others. By disseminating action research, researchers contribute to a body of knowledge that can advance a field, inform theoretical development and create change. The documents produced can provide stakeholders with tangible products that validate their experiences. Often, stakeholders are proud of their contributions when they see the final documents. Finished products can also be used for advocacy and policy change and to lend 'legitimacy' to a cause.

Finally, for many researchers, written documents are professional and academic currency. They need to write to succeed (and in some cases graduate).

production and disciplining of various subjects, and his genealogies enable us to explore the contingent and ignoble origins of such systems, whilst stressing the role of power and conflict in forging identities, rules and social forms. Yet he tends to conflate his account of power-knowledge with his critique of the scientificity of the human sciences, whilst reducing subjectivity to the disciplining of 'docile bodies', leaving little or no space for freedom, agency and critique.

However, in his final writings on sexuality, governmentality and subjectivity, Foucault offers a third model of discourse and power, which promises to address these difficulties. Here, he modifies his critique of the juridical model of sovereign power by developing a more strategic perspective that power is everywhere because it comes from everywhere. Power is the name we give to a complex strategic situation in a particular society. This new strategic perspective enables Foucault to rethink the relationship between domination, power, subjectivity and discourse, whilst developing his novel account of governmentality.

Post-Structuralist Discourse Theory: Laclau and Mouffe

Foucault thus offers three ways to investigate and reflect upon the role of discursive practices, and their relation to power, subjectivity and society. Although it is by no means definitive, it is possible that discursive practices in Foucault's models are just a particular subset of social and political practices, which can and ought to be distinguished from other activities like kicking an object on a field. In a crucial respect, however, this is a problematical conclusion, for it is important to note that the latter activity is not without meaning, nor is it an element that is external to systems of sense and signification. Kicking an object in a particular context is an action, but it acquires its meaning and significance only within the context of playing a football match, for example. Its meaning thus differs from the angry response of a football supporter who kicks the ball into a nearby street after his team has conceded a late goal. At the same time, different social practices are themselves meaningful entities: They are thus instances of playing football or explosions of anger and frustration. Indeed, critical researchers also seek to characterize these practices in terms of their meaning, import and significance. They wish to render them intelligible in terms of rules and meanings. In short, language, actions and objects are intertwined in what can be called discourse.

Laclau and Mouffe's post-structuralist account of discourse theory offers a fruitful way to conceptualize these various distinctions. In this view, discourse is an articulatory practice that constitutes social relations and formations and thus constructs their meaning. Discourse is articulatory in that it links together contingent elements—both linguistic and non-linguistic—into relational *systems*, in which the identity of the elements is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. A key *condition* of this approach is that all such elements are contingent and unfixed, so that their meaning and identity are only partially fixed by articulatory practices. The outcomes of such practices are incomplete systems of meaning and practice.

In accounting for the formation of discourses, this approach stresses the primacy of politics and power. Discourses are thus constructed by the drawing of political frontiers between social subjects via the exercise of power. In this model, one force endeavours to impose its values and norms by winning the consent of its allies and by securing the compliance of its others, though force may be required to subject its opponents. The logic of hegemony captures this complex set of processes. An important condition for any articulatory practice (including hegemonic practices) is the radical contingency of all social and natural elements, which can always be constructed in different ways.

The radical contingency and historicity of the different elements that are located in particular fields of meaning are captured by the discursive character of social relations and processes. It is thus possible to disaggregate two key aspects of discourse theory: the discursive and the discourse. The discursive is best viewed as an ontological category—that is, a categorical presupposition for our understanding of particular entities and social relations—whereby every object or any symbolic order is meaningful, that is, situated in a field of significant differences and similarities. But equally in this approach, following thinkers like Martin Heidegger, Jacques Lacan and Jacques Derrida, it also means that such entities are incomplete and thus radically contingent. Each system of meaningful practice is marked by a lack or a deficiency, and its overall meaning or objectivity depends on the way it is socially and politically constructed.

By contrast, the concept of discourse refers to particular systems of meaningful or articulatory practice. Thatcherism or New Labour in the UK, the different forms of the apartheid system in South Africa or the radical environmentalism associated with social movements in contemporary societies can all be classified as discourses in this sense of the term. It follows from this discussion of the discursive that these systems are finite and contingent constructions, which are constituted politically by the construction of social antagonisms and the creation of political frontiers. Such systems are marked by a 'constitutive outside' that renders them incomplete and vulnerable. Every discursive formation thus involves the exercise of power, as well as certain

rival methods and research strategies. But it has also meant that the concept of discourse and the methods of discourse analysis vary widely with respect to their scope and complexity. Alongside traditional concerns with the importance of 'talk and text in context', which includes conversation analysis, speech act theory and various forms of hermeneutical research, Foucault and his many followers have developed archaeological and genealogical approaches to analyze scientific discourses and systems of power or knowledge; Norman Fairclough and others have elaborated 'critical discourse analysis', whilst Wodak has articulated a distinctive form of 'historical discourse analysis'. In the fields of policy analysis, Maarten Hajer has developed a form of 'argumentative discourse analysis', while Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and others have articulated a post-Marxist theory of discourse, which they apply to the emergence, sedimentation and transformation of social formations.

Such expansion in the scope and complexity of discourse analysis in the human and social sciences arose in part because of the impact of speech act theory and the evolution of linguistic philosophy, which has gradually moved the study of language away from a concern simply with the meanings of individual words, signifiers, phrases and sentences to a consideration of the wider linguistic and non-linguistic contexts within which these linguistic events or occurrences take place. What is more, the contexts are seen to include the associated forms of action and behaviour that are entailed by different forms of speaking or writing. As some philosophers have argued, linguistic utterances like 'I promise' are not just words, signs or even assertions but acts and discursive practices that carry a certain force and consequence. Action researchers may utilize discourse analysis, particularly in the context of doctoral research.

In an important sense, the various kinds of approaches elaborated in the social sciences reflect the different starting points of the various theorists or researchers involved, as well as the specific conceptual and theoretical *resources* they draw upon in elaborating their perspectives. For example, what might be called post-structuralist or post-Marxist discourse theory stems from initial attempts to use the work of Antonio Gramsci to tackle problems of class reductionism and economic determinism in Marxist theories of politics and ideology, which can be captured under the sign of essentialism in general.

Discourse and discourse analysis have been used to explore multiple themes and objects in the social sciences. But one set of questions that casts its shadow over many of these themes is the relationship between power, subjectivity and social practice. How, then, should this critical set of connections be conceptualized in the social sciences? Amongst the various approaches that have sought to connect these elements, the work of Foucault and his followers, on the one hand, and the writings of Laclau and Mouffe and their followers, on the other, are probably the most developed, and this entry examines their accounts in more detail.

Foucault and Discursive Practices

Without adding new layers to the voluminous literature on Michel Foucault's concept of discourse and power, it is possible to pinpoint three pictures of power, each of which mirrors his different methodological orientations. Foucault's earlier archaeological analysis of knowledge focuses on the discursive production of *statements* or *serious* speech acts, in which suitably qualified subjects are empowered to make serious truth claims about objects, which are constituted within particular discursive formations, because of their training, institutional location and mode of discourse. Such utterances qualify as candidates for truth and falsity because they conform to a historically specific system of rules. They are held to be true or false because they are accepted as such by the relevant community of experts.

Foucault thus examines those discursive practices in which subjects are empowered to make serious truth claims about objects, which are constituted within particular discursive formations. Such subjects can do so because of their training, institutional location and mode of discourse. For example, assertions and predictions about the prospects of global warming only become statements when they are uttered by suitably qualified scientists and climate experts, who present plausible theories and evidence to justify their arguments. Foucault is thus able to account for the rarity of scientific discourse, the way science is demarcated from non-science, the relationship between science and ideology and so forth.

Power is important in this approach because it enables the archaeologist to locate moments of exclusion, in which certain statements are condemned to what he calls 'a wild exteriority', and because it highlights a positive set of rules that make possible the production of discourse. But, as Foucault himself later admitted, the question of power remained implicit and under-theorized in his early work. His quasi-structuralist theory of discourse ran aground on a series of methodological contradictions, not least because his purely descriptive intent pushed against the critical potential of the enterprise.

By contrast, his Nietzschean-inspired genealogical approach broadens the notion of discourse to include non-discursive practices, whilst stressing the constitutive function of power in the formation of scientific knowledge. Foucault thus broadens the scope of his investigations in this picture to stress the interweaving of various systems of 'power-knowledge' in the

(NUWODU) and the Canadian Centre on Disability Studies in order to support the programmes and work of the NUWODU. This national umbrella organization aims to promote the social, cultural, economic and political advancement of women with disabilities through advocacy. The project was initiated by the NUWODU because it wanted to both increase the skills of its members in undertaking research and discover more about the lived experience of women with disabilities as a basis for campaigning and lobbing. This case study is an example of a group (NUWODU) commissioning academic researchers to undertake research for and alongside members of the commissioning group in order that NUWODU could itself acquire action research skills and experience. This teaching of research skills is common in action research projects and fits well with the model of emancipatory research described above.

The project involved preliminary identification of key issues of concern to women with disabilities,; the development of links and networks with other organizations and universities in Uganda; the establishment of a reference group to guide the project; research training workshops for women from the NUWODU, and their subsequent involvement in interviewing women and analyzing transcripts to identify key themes, and the collaborative writing of the reports for the project. Fifty-two women were interviewed by six NUWODU researchers, with support from two students on placement.

Key themes arising from the research were policy and programme development and implementation, financial stability, accessibility, education and family. An overarching theme of attitudes towards women with disabilities was identified. At the end of the research, a number of recommendations were made. The reports do not indicate how these were followed up. However, the report was disseminated through workshops in Uganda, using leaflets and accessible booklets as well as the final report.

Implications of the Study

The research issues arose directly from the NUWODU, which sought assistance from the Canadian Centre on Disability Studies. The resulting funded research was managed as a partnership between the two organizations, with the Canadian Centre providing training and support for the women researchers and developing the analysis of the data.

The report of the research reveals that NUWODU was able to develop its research skills and capacity and to strengthen its relationships with other organizations as a result of the research project. The results were regarded as preliminary, with a stated need for further research. As in all action research, there were both process and content objectives and outcomes. Increased skills and capacity building within the NUOWDU were seen as important objectives and were regarded as having been achieved, alongside the knowledge gathered about which issues were of importance to disabled women to inform the campaigning.

Kelley Johnson and Sue Porter

See also community-based research; community-university research partnerships; conscientization; empowerment; experiential knowing; health promotion; human rights; tacit knowledge

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Discourse Analysis

Recent years have brought a flurry of excitement about the concept of discourse and the importance of discourse analysis in the human and social sciences. This has led to a growing set of contested definitions and competing theoretical assumptions, as well as

contested area of their lives. The process of action research was developmental, and the learnings from it were reciprocal. People with intellectual disabilities over time became more confident in discussing sexuality and more knowledgeable about the barriers many people confronted in leading safe sexual lives. Non-disabled researchers learned from disabled people about the increased sensitivity of the topic for them and the barriers to having their voice heard on this issue. The reference group was integral to undertaking research in this sensitive area and was a powerful influence in changing oppressive government policies in relation to sexuality and disabled people.

Case Study 2: Diabetic Services Users Group

This group was a Co-Operative Inquiry (CI) into the self-management of diabetes mellitus, commissioned in 1998 by the National Health Services in Gloucestershire, UK. The group met for eight sessions, facilitated by an independent researcher who herself had lived experience of chronic illness.

The aims were to enable participants to explore the nature of self-management of their diabetes, to enable them to manage their condition and the practitioners supporting them, to improve the design and delivery of diabetic services and professional practice and to raise awareness of the condition. The group aimed to build confidence and communication skills within the group, to enable effective feedback on the experience of using services and on possible future developments and to develop a template for the development of other, similar groups.

The research resulted in individual learning for group members, better informed professionals who had consulted with the group and wider influence through participants becoming members of the Clinical Audit Group, National Service Framework (NSF) Implementation Group and Local Diabetic Services Action Group. The group was effective in influencing service review and development and in the implementation of the NSF for Diabetes Services in Gloucestershire.

The CI methodology supported the empowerment of those participating in the inquiry. It was chosen because patients' lived experience was being undervalued by health professionals, leaving patients feeling deskilled. It was therefore important that the methodology chosen increased confidence in participants. CI is well suited as a participative research methodology where the primary source of knowledge is the self-directing person within a community of inquiry and individuals became increasingly self-actualized persons through the strengthening of self-esteem and the sense of self-efficacy as a result of participation in the research.

The CI group supported a process of conscientization, and a range of service providers were invited to speak with the group about their services (e.g. the head of the chiropody service at the time when a reduction in service was proposed). The group became increasingly confident to question and challenge the assumptions underlying some service planning. This culminated in a report presented to the Local Diabetic Services Action Group at a joint meeting with the Diabetic User Group and participants being invited to be members of various working groups reviewing, planning and implementing services. Group members also reported being more assertive about the services they used.

Implications of the Study

This project is an example of the application of an extended epistemology. Within the CI group, the participants told stories about their lives as it was affected by their diabetes, shared their experiences and found areas of common ground. They also were able to learn from each other about what they might expect from the illness and the services. The group has demonstrated the value of storytelling as a method for transfer of information and the building of confidence/assertiveness. The value is its accessibility for patients as a conversational form, rather than their being required to find more formal ways to engage with each other or the system. They were able to explore and rehearse situations as diverse as exchanges with overprotective family members and negotiating with health professionals to have a service delivered in a different manner. Participants gathered a much fuller picture of what it was to live with diabetes, which served them well when some members of the group went on to sit on planning groups, such as that implementing the NSF for Diabetes Services in the county. They were able to feel more secure in these representative positions because they had gained a deeper understanding of how diabetes affected their lives and the lives of others, and of the services they used.

The system (the National Health Services) learnt something about how to listen to differently informed opinion—lived experience rather than expert knowledge from a medical model, including professionals' discomfort with having their practice questioned. The group demonstrated the value of experience—linking lived experience and expert knowledge, particularly in its later stage when heads of service met with the group to exchange views and stories of 'how things work' and how they are experienced by those they are designed to serve.

Case Study 3: Partnership Project With National Union of Women With Disabilities in Uganda

This project involved a partnership between the National Union of Women With Disabilities in Uganda

1. It is democratic and participative—the research group contains members of the community being researched, and even if the main labour of the research is undertaken by only some members of the group, all come together as co-researchers to share data and make sense of it.
2. It develops and changes over time as a project evolves—it is 'live' and therefore responsive to the data discovered during the research inquiry. The form of the research process may therefore change as deemed appropriate by the research group, and the conclusions are emergent—it does not simply test a hypothesis.
3. It produces knowledge that is practical and useful in people's everyday lives and work.
4. Knowledge is created in and through action—there are cycles of action and reflection that lead to meaning or sense making, which is then tested again through action, with more reflection. It is grounded in participants' actual experience.
5. The research is for the general good—benefitting people, their communities and environments. Action research is not interested in abstract and non-useful information; the objective must be to improve the condition of the human and more-than-human world.

It can be said that action research aims to combine or blur the roles of researcher, research subject and activist, and to include all the different ways in which we can 'know' something—in other words, privileging not just intellectual ideas but also lived experience and feeling material. Action research is well suited to being used by disabled people and groups as it is pragmatic—there are no fixed techniques that have to be used, and so it can be tailored to the participants' strengths. We include three short case studies to illustrate how an action research approach has been used by groups of disabled people. Each of these case studies involved working with people in different ways and demonstrates the flexibility of this approach.

Doing Action Research With DPOs

Action research involving disabled people takes different forms. It usually involves representatives from DPOs or groups of disabled people who are integrally involved in the development and implementation of the research and action and also researchers who are disabled themselves or are collaborators with the DPO. There is a focus in this kind of research on (a) strengthening the organization and the capacity of participating members in terms of knowledge and information, (b) developing reciprocal skills between researchers and disabled people from DPOs, (c) contributing new knowledge about the issues important to participants in the research and (d) developing action which can be used to remove barriers or to increase the power of disabled people.

Case Study 1: Living Safer Sexual Lives

Living Safer Sexual Lives was a 3-year action research study in Australia, which used life stories by people with intellectual disabilities to gain their perspective on sexuality and relationships and to take action arising from the research. The research was not initiated by people with intellectual disabilities, but their endorsement for the approach was sought through meetings with representatives from DPOs. Representatives were then members of a reference group which guided the research. Together with the researchers, they designed questions and ways of seeking contributors, resolved ethical issues and were actively involved in analyzing the life stories which formed the basis of the research. Because of issues of confidentiality, the reference group members decided not to be involved in the development of life stories or to contribute their own stories. The research aimed to undertake action as a result of the findings of the study to support people with intellectual disabilities to live safer and more fulfilling sexual lives. The key themes arising from the research were the desire of life story contributors for adult sexual lives, negative attitudes towards their sexuality by service providers and families, the hidden nature of many people's sexual lives and loneliness and isolation.

As a result of the research, the reference group made decisions about what forms of action should be taken. The reference group members with the researchers designed workshops for people with intellectual disabilities, families and service providers with a focus on attitude change and increasing knowledge of sexuality and relationships. Members of the reference group lobbied the government to change its policies and became representatives in a government working group which redrafted policies in relation to sexuality and relationships. They used their links with self-advocacy organizations during this process to advocate for change. People with intellectual disabilities were also involved in public speaking about the findings of the research and in media coverage of it.

Implications of the Study

Disabled people did not initiate this research issue in part because sexuality was a difficult and much

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Websites

Center for Digital Storytelling: http://www.storycenter.org
Center for Digital Storytelling's Silence Speaks initiative: http://www.silencespeaks.org

Disabled People's Organizations

This entry provides a brief account of disabled people's organizations (DPOs), explores the links between their work and action research and provides three practice examples of action research involving or initiated by DPOs.

Development of DPOs

Disability is a broad term which is highly political and is defined in different ways. Traditionally, it has included people with a range of impairments which include, physical, sensory, psychiatric and intellectual. In the early twentieth century, disability was defined in terms of the impairment that people experienced, and they were frequently constituted as groups in need of medical care and protection. This approach to disabled people, with its focus on individual impairment and medicalization, has been termed by some disabled writers and academics, most particularly in the UK, as the individual or medical model. In many countries, over the past 50 years, there has been a profound shift in the way disabled people are viewed. A focus on the rights of marginalized groups following the Second World War, institutional scandals which revealed both the poor quality of life of the disabled people living in them and new theories and models of disability, such as normalization and social role valorization, led to a more rights-focused approach, which constituted disabled people as citizens who were 'disabled' not by their impairments but by societal barriers, such as discrimination, prejudice and the organization of society in ways which precluded their involvement. This approach, which places the responsibility for removing social barriers to inclusion on society, is known as the social model of disability. It has had a profound effect on government policies in the UK and underpins the UN Convention on Rights of Persons With Disabilities (2006).

The development of DPOs was an integral part of the movement to a rights-based approach towards disabled people. These organizations are formed, managed and controlled by disabled people and work for equality and rights. DPOs give a voice to disabled people and have had a profound impact on policy and practice; they have been a source of resistance to the view that professionals have the power to make decisions about their lives. It is difficult to identify when this movement began, but there are some very significant milestones. In 1969, the independent-living movement began in Berkeley, California, and remains a strong movement in many European and Australasian countries. The independent-living movement works towards self-determination, equal opportunities and respect for disabled people and for ensuring that they can exercise choice and control in their lives. In 1974, the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation began in the UK and became a significant force in shifting from the medical model of disability to the social model. People First, which represents people with learning difficulties, began in 1988, and DPOs representing people with mental health issues and sensory impairments were also developed during this time in different countries. Many of the DPOs represent specific groups of disabled people, while others are cross-disability in their focus. Some work locally or regionally within a country, others are national in their focus, while others work at an international level. For example, Disabled People's International has membership from 110 countries, more than half of which are in the southern hemisphere. DPOs have been a strong voice in campaigning and advocacy in relation to the rights of disabled people and in influencing the development of new forms of services which give disabled people power in their lives.

Action Research and DPOs

The values which have informed the work of DPOs have included the insistence that (a) such organizations be managed and owned by disabled people, (b) they involve disabled people actively in the work that they do, (c) their aims are based on the expert lived knowledge of disabled people about their own lives and are focused on the need to achieve societies where disabled people are not oppressed by barriers that prevent their full inclusion and (d) they work with and for disabled people.

The values which are espoused by DPOs in both their constitution and their work are well aligned with action research, described by Peter Reason and Hillary Bradbury as having the following characteristics:

films that link, narrate and contextualize multiple individual stories.

Special Ethical Considerations: Multilayered Consent

As with other forms of visual research, those initiating an action research project using Digital Storytelling must first reflect on the special ethical considerations it raises. First and foremost, everyone involved in a digital story action research project must understand their rights and responsibilities with regard to the research.

Second, rather than asking workshop participants to simply sign a consent form that illustrates the risks and benefits of participation, consent is best viewed as a multilayered endeavour. It can be divided into the following:

- Consent to participate in a research project and to *create* a video: Risks and benefits should focus on issues related to group dynamics, the challenges associated with confidentiality in a group setting, the discussion of potentially sensitive issues or topics and what supports and safety measures are in place.

- Consent to have one's personal voice or image *represented* in a video: While participants may agree to have their own voice and images included in their story, it is important that they also obtain permission to include images of those represented in video or photographs who are not the authors. Training in how to ask for permission may be useful. Alternatively, groups may wish to brainstorm alternatives, including identifying names, information and faces. *How else might we be able to tell a story without compromising the confidentiality of those included?*

- Consent to have one's final product *shared*: Once the digital stories are finished, participants should own their story and have the opportunity to decide whether (or not) it can be shared and with whom. Participants may decide that they do not want their stories screened at all. They may decide that they only want them screened when they are present or for small groups in educational settings. Alternatively, they may want to share them much more widely online and through other distribution methods. Careful discussions need to take place about the risks associated with sharing content on the Internet (e.g. once it is up, it never really comes down). It is much easier to be conservative about distribution at the outset than later decide to take a story back. Wanda Whitebird, an indigenous elder, counsels that 'once you tell a story, you can never take it back'. This teaching is especially true of electronic media.

- Consent to waive rights of anonymity: After creating their stories, some participants may wish to share their stories widely but remain anonymous. Others might feel very strongly that they want to be credited for their work and have their names attached to their own stories. Both standpoints should be respected. Even if participants decide that they want to remain anonymous, facilitators may need to carefully review the content of their stories with them. In small communities, it may be impossible to safeguard identity, particularly if the stories or events described are well known. There is also always a risk that people's voices might be recognized. Each of these stages requires careful discussion so that participants understand the short- and long-term implications of their decisions.

Conclusion

Digital Storytelling blends the ancient art of storytelling with modern multimedia technology to create short films that have the potential to empower individuals and have an impact on communities. Increasingly, action researchers are leveraging the method to illuminate new ways of understanding health and social issues. Despite the potential that Digital Storytelling offers to those engaged in emancipatory scholarship and community-based practice, great care must be taken to ensure that thoughtful and informed ethical principles are employed.

Sarah Flicker and Amy Hill

See also arts-based action research; ethics and moral decision-making; narrative; oral history; organizational storytelling; Photovoice; storytelling

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perhaps with others you've been working alongside. The collective story screening is a key aspect of a Digital Storytelling workshop. Once your video is done, it is important to take a moment to revel in your accomplishments. After sharing your story, you may decide you want to edit it further, limit its circulation or disseminate it widely. *How does an audience respond? How does it feel to know that others are witnessing your story? What does it feel like to have a story that was once inside you, now outside?*

How Is Digital Storytelling Different From Other Participatory Video Methods?

Digital Storytelling distinguishes itself from other forms of participatory video projects in a number of ways. First, digital stories typically focus on individual lives and experiences and are largely autobiographical in nature. In contrast to other types of film projects, they do not generally require actors to play out scenes or authoritative 'experts' to share facts or talk about people in a remote, third person voice. Instead, digital stories are rooted in personal accounts.

Second, digital stories usually employ a pared-down visual treatment rather than one that is flashy, laden with special effects or overproduced. Because still images are often easier to work with than video footage, and because more people have still images (or can create still images) than video, digital stories are often made up largely of still images. With tight workshop timelines, especially in groups with limited technological savvy, it is easier to support storytellers in becoming proficient at manipulating stills. The resulting slower pace of digital stories can sometimes help audiences focus on what is being said.

Finally, most digital stories are edited by their authors. Digital Storytelling workshops emphasize hands-on software training to enable storytellers to make their own decisions about what to say or show. This is in contrast to many other participatory video methods, which bring people together to determine the desired content for a film and sometimes assist with ideography but quite often rely on outside, 'professional' technicians to edit the final videos.

Uses of Digital Storytelling

Digital Storytelling is used for multiple purposes, depending on the overall vision of a given project. Its primary purpose is generally to empower workshop participants to tell their own stories and develop new media and technology literacy. Digital Storytelling is widely used in educational settings. The methods are flexible and enriching enough that they can be used both in the elementary school curriculum and in post-graduate courses. Digital story creation is a unique pedagogical strategy that can be adapted by educators to help students reflect deeply on the connections between the personal and the political. The process of developing and sharing a story can be cathartic for many people. In addition, the products that come out of Digital Storytelling workshops can be used as tools to raise awareness about a variety of health and social issues. Some stories are also used for political organizing and advocacy. For example, the Center for Digital Storytelling's Silence Speaks initiative collaborates with organizations around the world to position Digital Storytelling as a method for promoting gender equality, women's health and human rights.

Increasingly, Digital Storytelling is being used by health and social science researchers as a strategy for gathering rich, multi-sensory data about important social issues. Both the process and the products can be studied by action researchers who are interested in participatory visual methodologies. The stories themselves provide important glimpses into how research participants see, understand and choose to depict their worlds.

Lisa Wexler and colleagues have worked with native youth living in 12 villages in northwest Alaska to produce 271 digital stories that explore how young people are growing up in a world very different from that of their parents and grandparents. Gendered analyses point to the need for more mentorship opportunities for young men in order to offer different role models of success. These findings can be used to inform the development of assets-based interventions that more closely align with local community values.

Similarly, Sarah Flicker and colleagues have used digital stories as a way to understand indigenous leadership possibilities. Her research team was interested in countering negative stereotypes and engaged 18 Aboriginal youth leaders in a workshop to tell their stories of HIV activism (www.TakingAction4Youth.org). Not only were the stories themselves understood as data, but the youth also participated in individual in-depth interviews to discuss the process, outcomes and potential of story sharing as a decolonizing strategy.

While the two examples highlighted above focus on indigenous communities in North American contexts, the method has been used all over the world to study a range of issues. Darcy Alexandra has used Digital Storytelling to explore the autobiographies and experiences of undocumented migrants to Ireland. Claudia Mitchell's work has focused on HIV prevention and gender-based violence in South Africa. She has written about the possibilities of creating longer composite

workshop format that blended ancient narrative techniques with modern audiovisual media, to help stories come alive and be more easily disseminated. Its work was steeped in the democratic ideals of developing critical multimedia literacy skills and helping people retain control over their own stories. The centre believes that bringing groups of people together to collectively work on individual stories is an important part of the process.

One of the features that make Digital Storytelling different from other traditional forms of story sharing is its potential reach. Digital Storytelling was born in the dawn of, and has evolved in tandem with, the Internet and social media era. Social networking platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, Google+, blogs, YouTube and countless others, have made sharing new media nearly effortless in areas where connectivity is easily available. As a result, the potential reach of compelling stories knows ever fewer bounds. Personal stories mingle with news and other forms of information to become powerful political symbols and codes for social struggles. In places where distribution via online or mobile tools is not possible, digital stories (or components of the original products) can be broadcast via traditional television and radio outlets.

What Is a Digital Story?

A digital story is typically a 2- to 5-minute short film that synthesizes some combination of voice recording, still images, video clips, music or audio and text. Stories produced by the Center for Digital Storytelling generally

1. are self-revelatory, told in first person voice;
2. convey emotion;
3. explore lived experience rather than fictional plots;
4. privilege still images and a simple visual aesthetic;
5. may include music and sound; and
6. are short (approximately 2–5 minutes in length).

Digital stories are produced in a workshop format with the assistance of skilled facilitators, in a safe, technology-enabled environment. The process of creating stories is viewed as just as important as, if not more important than, the final video product that emerges. Facilitators normally have expertise in group dynamics; various approaches to oral, visual and written narrative development and theory and video-editing software. Workshops generally take place over a contiguous 3- or 4-day period and result in final products that are ready for screening. (A minimum of approximately 24 hours is required to complete the standard process, which can be spread out over multiple days or weeks, though more longitudinal and even short-form workshops have been practised.)

The Seven Steps to Creating a Digital Story

As practiced by the Center for Digital Storytelling, the process of creating digital stories usually involves all or some of the following seven key steps:

Step 1: Own your insights. In this stage, you choose a story you want to share. *What is the story you want to tell? What does it mean to you?*

Step 2: Own your emotions. In this stage, you decide on a mood for your story. Some stories are funny, others are sad or poignant or even angry. *What emotions do you want to convey? What audible, textual or visual strategies can you use to show emotion?*

Step 3: Find the moment. An effective or engaging story often employs a narrative arc that describes the lead-up to actions and events (climax), followed by resolution. When authors share facts, they are simply providing information. When authors tell a story, they can convey nuance and meaning without naming the moral or the data or lesson they might want an audience to glean. *Can you describe particular moments of change or truth in great detail? How can you reveal this transformation in your story?*

Step 4: See your story. A digital story is a multimedia piece. Audio narrative is complemented with supporting visuals and vice versa. *What images come to mind as you tell your story? Are they literal? Metaphorical? Abstract? How can they be used to add depth and impact to your story?*

Step 5: Hear your story. Now that you have figured out what you want to say, you're ready to record your voice. In this stage, you create a voice-over and make decisions about the soundtrack (e.g. music or ambient noise, silence or sound effects). *How do you want your story to sound?*

Step 6: Assemble your story. In this stage, you use video-editing software to bring all the elements of your story together. By laying voice, sounds and images and adding transitions and effects, you complete your final product. *How does it all fit together? What is the relationship between the different elements? Complementary? Redundant? Juxtaposing?*

Step 7: Share your story. The last step is to share the final product, first with yourself and

others rose to the challenge and continued to ask awkward questions: What happened in those closed rooms where others decided our fate? Was the outcome predetermined? Was there anything we could have done to change it?

Some of these questions became awkward not only to the company confronted but also to the diggers themselves: The fish are dying up to 20 miles out at sea. We must pose the moral problem: How much environmental damage is a job worth? How much dirt can a job produce and still be a valid contribution to the community?

The Dig Where You Stand Movement had its high tide in the 1980s. It did not reach its primary aim of increasing workers' power in the workplace. It did, however, bring together enough documentary, physical and oral evidence to make the working life of the working classes part of a permanently broadened concept of history.

Sven Lindqvist

See also Critical Utopian Action Research; Norwegian Industrial Democracy Movement; research circles

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Digital Storytelling

Participatory video strategies have proliferated as technology has become more accessible, available and approachable. Digital Storytelling is a participatory approach to telling (and sharing) stories using new media technologies. By blending recorded oral narratives with simple yet compelling visuals, Digital Storytelling practices put the power of the media into the hands of the populace. It is becoming increasingly popular as a Community-Based Participatory Research method.

This entry briefly reviews the history of Digital Storytelling, describes how to make a digital story, explains how Digital Storytelling is different from other participatory video methods, offers examples of how digital stories are being used in community-based and academic settings and explores some of the unique ethical challenges associated with the method.

History

Storytelling has long been used as a strategy for engaging, educating and entertaining. Cultures around the world use stories to preserve and share historical knowledge and transmit values. Storytelling also serves a spiritual and ceremonial function for many indigenous communities. All stories are told through a narrator, who describes the plot, context and characters. Some stories are ancient and are reworked with each telling. Others are newly birthed. Everyone has stories to share.

The Center for Digital Storytelling was born in the early 1990s out of a desire to help people tell and share personal stories with grace. Drawing on the legacies of participatory development, Freirian education models of critical consciousness-raising and the feminist motto that the personal *is* political, the centre believed in the transformative power of everyday narratives. Eschewing the notion that art ought to be created only by those with talent and professional training, Joe Lambert and his colleagues sought to codify a methodology that would allow ordinary people to develop their own compelling narratives. The centre developed a concise

both to the others and othernesses around them and to themselves. In more homely terms, there can be a shift in Dialogue Conferences and public conversations from what we might call 'up-in-the-air' to 'down-on-the-ground' talk.

John Shotter

See also Critical Utopian Action Research; Norwegian Industrial Democracy Movement; Tavistock Institute; Work Research Institute, The

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Dig Where You Stand Movement

The Dig Where You Stand Movement, or Dig Movement for short, was named after its central document, a Swedish handbook for industrial workers on how to research the history of their own work and workplace. Written by Sven Lindqvist and published in 1978, it helped create 10,000 'barefoot' research groups in Sweden, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria and Canada. Their results were published in hundreds of exhibitions, books, pamphlets and theatrical plays, and more permanently in 1,300 Swedish 'museums of working life' with technical and methodological support by a new national institution, the 'Museum of Working Life' in Norrköping.

The idea of 'digging' for truth close to home can be traced back to Friedrich Nietzsche, who wrote 'Wo du stehst, grab tiefhinein!' ('Where you stand, dig in deeply!', Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, Poem 3).

The idea of workers researching their own history emerged during the Russian revolution. Maxim Gorky edited the periodical *History of Factories and Workshops.* Publication was suspended during World War II and then resumed after the war had completely changed character. Company history was now, in the East as in the West, written by professionals to celebrate company anniversaries.

The original idea of a workers' history of work and workplace resurfaced in China during the Great Leap Forward (1958–61). It was called 'Dig the Bitter Roots', and the aim was to uncover the hardships and indignities of pre-revolutionary working conditions. The results were published in exhibitions, in newspaper articles and over local radio. Sven Lindqvist became aware of this movement while studying Chinese at Beijing University in 1961.

At the same time, a new interest in the remains of the Industrial Revolution emerged in the UK. Small groups of amateur historians gathered to protect and restore industrial buildings and machinery. The movement got its name from Kenneth Hudson's television programmes and his book *Industrial Archaeology* (1963). Hudson inspired Gunnar Sillén and other professional protectors of the cultural heritage of Sweden to make their projects include industrial monuments.

For traditional historians, history has, by definition, been the past as recorded in documents written at the time. The lower classes, having left few documents behind, are by definition without history. The Oral History Movement in the UK attempted to fill this gap by systematically collecting and recording old people's memories. Paul Thompson's 1978 volume *The Voice of the Past* became the central text of the oral historians.

In Sweden, these ideas and their metaphor were combined under the heading 'Dig Where You Stand.' The Swedish way of digging differed from similar movements in Britain and Germany in its emphasis on the expertise of the worker. Lindqvist encouraged workers not to be afraid of being experts and to see their own workplaces as a point of departure for their research.

The Swedish movement also differed in its emphasis on power. Business ownership has brought with it the power to decide how company history should be presented and understood. The workplaces of thousands have often been seen from the viewpoint of a few owners and directors. Most workers know little about their forerunners, and Lindqvist makes it clear that it is imperative that this history be uncovered because the impact of this history still influences the present. Such was the message that fired the Dig Movement in the optimistic days of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Then came globalization, the economic crisis and the restructuring of European industry. Many jobs were lost; many diggers changed to a nostalgic mood. But

areas, some dilemmas about their own beliefs, or even conflicts within themselves. Sometimes these grey areas are revealed when people consider hard-case circumstances in which a pro-life person might want to allow an abortion or situations in which a pro-choice person might not want to permit an abortion. Or . . .

Step 5: (65 minutes)—Participants asked questions of each other.

Step 6: (20 minutes)—The dialogue was finished with the following questions: What do you think you have done to make this conversation go, or not go, as it has? Have you any parting thoughts you would like to share?

Step 7: Follow up—A few weeks later, a follow-up telephone call was made.

The consequences of such dialogues as these were reported in the *Boston Globe* report on the Public Conversations Project: 'Talking With the Enemy' (Sunday, 28 January 2001). In July 1995, six religious leaders involved in the pro-choice/pro-life debate, three from either side, were invited by the Public Conversations Project to meet, and they continued to meet for nearly 5½ years, over more than 150 hours; and 6 years after the shootings in Brookline, on the 28th anniversary of the US Supreme Court's landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision, they decided to publicly disclose their meetings for the first time.

The early meetings were difficult. There were many clashes over each other's language, with many disagreements still unresolved. Yet, even after a year of meeting, their increased understanding of each other affected how they spoke as leaders of their respective movements. And the news media, unaware of their meetings, nonetheless began noting differences in their public statements, their toning down of their rhetoric and their tendency to no longer attack their opponents. This seemed to be critical. Curiosity rather than anger at each other's differences led to the creation of a previously lacking common ground.

The overall outcome of their meetings, however, seems paradoxical. For even after nearly 6 years of meeting, they remained deeply divided; they saw that their differences on abortion reflected two irreconcilable world views. So why did they continue to meet? Because as they faced their opponents, they were able to see their dignity and goodness. They also felt that they had become wiser and more effective leaders, more knowledgeable about their political opponents and more able to avoid being overreactive and disparaging and to focus instead on affirming their respective causes.

Conclusion

The focus, then, in the Dialogue Conferences and meetings discussed above, is on the new forms of relationship and the new worlds that can be created within them.

European Example. Although most of the criteria cited above emerged out of trial-and-error experiences with what is needed to make workplace and enterprise dialogues function, with hindsight, it is possible to formulate good reasons for their usefulness. For instance, the first orientational directive—the demand that work experience form the point of departure—leads people away from talking in abstractions, in representational 'aboutness' talk, and towards talking in terms of concrete, personal experiences: a moving way of talking that creates a felt response in listeners to which they can readily respond. Indeed, if the overall aim of Dialogue Conferences is to provide opportunities for all those concerned with a region's development to create a shared sense of their previously unnoticed resourceful relations to each other, then their living responsiveness to each other is crucial. As noted earlier, like actors in a play, rather than the participants each separately experiencing the region in which they live and working as neutral, inanimate objects to which they must orient themselves individually in their responsive relations to one other, the Dialogue Conferences come to have a life of their own. When this occurs, all involved come to co-ordinate their activities together in being answerable to its calls. But this is only possible if all involved play out aspects of their roles with the others around them in responsive attendance.

American Example. Similarly, although the procedures followed emerged out of experiences in the family therapy consulting room, it is again possible with hindsight to formulate good reasons for them. What is crucial here in affording these results is the changed role of language and speech, a shift from talk functioning in a passive representational manner in relation to general concepts to its working in a moving, responsive manner, within the landscape of an extensive arena of shareable different work experiences. It is our responsive understandings that can change us in how we relate ourselves to the others and othernesses around us.

And it is in this respect—in emphasizing the importance of people recounting their particular, lived experiences rather than their general beliefs and/or principles—that the Boston Public Conversations Project parallels the Dialogue Conferences conducted in Gustavsen's Learning Regions Program: It is not so much new knowledge as such that people gain in such experiences but new orientations, new ways of relating

Debate	*Dialogue*
Pre-meeting communication between sponsors and participants is minimal and largely irrelevant.	Pre-meeting contacts and preparation of participants are essential elements of the full process.
Participants tend to be leaders known for propounding a carefully crafted position. The personas displayed in the debate are usually already familiar to the public. The behaviour of the participants conforms to stereotypes.	Those chosen to participate are not necessarily outspoken 'leaders'. Whoever they are, they speak as individuals whose own unique experiences differ in some respects from those of others on the same 'side'. Their behaviour is likely to vary in some degree and along some dimensions from stereotypic images others may hold of them.
The atmosphere is threatening; attacks and interruptions are expected by participants and are usually permitted by moderators.	The atmosphere is one of safety; facilitators propose, get agreement on and enforce clear ground rules to enhance safety and promote respectful exchange.
Participants speak as representatives of groups.	Participants speak as individuals from their own unique experience.
Participants speak to their own constituents and, perhaps, to the undecided middle.	Participants speak to each other.
Differences within 'sides' are denied or minimized.	Differences among participants on the same 'side' are revealed as individual and personal foundations of beliefs and values are explored.
Participants express unswerving commitment to a point of view, approach or idea.	Participants express uncertainties as well as deeply held beliefs.
Participants listen in order to refute the other side's data and to expose faulty logic in their arguments. Questions are asked from a position of certainty. These questions are often rhetorical challenges or disguised statements.	Participants listen to understand and gain insight into the beliefs and concerns of the others. Questions are asked from a position of curiosity.
Statements are predictable and offer little new information.	New information surfaces.
Success requires impassioned statements.	Success requires exploration of the complexities of the issue being discussed.
Debates operate within the constraints of the dominant public discourse. (The discourse defines the problem and the options for resolution. It assumes that fundamental needs and values are already clearly understood).	Participants are encouraged to question the dominant public discourse, that is, to express fundamental needs that may or may not be reflected in the discourse and to explore various options for problem definition and resolution. Participants may discover inadequacies in the usual language and concepts used in the public debate.

Table 1 *On Distinguishing Debate From Dialogue*

SOURCE: Taken from Becker, C., Chasin, L., Chasin, R., Herzig, M., & Roth, S. (1995). From stuck debate to new conversation on controversial issues: A report from the Public Conversations Project. In K. Weingarten (Ed.), *Cultural resistance: Challenging beliefs about men, women, and therapy* (pp. 143–164). New York, NY: Harrington Press. Reprinted with permission.

Step 3: Orientation (20 minutes)—It was suggested that participants make agreements with each other to maintain confidentiality, to use respectful language, to let each person finish speaking and to allow 'passing' in response to questions.

Step 4: (45 minutes)—Three questions (two go-rounds and one popcorn) were asked. (1) We would like you to say something about your own life experiences in relation to the issue of abortion. For example, something about your personal history with the issue, how you got interested, what your involvement has been. (2) What is at the heart of the matter for you? (3) Many people have within their general approach some grey

- Dialogue is based on a principle of give and take, or two-way discourse, not one-way communication (participants must be responsive to each other).
- Participants are under an obligation to help other participants be active in the dialogue.
- All participants have the same rank in the dialogue arenas.
- Some of the concrete experiences possessed by participants on entering the dialogue must be seen as relevant.
- It must be possible for all participants to gain an understanding of the topics under discussion (time must be spent in achieving this).
- An argument can be rejected only after exploration of its details (and not, e.g., on the grounds that it emanates from a source with limited legitimacy).
- All arguments that are to enter the dialogue must be expressed by the actors present.
- All participants are obliged to accept that other participants may have arguments better than their own.
- Among the issues that can be made subject to discussion are also the ordinary work roles of the participants—no one is exempt from such a discussion (something unique can be seen from every position in a relational landscape).
- The dialogue should be able to integrate a growing number of differences (indeed, it is precisely from their integration into a living whole that a sense of a workplace's or a region's relational landscape emerges).
- The dialogue should continuously generate decisions that provide platforms for joint action.

Rather than functioning in any foundational manner, as a set of general underlying principles to which participants are meant to conform, when arrayed as a set of criteria, these directives can function as a set of reminders working to orient participants towards what Dialogue Conferences are. At certain crucial moments, they can work to bring to public attention unnoticed tendencies already at work in people's spontaneous ways of working with each other, and thus to refine and elaborate them further.

American: The Public Conversations Project

On the morning of 30 December 1994, John Salvi walked into the Planned Parenthood clinic in Brookline, Boston, USA, and opened fire with a rifle. He seriously wounded three people and killed the receptionist, Shannon Lowney, as she spoke on the phone. He then ran to his car and drove 2 miles down Beacon Street to Preterm Health Services, where he began shooting again, injuring two and killing the receptionist, Lee Ann Nichols. Ever since the *Roe v. Wade* landmark decision by the US Supreme Court in 1973, on the issue of abortion, the pro-life/pro-choice debate in America has remained unresolved.

Laura Rockefeller Chasin had already noticed in her work as a family therapist similarities between polarized public conversations and 'stuck' family conversations, when each person overgeneralizes and builds a case about the other person. Having already learned how to move from closed debate to more open dialogue, she and her colleagues began to wonder if what they had learned in the therapy room could be applied in the abortion controversy.

As they saw it, in a debate, (a) people speak of general principles from a position of certainty as representatives of a larger but absent group, (b) they defend their own beliefs, (c) they attack the other side, (d) they listen for the opportunity to oppose and, as a result, (e) differences become barriers, leading to insurmountable social problems. While in a dialogue (if it is staged and monitored appropriately), (a) exchanges occur in which people speak and listen openly and respectfully to each other; (b) experiences, perspectives and beliefs are exchanged; (c) people speak of individual experiences over a range of different stances; (d) people listen with interest and curiosity and speak to learn more and, as a result, (e) the differences expressed between them become resources for the group.

The groups involved ranged from four to eight participants, but groups of six seemed to be ideal. Sessions took place from 6.00 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. on weekday evenings. Seven important steps were involved in staging and monitoring the conversations:

Step 1: Known partisans of one side or the other in the abortion debate were contacted by telephone and offered the chance to experience their differences from each other and to explore them in a deeper manner than usual in a safe atmosphere. Participants were then sent a letter reiterating what was said in the telephone call about fostering a safe environment, along with the debate or dialogue table (see Table 1), some questions to ponder and the request to bring to the dialogue session 'the part of you that listens thoughtfully and respectfully to others, not the part that is prone to persuade, defend or attack'.

Step 2: On their initial arrival, participants shared a light meal and were asked to say a few words about themselves, without indicating on what side of the issue they stood.

and resolution of public concerns. Two main origins and their developments—European and American—will be discussed. The entry also describes the steps involved in setting them up and discusses what it is that people can do together in such arenas that they cannot do as separate individuals.

European: The 'Learning Regions' Programme

In Europe, Dialogue Conferences had their origin in early efforts at implementing democratic theory with the aim of producing workplace democracy in organizations. In Norway, they were influenced by ideas drawn from the British Sociotechnical School, founded on principles originally developed in the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in the 1950s, and had the character of attempts to put theory into practice. These early attempts were unsuccessful. As Bjørn Gustavsen ironically noted, there seemed to be a lack of self-liberating interest among Norwegian workers, which led to the realization that working people seem to react against theories of democratization that are imposed on them. They seem to implicitly identify democracy as the right to create the theory which is to prevail in their workplace themselves.

Thus, what emerged out of these early attempts at workplace democratization was the importance of local theory, local ways of implementing the aims expressed within an open framework of general theory—such as giving people more freedom and competence in their jobs, claiming shop floor rights, participation in determining workplace conditions and so on. Local features, which might seem small and unimportant to outside observers, can make all the difference to those working in these conditions. All these lead to a reappraisal of the role of theory as such, and particularly that of general theory.

Attention thus shifted from efforts at implementing democratic theory to the conditions and processes that generate different forms of organization and to the importance of Jürgen Habermas' concept of communicative action. This suggested that dialogue might be the answer. But how might all participants have an equal right to speak? How might the emergence of interpersonal processes different from those taking place in the ordinary hierarchical organization of an industrial enterprise be occasioned? In other words, how might the scene be set? How might open discussion as such be possible?

Crucial, among many other criteria central to the design of Dialogue Conferences—in American, as we shall see, as well as in European contexts—is the requirement that people speak in relation to their own actual lived experiences and not in terms guided by what they take to be the meaning (their opinions) of a particular general concept for them in their workplace. And it is this—especially when it comes to the importance of local details—that strangely can put all participants on an equal footing.

When liberal democracies were first being developed, the 'entrance ticket' to the dialogue was mainly ownership rights, and work experience was excluded as something individual and singular, as not being in itself a resource for participation in such dialogues. But it now turns out that the opposite is the case. For not only does it create an equality of participation, but also such talk—although it might be expressed in terms of seemingly unimportant local details—can draw out a responsive reaction from those to whom it is addressed. The importance of all involved being able, spontaneously, to be responsive to the expressions of the others around them cannot be overemphasized. For, to the extent that all these particular expressions occur within a shared arena of common experiences, they will all be interrelated to each other. Thus, a shared sense of the overall landscape of people's work life experiences within a particular organization, or economic experiences within a particular region, can begin to emerge.

Thus, in the turn away from general theory as a basis for the implementation of new practices—while retaining it as an open framework of desired goals—and the turn towards work experiences as a basis for the conduct of Dialogue Conferences, participants realize that they face two very different kinds of difficulties in life—not just the one they simply call problem-solving. There are also what they might call difficulties of orientation, which they resolve by arriving at an appropriate way of relating themselves to their, at first, indeterminate circumstances. For their initial task is to get clear as to what it is in the situations bewildering them that they need to attend to. As Donald Schön suggested some time ago, besides a problem-solving ability, competent practitioners must also undertake 'problem setting'—a process by which, in interaction with the situation in question, they name the things to which they will attend and frame the context in which they will attend to them.

In line with Schön's suggestion above, it is possible to set out a number of 'orientational directives' relevant to the creation and facilitation of Dialogue Conferences:

- Work experience is the point of departure for participation (concrete examples are important—in particular, moving events that one has been struck by).
- All concerned with the issues under discussion should have the possibility of participating.

suspension or 'holding lightly' of current beliefs, ways of thinking, assumptions and so on.
- The conversation is held over time, possibly considerable time (at each time of meeting, e.g. 2–3 hours, as well as numbers of meetings). This aims to slow down automatic responses, to provide space for new ways of thinking.
- Over time it engenders trust, openness, transparency and risk-taking.
- It is an exchange where there is an iteration of listening and hearing and speaking. It rests on collective inquiry, depending very much on what takes place between participants as they trigger new thinking and reflection in one another.
- The facilitator works to introduce and remind people of the rules of dialogue and gently guides people back from other conventional, 'rut-like' ways of talking.
- The questioning seeks deeper levels of context and understanding of the roots of actions and behaviour; it is able to examine assumptions and loops of thinking.
- By getting insight into the ways we think and feel and the ways we think (and feel) about our thinking (and feeling), new insights are gained regarding our reflection and the actions which result from this process.

In using dialogue as a method of inquiry, researchers have to be prepared in certain particular ways. For a researcher engaged in action research, dialogue can be a powerful method of unpacking and revealing complex and hidden subjectivities. Some of the specific elements of preparation of the researcher (or her team) are derived from the above.

First, the researcher has to build and nurture a relationship of mutual respect and trust with the respondents (the subjects in the dialogue); without trust, it is difficult to facilitate opening up of the innermost dynamics and feelings.

Second, trust building takes time and investment; emotional opening up is a two-way process; dialogue is not psychoanalysis; hence, the researcher should be able to invest emotionally in the larger good of the social system and the actors within it.

Third, the capacity to listen, echo, resonate and empathize is essential in the process of dialogue; without listening, voicing gets interrupted in dialogues. In order to listen, the researcher has to be open to contestations and conflicts in relation to herself, her positions and views and her very act of inquiry.

Fourth, in certain stages of the dialogue, to go deeper into the underlying dynamics of the issues entailed, the researcher has to be able to confront and cajole the respondents to continue their articulation of the issues. Capacity to confront has to be in addition to capacity to empathize.

Fifth, the dialogue needs to be recorded in a manner that captures the subjectivity of the process as well as the meanings behind it. Researchers have to be creative in using multiple modes of recording such dialogues for data assembly, collation, synthesis and analysis.

In conclusion, dialogue can be a powerful method of inquiry in those situations where the subjectivity of the respondents in a social setting is crucial to its understanding. Finding ways to engage the actors in inquiry so that they can articulate and reflect on their subjective experiences of the deep dynamics of the setting can be really rewarding. Many such successful efforts at dialogue also result in a deepening commitment of actors to transform their setting, in a way producing effective action outcomes from the inquiry itself. For this method of action research to be deployed properly in the process of inquiry, preparation of researchers is crucial. Many a time, the method is not used because researchers do not feel confident to do so. Efforts made to prepare researchers in a mentored mode can enhance the efficacy of dialogue as a method of inquiry in action research.

Rajesh Tandon

See also dialogic inquiry; Freire, Paulo

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Dialogue Conferences

The aim of Dialogue Conferences is to provide an arena of discussion in which all those participating can create a common ground for their own further collaborative activities. Crucial to such projects is not the sharing of ideas but of experiences; people need to feel that the principles governing their public behaviour are ones in which they have all participated in creating. To date, Dialogue Conferences (and their close cousin, public conversations) have been used in work life reform, industrial democracy, regional and community development projects, local government economic planning, correcting gender and racial inequalities, health-care reforms, conflict resolution and in many other areas to do with the clarification

students' questions and supportive of their collaborative attempts to answer them. Nevertheless, more teacher research showing the effectiveness of dialogic inquiry has the potential to hasten the necessary changes.

Mari Haneda

See also classroom-based action research; collaborative action research; community of inquiry; dialogue; educational action research

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Dialogue

Inquiry into complex social realities entails a critical and reflective elaboration of various meanings and interpretations. In action research, the subjective realities of actors in a social system are full of valuable and relevant data for inquiry into the dynamics of that system. Subjective realities of actors in a given social setting are not easy to access, decipher or understand by another researcher, howsoever sensitive and experienced she may be. Articulation of subjectivity is enabled through critical questioning, a process not so easy for an actor to engage in on one's own. It is in such contexts that *dialogue* can be a meaningful method of inquiry in action research.

Dialogue has its roots in the Socratic didactics. Human philosophy, ethics and morality were elaborated through a public process of dialogue in the Greek era; Socrates made it a science. In contemporary usage, *dialogue* is a process of querying, questioning and reflection on the responses to those questions, with enablement and support from a facilitator-researcher. While dialogue implies a conversation between the two, in certain situations a team of researchers may engage a group of actors in a social setting in a *dialogue*; essentially, the process of inquiry is carried forward in a conversation which is critical, reflective and systematic.

Some of the early theoretical formulations for dialogue in action research came from the work and writings of Paulo Freire; in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), Freire argued for the use of dialogue as a contribution to conscientization, a process of critical awareness of one's own reality, built on the basis of analysis of subjective experiences. Use of dialogue as a method of inquiry has been most elaborated since then. In this practical way, certain characteristics of this process of dialogue have emerged over time. In a systematic approach, dialogue as a method of action research can serve the purposes of inquiry when conducted as such. Drawing upon the work of Yoland Wadsworth, Rajesh Tandon (2002) describes a number of characteristics of dialogue as a method of inquiry:

- Questions of inquiry take into consideration topics of interest to the particular participants in that setting.
- Seeking information is not merely discussion, debate or argumentation; it is about listening and questioning.
- Questioning is neither adversarial nor consensus oriented; it is able to 'sit with' different and conflicting views. There is an emphasis on generating general questioning rather than the giving of 'answers'.
- All contributions are honoured, respected and heard.
- No content is excluded; all is worthy of discussion.
- People speak for themselves ('I') and not on behalf of others ('they' or 'we').
- The process is able to sit comfortably with silences.
- The process involves careful and focused listening and the giving of attention to other's and to one's own reactions; it involves also the

question being addressed. Other forms of data that were collected included student-produced artefacts, such as models, illustrations and their written texts, as well as notes jotted down in class and written reflections after the lesson. Most often, a teacher-researcher carried out some form of qualitative analysis of particular events, drawing on video clips and transcriptions of them to illustrate her or his interpretation of the data set as a whole. Analysis of transcript data in a quantitative manner makes it possible systematically to address questions about the nature of the discourse that occurs under different conditions. For example, the form and quality of the discourse in different subject areas or different activity contexts can be investigated, or the effect of introducing a change in some aspect of classroom organization.

Examples of Quantitative Analysis of Classroom Discourse

Large-scale quantitative analysis of discourse data requires the creation of a coding scheme based on a comprehensive linguistic theory and designed to answer a specific question. In his work, Wells draws on Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics; he treats discourse as being organized at a number of levels, with units at one level including one or more units at the level below. For example, a lesson consists of a number of episodes, each having a pedagogical goal; each episode consists of one or more sequences addressing the same topic, which in turn consists of one or more exchanges. An exchange has an initiating (I) move, which typically gives or demands information and is followed by a responding (R) move, which either acknowledges the information given or provides the information that was demanded; in the latter case, there is frequently a follow-up (F) move, which may evaluate the response or build on it in a variety of ways, such as expanding it or requesting the responder to do so. This exchange structure is often referred to as I-R-(F). When the initiating move makes a demand, a further distinction is made between a demand for information that is assumed to be known and one that invites many possible responses. The follow-up move is also characterized with respect to the manner in which it takes up the response or fails to do so.

In one investigation of whole-class discussions in 45 lessons, the coding scheme was used to explore the relationship between the teachers' choice of question type—whether for known information or for exploration—the length and complexity of the students' responses and the type of follow-up move the teachers made to student responses to questions of the two kinds. While the results were complex, there was clear evidence that when the teachers attempted to adopt an inquiry approach, they were more likely to initiate episodes in which they encouraged exploration rather than simply managing recitation of information and that in such episodes the students offered longer and more complex contributions. Also the teachers used the follow-up move more to sustain and extend the discussion than to evaluate student contributions.

In a second investigation carried out at the end of the DICEP project, a comparison was made between the discourse style of eight teachers earlier and later in their participation in the project. Drawing on the work of Martin Nystrand and his colleagues, three new categories were added to the coding scheme: Level of Cognitive Demand, Level of Evaluation and the occurrence of Student Questions of a substantive kind. While the later recordings showed evidence of the teachers having moved towards a more dialogic style, with higher scores on each of the added categories, the prevailing mode of discussion continued to be in the triadic (I-R-F) mode, and there were relatively few episodes of what Nystrand called 'true discussion'. Nevertheless, further qualitative analysis of these later recordings showed that the teachers were adopting a 'dialogic stance' and their students were taking a much more active role in the co-construction of knowledge about the topics being explored.

Achievements and Challenges

Dialogic inquiry is essentially a way of operationalizing a sociocultural theory of learning, particularly in contexts of formal education. DICEP involved three groups of learners: students, classroom teachers and university researchers. Each group engaged in different kinds of learning but collaborated with each other as they pursued their different inquiries. It was also an attempt to create a partnership between university researchers and public school teachers in enabling the teachers to (a) undertake their own professional development through collaborative action research and (b) share their findings with other educators through conference presentations and publication. Both these aims were convincingly met. Even when the funding for the project came to an end, the teacher members continued to work as a collaborative group, conducting and reporting on further inquiries. Furthermore, as other educators heard and read about DICEP's achievements, similar projects started up in other places.

While there is growing intellectual support for the principles underlying dialogic inquiry, there is also increasing difficulty in putting them into practice. Chief among these challenges is the current emphasis on a standardized curriculum and assessment of individual students' ability to answer questions of a 'known-answer' kind. Under these conditions, teachers receive little encouragement in (and are often prohibited from) exploring alternative approaches that are responsive to

and, second, as an approach to teachers' professional development.

Origins

The importance of dialogue with more competent others for children's linguistic and intellectual development was one of the more important findings of a large-scale longitudinal study of preschool children's spontaneous talk carried out by Gordon Wells in the Bristol Study (1969–84). Children who experienced more conversation with their parents and older siblings were more likely to make accelerated progress in learning to talk and more likely to be successful in school, as measured by tests conducted at ages 7 and 10 years. The reasons for their more rapid development can be attributed to two features of their linguistic interactions. First, as Michael Halliday observed, children naturally develop language to perform interactional functions that are important to them and, second, when others take up and help children to extend their ability to talk about topics that interest them, they are receiving assistance in what Lev Vygotsky called the 'Zone of Proximal Development'.

When a subsample of the children in the Bristol Study were regularly observed in their first 5 years in school, it was found that they rarely experienced the sort of linguistic and intellectual support they had received in their preschool years. They rarely asked questions about matters that interested them, and when they did originate a topic of conversation with a teacher, the teacher frequently diverted the conversation to a matter that she or he considered more important. In sum, in most cases, the education the children received was directed by their teachers, who followed a predetermined curriculum that did not, for the most part, build on their interests and life experiences.

Collaborative Research

On moving to Canada, Wells began to spend time as a participant observer in elementary and middle school classrooms where teachers agreed to engage in collaborative research with him. He made video recordings of what promised to be stimulating curriculum units and discussed excerpts from the recordings with the teachers in order to understand the conditions in which the students seemed to be most fully involved and willing to engage in extended discussion with their teacher and peers. What emerged from these exploratory investigations confirmed his belief, based on John Dewey's work, that adopting an inquiry orientation to the content of the prescribed curriculum could generate occasions for dialogue, in which the teacher would act as a collaborative leader rather than primarily as an evaluator.

Subsequently, with a grant from the Spencer Foundation, Wells undertook a collaborative action research project with a group of volunteer teachers to inquire into the effectiveness of starting a curriculum unit in a way that elicited questions that the students wished to investigate. They then organized subsequent activities to enable them to work in groups to research and report on their chosen topics. As they discovered, the students' questions and their attempts to answer them generated lively and productive discussion, which led to increased group and individual understanding of the curriculum material to be addressed. Furthermore, the effectiveness of this approach was enhanced, they found, when the student groups worked to improve an artefact that represented their findings, in the form of a model or an illustrated text to be presented to an audience, and when the unit concluded with a whole-class discussion in which they reflected on what they had learned about the topic and about their own strategies for learning.

Over the 10 years of the project, the teacher members became a cohesive action research group who shared their individual inquiries in monthly group meetings and together began to formulate the principles that underpinned both their teaching and their collaborative work as a group. In this, they were helped by their shared reading of key texts, the discussion of which formed part of the monthly meetings. As the project proceeded, they also began to disseminate their findings through conference presentations and publication. As they recognized, their collaborative action research enhanced their effectiveness as professional educators and also benefitted their students as they began to include them as co-investigators in their research. Quite early in their work together, they chose to call themselves the Developing Inquiring Communities in Education Project (DICEP).

Forms of Analysis

Dialogic inquiry gives rise to a variety of forms of data, which lend themselves to a variety of methods of analysis. As already mentioned, students' inquiries most often lead to some form of object the improvement of which for presentation to others provides an opportunity for critical analysis of its accuracy and coherence, which in itself is an important form of learning, whatever the topic or question investigated. Similarly, as the members of DICEP found, presenting the results of one's inquiry at a conference or in print calls for careful analysis of one's data and benefits greatly from the comments and suggestions of fellow members of the group.

The most common form of data collection was by means of video recording whole lessons, which were then transcribed in full or in part depending on the

corporations, 'migrant' developers and local mountain elites. Based upon an exhaustive review of courthouse documents in each of the counties, the seven-volume document released by the Appalachian Landownership Task Force in the early 1980s exposed large-scale corporate tax evasion and governmental complicity in what the researchers argued was the corporate pillage of the region. For example, the corporations that controlled the region's coal mines and 79 per cent of its mineral wealth paid virtually no taxes on their mineral acreage, protected by corporation-friendly state legislatures. In 1983, the University Press of Kentucky published *Who Owns Appalachia? Landownership and Its Impact*, which summarized the task force's major findings and publically exposed the miscreant state legislatures. A limitation of this study, in the light of Dewey's theory, is that it did not provide ongoing collaborative problem-solving and continuous reflection on the landownership problem.

In summary, although Dewey did not coin the term *action research*, he developed a theory of instrumental intelligence and democratic instrumental education that undergirds the action research approach. Core ideas such as the deliberative public, or 'neighbourly community', and participatory, collaborative problem-solving can be traced to Dewey's seminal activities and writings.

Ira Harkavy and John Puckett

See also Highlander Research and Education Center; Lewin, Kurt; Participatory Action Research; pragmatism; Whyte, William Foote

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Dialogic Inquiry

Dialogic inquiry is an approach to education that employs collaborative action research on classroom interaction to improve learning and teaching.

There is growing evidence that students develop a greater understanding of the topics they study when they have opportunities to engage in *dialogue* about them with their peers as well as their teachers. For this to become the norm of classroom interaction, however, two conditions need to be in place. First, students must feel confident in voicing their ideas and being listened to respectfully but critically by their peers and, second, their teacher must develop a 'dialogic stance', that is to say, an approach to class discussion that values more the attempt to achieve shared understanding than individual students' ability to reproduce what is considered to be 'correct' information on demand. To create such a classroom environment is not easy, for it requires a break with the didactic style of traditional education, which has been further reinforced in recent years by the emphasis at national and district levels on a standardized curriculum and assessment.

The adoption of an *inquiry* orientation to learning and teaching represents an attempt to overcome the constraints of traditional education, in which the curriculum is delivered to passive students irrespective of their cultural and linguistic backgrounds and with little or no reference to their interests or life experiences. Dialogic inquiry is thus an attempt to use inquiry into a topic of interest to generate productive dialogue. This entry reviews two ways in which inquiry is being used: first, as an organizing principle in the development and enactment of the curriculum

A third essential of Dewey's theory, also given increased impetus by the Great Depression, is his notion of industrial democracy—the idea that labour must have a deliberative, democratic voice in determining production goals and work conditions, that each worker must have meaningful input in the design and development of a product. In the workplace, as in all other sectors of democratic society, decision-making would be guided by Co-Operative Inquiry.

Dewey's Theory of Action Research in Perspective

Dewey's idea of Co-Operative Inquiry, which entails the democratic engagement of a 'public'—a unity that transcends traditional social groupings—in participatory research and collaborative social action, invites comparison with several notable action research projects since the 1940s. What 'Deweyan' essentials of participatory democracy do these studies incorporate? Kurt Lewin, the eminent social psychologist, field theorist and founder of topological and vector psychology, is an obvious first choice for comparison with Dewey. Lewin apparently coined the term *action research* in the 1940s while heading a series of action research studies. From 1939 to 1947, Lewin and two of his protégés conducted research on group behavioural problems related to industrial management and productivity within the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation of Virginia. By means of a field experiment, Lewin's team demonstrated the higher productivity of workers assigned to democratic decision-making groups vis-à-vis workers in managerial, autocratic groups, following the introduction of new technologies at the Harwood plant. The research itself was non-participatory (non-Deweyan in this respect), though it demonstrated the efficacy of democratically functioning work modes (Dewey's criterion for industrial democracy).

In 1945, Lewin created the Research Center for Group Dynamics at MIT, whose work was linked to the Commission on Community Interrelations (CCI) of the American Jewish Congress. The CCI conducted action research on community affairs, focusing on minority problems, ethnocultural conflict and discriminatory attitudes and behaviours—problems assigned great importance in Dewey's theory. CCI staff members coined the term *participant* action research to describe the involvement of community members in the research process from the beginning. Their 1947 social survey of a small American city, 'Northtown', was sponsored by 13 community organizations, including the Council of Social Agencies, the Council of Jewish Organizations and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and was conducted by 73 volunteer interviewers provided by the sponsoring organizations. The CCI's final report exposed discrimination against Blacks and Jews in housing, employment and public accommodations (though not in education) in Northtown. While this project meets Dewey's criteria of democratic dialogue and collaborative decision-making in the conduct of research, the endgame falls short on Dewey's criterion for action, as the CCI staffers notified the sponsoring organizations that any action programme resulting from the study would have to be organized and implemented without CCI's involvement; at the action stage, the experts parted company with the local activists.

Similarly, Dewey's theory illuminates the democratic processes and outcomes of two of the most important action research projects undertaken since 1950—one in Mondragón, Spain, and the other in rural Appalachia.

William Foote Whyte and his associates at Cornell University initiated action research agendas in Mondragón, in Spain's Basque Country, where 173 labour-managed industrial co-operatives, employing more than 19,500 workers, manufactured a diversity of products—ranging from heavy household appliances to electronic components, to automated manufacturing systems. The Cornell anthropologist Davydd Greenwood and the managers of Mondragón's Fagor co-operative group designed an action research study that focused on the prevalence of apathy and alienation within Fagor, an ostensibly successful experiment in industrial democracy. The action researchers found that Fagor's democratic governance processes, which guaranteed equality for all workers, had not fundamentally altered the social relations and work forms of the shop floor, which remained quietly though stubbornly hierarchical; as a result, the workforce was disgruntled. While this study provides an exemplary model of participatory research qua research directed towards industrial democracy and the creation of a 'neighbourly community', it is short on the action dimension of Dewey's theory: The research findings were not adequately disseminated, and Fagor's managers, even those who participated in the study, were unable to translate the results into an effective action plan to democratize the shop floor.

Another powerful example is a massive action research study in Appalachia, which was 'neo-Deweyan' in its organization, research and dissemination strategy and addressed the problem of absentee landownership in the region. Working in conjunction with the Appalachian Alliance, the Appalachian Studies Conference and the Highlander Research and Education Center, a group of concerned scholars and citizens from throughout the region undertook a mammoth survey of landownership in 80 counties in six states in the region, where valuable land was largely controlled by absentee

they believed that their vision could be achieved by no other means. Accordingly, their intellectual work was intertwined with reform advocacy, which was gradualist and ameliorative, not revolutionary or militant.

During this period, Dewey emphasized the pivotal role of public schools in social reconstruction: The school would be the primary lever of social change. As Dewey argued in *The School and Society* (1900), a collection of his lectures to parents on the theory and practice of the University of Chicago's Laboratory School (famously known as the Dewey School, which he established in 1896), the democratic school would be organized as a 'miniature community, an embryonic society' permeated throughout with 'a spirit of social co-operation and community'. The unifying aim would be 'the growth of the child in the direction of social capacity and service'. One key means to achieve this aim was 'conjoint activity', the idea of children working side by side, co-operatively, on small-scale inquiries and community-building activities; young people would learn democracy by living democracy.

For all the powerful pedagogical insights it generated, however, the Dewey School was neither an embryonic society nor a miniature training ground for American democracy. It did not represent the rich diversity of Chicago's immigrant world—the parents of most of the students were faculty or staff members at the University of Chicago—nor did it introduce children to the real world of fin-de-siècle Chicago; Dewey School children learned nothing of the grinding poverty and horrific social conditions documented by the women of Hull House. By 1902, however, Dewey, swayed by the example of Hull House, had rethought his theory of school and society, and he now envisaged schooling for democracy against the backdrop of the real Chicago and his experiences at Hull House. Dewey glowingly acknowledged the influence of the settlement house in his seminal essay 'The School as Social Centre' (1902), which he presented that year to the National Education Association. Conceptualized along lines directly inspired by Hull House, a school functioning as a social centre would be a hub with educational, social and recreational activities for people of all ages and a centre and catalyst for continuous lifelong learning, with innovative programmes for updating technological and vocational skills. Most important for Dewey, it would be a working model of democracy that would engage people of different racial, ethnic and social class backgrounds in meaningful discourse with each other.

Dewey's Dream of American Democracy: The Role of Action Research

Propositions drawn from Dewey's reflections on his experiences at Hull House and at the Laboratory School reappeared in different and more complex forms in his writings after he left Chicago for Columbia University in 1904. These new syntheses were integrated into Dewey's evolving theory of participatory democracy, which logically incorporates action research as a core method for realizing his goal of a 'Great Community', an integrated world of interactive democratic societies dedicated to the continual betterment of humanity.

Participatory democracy and action research are intertwined and inseparable in Dewey's post-Chicago oeuvre. They are jointly integral to the 'neighbourly community', which Dewey described as 'democracy's home'. The neighbourly community is the linchpin concept of *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), perhaps Dewey's finest statement on American democracy, which amplifies his famous claim in *Democracy and Education* (1916) that democracy is a 'mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience'. The neighbourly community would be achieved through the co-operative activity of the diverse racial, ethnic, class, national and religious groups that make up a city; these groups would form a deliberative 'public' that transcended their differences. This new deliberative, problem-solving, participatory public—'civil society', in today's discourse—would complement, reinforce and enhance representative government, not replace it. (In the 1960s, New Left activists, with specific reference to *The Public and Its Problems*, took up Dewey's banner and coined the term *participatory democracy* to describe Dewey's general approach.) A serious limitation of *The Public and Its Problems* was Dewey's refusal to designate the agent or institution that would catalyze his neighbourly community; apparently dispirited by the mania of scientific management that swept city schools in the 1910s and 1920s, Dewey had long since abandoned the 'school as social centre' playing this particular catalytic role.

For the purposes of action research, a second essential of Dewey's theory is participatory social problem-solving—an approach that defines contemporary action research. Here, Dewey wedded his Chicago idea of 'conjoint activity' and his evolving theory of inquiry (see above). The Great Depression lent immediate urgency to Dewey's call for a planning—not a planned—society, one in which schooling would cultivate in young people an ability joined with an inclination to engage in collaborative social problem-solving using the logic of scientific inquiry. The quintessential pragmatist, Dewey believed that the more ideas being shaped, re-formed and directed to the underlying causes of social problems through the give and take of informed democratic deliberation, the greater the likelihood would be of finding good solutions to those problems.

the abandonment of social welfare. Dewey's Darwinism was meliorist, moral and activist; he viewed social reform itself as a mindful, adaptive, problem-solving response of human beings in society.

Dewey believed that human mental development, in its natural course, is the mindful, multilayering and reconstruction of life experiences that results from the individual's continuous resolution of dissonance in his or her environment. Each problem-solving experience provides a substratum for those that follow, the net effect being a spiral of growth that is marked by increasing complexity at each new level of mental functioning. Each new experience incorporates something that goes before it and, in this new form, represents an equilibration until a new problem intrudes upon it. Dewey argued that each complete act of thought, which he associated with meaningful learning, begins with a difficulty or perplexity, or 'forked-road' situation. His famous model of reflection describes a biologically formed, discursive problem-solving mode that productive human beings apply in their daily lives in all manner of problematic situations.

The following are the phases of reflective thinking which Dewey associated in general terms with the method of science: first, an ongoing activity that is not problematic, representing in biological terms a state of equilibrium; second, a meaningful problem that arises within the course of this activity, creating a state of dissonance or disequilibrium and stimulating further thought; third, refinement of the difficulty or perplexity to specify precisely its dimensions; fourth, the formulation and elaboration of an idea or suggestion into a tentative solution to the problem—a hypothesis; fifth, testing the validity of the hypothesis by an application—by visible action and observation of results or by mental action and contemplation of results—and sixth, a review or summary of the entire process that resulted in a conclusion or course of action to determine what was positive, negative or nugatory, constructing a cognitive stepping stone for dealing effectively with future problems in analogous situations. Dewey first specified this logic of inquiry in *How We Think* (1910), itself a reflection on his experiences in Chicago at the turn of the twentieth century; he amplified the heuristic in a revision of *How We Think* (1933), assigned it an evolutionary/biological basis in *Experience and Nature* (1925) and revisited it in *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (1938), perhaps his most important statement on the complete act of thought.

In sum, genuine learning, according to Dewey, only occurs when human beings focus their attention, energies and abilities on solving genuine dilemmas and perplexities—and when they reflect on their experience and, therefore, increase their capacity for future intelligent thought and action. Intelligence does not develop simply as a result of action and experience; it develops as a result of continuous *reflective* action and experience.

Lessons From Hull House for Dewey's Theory of Democracy

Dewey's theory of knowledge was intertwined with his theory of democracy. His mature theory of democracy was powerfully influenced by Jane Addams and the women of Hull House, the nation's most famous settlement house, which Addams and Ellen Gates Starr founded in1889 on Halsted Street, in Chicago's heavily immigrant Near West Side. Addams and the extraordinary women who joined her as Hull House residents—Florence Kelley, Agnes Holbrook, Julia Lathrop and Ella Flagg Young, among others—were practitioners of a form of action research in the three decades before World War I. Richly detailed reports of their social investigations were wedded to vigorous campaigns for progressive-reform legislation to eliminate sweatshops and regulate child labour. The women of Hull House assumed that their meticulous descriptions of dire social conditions would carry sufficient moral weight to impel legislative action; the purpose of their social research was to help produce change, not academic theory.

Dewey and Addams began their fruitful intellectual relationship in the early 1890s, when he visited Hull House as a member of the philosophy faculty at the University of Michigan. During his celebrated tenure at the University of Chicago (1894–1904), where he chaired the Department of Pedagogy and the Department of Philosophy and Psychology, Dewey frequented Hull House as an observer, lecturer and dinner guest, and he served as a trustee after 1897. The naturally bookish Dewey learned a great deal from the activist Addams, taking to heart her pragmatic view that knowledge was not truly knowledge until it was applied. More than any other influence in his life, with the exception perhaps of Dewey's feminist wife, Alice, Addams kicked Dewey into action.

For Dewey and Addams, the social function of education held the key to their shared dream of democratic communalism (or 'socialized democracy', to use the language of the Progressive era). They believed that a truly free and harmonious society could not be realized until the benefits and privileges of democracy were extended to every member. In his pre-Chicago essay 'The Ethics of Democracy' (1888), Dewey had declaimed that each member's 'participating in the formation or expression of the common will' and having a meaningful 'share in society' were essential conditions of a just society. For both Dewey and Addams, education for democracy was central to the realization of their shared dream of American democracy—and

In Norway, RDCs, first emerging from action research, became government-funded policy instruments. Researchers described a regional environment in terms of RDCs. Researchers were not autonomous actors but employees. Funding was from government rather than from companies. There was debate on the democratic credentials of a structure which represented a set of interest groups and could not claim to be detached. How could such structures achieve democratic legitimacy? If they were seen as temporary development organizations, such questions would not necessarily arise.

Those countries which see themselves as part of the Scandinavian model may regard it as natural for government, employers and trade unions to engage in dialogue. This makes it easier to develop Triple Helix structures. Social dialogue is in principle active across the European Union, but practice varies. This affects the context for action research.

Development Coalition as a Tool for Action Research

Philosophers have interpreted the world: The problem is to change it. The suicide bomber should not be emulated, taking individual action but not living to take subsequent steps. The Development Coalition offers a flexible and temporary mechanism for testing new ideas in practice. In an old country, there are numerous organizations, of varied age and strength, that can be engaged in a Development Coalition to bring about change. There is an overlap between political activism and action research. A successful politician may need a background in community organization and experience of brokering Development Coalitions. Can we deal with the challenging problems? Together we can.

Richard Ennals

See also dialogue; Participatory Action Research; regional development

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Dewey, John

Action research is closely associated with the philosophy of John Dewey (1859–1952), who is widely recognized as one of America's pre-eminent philosophers and a leading theorist of American democracy and is considered by some the most important philosopher of education since Plato. Thousands of journal articles, essays and books testify to Dewey's significant contributions in the fields of philosophical pragmatism, educational philosophy and political theory, with the lion's share of serious scholarly attention paid by political theorists. Scant attention has been paid, however, to Dewey's contribution to action research. While Dewey never used the term *action research*, the concept is emergent in his voluminous writings across a span of five decades. Two lines of theory converge in Dewey's philosophy, which he called 'instrumentalism', to form the underlying assumptions for action research: (1) Dewey's theory of knowledge and knowing and (2) his theory of democracy.

Dewey's Logic of Inquiry

Among other intellectual pursuits, Dewey was an epistemologist whose theory of knowledge was founded upon a conception of the universe as unstable, uncertain and hazardous. An advocate of evolutionary theory, he rejected dualistic philosophical systems that viewed the human mind as a psychic entity separate and distinct from the body. Mind, Dewey argued, is not a manifestation of some fixed, immutable reality that exists beyond the sensory screen and transcends human experience; rather, mind evolves in human society as a physiological adaptation to an environment that is constantly in flux. By their very nature, humans are sentient, problem-solving beings; they are also inherently social beings. An optimistic Darwinist, Dewey rejected interpretations of Darwin's theory that led conservative social theorists such as William Graham Sumner to advocate government laissez-faire and

During the Norwegian Ph.D. programme 'Enterprise Development and Working Life', which was based on action research, there was frequent discussion of Development Coalitions. There were many relevant perspectives, sharing the same language, with contributions from political scientists as well as from economic geographers and sociologists. In Norway, with the enthusiasm for regional policies, the main focus was on regional Development Coalitions (RDCs), which were increasingly regarded as a central component of nationally funded programmes of enterprise development: 'Enterprise Development 2000' and 'Value Creation 2010'. These involved projects deploying action research within funded programmes, using tools such as Dialogue Conferences and network orchestration. For action researchers in the emancipatory tradition, such as in Latin America, this has perhaps appeared incongruous.

Learning Together for Local Innovation

Although vocational training and regional development have an obvious potential relationship, it can be problematic. From a development perspective, the focus can be on networks of actors and the challenge of creating learning regions and regional innovation systems. Research in this hybrid context has meant bringing education and training together with regional development in coalitions. The approach has been to use European regional learning cases, from participating countries such as Germany, Norway, Portugal, Greece, Sweden, UK and Lithuania. Lessons can then be learned from the differences. Over a series of workshops, researchers will describe their own cases, in which they are personally involved, against the background of other cases.

Research has addressed the changing role of universities, for example, in Sweden, UK and Italy. In Scandinavia, there is frequent discussion of the 'Triple Helix' of government, the private sector and research contributing to Development Coalitions, while such arrangements can take many and diverse forms. The language bridges previously separate discourses, opening new flows of words and action in new, and possibly temporary, institutional contexts.

Scandinavian countries tend to share common values and characteristics—respect for work, social equity, dialogue and democracy in the workplace—in what have been relatively homogeneous cultures. This provides a backdrop for programmes in Norway, Sweden and Finland, which participants may have come to take for granted. Within that shared context, discussion of Development Coalitions and regional innovation systems is common.

Action Research

Some researchers see action research only in terms of individuals. This has been the main focus for the *Action Research Journal.* By contrast, *Concepts and Transformation: The International Journal of Action Research and Organisational Renewal*, now the *International Journal of Action Research*, is concerned with organizational change. There is a focus on empowerment, participation and democracy. The discourses are different but complementary. Development Coalitions may help bridge a gap.

As participants move from the known to the unknown, they take risks. They establish a common language with fellow-travellers. They search for ideas to be developed into sustainable activities. They look for partners who bring complementary expertise. The membership of the Development Coalition can change.

The action researcher recognizes that objective detachment is impossible. He is part of the problem under study and, perhaps, part of the solution. To pursue an agenda, the action researcher needs to work with others, building a collaborative framework to advance understanding. Where the researcher recognizes that his words, spoken or written, are also actions, he needs to identify a form of life in which to operate and a distinctive set of language games. As participants cannot rely on a 'private language', they need to be part of a group which shares meanings. Such a group is sometimes called a Development Coalition, or a 'region'.

Regional Development Coalitions

In Scandinavia, work on Development Coalitions was applied in national programmes of enterprise development, in which the regional dimension was given increased emphasis. No two regions are the same in economic activities, leading institutions and distinctive cultural histories. New patterns of collaboration were required; discussion was at a level of analysis above the single enterprise and below the national government. At this intermediate (meso) level, geographical regions can be found. In Europe, they vary in size, having in common only the fact that they are regions. They host distinctive patterns of innovation.

In Scandinavia, there have been arguments for Triple Helix configurations of partners, bringing together government, industry and education or research (often through universities undertaking their 'third task'). It made sense to find ways of linking small enterprises with other partners in remote geographical settings. The action researcher's focus is on the development process, while economic geographers and political scientists seek to make sense of the existing structures.

This story helps strengthen and confirm the basic premise that people's knowledge does matter in the way programmes are built and shaped, be it rights oriented or developmental.

Meghna Guhathakurta

See also democratic dialogue; *gonogobeshona*; Participatory Action Research; participatory governance; subalternity

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Development Coalitions

A Development Coalition is a structure in which different partners come together to pursue a shared objective or create collaborative advantage. There have been regional and national development programmes, particularly in Norway, which have recommended Development Coalitions, which bring together large and small enterprises, public sector organizations and universities or research organizations. Sometimes a new legal entity is created, with implications both for business and for democratic accountability.

Action research is encountered individually, as per the *Action Research Journal* tradition and the *International Journal of Action Research* tradition of organizational change and renewal. These traditions are different but can be complementary. A link is through the integrative but often temporary role of a Development Coalition, as it facilitates collaboration. It can be seen as action research in itself, creating a structure which enables new possibilities.

Development Coalitions are not a distinct and separate category of organization, providing consistent contexts for individual action research and for analysis by economic geographers. In some cases, researchers are employed to follow the policy of the programme. In other cases, action research is used to develop and implement strategy.

There are historic cases of collaborative activity which we might now consider as action research, for example, involving new NGOs (non-governmental organization, formed as Development Coalitions) to seek to abolish the slave trade. This tradition has continued in Latin America, in emancipatory action research. So the similarities between work in action research in Brazil and Norway are recognized.

Development

Individuals can achieve relatively little by working alone. We find partners, with whom we can engage productively and develop a sustained relationship. We build a network of contacts on which to draw in particular circumstances. We create collaborative advantage. When a new challenge arises, we build a 'coalition of the willing' from our partners and network contacts, with different backgrounds, and seek to bring about change. We can refer to this as a Development Coalition. It may cross previous borders, facilitating change and offering a context in which action research can bring results.

Development can take place in many contexts. It involves a move from the known to the unknown. People work together, creating social capital, if they trust their co-workers and feel a common sense of direction or shared value. They engage in 'pre-competitive collaboration'.

Dialogue and Development

Discussion of Development Coalitions arises from a context of dialogue at different levels, which has been underpinned by a number of separate research traditions, particularly in Scandinavia, where dialogue seminars and Dialogue Conferences play a prominent role. Within dialogue, individuals are able to reflect on their own professional experience. They encounter new ideas, learn from differences and re-describe their own experience. They do not necessarily reach agreement, but they are able to move on in their understanding, often working with new groups of people.

When considering enterprise and regional levels, work organization can be regarded as a missing link, both within and between organizations. In contrast to expert-led processes, the focus is on concept-driven development, where the lead comes from workforce participation. A pivotal role is played by the development organization, which is a temporary and transitional structure in which participants are able to explore new ways of thinking and working. The participants may alternate between work organization and development organization, taking ideas and experience with them. The European Union can be regarded as an arena in which development organizations are facilitated, both at the national level and through networks supported by framework programmes.

of programme staff, partners and stakeholders throughout all the above three stages.

Collaborative Relationships

Development indicates the evolution of a group, community or organization over a period of time. Throughout this process of evolution, one needs to engage in new social relations through, amongst other things, networking, organizing, self-development and skill diversification. PAR helps to upgrade organizations from the local to national and international, or by searching for local solutions through the help of national and international organizations by bringing together local knowledge and scientific expertise.

Both these processes (a) recognize the importance of local knowledge, (b) identify through collective participation the utility of how this knowledge may be used in action and the resource gaps that exist and (c) fulfil this gap through collaborative relations with the national and international stakeholders who are repositories of scientific knowledge.

An example of such collaboration can be seen in the case of small farmers in the famine-stricken district of northern Bangladesh, who came together to discuss their production needs and identified the need of a seed bank. They had some local knowledge of how to store seeds, but they needed to learn more scientific methods. Research Initiatives, Bangladesh, facilitated their training by the national Bangladesh Rice Research Institute, which in turn was funded by the CSISA (Cereal System Initiative South Asia) programme, a subsidiary of the Melinda and Bill Gates Foundation. Now many scientists, national and international, visit Bangladesh to take lessons from this endeavour.

Power

Development is embedded in power relationships. Development activities are usually undertaken to provide service to the underserved or empower the disempowered. This naturally brings about a potential change in existing power relations. Class analysis perceives such change as naturally confrontational, whilst liberal development strategies approach it incrementally. PAR through engaging a multidimensional and multilayered perspective perceives such change as emerging through self-inquiry awareness and in a way that emanates from the people concerned and is not imposed from outside organizations, be it NGOs (non-governmental organizations) or a political party, unless the parties concerned have ownership of those institutions. Ownership of the change process through collective action by the concerned population is therefore central to such change.

Change Orientation

Development questions, especially those related to empowerment processes, get bogged down in questions of leadership. This has led many development practitioners to invest in leadership building, notwithstanding the fact that the existing leadership cultures may prove antithetical to the project itself through cultivation of authoritarianism. PAR may also fall into such a paradox, but the continuous process of self-inquiry is expected to keep a check and balance against the accumulation of power in the hands of a few and keep the emphasis on self-transformation that is expected to lead to social transformation. The role of the animator, the person who facilitates the discussions and inspires them without interfering too much in the process itself, is considered to be very important. The process of self-transformation is conceived in a continuous manner through a process of reflection, action and reflection (praxis), as defined before; it is expected that this orientation towards change will be reflected also in the real world through the actions of the group and the result will be social transformation.

Expertise and Resource

The importance of local knowledge and the necessity to help build local expertise, often with outside help, has been mentioned before. Capacity building as opposed to simply training must be the focus. Capacity building implies that one acknowledges both the strengths as well as the gaps in existing knowledge and insists that it be done in such a way that the group retains ownership and control over the way it is done. Capacity building therefore needs to be demand driven and not imposed from the top. An example from a Dalit group in Bangladesh reveals the methodological difference between training and capacity building through PAR as perceived by the Dalit group.

The women of the Rishi community (a Dalit community who are primarily leather workers) were asked why they insisted on coming to PAR meetings but were not equally interested in going to training sessions called by local NGOs. Their answer was as follows:

> They come with their files and lecture us! We don't understand many things, it goes above our heads. Whereas when we sit with you it is *our* meeting. They are like *gul* (a substance with which local people brush their teeth). You can get in the market, but it is strong and makes our head spin. So we try to soften it up with *tamak* (tobacco). You are like *tamak.* It has absorptive capacity because it is of our own making!

Development Action Research

Development action research is action research or Participatory Action Research (PAR) applied to the field of development. If development is perceived as a pedagogic problem-solving mechanism, linked with community learning, then PAR provides a unique way in which to both articulate the problematic features of a situation as well as construct effective and sustainable solutions at multiple levels: local, national and international. Whereas development studies engages with an understanding of the developmental needs of all societies, communities and nations, especially where people struggle with the dramatic changes induced by modern technology and economic structure and with the deep-seated impact of such changes, development action research implicates a shift away from isolated understanding to practical action and PAR in relation to these changes. There are various ways in which PAR helps us relate the world of understanding and practice to development. These are as follows:

- *Reflexibility:* Emphasizing group reflection and collective learning to create a grounded framework for action
- *Process orientation:* Focusing on how activities are constructed to produce valued results
- *Collaborative relationships:* Enhancing development as a collective enterprise that requires new social relationships combining diverse people and skills
- *Power:* Shifting the relationships between rich and poor, elites and marginalized
- *Change orientation:* Moving people into areas of social transformation
- *Expertise and resources:* Facilitating processes that draw out and develop local expertise, that is, capacity building

Reflexibility

As researchers work with people, listen to them and observe the ways they define and analyze the issues they investigate, research facilitators or animators increase their knowledge dramatically. Not only are they able to understand the complex local dynamics in which they are enmeshed, but their understanding of theoretical and methodological issues increases significantly. This not only provides development researchers and practitioners with increased expertise and understanding but also enables them to share their knowledge gain in one context with people in another context in which they work.

PAR works through collective exploration of self-inquiry and problem-solving mechanisms. This helps one to unpack problems from a multidimensional and multi-stakeholder perspective. This exchange thus not only helps explore subjectivities as opposed to objective or scientific ways of problematizing an issue but also helps develop an epistemology rooted in intersubjectivities, that is, a discursive practice that emerges around collective experience that is debated and negotiated by individuals brought together by a common purpose but holding different opinions and perspectives. This therefore lays the ground for contestation as well as consensus building.

The core point of departure here with other epistemologies is the centrality of action. Since the solution has to be in the form of a collective action, as social practice or engaging transformational positions and politics, the predispositions and grounds for such action are already explored and hence can lead to effective social practices and policies. The process of praxis is also important in this respect. Praxis relates to the cyclical process of reflection-action-reflection, whereby practice and policies may not only evolve through reflection but feedback as responses from action into reflection—in other words further knowledge building. This last aspect enables theory building from the ground as opposed to theorizing from above.

Process Orientation

The success of many development initiatives is determined by results defined in terms of outcomes, outputs and impact. PAR, however, recognizes that many development activities need to evolve over a long period of time and through various phases and organizational abilities. Hence, it is essential to record and document the processes in a development initiative to register differential organizational capacities and relations between stakeholders that lead to valued results. This may take the form of best practices, success stories as well as the challenges faced during the endeavour.

But tools such as outcome mapping may also be used very effectively to relate process to outcomes. Outcome mapping is a planning, monitoring and evaluation methodology that defines a programme's outcomes as changes in the behaviour of direct partners. The process has three broad stages: (1) intentional design, (2) outcome and performance monitoring, and (3) evaluation planning. The method focuses on how programmes facilitate change rather than how they control or cause change. It promotes the participation

change. While it is true that design can act as an agent of change and that this is an important capacity of design, the majority of everyday designed things are shaped by existing market desires and thus tend to reinforce or accelerate existing dispositions, habits and assumptions rather than redirect or challenge them. By contrast, design for change and design that seeks to innovate, like action research, are pursued with an explicit intention of achieving desired social or organizational ends. In particular, design's capacity to creatively reframe issues and contexts for action has been increasingly mobilized as a resource in addressing complex and wicked problems, especially in business and in social change contexts. Regardless of the effectiveness of particular design strategies, the agency of designed things commonly exceeds the intentions of the designer. For this reason, explicit reflection is essential within design for change scenarios. Action research methodology has been recognized for its value to designers in supplying a framework for explicit and critical reflection within the cycle of design.

Co-Design and Participatory Action Research

Co-design can be seen as a type of Participatory Action Research and often explicitly draws upon an action research methodology. The important contribution of design to collaborative action contexts is its generative mode of inquiry. The specific tools and strategies it brings to co-design scenarios include the design of 'probes' that trigger and enable communication between stakeholders and designers and the development of other design tools and prompts to facilitate stakeholder involvement. Equally important are the interpretive strategies that design brings to co-creation contexts. Reframing has been identified as an interpretive strategy of design that shifts thinking away from paths framed by preconceptions and embedded assumptions. These generative strategies of design, which are tacitly employed by designers, have been more explicitly articulated as tools within co-design and innovation scenarios. The outcome of a co-design process is a collaboratively developed design understanding that can inform the final development of a designed product or intervention.

Conclusion

The activity of designing has become a focus of interest for those in other fields who seek to initiate change within complex and ill-defined contexts of human action and practice. Design is generative. The logic that informs design thinking is abductive and moves from the initial conception to the developed proposal through an iterative, open-ended 'design conversation' that routinely employs strategies for reframing understandings and critically repositioning possibilities. As the field of design research has developed over the past half-century, it has often paralleled action research; it has drawn inspiration from the same thinkers and research paradigms and shared many of the same goals and structures. However, design is also distinct from action research. The two areas of practice may inform and fertilize one another; however, the differences in approach that they offer to each other may be, in many cases, as important to recognize, and as useful, as the similarities.

Susan Stewart

See also aesthetics; new product development; reflective practice

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researching the needs, desires and possibilities of a community. The two above approaches have much in common with Participatory Action Research. Further, to the extent that the design process echoes the process of action research, parallels can be drawn between research *through* design and action research. Just as action research is conducted simultaneously through and for the practice being researched, these kinds of design research are typically conducted not only *through* design but also *for* design.

Research undertaken *for* the activity of design involves the following:

- *Research for interaction design:* The emergence of interaction design as a distinct focus of design practice in the closing decades of the twentieth century (often in the context of the design development of digital and information technology interfaces) brought ethnographic and social science research methods into an explicitly reflective design process. The focus of interaction design on the dynamic interface between a designed thing and those who engage with it established a need for research understandings of the ongoing relations between humans and things in use that had not been as explicitly called for within traditional, object-oriented and aesthetically driven design practices. There is a considerable literature by interaction designers on the relevance of action research to their designing.

- *Research into the trajectories of designed things:* This includes research into the reconfiguration of the human and non-human worlds, which takes place as designed things enter into and take up roles within them. Researchers of these phenomena may be designers wishing to better understand the impact of their designing upon the world (e.g. those engaged in post-occupancy evaluation or other reflections on the relative success of a design-in-use); however, inquiry into the ongoing impact of designed things is more likely to be conducted by design historians, sociologists, anthropologists or environmental psychologists than by designers themselves. Research of this kind, when conducted by designers into the post-production and ongoing performance of their own design work, can be seen as a branch of action research. Data gathering is typically empirical and may be archival or ethnographic, while the approaches and attitudes of researchers may range from the positivist and cognitivist to the hermeneutic, post-structuralist and/or post-humanist. Note that this category of design research could equally be identified as research *into* design (or rather, into the products of design, i.e. design as a noun).

- *Research into the materials and technologies potentially useful to the activity of designing, or that can be employed in the production of designed things:* This research is often undertaken by designers in the course of their practice but may also be undertaken by engineers or other developers of materials, technologies and systems.

The above divisions of design research demonstrate the diversity of approaches and theoretical frameworks employed within the field as a whole. Among these, action research has an indisputable place. On the one hand, the underlying pattern of design activity appears to mirror that of action research. On the other, insofar as design research is conducted both *through* and *for* design, it qualifies as a form of action research and can parallel either independent action research or Participatory Action Research, depending upon the context and aims of the design research.

Similarities and Differences

The Design Process and the Process of Action Research

The structure of action research resonates with that of the design process insofar as both are projective, iterative and reflexive. Donald Schön's landmark text on *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983), which has become a central reference for both design and action research, uses the activity of design as an exemplar of the kind of expertise that is founded upon reflection-in-action. However, although the diagram of the design process that has been arrived at by researchers into design closely mirrors that of action research, the designer typically embodies this process without being reflectively aware of it *as* a process. Rather than deliberately undertaking a research process, the designer is focused on advancing the design and thinks only of the shifting, unfolding possibilities that come to view in the course of the 'design conversation'. By contrast, the action researcher explicitly sets goals, plans strategies and reflects upon outcomes. The designer, consciously, does none of these things. It seems that while designing may tacitly embody the activities that characterize expertise in general, action research renders the activities characteristic of expert practice into an explicit formula that structures the project. Although the process diagram may be similar, the embodied experience of being a designer is very different from that of the action researcher.

The Goal of Design and the Goal of Action Research

It has been widely observed that both design and action research are concerned with bringing about

a way of organizing and keeping track of the group's work. In the final summarizing statement of the review, it is important to note that there is no attempt to analyze the child or her work. Although the language remains richly descriptive, it does not attempt to pin down or sum up either the child or the child's work.

How This Work Links to Action Research

If action research is, as Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury have defined it, a participatory and democratic process that brings together action and reflection and theory and practice in the pursuit of practical solutions that also serve large human purposes, then the Descriptive Review processes fit every aspect of this definition. They are fully participatory, empowering both parents and teachers as knowers of children and their ways of being in the world. They put children and their flourishing at the centre. The processes are based in the rhythm of action-reflection in that description grows out of observation of children 'in motion' and ends with recommendations to bring back into that living context. The process in this regard is eminently practical and, most important, deeply human.

Carol R. Rodgers

See also classroom-based action research; Dewey, John; educational action research

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Design Research

Design research is a term that covers a multitude of different kinds of research activity conducted by those concerned with, or engaged in, the field of design. It is often subdivided according to a distinction that Christopher Frayling adapted from Herbert Read's ideas on art education, distinguishing between research *into* art and design, research *through* art and design and research *for* art and design. This division is not entirely satisfactory, both because it camouflages the important diversity of approaches and agenda encompassed by each of Frayling's categories and because there are many types of design research that either traverse these categories or fail to sit comfortably within them. Nevertheless, an expanded and qualified version of Frayling's categories can still usefully articulate the field, as follows.

Research undertaken *into* the activity of design involves the following:

- *Researchers who seek to analyze the activity or process of design in order to articulate it as a transportable or translatable tool:* This group includes cognitivist researchers interested in developing a 'science' of design that can be mobilized in fields such as artificial intelligence and software development as well as pragmatists interested in developing 'rule-of-thumb' methods for fostering creativity and entrepreneurial thinking, whether in design education, in business contexts or in developing strategies for social change. The models of the design process that have been developed by researchers in this area have strong similarities with models of the action research process, as has been widely noted.

- *Designers who research their own activity as a way of extending themselves and the potential of their field:* Note that this particular category of design research is characteristically not only *into* design but also *through* design and *for* design. This research may be informed by a creative arts framework, an action research approach or philosophies of practice as given, for example, in the work of Hubert Dreyfus or in the 'practice theory' of Theodore Schatzki and Andreas Reckwitz.

Research undertaken *through* the activity of design involves the following:

- *Designers who design provocative or engaging objects, insertions or interventions into the worlds that they participate in and design for, as a means of uncovering understandings about those worlds:* Such provocation through design may deliver insights quite different from those revealed by the usual research methods. This approach was pioneered by Bill Gaver, Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby in the 1990s.

- *Designers who use design as a way of collaboratively engaging with communities, in order to draw out understandings relevant to those communities:* This approach is often referred to as a co-design and is used in participatory design scenarios. In this instance, design is being used as a tool for collaboratively

these others often include other teachers, administrators and, importantly, parents.

Purpose

The purpose of the Descriptive Review is to come to know a child by immersing oneself in the expressions and meanings of that person. The belief is that these expressions and meanings will reveal, at least in part, the investments (i.e. what one values—where one has invested time and energy) and capacities of the child. Thus, teachers are able to 'extend' those investments and capacities, creating a space in which the child can grow.

The categories for organizing observations evolved away from a more classically developmental (i.e. Piagetian) way of looking at children to less categorical, more flexible and 'bigger' ways of seeing persons. Moving increasingly towards a phenomenological orientation, five areas of observation eventually emerged: (1) physical appearance and gesture, (2) connections to others, (3) strong interests and preferences, (4) disposition and temperament and (5) modes of thinking and learning. Recently, a focus on 'context'—from the schoolroom to home, to the community and beyond—has been inserted into these areas for consideration. As with all reviews, the observations were then shared with a chair or co-chairs, who helped the presenting teacher to formulate a focusing question. The chairs and co-chairs were from among the group of participating teachers and staff. Being a school dedicated to descriptive inquiry, all teachers and staff were familiar with the processes. The question was meant to be exploratory and aimed at discovering the child's strengths and passions rather than 'problem areas' or 'weaknesses'. Labels are eschewed, as are questions that focus on 'fixing' students. The purpose is to be sensitively attuned to who children are and who they are becoming. While parents are often a part of the review process, the children themselves are not.

Descriptive Review of a Child

The process of the review often begins with reflection on a word that captures something of the child or the focusing question. This may be followed by a Descriptive Review of a child's drawing or other creation or a close reading of a piece of his or her writing. Before the description itself begins, the chair shares the focusing question with the group. The heart of the process is the description itself. The presenting teacher describes the child according to the categories above, speaking uninterrupted for as long as it takes (usually about 30–45 minutes). At the end of the description, the chairs, who have been taking notes, make an integrative summary of what has been presented. This is a crucial step in keeping the picture of the child in sharp relief. Throughout the description, the other members of the group listen carefully, taking note of questions or observations that they might want to return to. Once the description is complete and the integrative statement has been made, the chair asks for questions for clarification or expansion from the group. A free discussion is held at bay until the details of the description have been fleshed out. The session ends with recommendations (*as distinct from advice*) from the attending group that addresses the question and any other insights that have emerged from the process. Again, at this point, the chair makes an integrative statement that captures the themes and recommendations voiced in the discussion. The function of the chair allows the presenter to be entirely present to what is offered by the group, without her attention being divided between listening and recording or facilitating the process. The entire process generally takes between 2 and 3 hours.

At TPS, notes were usually taken by a designated notetaker other than the chair, and the documentation was filed in the child's records. These records, which could include hundreds of pieces of writing, drawing, painting, constructions as well as reviews, were kept in Prospect's archives and formed an ongoing record of the child's development over the course of many years. (These documents, kept with the permission of the parents, number in the thousands and now reside in the Special Collections section of the University of Vermont's library in Burlington.)

Descriptive Review of a Child's Work

The Descriptive Review of a child's work emerges from the same purposes as the Descriptive Review of a child. The 'work' is often a painting or drawing but can also be a piece of writing or a construction (e.g. blocks, forts, sculptures, etc.). The process for describing a work (with the exception of a piece of writing, which is described through a close reading) is simple in terms of procedure but difficult in that it forces participants to just see and not leap to interpretation or judgement. The process begins with a round of first impressions, which differ from description in that they are 'first takes'. These impressions are summarized by the chair, and then several rounds of description follow, moving from literal description of what is seen (e.g. a yellow circle in the top right-hand corner of the painting vs. 'a sun') to recurring patterns, images and themes, and finally to focusing on the child's presence in the work—that is, evidence of the 'hand' of the child, the choices made, knowledge used, planning exhibited, as well as evidence of the child's personal standards. After each round, summaries are made by the chair as

would not dominate over those of others, and that each participant should be prepared to hear the other out, not with the intention of winning an argument but with the intent of social inquiry, rather than advocating or arguing one particular viewpoint. Debate, conversely, assumes only one right answer, and the debater is bent on proving that answer at all costs. Debate narrows views and closes minds, but dialogue can build new relationships.

Practitioners also find it useful to contrast dialogue with conflict resolution processes such as mediation and negotiation. Both mediation and negotiation seek a concrete agreement by satisfying the material interests that are dictated by the existing circumstances. But the outcome of dialogue can be broader than this. It can seek to create new avenues and ways for capacity building that would help solve the problem, or it can even bring to the negotiation table actors who generally would not be considered ready for negotiations but who are just as important for peace building.

Dialogue and deliberation are different processes but ones that may feature in resolving the same problem as discrete, complementary steps in a larger, participatory decision-making process.

The Dialogic Approach

Dialogic processes should incorporate inclusiveness, joint ownership, learning, humanity and empathy.

Inclusiveness makes sure that people are involved and participate actively in the process, instead of one or a few actors taking the lead and the rest following. With this participation comes a common sense of ownership in the dialogue initiative and outcome.

The learning processes embraced in the dialogic process make inquiry one of the most valuable tools for the practitioner. Being curious about people, listening to their stories and showing empathy are ways of connecting to them as human beings and treating them with respect. This means asking questions, not just to gather information but also to understand and learn from others. The aim of the dialogue should be to draw people in rather than imposing a dialogue on them. Many participants remain silent in the beginning. They should not be pushed into talking, but by creating a safe atmosphere, they can be lured into participation.

The principle of transparency is to be followed in a dialogic process. Once participants gain confidence to acknowledge issues that may be difficult or sensitive or embarrassing, they should share information with others. This lays a basis for trust among the participants as well as trust in the process itself. This is particularly challenging to establish in a dialogue, especially if it involves participants from different sides of political, socio-economic, cultural, religious and ethnic divides. The role and nature of the facilitator in commanding such trust is at the core of a successful dialogue.

Learning entails being open to new ideas and perspectives, and this often requires acknowledging and relinquishing assumptions and preconceptions, at least temporarily; in other words, it entails self-reflection. Openness and flexibility of the dialogic process are crucial to making it relevant to principles of humanity. Taking different perspectives into account as one moves forward will establish a foundation of collective thinking on which trust and ownership can be built. In conducting this process, one has to constantly keep in mind an acute sense of reflectivity, or else the dialogue may relapse into a form of advocacy of a certain perspective or suppress those perspectives that the majority are not comfortable with. Understandably, such processes cannot take place within a time constraint. Hence, democratic dialogue in order to produce meaningful outcomes needs to have a longer term perspective.

Meghna Guhathakurta

See also advocacy and inquiry; capacity building; facilitation; reflective practice

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Descriptive Review

The Descriptive Review of a child and child's work was developed in the late 1960s by Patricia Carini and her colleagues at The Prospect School (TPS), a private elementary school (from kindergarten through Grade 8) in North Bennington, Vermont, USA. The Descriptive Review process is one of a number of descriptive inquiry processes developed by TPS and its centre (the Prospect Archives and Center for Education and Research) over the 40 years of its existence. Like all the descriptive processes, it is based in acts of observation and description, reflecting upon what one sees in a community of others. Taking place in school settings,

- the learning that has been achieved by both the organization or community and the researcher; and
- evidence that demonstrates that the research has been conducted rigorously, such that it is possible to have confidence that the knowledge and learning are 'valid' and/or 'transferable'.

The story is the core of the reporting on the action research project. It is essentially a write-up of the data analysis and its interpretation. Key themes and subthemes used in the data analysis are often used to structure the account, although for some studies a chronological account of events is more effective. Whatever the overall structure, the objective is to integrate perspectives from different sources and data sets and at the same time reference those sources. So typically for each sub-heading there will be both an outline of the relevant information that was found and an indication of the sources for this information. This may be supported and amplified by quotes from interviews, small extracts from documents, meeting agendas, timetables and charts, tables and figures. A clear distinction is made between the events, the voices of the participants and the interpretations of the researcher. The aim is to offer a narrative that is comprehensive and transparent so that readers can read it for themselves and make their own interpretations. This narrative can be differentiated from any theorizing by careful interleaving and sourcing of the research data and the researchers' interpretations, by clearly signalling interpretations by placing them in separate boxes or columns, at the end of a section or subsection or in a separate section. Ultimately, the account of the research needs to culminate in recommendations for the organization or community as well as a clear articulation of the unique contribution to knowledge or theory that has been made by the action research project.

Jennifer Rowley

See also case study; collaborative data analysis; Grounded Theory; journaling

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Democratic Dialogue

Democratic dialogue is a specific kind of participatory process which ensues from a practitioner's perspective rather than from a theoretical discourse. It implies a problem-solving process that is used to address sociopolitical and economic-based issues that cannot be adequately and effectively solved by one or several governmental institutions alone.

Dialogue is an open process of communication which is embedded in mutual respect among the participants. The components that form an essential part of a dialogue are listening, learning and problem-solving. Hal Saunders, of the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue and the Kettering Foundation, has suggested that dialogue is based on participants listening deeply to each other's concerns with a willingness to be changed by what they learn through the process.

The outcome of a dialogue is deep-seated qualitative change. In this sense, it is different from a debate, negotiation or deliberation.

Dialogue is different from debate in that it encourages diversity of thinking and opinions rather than suppressing the differing views. In the practice of dialogue, there is a premise that one person's concepts or beliefs

Some action researchers also make use of other approaches to exploring meaning and developing theory from qualitative data, such as discourse analysis and narrative analysis. Narrative analysis and discourse analysis focus on the meaning that can be extracted by analyzing the language that is used in, for instance, documents or interviews. Narrative analysis examines the way in which, for example, stories are told during an interview, examining the plot, structure and genre. Discourse analysis examines the role of language in relation to the creation, maintenance and destruction of social bonds. Participatory data analysis research requires approaches that can involve people other than the researchers and which are often group based. A variety of different facilitated techniques have been used in this context, including Skype conversations, group-based thematic analysis, cognitive mapping and various other visualizations.

Finally, it is important to remember that action research projects may involve some quantitative data sets, such as survey data, or relevant secondary numerical data relating to the organization or other study context and its processes and performance, including, where appropriate, before and after measures relating to any action research intervention. Quantitative analysis software, such as SPSS, may be used to organize the data and to generate appropriate descriptive or analytical statistics, to profile the situation and to investigate the relationships between variables.

Further Interrogating and Interpreting the Data

Further interrogation and interpretation both of individual data sets and across sets will typically involve one or more of the following processes:

Seeking out agreement and disagreement to look for diversity of views and interpretation, to both resolve any contradictions or ambiguities and appreciate the extent of diversity: In qualitative data, this may emerge from categorization and sorting on the basis of the occurrence of themes, whilst examining who said what and how this might relate to the person's role, gender or other characteristic, as well as seeking to generate counts of levels of agreement and disagreement with specific views or points.

Developing visualizations of the data to assist in summarizing and categorizing and to aid understanding and interpolating: Such visualization may include diagrams, tables, mind maps, sketches, networks, rich pictures, 3-D representations and charts.

Hypothesizing and speculating to develop understanding and interpretation: This includes trying out different views on what the data means, reviewing and suspending assumptions and then exploring the data set for evidence to support the alternative hypothesis.

Distilling and explaining to summarize key findings in a form that can be explained to others and discussed with other researchers and possibly other participants in the action research process

Triangulating evidence from different sources (either different interviewees within a set of interview transcripts or data from different types of engagement, such as observation of staff, interviews with managers and desk research) to strengthen the base on which the claims, assertions and theory that emerge from an action research project are built. At least two, and preferably three or more, different pieces of evidence are regarded as necessary for triangulation. In some circumstances, a useful aid in the process of triangulation can be a triangulation matrix that shows which sources or data sets might contribute to answering which research questions or provide insights on which themes

Telling the Story and Articulating the Contribution to Knowledge or Theory

Writing up the interpretations, insights and learning that emerge from the data analysis and interpretation is the final phase of the data analysis associated with an action research project. It is during writing up that the final learning and understandings surface as they are articulated and the story emerges. Collaborative writing can be particularly beneficial in cultivating further reflection. The writing up of an action research project is central to the outcomes of the project, but on the other hand, it can be quite challenging and the written account can be difficult to organize. There are two key challenges. First, since action research often generates a lot of data, it can be difficult to select data for inclusion. In addition, the action research report presents both the project or context for the action research as well as the reflection that occurs on that research. Depending on whether it is a report for the organization that is being created or an academic thesis or project report, the balance of the written document may vary, but it is generally the case that at the core of an account of an action research project are

- the context in which the action research has been conducted;
- the new knowledge and theory that emerge from the project, both for the academic community and for the organization or community;

research, the researcher gathers data through a range of different interventions and methods, including, variously, participation, observation, recordkeeping, notetaking, surveying and profiling, interviewing, running focus groups, photographing and videoing and journaling. In addition, due to the centrality of reflection to action research, journal keeping is regarded as particularly important. The journal, which is a record of observations, experiences and reflections on events, behaviours, relationships, attitudes, emotions, systems, processes and assumptions, is an additional data set that can be analyzed. For example, a retrospective comparison of journal entries is useful in identifying patterns and trends and may assist the researcher in anticipating responses, events and experiences.

In summary, then, surfacing new knowledge or theory from an action research process involves drawing on a rich collection of evidence, presented in different formats, to produce a coherent account. As with all qualitative research, there is no one right way to conduct data analysis—the only thing that is certain is that the process starts with a diverse set of data and concludes with a coherent account or narrative. In many cases, the process is iterative, and the data is interrogated in different ways, as discussed in the next sections. This data analysis journey has two key purposes: (1) to develop a story for further action or to acknowledge and sometimes perpetuate participation and engagement and (2) to build theory for publication in academic journals. Different audiences are associated with these two purposes that may prioritize different understandings and meanings, sometimes requiring different approaches to data analysis.

Mining the Data

The first stage of summative data analysis is concerned with developing a deep acquaintance with and an understanding of what might well be a large data set and then conducting appropriate data analysis that fully and accurately summarizes and represents the data that has been collected. Ultimately, any final account of the research will often draw on evidence from different events, people and data sets derived from different data-gathering methods, but the first stage is concerned with analyzing each data set separately.

Typically, the majority of data sets that need to be analyzed in action research are qualitative, and the researcher embarks on some process of sense making, which may embrace both 'multiple ways of knowing' and collaborative or participatory data analysis, where community members or stakeholders are actively involved in the data analysis process. Whilst some recent studies have elaborated on the process associated with participatory data analysis, traditionally there has been little discussion of the data analysis approach adopted by action researchers to surface assumptions, test those assumptions and generate theory. Huxham, however, does offer a simple, stepwise model for action research data analysis, which is essentially based on using thematic analysis in a collaborative manner to create a conceptual framework and then revising and refining the conceptual framework in the light of other studies and comments from the community or other collaborators. Thematic analysis in general is a good approach for analyzing qualitative data, such as meeting minutes or interview transcripts. Typically, the researcher first seeks to identify key themes and associated sub-themes by deep immersion in the data. Once these themes and sub-themes have been identified, codes can be generated for each of the themes and sub-themes, which in turn are applied to the text under analysis to mark the occurrence of specific themes in different places in the data set (e.g. in different interview transcripts). Qualitative software packages, such as NVivo, may be used to assist in the organization and coding of the data set. The themes and the associated insights that can be surfaced from the data form the basis for a deep understanding of the focus of the research and a theoretical framework that assists in understanding both this situation and possibly comparable situations.

According to Dick, action research theorizing is typically abductive in nature, in that something unexpected is observed and, on this basis, a plausible hypothesis is developed to explain the observation. This hypothesis is the basis for the next cycle of research, which tests the hypothesis. This approach has a strong inductive flavour, where theory is derived from the situation and the data set rather than being predetermined or informed by prior research or theory. The significance of induction in action research and the limited guidance on data analysis in action research have led many researchers to make use of the more structured and formalized Grounded Theory approaches to data analysis. Grounded Theory, for example, has a process for moving from substantive theory (relating to a specific situation) to more general formal theory that has resonance in a variety of different contexts. Grounded Theory data analysis is a specialized form of thematic analysis. Strauss and Corbin suggest that the analysis starts by coding data line by line. Next, significant codes are raised to themes or analytic categories to support the following comparison processes: (1) 'open coding'—the preliminary process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data; (2) axial coding—putting data back together again in new ways by making connections between categories and (3) selective coding—selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories and filling in categories that need further refinement and development.

D

Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to the processes associated with surfacing meaning and understanding from the various data sets that may be collected during the action research project as a basis for further action and theory building. The embedded nature of action research in organizational and social settings has two consequences for data analysis in action research: (1) it is difficult to divorce data collection from data analysis and (2) researchers focus their data analysis on generating plans for action and other interventions and thus there is a paucity of consideration of the approaches to data analysis that lead to theory making. Accordingly, action researchers have adapted other qualitative data analysis approaches, such as thematic, narrative and discourse analysis, and there is a strong tradition of the use of Grounded Theory analysis to provide formalism and rigour. In addition, there is increasing interest in collaborative and participatory data analysis as a part of Participatory Action Research projects.

This entry provides insights into the data analysis process in action research. It commences with an overview of the nature of the data sets and iterative data analysis in action research. The entry then discusses the data analysis processes in greater detail, focusing first on mining the data, next on further interrogation and interpretation of the data and finally on telling the story and articulating the contribution to knowledge and theory.

The Nature of Data and Data Analysis in Action Research

Action research is a research approach typically applied in an organizational, educational or community setting whose central characteristic is that the outcomes of the research process are twofold, an action (e.g. a completed project or organizational change) and new knowledge or theory. Action research can be viewed as the ultimate case study approach due to its systematic framework for gathering data and insights into an organization or a community and its processes and behaviour. Core to action research is a cyclical process, which typically embraces two layers of cycles. The primary cycle involves constructing what the issues are, planning action, taking action and evaluating action. Overlaid onto each stage of this cycle is the secondary, reflection-based cycle of taking action, experiencing, understanding and judging. This reflective cycle promotes inquiry into the four steps of the primary action research process and thereby generates learning about learning, or meta-learning.

Due to the cyclical nature of action research and the embedding of reflection as a key stage in the action research cycle, data analysis is in one sense integral to and ongoing throughout the action research process. Nevertheless, as the project draws to a close, there is a phase during which there is an enhanced focus on data analysis. In this phase, the researcher seeks to take an overview, make sense and generate understanding and insights from the base of evidence and reflection that has emerged during the action research project, with a view to contributing to knowledge or theory. This can be viewed as the summative phase of data analysis in action research, whereas the analysis in earlier cycles might be seen as formative. Typically, the summative phase of data analysis is inextricably linked to the writing up of a thesis or a report, with the insights and contributions to knowledge and theory emerging and cohering as the writing process progresses. The researcher works with two interleaved processes, associated with organizing and analyzing the data sets and writing up a thesis, report or other account. Both of these processes can be seen in terms of the secondary action research cycle and its four processes of taking action, experiencing, understanding and judging. Data analysis in this context is likely to draw on a range of sources and records and to be largely qualitative in nature.

Often, action research is ongoing through several months or years. During the entire period of action

Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1982). Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *Education Communication and Technology Journal, 30*(4), 233–252.

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account the paradigm underpinning the investigation that recognized the ways in which knowledge is constructed and the truth about that knowledge is valued. A similar label of technical action inquiry could be applied to a suggestion that there are a formulaic number of cycles of inquiry.

In contrast, practical action inquiry describes the process that not only follows the model of iterations but at the same time introduces elements of rigour to the process of investigation, continually seeking to know more about the topic or issue being investigated, such that there is an improvement in the situation. This rigour also involves transparency such that a reader can follow the process used by the inquirer.

In the same way, emancipatory action inquiry undertakes this growth in knowledge about the situation such that the underpinning values and beliefs about the situation, which actually inform the way in which the situation is viewed, become evident. The improvement in the situation may thus involve a completely different way of describing the initial situation and the factors that have an impact on the understanding of that situation.

The Cycles: A Scaffold for Documentation

Research gains authenticity through publication, and the device of cycles of inquiry can effectively scaffold the way in which the inquiry is described and published. Investigators can write about the ways in which a situation existed and was reviewed and how their interventions led to an improvement in the situation, which in turn feeds into a subsequent cycle of inquiry. They can also write about the reconnaissance of the situation to elaborate on the situation at the initiation of the inquiry. These descriptions of the inquiry process provide a transparency about the ways in which the investigators had proceeded, which enables a reader to understand, rather than replicate, the investigation. Investigators can document not only the findings from the investigation but also the processes for each cycle and the ways in which one cycle has informed subsequent cycles.

There is, however, a dilemma with this form of reporting, in that the effort to show the richness of each cycle and the ways in which the cycles collaborate can also be labelled by a reader as repetitive.

In Geof Hill's action inquiry study, which involved nine cycles of action research, he began with a simple cycle of observation and reflection. By the third cycle of inquiry, as a result of his reflection and mapping of the events, the framework for reflecting had identified three different fronts which he was investigating:

1. The theory underpinning his specific practice
2. The organizational theory in which his practice could be understood—its provenance
3. The beginnings of naming and classifying the ways in which he facilitated his practice

Writing to these three fronts made the process of documenting a cycle of inquiry more complicated, but it also conveyed the complexity of the practice and the complexity of the ways in which he was investigating that practice.

In providing a document to illuminate the process of investigation, the investigator is not suggesting that another investigator would follow the same line of investigation but is trying to make explicit the ways in which understanding of the situation changed as a result of continual observation and framing.

Documentation Which Illuminates the Problematic Nature of Research

Research practice is rarely straightforward; however, many research reports often read as if the investigation has followed a prescribed plan without any problems. Writing about research rarely reports the ways in which the investigator solved real research problems, and thus it perpetuates the misconception that the research process was unproblematic.

Bridget Somekh explores this problematic nature as she describes how action inquiry takes place in the workplace with no attempt to control the situation. This is a contrast to other investigative approaches which may attempt to control certain factors within a situation. Not controlling adds to the complexity and also to the richness of the description of the situation. This is seen as one of the features of rigorous action inquiry, that it be transparent, not so that it can be repeated but so that it is evident how each of the iterations has enabled the investigator to better understand and potentially change the situation.

The value of cycles of inquiry is that this complexity and richness can be articulated and an inquirer can demonstrate how problems were solved in the process of the inquiry.

Geof Hill

See also collaborative action research; critical reflection; reflective practice

Further Readings

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Chris Argyris and Donald Schön proposed a similar model of learning, in which the person learns from his or her experience through a process of reflection. They described this as single-loop learning. The advance on this type of learning was described as double-loop learning and incorporated critical reflection, or reflection on some of the assumptions being made in the process of making sense of experience. This parallels Bawden's notion of the investigator taking into account the window by which he or she makes sense of events and things.

Reconnaissance: A Common First Cycle

The term *reconnaissance* was used by Lewin as one of the initial steps in fact finding about a situation being investigated. Reconnaissance continues to be mentioned in several of the contemporary models of action research, notably those processes of action inquiry advocated by Jean McNiff, Jack Whitehead and Phil Lomax. They described reconnaissance as the point in the investigative process at which the investigators clarify where they are starting from in their investigation. Paul Dillon advanced this notion of reconnaissance by suggesting that in an inquiry there is self-reconnaissance, examining what the investigator brings to the investigation, as well as situational reconnaissance, examining what the literature has to say about the specific situation under investigation.

Provenance: An Uncommon First Cycle

Part of reconnaissance can involve understanding where a particular practice or experience has come from. Most practices themselves have a provenance that explores the debates and revolutions that have informed the way in which that practice is undertaken.

Action inquiry itself is a good example of a practice having a disputed and debated provenance, including the dominance of scientific method and the challenge to this dominance through the paradigm wars, and the subsequent development of the range of approaches under the umbrella of action inquiry that have already been discussed. Like reconnaissance, provenance can be both situational and personal, the personal provenance recognizing the experiences that the investigator brings about his or her own knowledge of the practice under investigation.

The Oscillation Between Action and Theory

With each cycle of action leading into reflection, there is an element of theorizing which informs the choices about subsequent cycles. As the investigators makes sense of the action or experience they are observing, they begin to theorize about how that event might be better explained. In many ways, this is how theory is developed, through iterative tweaking, continually making better sense of the real-world situation.

A Word About Models and Problematizing Action Inquiry

In laying out these models, it is important to emphasize that models are not themselves truth. They are intended to be simplifications of otherwise complex concepts and practices. The value of action inquiry is the way in which the iterations can play out to respond to the complexity of everyday life.

Despite the sense of linearity of the iterations, cycles do not necessarily follow each other. McNiff indicated this phenomenon when she suggested that what might start off as a side cycle could in the end become the central focus in an investigation. This phenomenon is not restricted to action inquiry. In any investigation, what is seen as the focus of a situation at the outset may well be overshadowed by a more relevant finding or direction which later emerges in the investigation. This element of uncertainty, an unknown and unpredictable outcome, is what makes the investigation worthwhile.

Action inquiry is not always forward moving. An investigator can create a wealth of knowledge by also looking backward and identifying the provenance of a situation. This sense of reconnaissance of a situation that precedes the actual beginning of action research can build the understanding and the ways of understanding of the situation. The value of backward cycles of inquiry, exploring how a situation came to be, can also provide valuable insight into how a situation can be addressed in the current situation.

The notion of a cycle is a convenient way to emphasize the connectedness between moments of making sense of a situation. Each new understanding of a given situation helps to reframe the way in which that situation is both understood and addressed. What one person calls a cycle could by another be called a series of cycles.

Models provide a guide to investigative action, but just adherence to the steps identified in a model does not necessarily produce rigorous action inquiry. Kemmis and McTaggart drew on terms initiated by Jürgen Habermas to construct a hierarchy of action inquiry in the terms:

- Technical action inquiry
- Practical action inquiry
- Emancipatory action inquiry

This hierarchy suggests that investigations which simply followed the technical requirements of action inquiry, such as iterations, were deemed 'technical' action research. This sort of process failed to take into

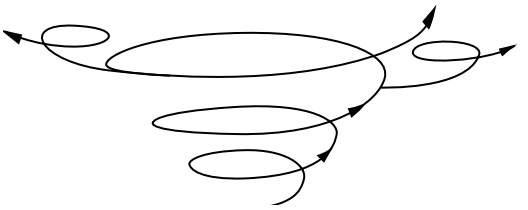

Figure 2 *McNiff Model*

SOURCE: McNiff, J., Lomax, P., & Whitehead, J. (1996). *You and your action research project.* London, England: Routledge. Reprinted with permission.

Jean McNiff similarly described a cycle (see Figure 2) as beginning with identifying an area of practice to be investigated, then imagining a solution, implementing the solution, evaluating the solution and changing practice in the light of the evaluation. She highlighted the ways in which iterations can spin off from the main investigation, suggesting that the outcome of the investigation may not be its original focus. Sometimes the study is driven by a tangential issue that often becomes the main study.

Richard Bawden proposed a cycle or iteration (see Figure 3) between the actual event and the mapping of the event. In his model, the investigators select the events or things they propose to observe. They bserve them from a particular perspective—their window of the world—and assimilate those observations into a mental pattern to make sense of the events and things in their own mind. Bawden calls this a map. This mapping process can also take into account the very window by which events and things are observed and raises awareness to critical reflection as well as reflection.

Relationship of Action Research Models to Learning Models

Bawden's model emphasises the close relationship between action inquiry and learning models, particularly those which emphasize experiential learning. Perhaps the most recognizable of these learning models is the experiential learning model advocated by David Kolb, in which he notes the importance of reflection in the cycle, to make explicit the learning. These ideas followed the philosophical footsteps of the great philosophers, particularly those advocating reflective practice.

David Kolb describes a learning process that works through a cycle of concrete experience followed by reflection, then by the development of abstract concepts, leading into testing the new experience.

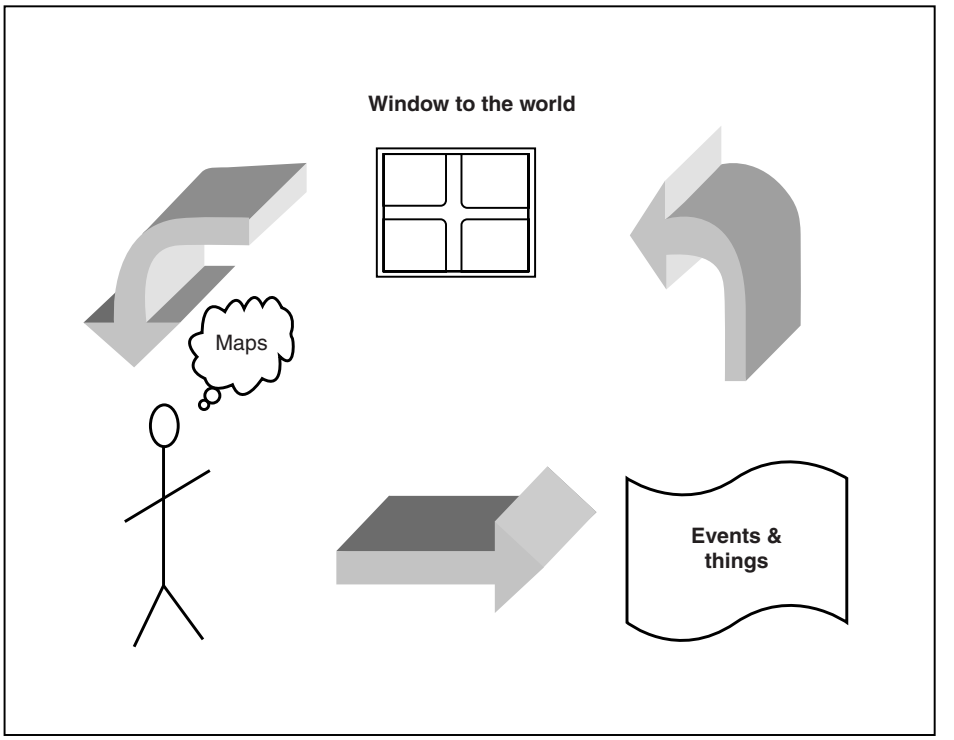

Figure 3 *Bawden Model*

SOURCE: Bawden, R. (1991). Towards action research systems. In O. Zuber-Skerrit (Ed.), *Action research for change and development* (pp. 10–35). Brisbane, Queensland, Australia: Griffith University. Adapted with permission.

Cycles of Action and Reflection

Why are cycles of action and reflection important in action research? How are the cycles embodied in models of action research? Are cycles real or notional? Do cycles necessarily follow from each other? Are cycles always forward moving? How do cycles of inquiry relate to documentation of the investigation?

A Starting Definition

Action research is a term used to describe a family of related investigative approaches that integrate theory and action, with the goal of addressing important organizational, community and social issues together with those who experience them. Many researchers consider this approach to investigation to have been instigated by the theorist and social psychologist Kurt Lewin.

Action research is one of many investigative approaches developed in response to what were perceived to be problems with scientific method—the once dominant investigative approach. Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln have summarized these problems in their argument for naturalistic inquiry over the rationalistic model of inquiry. They address issues of truth, reality, the relationship between the inquirer and those under inquiry, causal relationship within the inquiry and the values that underpin the inquiry process, and they particularly focus on the nature of research when it involves people. Action research and other alternative forms of investigation evolved from the articulation of a belief system that embraced multiple truths and saw knowledge as arising from sources such as practice and experience. These discussions about what constitutes appropriate research with people have prompted some researchers to describe their investigative approach by using the term *inquiry* rather than research to emphasize the relationship between their method and alternative paradigms.

There are varying definitions for action inquiry. These represent both the different pathways by which investigators have come to this approach and the different ways in which aspects of this approach are valued. These different approaches are explored in some of the models that follow. Given that action inquiry often aligns with an ontological belief in multiple truths, it fits with the idea that there are also multiple definitions for this approach. While there may be a multiplicity of definitions, they are all related in a common approach. This approach involves iterations or cycles of problem identification, action planning, implementation, evaluation and reflection.

This section focuses on these types of iteration or cycles of action and inquiry.

Models Representing Action Research

Kurt Lewin proposed a cycle of steps in his articulation of action inquiry:

1. Identify a general or initial idea.
2. Find out the facts about that idea (reconnaissance).
3. Plan and take a first step of action.
4. Evaluate the impact of the first step.
5. Amend the plan, and lead into a second and subsequent set of steps.

This general plan of a process of investigation has been adopted into models which represent it cyclically by people like Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggart (see Figure 1), who described the iteration as cycles of planning, acting and observing and reflecting. They emphasized the movement towards a change in the situation about which the investigator is reflecting and acting and how one cycle informs its successive cycles.

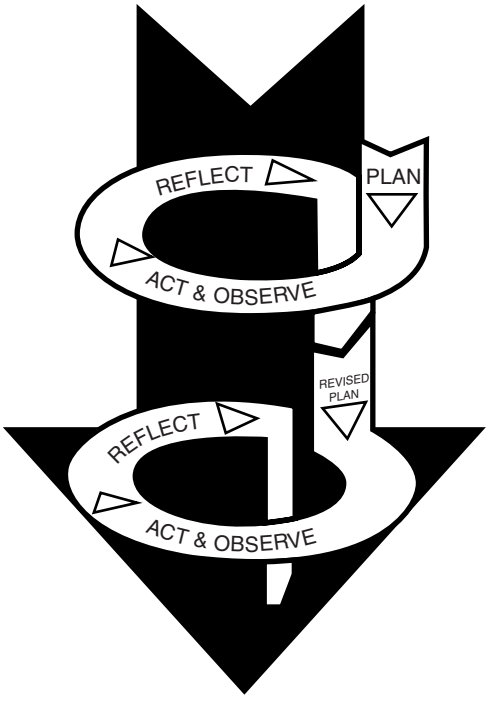

Figure 1 *Kemmis and McTaggart Model*

SOURCE: Kemmis, S., & McTaggart, R. (1981). *The action research planner.* Geelong, Victoria, Australia: Deakin University. Reprinted with permission.

learning. Thereby, the free space is also connected with imaginative processes towards practical social change and to the theory of social development, and in this sense, Negt is the bridge between critical theory and action research.

The CUAR tradition's palette of methods is wide, but the most significant is the Future-Creating Workshop. This type of workshop was invented by Jungk. Jungk was critical about societal future planning being dominated by experts, or what he called an expert culture. The invention of the Future-Creating Workshop was a reaction to and a break with this culture and an orientation towards favouring everyday knowledge and a less authoritarian and instrumental world. The Future-Creating Workshop has three phases: (1) a critique phase, where participants express their concerns about the existing system through a brainstorming session; (2) the utopia phase, in which participants express their dreams through a second brainstorming session followed by periods of group work where utopian ideas are developed by focusing specifically on dreams and wishes and putting a pause on reality; and (3) the realization phase, which is a twofold process in which the utopia groups first continue to develop the utopian ideas and then the work towards the realization of the different plans begins.

The third important feature is the focus on the role of the researcher. For the CUAR tradition, the epistemological foundation is built not only on the ideas of the hermeneutic tradition but also on the thought of the Norwegian philosopher Hans Skjervheim. In his work, he focuses on the premise of being human. His point is that being human includes being engaged in the world and the social field. Skjervheim argues that one cannot choose commitment; being in the world means being part of the world and thereby committed. This is an important point for the CUAR tradition and all action research. For Skejrvheim, the point was also that dialogues are only possible when the interpreter and the interpreted individuals share some kind of practical case or interest. In this dialogue, both the researcher and the participant are part of the same process, hence the researcher cannot take the part of a bystander but must be reflexive about his or her normative engagement.

Example: Industry and Happiness—A Social Experiment

From 1989 to 1996, the project 'Industry and Happiness' was conducted by Kurt Aagaard Nielsen, Birger Steen Nielsen and Peter Olsén. It was from this project that the theoretical framework of CUAR took form. The project was designed as a social experiment, and the purpose of the project was to develop democratic industrial production different from normal enterprise strategies and to systematically work with utopian perspectives from the actors involved. Different kinds of workshops were used, but the Future-Creating Workshop was the most significant. The main participants were a group of workers from the fishing industry and the researchers. Together they set out to develop the future of the fishing industry in a more humane and democratic way. By the end of the project, one of the utopian ideas from the Future-Creating Workshop, the so-called Factory of Wishes, became the origin of a concrete experiment of a new fishing factory in the city of Esbjerg. The factory existed for 1 year, and in that period of time, the workers and the researchers experimented with new organizational forms within the planning of work, with new technologies for filleting fish and new products for industrial production. The experiment was focused on mixing work and everyday life experiences. Several books and articles have addressed different aspects of the experiment, and the project has been the inspiration for many researchers from the CUAR tradition. On a practical level, the project has contributed to a revival of fresh fish as products in the supermarkets' refrigerated counters.

The critical utopian tradition contributes to the research tradition of action research by bringing forward the thinking that the utopian perspective has to evolve from a critical analysis—not just a scientific analysis but an analysis coming from the participants themselves, from their experiences and knowledge of everyday life.

Ditte Tofteng and Mia Husted

See also Frankfurt School; Lewin, Kurt; Nielsen, Kurt Aagaard; Search Conference

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the same time becomes an important or *the* important player in development and planning, then humanism and democratic values will become excluded as essential dynamics because these kinds of values are not observational facts. A consequence of this is that society will end up being based upon an authoritarian and technocratic logic of development. These points are shared by Lewin, but unlike Adorno and Horkheimer, he believed that social science was able to play a positive, reformist role without ending up being integrated into the existing alienated society. For CUAR, this step towards a practically oriented science or research is an important part of the inspiration gained from Lewin. Implied in this is the argument that it is not only for scientific reasons that researchers working together with participants should be involved in the research field but also because there is a normative perspective holding that with the more active role of the researcher, they will be able to influence culture and society in a different way from other research disciplines holding a more passive role of the researcher. It is a way of thinking that when more participatory learning and change processes are included in the way research is conducted, it will influence the results and make society more democratic.

Lewin's methodology is institutionalized in the socio-technical tradition of action research. This tradition is characterized as an experimental practice in which researchers and practitioners co-operate around the development of organizational change and problem-solving. But the socio-technical tradition struggled with holding on to the changes and the participatory form within the organization, because the employers balked at institutionalizing a practice involving employees' participation to such a strong degree within the organization.

In the CUAR tradition, the experiences from the socio-technical tradition strengthened the notion of workers and researchers co-operating in practical projects. The idea in the CUAR tradition was that experiments and the development of new ideas should take place in a protected environment at the start, and an important point was that the experiment should hold an element of reversibility. In this way, two things were drawn from the socio-technical tradition: (1) the role of the researcher as an interactive participant and (2) the experimental part of being in the project with the participants.

The last and most significant inspiration for the CUAR tradition is from future research. Here, the tradition leans on the German future research philosopher Robert Jungk, who was occupied with inventing tools and arenas for democratic change. From his work, the CUAR tradition strengthened the ideas taken from critical theory of what should be with practical and interactive methods to create and develop new and utopian drafts for a better future. Jungk was inspired by the same theoretical heritage as the founders of CUAR, and in that light, the fusion was natural. But there is also one specific point that the connection to Jungk supplies; that is the focus on the necessity of a utopian horizon to overcome the reified structures of society. The point of departure which is represented by Jungk's perspective, and also with the CUAR researchers, is the understanding that the future is being colonized by a small group of people. In this understanding, the future is shaped by a small elite, which for the majority of citizens results in an experience of powerlessness. With the utopian perspective and the democratic methods, Jungk believed it was possible to prevent us from going blindly into the future.

It is from these four sources that CUAR takes its theoretical inspiration and develops a new theoretical framework in which critique, utopian thinking and everyday knowledge meld with the knowledge and critical analysis of society by the researchers involved.

Central Aspects of Practice

There are three important areas which receive particular attention within the CUAR tradition, namely, (1) free space, (2) Future-Creating Workshops and (3) the role of the researcher.

For a CUAR-inspired project, one of the main features is the creation of arenas called *free spaces* in which dialogues and activities can evolve around imagination and dreams in an easier way than in the structure of everyday life. The free spaces are laboratories for social learning and imagination. Without them, the power of reality, as Herbert Marcuse puts it, will dominate even in the first step of a development process. The thinking behind the concept of free spaces came from Lewin and the German critical sociologist Oskar Negt. From Lewin came the idea of creating experiments in laboratories protected from reality for just a short time. Also, the concept of life space came from Lewin, which is founded in Lewin's focus on the necessity of freedom in the cultural and social formation processes. If the world is to be able to move in radical new ways, we need to lift the dialogues and activities out of reality for a short period of time. This is the reason why CUAR can be considered as a reformist action research tradition, because the purpose of the work within the projects is to reform reality. This is the heritage from Negt, whose work provides the inspiration for the CUAR tradition about social learning and, to use Negt's terms, social imagination and exemplary

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Critical Theory

See Frankfurt School

Critical Utopian Action Research

The term *Critical Utopian Action Research* (CUAR) refers to a tradition within the Scandinavian action research milieu inspired by critical theory, with an emphasis on Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. In such a perspective, the intellectuals or the critical researchers are a kind of advocate for a critique of social structures which they find reified and instrumentalized in a way that leaves no room for humans to move, develop or change. In this tradition, the researchers' role is to outline and create awareness of the problems of the world, but they have no interactive role to play in actually bringing about change. CUAR is different. Here, the critical role of the researcher is to be active in the world by creating proposals for new democratic structures in society as a result of their research and findings.

Within the CUAR tradition, action researchers have special tasks in creating critical awareness about the necessity of change and pointing towards possibilities of democratic knowledge creation. The researchers are the facilitators and creators of arenas within which utopian ideas and new societal developments will emerge. While the CUAR tradition's origins lie in the area of organizational development, it has since developed within a broad palette of themes from organizational development to food production, marginalization from the labour market, nature management and eldercare. This entry discusses the history and characteristics of CUAR, as well as the core concepts and theoretical background of this tradition. Finally, an example connected to the inception of the CUAR will be provided.

Development of CUAR in Theory and Practice

There are four sources of inspiration for CUAR: (1) critical theory, with the idea of turning theory upside down in the sense that theory understood as critical thinking should express an understanding of what is in the light of what should be; (2) the work of Kurt Lewin on democracy and participative change; (3) socio-technical action research and the work with organization and social development and (4) future research and the underlining of social imagination and utopian-oriented ideas. From these four sources, Kurt Aagaard Nielsen, Birger Steen Nielsen and Peter Olsén developed the theoretical and practical framework of CUAR.

The CUAR tradition is characterized by its practical interpretation of critical theory. Critical theory represents an intellectual practice working with analyses of modern society within the framework of philosophy, social science and culture. The classical critical theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer were occupied with the relation between science and democracy and argued that if science is not democratic in its way of investigating the world, it will only confirm an undemocratic reality. Their errand was critical. If science only deals with observational facts, as positivism suggests, and science at

Resulted in dissemination/presentation of learnings to stakeholders	
Reporting of learnings made explicit the process, method and assumptions associated with the project	
Improvements embedded in work practice	
Fun/Enjoyment	*Freedom/Choice*
Team members shared goals	Team members free to select topics, aspects of project
Energy and excitement evident in team	Appropriate choices of topic available
Willingness to share knowledge, information and skills for problem-solving shown	Structure of project allowed for exploration of alternative solutions
Team had an appropriate mix of participants	Team developed its own ability to find solutions
Structure of the project encouraged creativity and innovation	Members willing to take risks and be innovative
Team overcame barriers if they arose	Power sharing rather than hierarchical control exhibited
Team avoided competitive processes	Willingness to suspend power and control in the group
	Equity in participation of members
	Members tackled hard questions and were unafraid to move out of comfort zone
Belonging/Respect	
Non-defensive accepting of critique, challenge, feedback and new ideas	
Openness and honesty with self and others evident	
Dialogue engaged in	
Alliances and networks formed and sustained	
Team united by shared goals/visions for improvement	
Team gradually shared a common language, culture	
Members developed mutual respect, appreciated diversity	
Members committed to the project and each other	
Members shared responsibility for project outcomes as well as the process of learning and team building	
Members committed to the use of interpersonal skills that supported the above	

See also collaborative action research; cycles of action and reflection; double-loop learning; reflective practice; rigour

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Table 1 (Continued)

Questions Related to Relevance	*Questions Related to Integration and Integrity*
How will learnings from this course shape my students' future practice?	How do I see education having a transformational potential?
How is the content of my course related to what students do or plan to do?	How do I act with integrity, and how do I teach my students to do so? Is integrity teachable?
How much of my own and my students' practice is integrated in the course?	Is the course I teach compatible with my personal beliefs?
How often do practitioners contribute to my course?	Are beliefs something people should talk about?
How is mutual learning promoted?	How do personal beliefs influence professional practice?
What are my students' special skills and abilities, and how do they manifest them?	With whom can I talk when having an ethical dilemma?
How are they nurtured?	How are the values, skills, knowledge and beliefs integrated?
Are students aware of the relevance of this course?	How can I manage my power and not impose my beliefs on students?

SOURCE: Ksenija Napan. Adapted and reprinted with permission.

Success/Worth	*Quality Process*
Usefulness to team, organization, other stakeholders	Members had enhanced understanding of action research
Produced tangible results	Logical process followed that included • problem identification, • planning, • action and • evaluation
Made significant contribution to organization—short and long term	Associated with practical, concrete, action
Recipients of change provided positive feedback on impact	Balanced action and learning
Created change/transformation (individual, group, organization or beyond) in both insights and practice	Systematic recording of reflections throughout
Actions generated were timely and useful	Reflections of team supported by multiple data sources (triangulated)
Advanced knowledge and learning team and organization	Reflections and actions linked
Led to reflection and questioning of insights in and on action	Findings shared with those who provided the data
Produced sustainable learnings	Flexibility and responsiveness evident
Group members saw themselves as learners	Project was not too demanding or time-consuming
Outcomes publicly reported for critique by peers	
Reported accounts of how things had changed (or not), what had been confirmed or ignored and what had been made problematic	

Table 2 *Prompts for Reflecting Upon Action Research Practice*

Questions Related to Appreciating the Context	*Questions Related to Choices*
Is my class a safe place; how do I know that?	What academic requirements are non-negotiable?
Which conscious activities do I undertake to make it safe?	What academic requirements, proposed by me and my academic integrity, are non-negotiable?
What do students do to co-create safety in the classroom?	How is flexibility manifested in my course?
How do I convey my passion and interest for my subject?	What choices do I make to make the course different each year?
Do I know my student's names? Can I pronounce them?	What do I believe about choices in academic work?
Am I interested in them?	What choices do students have in terms of process, content and assessment in my course?
What are my most common criticisms about my students?	Which part of the course could be experimented with in order to create more choices?
What are their strengths?	How important are choices for the students' future profession?
Which qualities characterize interactions?	
How is my course enjoyable?	
Do the students appear to be enjoying learning?	
What do I think they like the most about my class?	
What is interesting about it? How is it special?	
What do students remember the most at the end of the class?	
Which processes contribute to creating a learning community?	
How many students do their best? How come?	
What structures are essential for my course to be effective?	
What is negotiable about my course?	
How do students contribute to make it their own?	
Is my course challenging enough? Do my students appear to be bored?	
Would I like to be a student in my class? Why or why not?	

Questions Related to Flow	*Questions Related to Trust*
Have I ever noticed the flow in my classroom? What happened? Did anybody else notice it?	How is trust manifested in my class?
How do I manage and encourage curiosity?	Does the content of my course require a level of trust between students themselves and between students and lecturers?
What brainstorm activities do I enjoy?	How can trust be ignored in academic environments?
What activities do my students enjoy the most?	How can trust between students be encouraged?
What is the most interesting part of the subject I teach?	Is there an 'us and them' culture between students and teachers? How does it manifest?
What excites me?	Are students treated as colleagues? Do they need to do something to deserve this status?
When am I most creative?	How is respect manifested within my department? How do I do it? How I see my colleagues doing it?
How do I express my creativity?	Do I notice when students show trust?
How do students express their creativity in classroom discussions, assignments and presentations?	

Table 1 *Napan's Questions for Reflecting on Academic Teaching Practice* *(Continued)*

cycles of learning. The goals of experiential learning are therefore understanding and improvement. Gibb's model extends beyond experience to an expectation of reflection at an emotional level on how participants felt in the experience, followed by development of an action plan for further improved action.

Johns' model, on the other hand, includes collegial sharing of guided reflections with five 'patterns of knowing' that incorporate analysis of the aesthetic, personal, ethical, empirical and reflexive elements experienced. The collegial sharing element of Johns' model resonates with the emphasis placed on collaboration and dialogue in action research by Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett. Such sharing allows a discursive, argumentative and self-critical culture for the public testing of assumptions and reflections; that is, it helps avoid the self-limiting reflection that Schön reminds us can be a trap. Critical reflection necessitates a strong discursive culture which is argumentative yet open and self-critical.

The model proposed by Rolfe and team involves just three questions: What? So what? And now what? These questions create a description, then scrutiny of the situation, followed by the construction of knowledge learnt and finally consequences for improvement.

Engaging in Critical Reflection

'How' to critically reflect is an important consideration that could be prefaced by the question 'Can it be learnt?' There is some agreement to suggest that it can. Brookfield, for example, has identified four learning phases: assumption analysis, contextual awareness, imaginative speculation and reflective scepticism. The first two of these phases overlap considerably with Michael Reynolds' speculation in the 1990s of four components or characteristics of learning to be critically reflective: (1) questioning assumptions (taken-for-granted beliefs and values that are often unquestioned elements of 'common sense'); (2) adopting a focus that is social rather than individual, in other words, having a social constructionist perspective where individuals' reflections are located within a community reflecting values, beliefs and norms; (3) paying attention to the analysis of power relations, that is, power and knowledge interplay and influence position in hierarchies of power and privilege on an individual's perspective, and (4) being concerned with emancipation—creation of a just society through reasoning about both historical and contextual perspectives.

Methods and Tools for Reflection and Critical Reflection

An extension of how critical reflection can be learnt is the employment of learning tools for engagement and development. The list of tools is extensive but might include the following:

1. Keeping a journal/diary
2. Focus group technique
3. Interviewing and collaborative dialogue
4. Concept mapping and model building
5. Action Learning groups
6. Viewing experiences objectively through tools such as Repertory Grid Technique, Top Level Structuring, Nominal Group Technique or Plus Minus Interesting
7. Autobiographical storytelling (see Brookfield's work)
8. Sketching
9. Critical incident analysis

Chapter 2 in *Evaluation of Action Research* by Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett details the application, advantages and disadvantages of the first six sets of tools on the above list. Each of the tools is insufficient on its own, however. There are fundamental key questions that are needed as a basis for critical reflection with all of these tools. Brookfield has provided questions that have often acted as a guide for reflection, but two sets are offered next that are less well known. The first (Table 1) outlines questions for reflecting on academic teaching constructed by Ksenija Napan, which she says are linked to context, choices, flow, trust, relevance, integration and integrity.

The second set of reflective questions is more in the nature of 'prompts' that were developed by Piggot-Irvine for critically reflecting on the practice of action research. These ideas are summarized in Table 2, using William Glasser's categorization for subheadings.

There are limitations associated with critical reflection. It requires space, including uninterrupted time for data collecting and analysis, dialogue and debate. A further limitation lies in the measurement of the quality and outcomes of critical reflection, although assessing levels of reflection has been attempted by several authors, including Bud Wellington. The latter author defined the levels as the five orientations of immediate, technical, deliberative, dialectic and transpersonal.

Finally, critical reflection also has significant advantages, including its potential to enhance professional practice, to structure and reframe thinking and actions and to challenge ethics from a personal through to the societal level. As well as the previously noted requirement for 'space', it can also provide space for future work through the resolution of unresolved issues and relationships and the improvement of systems and processes.

Eileen Piggot-Irvine

reflection? What tools assist with reflection? These questions are the focus of this entry.

Background and Definition of Reflection and Critical Reflection

A multitude of definitions of action research include reflection as a key element of the approach. For example, as early as 1988, Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggart explained that action research was a form of collective self-reflective inquiry. Later, in 2001, Bob Dick considered that alternating action and critical reflection was part of action research. It is often said that in action research, reflection integrates the action and the research. Alongside the articulated centrality of reflection, however, there is an assumption that everyone knows what it is—this is not always the case. To understand what it is requires a short walk through the history of our understanding of reflection.

Although Donald Schön's work in the 1980s is most frequently referred to in defining reflection associated with the notion of enhancing professional practice through a process of structured thinking, this material in fact drew influence from the early Greek 'Socratic questioning' and John Dewey's work on reflection in the 1930s. In the 1990s, David Boud and his team indicated that reflection involved recapturing experience, thinking about this experience, mulling over it and evaluating it.

'Critical' reflection takes reflection to a deeper level because it has underpinning intents of emancipation and a fair, more just society. It is often linked to identifying and questioning the assumptions that govern actions and reframing, or developing, alternative actions. Stephen Brookfield's work in the 1990s has been important in defining that such a level of reflection inherently involves challenging prevailing social, political, cultural or professional ways of acting: a challenge that may provide an alternative to the majority position. Later work implies that there is threat to personal competence in such a stance, which includes being both self-critical and ethically alert.

Many descriptions of critical reflection within action research raise the importance of rigour. Proposals for how the latter is applied vary, from the use of robust self-questioning through to the more specific use of data- or evidence-based evaluation in critical reflection that can be adopted in the phases of action research. The context and approach employed for action research will influence choices around the extent and the type of rigour that is applied—a point raised in the recent book, *Evaluation of Action Research*, by Eileen Piggot-Irvine and Brendan Bartlett.

When defining the parameters of reflection and critical reflection, it is important to distinguish each from 'reflexivity', which is a process used to make overt an action researcher's internal dialogue about attitudes, values, beliefs, decisions and thoughts on the research. Reflexivity, though clearly distinctive, most essentially involves both reflection and critical reflection.

Approaches and Models of Critical Reflection

There are many approaches and models that can be used to critically reflect in order to learn from experience. The concept of reflection, in fact, has grown in tandem with interest in experiential learning, proposed by David Kolb in the 1980s. At a basic level, models of reflection exist to provide guidance to help look back over events that have happened and to turn them into learning experiences. Important models include those of 'double-loop learning' and reflection generally from Chris Argyris and Donald Schön in the 1970s and 1980s, later from the likes of Graham Gibbs and Chris Johns and more recently from Gary Rolfe and colleagues.

In Argyris and Schön's model, single-loop learning occurs when an action or strategy is changed without reflection on the foundation beliefs or values. In critical reflection, the goal is double-loop learning, where the latter examination of beliefs and values is seen as a prerequisite for substantive transformation in practice.

Schön's model of reflection describes 'reflection *in* action' as the ability to think immediately whilst engaged *in* action—a challenging level of reflection, because it requires us to respond appropriately and to have the capacity to change actions mid-performance. Reflection *on* action happens post-action and is much easier, though there is no question of its importance because reflection *on* action is intimately linked to the ability to critically reflect. There has been some debate about this model, essentially contesting that Schön did not clarify the reflective process or what happens in situations of tight decision-making time frames when the scope for reflection is limited. There is also assertion that he did not expand upon the psychological realities of reflection in action.

Kolb's model identifies reflection linked to experiential learning and the transformation of information into knowledge. Knowledge is seen to be sourced from observations, questioning and reflection on concrete experience or action. From this, there are generalizations or the formulation of abstract concepts which have implications that are tested in new situations. New concrete experiences then occur with further

expressed concern about the increasing numbers of Hmong women with diabetes and the very high blood sugar levels. A physician member of the collaborative offered the opinion that the women were *noncompliant* and lacked essential knowledge of diabetes. The collaborative decided that a broad qualitative view of what was occurring in the lives of this critical reference group was essential and that the effort would need to be done in Hmong using pictorial representations and oral reports, since written language was not part of most women's lives. Hmong nurse-researchers and students invited Hmong women with high blood sugar into the project as co-investigators. Together, they drew the women's life stories on large scrolls. After several weeks of adding details to the scrolls so that they represented the most important events and people in the women's lives, the women added the experience of diabetes to the unfolding life story lines. By comparing and contrasting the stories, the people involved in the action research could easily see how all of the women went from life in Laos that involved walking up and down mountainous terrain, engaging in warm interactions with myriad people in the community and picking and eating fresh fruits and vegetables from their gardens to life in the United States that involved sitting in their children's homes alone in front of a television set listening to a language they did not understand and being driven to the grocery store to purchase food wrapped in plastic, too fearful to walk outside by themselves. They recounted how their blood sugar levels rose and fell with their stress, sadness, trauma and depression. They knew about diabetes and conventional treatment, but they did not know how to live healthy, happy lives in their new country.

The action research team decided to hire a playwright to weave the women's stories into a play, and the students went on Hmong radio to invite the larger community of Hmong women with diabetes to a delicious, nutritious, beautiful dinner where the play was performed. The action research team asked the women what was missing from the play to better represent their experience and what in their opinion Hmong women with diabetes needed to live happy, healthy lives in the United States. The dialogue that ensued gave birth to meaningful action plans.

Each stakeholder group came to a new understanding of what they could do to promote human flourishing in this critical reference group. All stakeholders developed a new understanding of the important contribution of the Hmong people to US history and culture. Clinic and community leaders realized that they had an obligation to see that practices and structures were reorganized in the clinic and in the community. Hmong women had a deeper sense of their history, current situation and future possibilities. A poster of the stories and findings was hung in the clinic, and dialogue sessions were held to engage clinic staff in reorganizing care. The word *noncompliant* fell from the vocabulary of the physicians, who realized that they were earning a salary but were not providing care that resulted in optimal health outcomes. A psychologist was embedded in the health centre, and a Hmong women's support group was initiated.

It is in the context of a story fully understood and relationships carefully tended that transformation becomes seeded and takes root. Addressing power differentials and uncovering who might be benefiting from the suffering of the people most affected by the situation at hand—the critical reference group—is an essential aspect of action research.

Margaret Dexheimer Pharris and Carol Pilsbury Pavlish

See also collaborative action research; community-based research; dialogue; Fals Borda, Orlando; narrative inquiry; post-colonial theory; relational-cultural theory; social justice

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Critical Reflection

What are reflection and critical reflection in action research? What are the key models and approaches for critical reflection? How do researchers engage in critical

group are fully involved in discerning how best to collect and analyze the data, deciding how to disseminate the results and planning meaningful actions to create change.

The critical reference group is not always immediately revealed. Action research teams must gaze widely to question who is most at risk, who is often overlooked, and who has been previously silenced in other projects. Specifically asking who is at the heart of the research question(s) often reveals the group(s) most affected. Furthermore, action research teams must critically question what potential untoward effects might arise from their work. What groups could be harmed in the quest for information? What outcome indicators must be collected and analyzed to ensure that a new vulnerable group is not created by our actions? Encouraging a community-level understanding of ethical issues, Edison Trickett gave the example of a project that aimed to reduce sexually transmitted infections through the creation of a government-sponsored brothel. The project succeeded in reducing sexually transmitted infections, but it also resulted in increased marital discord and divorce. The focus of concern expanded from sex workers and their clients to the partners and children adversely affected by divorce. To identify and expand the critical reference group, action research teams critically analyze who might be adversely affected by the issue being studied as well as who might be adversely affected by the research process or the community-based actions that result.

Blending Many Voices: Working From Polyvocality

Action research that includes the critical reference group as full partner involves movement from one group researching and another being researched to a collaborative exploration—a movement from a divided *them* and *us* to a collective, collaborative *we*. Bill Genat went further to suggest privileging the critical reference group so that new meanings can be incubated and situated local knowledge and theory can be recognized through the process of active, collaborative engagement. Carol Pavlish and Margaret Pharris concurred with this approach, pointing out that when all stakeholders in the phenomenon being studied engage in critical, inclusive dialogue about the meaning of the data analysis findings, and the experience of those who are adversely affected is fully understood by all, barriers to human flourishing can be thoroughly, systematically and enthusiastically deconstructed by people on all sides of the barriers.

To effectively break down the barriers to health and well-being for the critical reference group, action research projects involve as many stakeholders as possible who possess the power and knowledge to make essential changes that could improve the situation. Involving more stakeholders than just the critical reference group increases the chance that more lasting change will take place. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett made a compelling case for the ill effects of societal inequities on those who are seemingly benefiting from them, and demonstrated that there is more general well-being in societies where equality prevails. When people who may be benefiting from the plight of the critical reference group are involved in the action research in a relational context, they are exposed to the effects of their actions or inactions and are more motivated to work to improve the situation. However, the action research team needs to discern how to surface what Wadsworth termed the critical discrepancies that may be suppressed or repressed and thus allow the poor conditions to persist. For this to happen, it is essential to commit to a process of listening deeply to understand the perspective of those most affected and to engage in a relationship where recognizing, talking about and dismantling power differentials is central. Follow-through on this commitment results in a new way of being in community and doing action research. This process knowledge, in and of itself, becomes one of the most powerful outcomes of the action research. A new solidarity arises. Lynne Young called for such decolonizing research methods to critically identify whose interests are being served and to uncover and correct unequal power dynamics. Inequities may include differentials in ability to participate due to lack of transportation, language and literacy problems, inconvenient meeting times, necessity for day care and other factors that privilege some to participate more fully and exclude other critical voices. The research process incorporates regularly scheduled interrogation of who is at the table, who needs to be invited in and whether the critical reference group is adequately represented in all major decisions and actions. Orlando Fals Borda saw this process of individual and collective transformative action as arising from a *liberationist/emancipatory ethos*.

Adopting a New Lens: An Example

Avonne Yang and colleagues provide an example of the importance of the centrality of the critical reference group in the action research process. In a community-based collaborative action research partnership between a university and a neighbourhood clinic community advisory board in the United States, the persistent, dangerously high blood sugar levels among Hmong women with diabetes emerged as a pressing issue. Hmong women from the community

from feeling states to make changes in outlook or with regard to social standing.

Critical realism can provide a firm philosophical foundation for action research. Despite the fact that the method has been shaped by a range of differing perspectives and slants, and thus might be seen as a group of related techniques, its application invariably remains true to Lewin's articulation of a series of interlaced cycles of reflection and action with the aim of acquiring information which can potentially solve identified practical problems. This juxtaposition of 'reflecting' and 'doing' to effect problem-solving is consonant with critical realism's aim of being an *under-labouring* tool, that is, one that casts light on areas of difficulty so that ethical, emancipatory action can be taken. Action research, along with critical realism, subscribes to the notion that it is not enough to understand the social world: We must also act to change it, to further human well-being.

The cyclical, recursive and iterative nature of action research involves a series of processes: planning, acting, observing, reflecting, replanning, acting, observing and so on. It is within the observing and reflecting stages of the inquiry that retroduction can be employed to give the inquirers a deep understanding of the causal mechanisms potentially affecting the problems being addressed and the factors helping and inhibiting change. Some mechanisms work in tandem with others to produce beneficial effects, whereas others clash or are oppositional, producing a force field of mixed results.

In an educational context, one central mechanism might be social class, how it creates certain expectations of achievement, how it inculcates a habitus or set of internal thinking dispositions within children, shaping how they approach learning, how they make sense of the school environment and the role of teachers. The planning stage might then seek to incorporate approaches that challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about, say, children from a working-class background, heightening a sense of the language used in the classroom and expectations of achievement.

By discovering the causal forces at play, action researchers are able to modify their plans, actions and strategies aimed at change. The goal is to target mechanisms obstructing the desired change or worsening the well-being of human subjects and to promote or strengthen mechanisms that act in a contrary manner. Yet, more than this, they will be keen to factor in the impact of human agency when attempting to explain the nature of change and resistance. This is to try to empower human subjects to exercise their agency, particularly when using Participatory Action Research. Continuous cycles of reflection and action over time, applying the retroductive method within critical realism, heighten the possibility of emancipatory change by exploring events within the empirical and causal levels of reality.

Stan Houston

See also epistemology; Lewin, Kurt; ontology; Participatory Action Research; philosophy of science; systems thinking

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Critical Reference Group

Action research has firm historical roots in a dialectic interchange between the Global North and the Global South and has gained its strength through collaborative partnerships between those with expertise in research methods and knowledge of social change theory and those who are most intimately affected by the issue at hand. Action research efforts hold greater potential to create meaningful change when the research team includes the people most affected by the problem being studied—the people whose lives the action research project aims to improve. Yoland Wadsworth coined the term *critical reference group* for the group of people the action research primarily intends to help, whose problems the action research seeks to solve. Ideally, the action research team centres its work on the critical reference group's most pressing issues. This entry offers ways to identify these groups and work in partnership with a full circle of stakeholders in creating new avenues for health and equity. We conclude by describing a project that brought Hmong women's previously unheard voices into the centre of action research.

Locating the Critical Reference Group: Eliminating Margins

Oftentimes in traditional research projects, people in the critical reference group have been subjects or mere participants in the research process. Action research at its best determines the research question from the lens of the critical reference group and is organized in such a way that people from the critical reference

narrows, it is contended—much as in the metaphor of Plato's cave when light illuminates previously distorted and misapprehended images, revealing a more perspicacious view of reality as it really is.

These central tenets on the nature of ontology and epistemology are complemented by a discerned position on ethics. In this context, critical realism does not subscribe to the notion of a value-free science, which maintains 'the facts/value' distinction defended rigorously by most positivists. Critically, if one discovers the presence of oppressive mechanisms operating at the causal level of reality, then the social scientist is morally obligated to apply measures to negate their effects or at least expose them for what they are. Hence, in the face of discovering the alienating effects of commodification, one might well consider highlighting the need for de-commodifying measures. For example, this might involve prising the person's worth away from market mechanisms, which define people mainly in terms of their labour power. In this way, Bhaskar sees a connection between the production of knowledge in society and human emancipation. Essentially, negative value judgements can be made on phenomena which can be shown, through reasoned argument or evidence, to be false, hegemonic or exploitative. There must be a presumption in favour of making the truth of the case known through what we have found in our research endeavours.

Retroduction and Action Research

Building on these ontological, epistemological and ethical precepts, critical realism advocates a particular methodological stance of research inquiry—one essentially directed to the discovery of causal mechanisms in social life. This is termed *retroduction.* Andrew Sayer says that this involves the inference from a description of some phenomenon to an understanding of the causal properties producing it. In retroduction, the researcher seeks to apprehend how Event B was produced by A. This is an a priori process of thinking backward, one that tries to identify the causal mechanisms giving rise to the event. To expand on the nature of this inquiry, the researcher starts with a transcendental question. Kant said that such questions should take the following form: What must be the case for events to occur as they do? In other words, an inquirer has observed something of interest and now wants to understand the factors that have brought it about.

Inquirers respond to transcendental questions by developing hypotheses about what causal mechanisms may be operating in a given sphere. Such hypotheses often take the form of metaphorical hunches, inferences, models or analogies rather than tightly defined scientific conjectures that are meant to be tested empirically in controlled conditions. Ted Benton, pioneer of the critical realism approach, provides the following example of how this might work: A study of the properties of electrons might compare them to the flow of water molecules along a river. Alternatively, a study of organizational life might compare it to a psychic prison. Or a study of patients in a mental hospital might conjecture that the experience amounts to a divestiture of their social identities. In retroduction, the aim is to hypothesize about the likely influence of multiple mechanisms producing interlinked, multiple effects in diverse fields. Given that this is a complex task, the inquirer needs to draw on theories that purport to examine deep, causal properties in psychological and social life in order to gain a tentative understanding of what mechanisms are at play. For example, in social research, these may be theories of identity, face-to-face interaction and institutional life. Additionally, retroduction can be linked with *complexity theory*: the construction of an overall system by defining its constituent parts (or subsystems) and how they are linked together to produce discernible effects.

Once hypothetical mechanisms have been elicited, the inquirer then seeks evidence to either confirm or disconfirm their presence. For example, if the mechanism of commodification was really at work, then the inquirer would expect to see evidence of human life being reduced to monetary factors or life being intractably linked to market principles. If, however, evidence from the empirical world is lacking, then alternative hypotheses need to be propounded and tested (using perhaps a different set of theories), until the point the inquirer has sufficient evidence to make a compelling case regarding some of the factors affecting causality in the area of inquiry pursued. This can be compared with a medical physician who observes outward symptoms in the patient, develops hypotheses about their underlying causes, tests whether they are present and reformulates her hypothesis if required.

Finally, if there is a strong case for believing that a number of oppressive mechanisms have been located, then the inquirer is duty bound to take actions to offset their effects. For example, if commodification is evidenced, then the inquirer might resort to a set of policy recommendations highlighting the need for de-commodifying measures. In a welfare context, this could include arguments for removing means testing for essential childcare services. In all of this, it is essential to remember that outcomes in social life are the combined effect of not only deep-seated mechanisms but also human agency working in specific temporal and spatial contexts. Human agents reflect on their circumstances. They use conceptual space to reflect on constraints and enabling factors and to take action accordingly. This is not to portray the actor as fully rational and instrumental. Human reaction is often embroiled in emotion. Nevertheless, we can distance ourselves

illustrates this point. Consider a sheet of paper spattered with iron filings. To the eye, there is nothing in the presentation of the filings signifying order. They appear as a random spread across the sheet. However, when a magnet is applied below the paper, the filings fall into a pattern around each pole of the magnet. The pattern is seen by the observer. It exists at the empirical level of reality. However, what is unseen is the mechanism of magnetism operating at the causal dimension. It is axiomatic that just because we cannot see immaterial forces with the naked eye, it does not mean they do not exist. Evolution has been an ineluctable, causal mechanism in the phylogeny of human development yet has no material properties per se.

These aforementioned examples come from the natural sciences. Yet Bhaskar is keen to extend his thesis on the causal level to the psychological and social aspects of being. An example from the psychological domain illustrates his stance. Take a young child removed from his parents' care and placed with a stranger. Most children who are securely bonded with their parents will show evident distress, anxiety and, ostensibly, rage given this situation. If the child is reunited with his parents after a short while, though, he slowly returns to his secure mode of being, feeling safe to explore and welcoming the parents' proximity. What the observer sees is the child's distress and subsequent calm. What is less clear, at this empirical level of observation, is what is causing the child's reaction when separating from and reuniting with his loving carers. In this regard, John Bowlby, a child ethologist, suggested that children develop through an unseen mechanism of *attachment*. When they feel secure in their parents' care, they are enabled to explore their worlds and develop cognitive and social skills. However, when threatened, they return to their secure base.

Bowlby's work highlighted the existence of the psychosocial mechanism of attachment in social life. Beyond this domain, however, are wider social structural mechanisms operating at the causal level to make events happen. In neo-liberal economies, for example, the pervasive mechanism of commodification acts to reduce social life to objects that have monetary value, that can be purchased, traded or cashed in. Commodification works in tandem with other neo-liberal mechanisms such as deregulation, liberalization and privatization to shape the nature of modern life, its cultural forms, media representations and civic engagements. Empirical evidence of growing inequalities and diminishing measures of well-being in many countries falling prey to the neo-liberal global order testifies to the working of these unseen mechanisms at the level of political economy.

The combined effects of these mechanisms operating at the causal level create an unpredictable smorgasbord of cause and effect, with some mechanisms complementing each other while others act in countervailing opposition. That said, far from being a deterministic philosophy, critical realism also gives a central place to human agency in shaping outcomes in social life. Actors are affected by myriads of mechanisms but, through their intentions in different times and social contexts, sometime modify their effects. Therefore, causality is a complex affair involving the human being's subjective engagement with unseen forces that have an objective power.

Such mechanisms operate within a stratified world comprising numerous, interlacing systems. In short, reality is layered. If the scientist targets one level of reality and identifies the mechanisms within it, then indubitably, there is an aspect of reality lying beneath it, one giving rise to its fundamental laws and processes. Thus, the characteristics of many animals and plants can be explained by physiological mechanisms, but they, in turn, can be explained by deeper level chemical mechanisms, a prominent one being photosynthesis. So one can delve deeper, or 'drill down', increasingly into the microstructure of nanoparticles.

Equally, reality builds from these microscopic layers to the bigger social domains comprising institutions and political economy. This multilayered world can be studied by discrete disciplines ranging from quantum physics upwards through physical chemistry, organic chemistry, physiology, psychology, the social sciences, humanities, philosophy and theology. In all of this, one layer of reality generates the next in a process of continual emergence, yet, crucially, critical realism avoids attempts to reduce one layer to its deeper layer base. For instance, human psychology should not be reduced to human biology and human biology to chemistry. Reductionist explanations fail to do justice to the discrete objective properties of each unique layer.

Bhaskar's articulation of the three different types of reality—empirical, actual and causal—constitutes the main frame of his ontology of the person-in-society. But what can be said regarding his view of critical realist epistemology? Here, Bhaskar makes a distinction between the *intransitive* and *transitive* worlds. The former is the world that objectively exists. The latter is a human construction of that reality. In the transitive world, actors see reality through their perceptual lenses, coloured as they may be by theory, bias, past experience and cognitive heuristics. This notion reverberates with Immanuel Kant's distinction between 'things-in-themselves' (the noumenal world) and 'things-as-we-see-them' (the phenomenal world), and our limited apprehension of the former through innate, a priori mental structures. Yet, as our theories develop over time, as social science progresses, the gap between the intransitive and transitive domains

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Critical Realism

Critical realism is a philosophical position that is attracting increasing interest in academic and professional fields. It offers the scholar or inquirer a lens for understanding human ontology (our 'being-in-the-world'), epistemology (how knowledge is formed and apprehended) and ethics (how we ought to act as moral beings). More specifically, it provides a philosophical tool for identifying causal mechanisms within a particular field of activity. For these reasons, critical realism aligns with the concerns of action research. Kurt Lewin, an important progenitor behind the method, viewed change as arising from a process of human reflection centred on progressive cycles of analysis, objective setting, formulating plans, executing them and evaluating the results. An initial cycle would lead to further cycles following the same basic approach, embedding change often directed to ideals founded on human betterment. This entry describes how critical realism enriches action research with analytical depth, enabling social researchers to gain a deep understanding of the social world and the nature of the problems which they seek to address and change.

The Key Tenets of Critical Realism

In sociology and social theory, a major concern centres on how human agency (the capacity to exercise choice, motive, intention and creative reflection) engages with social structure (objective, enduring social patterns of behaviour often governed by social rules, prescriptions and norms). Essentially, the question concerns how much freedom actors possess and to what degree society constrains their behaviour. Different theories have tilted towards or emphasized one of the two polarities in their attempt to explain social life. Anthony Giddens, for example, in his theory of structuration, has argued against an over-socialized model of the person, suggesting that actors are not 'cultural dopes' but rather creative engineers of self and narrative in a changing world of reflexive opportunity. Pierre Bourdieu, alternatively, can be seen as taking a different stance, one emphasizing how outward structure shapes human consciousness and everyday, taken-for-granted action, even though actors can reflect on their options and make virtuosic interventions within circumscribed fields.

In contrast to these theorists, Roy Bhaskar, a leading thinker behind critical realism, has argued that actors shape their social worlds but, in turn, are constrained by social structures embedded in the fabric of social life. However, it is the nature of these structures that takes on a particular purchase in critical realism. In order to grasp the significance of social structure in critical realist philosophizing, we must turn to Bhaskar's view of the social world. His ontological conceptualization comprises three levels of reality, namely, (1) the *empirical* level, (2) the *actual* level and (3) the *causal* level. The first is reflected in what we experience through our senses. We hear discordant themes in a piece of classical music eventually leading to a climax of resolution. We see a broad vista appear before us out of the mist. We taste a much anticipated, fortifying meal. Such are examples of the empirical engagement with reality through the senses.

By way of contrast, the actual level of reality is what happens regardless of our engagement with it. Hence, events occur beyond one's sensory experience. The fact that a person cannot hear a concert taking place in a far away location does not mean that it has not occurred. One's range of sensory experience is truncated and restricted by spatial and temporal contexts, yet there is still an awareness that others are 'going about their business' and life continues in 'far away fields'. Reality does not have to be experienced by everyone for it to have ontological substance.

Lastly, the causal level has a major import in social life. Operating below the meniscus of the empirical and actual levels are unseen causal mechanisms. These mechanisms work synergistically to produce discernible effects in the empirical and actual levels of experience. In fact, it is by noting these effects that we can hypothesize about the existence and nature of these mechanisms. An example from the natural sciences

discrimination lawsuits, particularly under the federal anti-discrimination paradigm, has become increasingly onerous and difficult for plaintiffs to overcome.

The critique of the intent requirement in anti-discrimination jurisprudence is linked to another legitimating legal principle that is centrally and deeply revered by the liberal state, that is, the principle of 'formal' equality, which dictates that the liberal paradigm of formal equality should govern as the primary 'neutral' principle on which civil rights and discrimination cases should be analyzed and decided. Here, formal equality stands in stark contrast to 'substantive' equality. For race crits, substantive equality is concerned primarily with outcomes, that is, with the elimination of the *conditions* of social subordination, whereas formal equality is concerned primarily with equality of opportunity. Accordingly, formal (Aristotelian) equality, which remains the reigning equality principle in American jurisprudence, looks to treat, in the words of the feminist legal theorist Catharine MacKinnon, 'likes alike' and 'unalikes unalike'. It attempts to resolve institutionalized and systemic forms of discrimination simply by redrawing the lines between those who are the same (the 'likes') and those who are different (the 'unalikes'). Thus, under a formal equality regime, it is sufficient, for example, if the law treats men and women or Whites and Blacks similarly, where once it had treated them differently.

For law crits of many stripes (CRT, CLS, feminist legal theory), the problem with the formal equality paradigm is that it does not adequately account for the histories of subordination that created the inequalities—those original 'likes' and 'unalikes'—in the first place. Nor does the formal equality paradigm allow for the adequate consideration of context, that is, of the specific conditions under which both individual and collective experiences of discrimination and status-based oppression occur. That history and context *must* be considered in addressing legal claims of discrimination is another important tenet of CRT.

Critical Race Feminism and Intersectionality

Early CRT scholarship focused singularly on analyzing law through the lens of race. By the mid-1980s, however, feminist race crits had begun to articulate a new CRT critique that exposed another analytical shortcoming of anti-discrimination jurisprudence and discourse. They demonstrated how the courts, in determining which cases would go forward, essentialized and categorized plaintiffs in race discrimination cases as Black men and plaintiffs in gender discrimination cases as White women. At a practical level, this functioned to leave plaintiffs asserting claims specifically as, for example, *Black women*, without recourse, since the courts dictated that they choose one or the other—race or gender—under the existing legal frameworks. Moreover, at the level of discourse, this functioned to render Black women and other women of colour invisible and voiceless and always subordinate to men of colour and White women.

Critiques such as these—which challenge the law's marginalization of the 'multiply burdened'—are part of a robust body of work referred to as critical race feminism. Intersectionality theory, associated most closely with Kimberlé Crenshaw, is likely the strand of critical race feminism that has had the greatest influence within critical race discourse, as well as on a wide range of non-legal disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, education and philosophy. It aims principally to address forms of subordination based on *interlocking*, identity-based categories such as race, gender, sexuality, disability and/or class. Moreover, intersectionality theory exemplifies how CRT can be employed to understand how the law constructs and maintains existing distributions of social power in complex, material and discursive ways.

Conclusion

CRT and action research share an important lineage grounded in critical thinking about traditional forms of academic work, always with their concern for social power and community in mind. CRT has proven to be a powerful tool in the uncovering of the law's subordinating structure and effects. But one of CRT's foundational tenets also calls for race crits to effect structural *change* in ways that respond to their own critiques of the law and legal institutions. Race crits, however, have not been as effective at proposing viable programmatic change as they have at critiquing existing frameworks and conventional legal discourses. Moreover, the intensely partisan and top-down nature of political reform in the USA and many (but not all) other liberal democratic states makes it difficult, though certainly not impossible, for CRT principles to be meaningfully incorporated into such reform. In the light of these political realities, action research can provide race crits with other ways of doing CRT that are more centrally focused on bottom-up, rather than top-down, approaches to creating a more just and equal society.

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See also critical theory; feminism; Marxism; post-colonial theory; social justice; subaltern studies; subalternity

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reality demonstrated to the emerging race crits a tension between CLS scholars' theorizing of a more just society and their own race privilege. Thus, the race crits distinguished themselves from the crits by placing race at the centre of their critical discourse and by acknowledging the law's liberatory potential.

This political intervention into the CLS movement coincided with student organizing at elite law schools around the failure to hire faculty of colour in anything beyond token numbers. Most famously, when the late Derrick Bell, widely regarded as one of the first and most influential critical race scholars, left the Harvard Law School (HLS) faculty in 1986 to serve as dean of the University of Oregon Law School, HLS failed to hire a professor of colour to teach Bell's courses on constitutional law and race. When HLS students subsequently protested and organized around HLS' failure to do so, it responded that there were no 'qualified' minority faculty to hire. This response by a professed 'liberal' legal institution like HLS triggered a burst of activity that resulted in a student-organized class at HLS inspired by Bell's classes. The course, which focused on racial critiques and analyses of American law, was taught by professors of colour brought to HLS from other law schools. Many of its participants—both teachers and students—went on to become central figures in the establishment of CRT.

These two strands of CRT's history—its intellectual-activist genesis in response to the CLS movement and its activist-intellectual genesis in response to liberal, institutional race politics—make clear the connections between CRT and action research, despite the fact that action research is not particularly focused on race. The history of CRT as an intellectual project exemplifies its deep understanding of the political nature of knowledge production and the impact such production has on the organization of society, as well as its commitment to addressing sociopolitical inequality by challenging conventional modes of research and scholarship. Thus, race crits and action researchers have much in common, for, in short, they are both committed to creating a more just and equal society.

Two Key Features of CRT

Just as they share a general commitment to social change, CRT and action research share other, more specific core values and characteristics. As has already been mentioned, both, for example, reject the conventional academic wisdom that knowledge and knowledge production are or can be 'objective' and 'neutral'. Rather, both openly acknowledge and reckon with the political nature of doing academic research and writing within academic institutions. Both further reject the premise that there is or should be a singular methodology for 'doing' CRT or 'doing' action research. Over the past three decades, CRT has generated several other key insights that are more specific to an American legal context and have influenced a generation of legal and other scholars.

It must be noted here that the very act of choosing key insights for inclusion in this entry, from what is now a robust and diverse body of CRT literature, runs counter to a CRT ethos of inclusion, of counting every voice. Thus, the author wishes to make clear that many CRT scholars might disagree, justifiably, with the following identification of key insights. Having said that, a brief overview of two key insights—both of which comprise related and more specific tenets of CRT—follows.

The Legitimating Function of Law

The first CRT scholars were deeply disillusioned and dissatisfied with the development and state of American civil rights jurisprudence and discourse in the post–*Brown v. Board of Education* era. While they appreciated the significant gains that had been made as a result of the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, they expressed deep reservations during the late 1970s and 1980s about the ways in which the courts in civil rights cases were then shaping anti-discrimination doctrine, notwithstanding the fact that many of those courts had ruled in favour of the minority plaintiffs. These race crits argued that the civil rights law of the time, and the anti-discrimination doctrine in particular, had become overly concerned with the positionality of the alleged defendants—termed 'perpetrators' by an early race crit, Alan David Freeman—while paying too little attention to the conditions and experiences of the plaintiffs, who had allegedly suffered as a result of it.

They did so, for example, by requiring the plaintiffs in both constitutional and statutory discrimination lawsuits to prove the *defendant's intent* to discriminate. Such proof requirements, these early race crits argued, not only had the effect of making it more difficult for plaintiffs in discrimination suits to make their cases in a practical sense, they also had the discursive effect of reinforcing the very social and institutional power structures and hierarchies that had given rise to such discriminatory practices in the first place. In this way, race crits theorized, the civil rights jurisprudence law of the time was actually functioning to *legitimate* discrimination, albeit in a less overt way than the civil rights cases of the post-Reconstruction era had. These race crits further warned that without some type of effective intervention, courts would continue to solidify the doctrine in this way. It is now almost universally agreed among contemporary race crits that the early race crits were right, for the intent requirement in

including but not limited to criminal law, anti-discrimination law (which covers, e.g., the law of employment discrimination and affirmative action), tort law, property law and contract law. Additionally, over the past 30 years, CRT scholars have drawn heavily on non-legal disciplines, such as sociology, history, political theory, philosophy, cultural theory, literary theory and economics, to name a few. Thus, like action research, one of CRT's defining features is that it is inter- and cross-disciplinary, both internally (with respect to law) and externally (with respect to non-law fields).

Even more significantly, CRT shares with action research a 'first principles' commitment to addressing issues of community and social life, especially as they relate to social political and socio-economic inequality and how such inequalities are affected by the law. Because most CRT scholars are also trained lawyers who are particularly sensitive to and knowledgeable about the strategic significance and mechanics of both legal process and forms of remedy, CRT scholars have much to offer action researchers by way of collaboration and much to learn from action researchers by way of the same. To provide more insight into why this is the case, this entry first provides a brief history of CRT's origins within the legal academy. It then identifies and describes key intellectual insights of the CRT movement that coincide with the values and commitments of action research.

A Brief History of the Origins of CRT

Because it is still a relatively new field, many of CRT's original 'founders' are still actively involved in its ongoing development. As such, an overview of CRT must include reference to and some discussion of its history according to those key players, as documented in two essential CRT readers, both of which were edited by some of CRT's central figures. Both published in 1995, *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (*Key Writings*) was edited by Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller and Kendell Thomas, and *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge* (*Cutting Edge*) was edited by Richard Delgado. The editors of both readers note the difficulty of choosing representative writings for inclusion in their respective compilations and the problematic nature of a CRT 'canon'. Additionally, *Key Writings* provides an insightful account of the founding of CRT that is, consistent with its basic philosophical tenets, deliberately explicit about the political nature of the CRT intervention into the then burgeoning field of critical legal studies (CLS), itself an explicit leftist intervention into the mainstream legal theory of the era. The following draws heavily from the *Key Writings* account.

CRT emerged in the legal academy during the early 1980s as a direct response to CLS. CLS, a left intellectual movement that had gained traction in the 1970s and 1980s in the legal academy, in turn drew from the more broadly focused legal realist movement of the early and mid twentieth centuries. While necessary for a deeper understanding of how and why CRT emerged when it did, a full historical account of legal realism and CLS is beyond the scope of this entry. For the purposes of this brief history of CRT, legal realists are often credited with introducing to the legal academy the argument, among many others, that law is neither neutral nor objective and that it both shapes and is shaped by politics and political struggle. Decades later, CLS scholars—or 'crits' as they are often known—pushed the boundaries of the realist claim, positioning themselves firmly on the left and in direct opposition to both conservative and liberal legal scholars. Crits exposed the ways in which the 'neutral' and 'objective' technicalities of legal doctrine had been used to mask the inherently political nature of the law, and the law's role in maintaining and legitimizing a stratified social order in the liberal state.

What all three—legal realism, CLS and CRT—share at their core is a deep scepticism of institutionalized forms of 'objective' legal knowledge (which includes legal doctrine and theory) and the institutionalized methods of knowledge (re)production, as well as a commitment to the critical analysis and deconstruction of the so-called neutral principles and systems of law. From that core, the trajectories of legal realism, CLS and CRT splinter, although at some points they occasionally re-converge.

The splintering within the CLS movement in the mid-1980s, which eventually resulted in the genesis of CRT, stemmed from the deep dissatisfaction within the CLS movement of law professors of colour, who were very few in number at the time, with what they regarded as the failure of crits, who were mostly White and male, to meaningfully contend with race in their critiques of social power as legitimated by law. Given the primary role race has played in the organization of American social, political and economic life and the overwhelming fact of racial inequality and subordination in the USA, many of these scholars of colour found especially problematic the CLS critique of legal 'rights' discourse as being indeterminate and without value in the struggle towards a more equal and communitarian society. While the then as yet unnamed race crits were sympathetic to the crits' indeterminacy critiques, they were less so to the crits' total rejection of rights discourse as a tool of liberation, given that African Americans had at that time only recently been granted full rights by the state. The crits' failure to comprehend the transformative nature of that political

men. Some scholars have addressed this issue by bringing feminist and critical race theory into the conversations surrounding critical pedagogy. Some scholars and thinkers who have been utilized in this conversation are James Baldwin, Frederick Douglas, Du Bois, Woodson, Martin Luther King Jr. and Derrick Bell, a critical race theorist with a legal background, who argued in texts like *Faces at the Bottom of the Well* (1992) that people of all races are victimized by racism and that the first step in sweeping changes regarding race is to acknowledge that racism exists. Similarly, critical pedagogues have made use of Gloria Anzaldua's argument that the races must work together to end oppression.

Finally, ecological pedagogues have criticized critical pedagogy for its failure to fully address the planet's ecological deterioration. Ecological scholars have raised concern that critical pedagogy supports the further alienation of human beings from nature. Ecological pedagogy requires that scholars and teachers abandon anthropocentrism, or the idea that human beings are at the centre of the planet, and instead focus on helping students to become prepared to be not just citizens in a democratic world but also citizens of Planet Earth and all the problems associated with Planet Earth, including pollution, global warming and decreasing amounts of water. This approach is interdisciplinary and looks at how humans oppress non-humans. Freire, too, took up issues of the environment in *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1973) with his concept of the 'agronomist-educator', with which he argued that the agronomist as an educator must be aware of the worldview of peasants, so that their technical training is not reduced to non-existent neutrality.

Critical pedagogy is a field of inquiry that examines how oppressive forces like business, neo-liberalism and capitalism interfere with education in negative ways. Critical pedagogy has provided a lens for analyzing problems in schools and in educational policies for many scholars interested in social justice. Thinkers have used this branch of knowledge to address questions such as who has power over what happens in classrooms and why that power is desirable, what forces affect conditions and practices in the classroom and to what end and how we can best teach students to be active participants in a democratic society. Though critical pedagogy focuses largely on teaching and conditions in schools, this branch of knowledge cannot be reduced to a methodology for teaching because, as Freire showed, the oppressed must participate in their own liberation.

Tabetha Adkins

See also conscientization; dialogue; empowerment; Frankfurt School; Freire, Paulo; Highlander Research and Education Center; praxis; social justice

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Critical Race Theory

Although born of two distinct academic worlds, critical race theory and action research are natural bedfellows. Critical race theory originated in the legal academy to expose the ways in which American law and its analytical paradigms create, reproduce and maintain hierarchical social status regimes, particularly those based on race and ethnicity. The term *critical race theory*, or CRT for short, has been in existence since the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the first identifiable CRT articles and essays were published in several leading American law journals. Those first pieces focused their critiques on American constitutional and civil rights jurisprudence as it had developed in the post–*Brown v. Board of Education* era (from the 1950s through the early 1980s), but its reach has broadened significantly since then to encompass a broad range of legal subjects,

Research and Education Center, wrote that for education or institutional change to be effective, that change has to begin with the people themselves. This idea is a tenet of critical pedagogy. Freire argued that a critical pedagogy must be designed, in part, by the oppressed population it serves.

Further Examples

Many of the texts commonly associated with the study of critical pedagogy predated the work of Freire and Giroux but still applied the principles of emancipation, hope, consciousness and praxis found in their work. For example, in the 1960s, Herbert Kohl popularized the alternative school movement in the USA, which advocated for progressive schools and community involvement in schools. During the 1970s, Ivan Illich wrote about the Deschooling Movement, which sought to remove institutional control and values from schools. Born during the year the loudspeaker was invented, he saw schools as an institutional loudspeaker that could be used to propagate oppressive ideas among students. Maxine Greene, the 'mother of aesthetic education', has argued that reflective theories of knowledge, human nature, learning, curriculum, schooling and society have influenced the practice of progressive educators for over 30 years. She has made compelling arguments for the continued inclusion of the arts, physical education and music education in schools, arguing that educators must recognize the interconnectedness of the body, mind, emotions and spirit, so that the 'whole' student is educated.

Shor, a friend and co-author of Freire, also took on the large questions of critical pedagogy in his book *Empowering Education: Critical Teaching for Social Change* (1992). This book addresses what Shor sees as the major questions of education: Why do schools limit students? How can this be changed? What helps students become critical thinkers and strong users of language? What kind of education can develop students as active citizens concerned with public life? How can teachers promote critical and democratic development among students who have learned to expect little from intellectual work and from politics? Shor argued that there is no such thing as apolitical education and all decisions made about education are inherently political decisions. He proposes what he calls 'empowering education', a critical-democratic pedagogy that is student centred and aims towards individual growth and social change.

Another important topic taken up by education scholars that finds its roots in critical pedagogy is that of high-stakes testing, common core standards or other standardized programmes like the No Child Left Behind legislation enacted in the USA during George W. Bush's presidency. One of the most well known of these critics is Diane Ravitch, a former assistant to Lamar Alexander, President George H. W. Bush's Secretary of Education. While Ravitch worked for Alexander, she was responsible for creating many of the administration's state and national academic standards. She has since questioned the effect of these standards and points to the Finnish education system as an ideal model with well-prepared and supported teachers who all belong to a union, no standardized testing system and no privatized schools. Jonathon Kozol also writes about these programmes, especially in *Shame of the Nation* (2005), where he illustrates how these for-profit programmes from the highly profitable testing and test-prep industry often conceptualize the children of economic and racial minorities as having different needs from the children of the middle class and therefore more in need of strict discipline, basic phonics-based instruction and constant assessment. This book also shows how racism, racial apartheid in public schools, inequality in public funding and school inequalities have worked together to create a two-tier public schooling system in the USA that allows politicians and corporations to appear to want to fix problems in the school system while actually profiting from a broken system.

Critiques of Critical Pedagogy

While there are many proponents for critical pedagogy, there are, of course, critics as well. Feminist scholars like Elizabeth Ellsworth, Jennifer Gore and Carmen Luke have asserted that critical pedagogy's challenges of patriarchy have been superficial at best. bell hooks, for example, wrote that even though she found a kindred spirit in Freire, she was bothered by his sexist language. Many feminist pedagogues, however, do recognize that there are many similarities between feminist pedagogical practices and critical pedagogy; both are focused on issues such as empowerment of students, the power relationship between students and teachers, building communities, challenging traditional values, honouring the dignity of individuals and respecting diversity.

Language usage and language learning have been at the centre of other criticisms of critical pedagogy. Some scholars have condemned critical pedagogy's failure to engage scholarship on language, culture and oppression, especially concerning language learners. Others have accused critical pedagogues of using elitist and inaccessible language in their texts, thus creating a new form of oppression and exclusion. Indeed, Giroux discusses this problem at length and urges scholars to think of their scholarship as a public service.

Other critiques have drawn attention to the fact that most of the famed critical pedagogy scholars are White

dialectal theory, *hegemony*, *counter-hegemony*, *cultural capital* and *performance strike*. The term *praxis* is used in critical pedagogy to emphasize that a truly emancipatory education must be informed by a combination of theory and practice. Critical pedagogues believe that education should emphasize question posing or problem posing, because truth is always subject to critique and these critiques are best mediated through interaction and dialogue. Problem posing, according to Ira Shor, is in opposition to what he calls 'teacher talk', the habit of some pedagogues to 'talk knowledge at students' and the opposite of critical dialogue. Shor's concept is closely related to Freire's concept of *banking*, a term widely used to describe oppressive pedagogical practices that assume that students bring nothing of use to the classroom. Shor writes that the all too common and devastating result of teacher talk (or banking) is a student performance strike which motivates students to settle for low achievement, act out in violence or leave school altogether. He and others argue that this practice contributes to the schools' part in the school-to-prison pipeline model—the idea that, more and more, schools resemble prisons, criminalize students or prepare students for the reality of prison life with constant surveillance, suspicion and harsh punishment.

Peter McLaren explains dialectal theory as a concept that reveals connections between history and current meanings, so that one can understand both sides of a contradiction. For example, educators can make use of this concept to understand how a school can be both oppressive as well as a route to empowerment. *Hegemony* is another term commonly used by critical pedagogues to explain that dominance is not obtained through coercion but through wilful submission of the oppressed, often through infiltrating dominant values culturally through institutions like school. This term is useful for critical pedagogues to question how educational practice may be, in fact, oppressive, even if the motives are good. Augusto Boal's concept of the 'spect-actor' is one example of resistance or counter-hegemony to hegemonic forces. Not long after Freire published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, his contemporary Boal published *Theatre of the Oppressed*. In this text, Boal put forth his theory for liberatory theatre, where actors stop a performance and invite the audience to become part of the performance by either participating in the production or making suggestions about what should happen next in the story. Boal referred to this role of the audience as spect-actor in opposition to a spectator. Boal created this model as an answer to what he saw as coercion present in theatre. He wanted participants to have agency in their experience at the theatre rather than act as passive receivers of the messages playwrights prescribed for the audience.

Critical pedagogy also regularly makes use of a term that originated from Pierre Bourdieu, namely, *cultural capital*. Bourdieu argued that general knowledge and experience are passed on to each new generation and are often informed by class. As a result, the dominant class pass down more—or what is considered more—valuable knowledge to their heirs, thereby maintaining power and the status quo. Some scholars have shown how this practice can be used to maintain oppression, while others, like E. D. Hirsch, have argued that it is the responsibility of educators to pass along 'cultural literacy' to all students so that they have access to the same knowledge as the dominant class.

Influences on Critical Pedagogy

While critical pedagogy was most prominently influenced by Freire's work and was ignited by Giroux's work, these scholars were, of course, influenced by the thinkers who preceded them. Freire spoke often of the influence of scholars like Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, Georg Hegel, Georg Lukács and Jean-Paul Sartre. Giroux theorized critical pedagogy through members of the Frankfurt School, including Max Horkheimer, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse and Theodore Adorno. A major intellectual influence on critical pedagogy was progressive educators like John Dewey, who contributed a 'language of possibility'. Dewey utilized his concept of community to explain the purpose of education in a democratic society and championed critical engagement in education. He and other social constructivists like Lev Vygotsky argued that whenever a student learns within a culture, that student is learning, on many levels, how to be a member of that culture. This theory is extended by Vygotsky into his concept of the Zone of Proximal Development, the space between what a student can accomplish on his or her own and what the student can accomplish in a more social situation with the help of a peer.

Scholars who wrote about the role of racial oppression in the American education system or society in general have also had a noticeable effect on critical pedagogy scholarship. W. E. B. Du Bois's 1903 *The Souls of Black Folk*, for example, focused on the impact of racism on minority race populations and especially the detrimental effects of segregated education on African American children. Carter G. Woodson, the father of Black history, wrote in *The Miseducation of the Negro* (2010) about the destructive effect of mainstream education on African American children. Giroux refers in his texts to speeches made by James Baldwin in the 1960s, when he asserted that educators were living in a 'dangerous time', and Giroux shows that the danger has not passed. Myles Horton, co-founder of the Highlander Folk School, later known as the Highlander

that should be utilized to advance democratic ideals and to end oppression. Specifically, critical pedagogues look at how education itself can be an oppressive force and how outside oppressive forces, such as neoliberalism, shape the purpose and function of education. Critical pedagogy supports the empowerment of culturally marginalized and economically disenfranchised students and calls upon teachers to recognize how schools have historically embraced theories and practices that serve to unite knowledge and power in ways that sustain asymmetrical relationships of power and maintain the status quo. Critical pedagogy recognizes that all knowledge is created within a historical context, that all decisions about pedagogy and education are inherently political decisions and that schools can actually work against the interests of those students who are most politically and economically vulnerable within society. This entry will address the development of critical pedagogy as a branch of knowledge, introduce a number of key concepts used in discussions of the field, review the major intellectual influences on scholars working in this area and finally consider some of the challenges to critical pedagogy and how they might be addressed.

Development and Details

While Henry Giroux is generally credited with first using the term *critical pedagogy*, the work of Paulo Freire has had, inarguably, the greatest influence on this body of scholarship. Freire was a Brazilian educator best known for providing literacy education to peasants. His first, and most influential, book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Portuguese in 1968, was written after a 15-year exile following his arrest for his work in education. This book was a response to the poor living conditions he found in the cities and countryside of his home country and challenged readers to consider the danger of oppressive elements in society and education. He focused specifically on the problem of what he called the banking model, a commonly used pedagogical model in which teachers make 'deposits' of what they consider to be true knowledge into the minds of students, which are assumed to be empty or without valuable knowledge of their own. Freire argued that the problem with the banking model is that it indoctrinates students to accept what the powerful class accepts to be true or valuable. Instead, students should be taught to be critical thinkers so that they can fully participate in democracy and become their own liberators. This critical thinking and liberation can be achieved, in Freire's view, only through the process of *conscientização* (or 'conscientization' in English), which encourages students to become deeply, socially aware and empowered through acknowledging the social, economic and political realities that affect their lives. The end goal of conscientização is for students to realize that they have the power to change their own realities. Freire posited that conscientização can only be reached through dialogue, an educational strategy that requires humility and the exchange of ideas. The influence of his work on the work of the critical pedagogues who followed him cannot be overstated.

Giroux first published the term *critical pedagogy* in his 1983 book *Theory and Resistance in Education*, though he admits that he cannot remember exactly who first used the term and that Roger Simon may have used the term before he did. Giroux's work, as well as that of others who have written since the 1980s about emancipatory education, is greatly influenced by the work of Freire. In fact, Giroux and Freire collaboratively decided to call this field of inquiry 'critical pedagogy', rejecting terms such as *radical pedagogy*. Giroux began his work in critical pedagogy by first theorizing critical pedagogy and the work of Freire through critical theory, linking personal experience with public work and theorizing critical pedagogy through social movements. He advocates for what he calls 'public pedagogy', a concept that urges critical educators to reach beyond the boundaries of the classroom, into communities, workplaces and public arenas. He endorses educators' involvement in union and political activity. Giroux's work recognizes the complicated relationship between neo-liberal forces that aim to dismantle teachers' unions, reduce teachers' work to that of a technician rather than that of an intellectual and replace smart, creative, engaged teaching that stresses critical thinking with the oppressive policies of high-stakes testing, common core standards and other political education policies that stress the ability to obtain high scores on standardized tests. He has shown how these complicated relationships are at work in programmes in the USA such as President George W. Bush's 'No Child Left Behind' and President Barack Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan's 'Race to the Top'.

Important Concepts in Critical Pedagogy

Most scholars who are now critical pedagogues came to the discipline after experiencing some kind of struggle in the classroom; critical pedagogy gives educators a language with which to talk about challenges in education and pedagogy, especially when those challenges are linked to oppression and injustice. Just as most critical pedagogy scholarship is based on the foundation of the work of Freire, critical pedagogues share a common lexicon with which to speak about education. Some of these terms include *praxis*, *problem posing*, *teacher talk*, *performance*, *banking*, *dialogue*,

The communicative networks of public spheres generate *communicative power*—the positions and viewpoints developed through discussion will command the respect of participants not by virtue of obligation but by the power of mutual understanding and consensus. Communication in public spheres thus creates legitimacy in the strongest sense—the shared belief among participants that they freely and authentically consent to the decisions they arrive at.

Public spheres do not affect social systems (e.g. government and administration) *directly*; their impact on systems is more *indirect.* In public spheres, participants aim to change the climate of debate, the ways things are thought about and how situations are understood. They aim to generate a sense that alternative ways of doing things are possible and feasible—and to show that some of these alternative ways actually work or that the new ways do indeed resolve problems, overcome dissatisfactions or address issues.

Public spheres frequently arise in practice through (or in relation to) the communication networks associated with *social movements*—that is, where voluntary groupings of participants arise in response to a legitimation deficit or a shared sense that there is a social problem that has arisen and needs to be addressed.

Conclusion

CPAR is a practice-changing practice. It aims to form communicative spaces—public spheres—in which people involved in and affected by practices can transform their understandings of their practices in the interests of more clearly understanding the character, conduct and consequences of their practice and of overcoming irrationality in their current understandings. They form these public spheres not only to change their understandings but also to transform what they do in the practice: to transform the activities that constitute their practices, especially wherever what they do has consequences that are unsustainable for the people involved or the wider world. And they form these public spheres to transform how people relate to one another and to the world, to overcome conduct and consequences that are unjust. To transform their practices, they do not rely solely on changing themselves: They also transform the practice architectures that enable and constrain their practices—practice architectures that tend to hold their practices in place and to reproduce existing ways of doing things. Changing these practice architectures means transforming the language they use, the ways they use physical space-time and the social arrangements that enable and constrain how they relate to one another and the world. Transforming themselves turns out to be not just a task of looking inwards, individually or collectively (as a group); it is also a task of transforming the arrangements that exist in the intersubjective spaces in which we encounter one another—cultural-discursive arrangements in semantic space, material-economic arrangements in physical space-time and social political arrangements in social space.

CPAR is thus not primarily a research 'methodology' or a set of research techniques. It is an approach to research that aims to open up communicative spaces in which participants in social practices can explore the nature and consequences of their practices and consider whether their practices need to be changed. In CPAR, participants explore their practices through research conducted by them as members of a critical community, often with the assistance of others who join the community to help with the research. The purpose of CPAR is not so much to make contributions to knowledge, especially if that is understood to mean publication in academic books and journals, as it is to make a contribution to history: transforming the work, lives and situations of people in the interests of rationality, sustainability and justice.

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See also critical theory; Frankfurt School

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Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is a cross-disciplinary field that recognizes education as an essentially political practice

are made by people and can be changed by people—by constructing other architectures and enabling new, potentially more sustainable practices.

Communicative Action and Communicative Space

'Communicative action' involves conscious and deliberate effort to reach intersubjective agreement among participants as a basis for mutual understanding to reach an unforced consensus about what to do in their particular situation. Why is this important? The alternative can only be an appearance (rather than the reality) of shared goals distorted by *strategic action* by individuals in pursuit of their own goals and self-interests.

The fundamentals of communicative action are often observed in everyday life—people try to develop agreements and understandings with those they work and live among. They come to some sort of consensus about how to proceed in a social setting. Agreements hold until unforeseen constraints (or possibilities) arise, then people seek to reopen discussions within the setting and perhaps beyond it in order to create new ways of working together. Ideas, working habits and ways of relating to each other are 'unfrozen' moments, when it is possible to re-create the practice architectures which shape practices.

Communicative action occurs when participants interrupt their practices to ask four particular kinds of questions (related to four validity claims). They ask whether their understandings of what they are doing (1) *make sense* to them and to others (are *comprehensible*), (2) are *true* (in the sense of being *accurate* in accordance with what else is known), (3) are *sincerely held and stated* (authentic) and (4) are *morally right and appropriate* under the circumstances in which they find themselves. The commitment to communicative action also opens up *communicative space* so that the disciplined work of CPAR can occur, building solidarity and underwriting understandings and decisions with *legitimacy* and *validity.* These are only guaranteed when people are free to decide individually for themselves what is comprehensible to them, what is true in the light of their own and shared knowledge, what is sincerely held and truthfully stated (*authentic*) and what is morally right and appropriate, proper in participants' circumstances. Foremost among the criteria for legitimacy are participants' understandings, needs and willingness to act.

Given the primacy accorded to legitimacy and participants' central role in accomplishing it, how do people go about creating legitimacy? We argue that legitimacy arises in 'public spheres'. Like communicative action, public spheres might also occur in everyday life. Again, active participation in public spheres requires understanding their features and attending to key principles to ensure new understandings, ways of working and ways of relating to each other to achieve validity and legitimacy in the eyes of participants, those ultimately involved and affected and others.

Public Spheres

Public spheres are constituted as *actual networks of communication among actual participants.* In reality, there are many public spheres.

These public spheres are *self-constituted.* They are formed by people who get together *voluntarily.* They are also *relatively autonomous*—that is, they are outside formal systems such as the formal administrative systems of the state.

Public spheres frequently emerge in response to *legitimation deficits*—that is, they frequently arise because potential participants do not feel that existing laws, policies, practices or situations are legitimate. Participants' communication is aimed at exploring ways to overcome these legitimation deficits by finding alternatives that will attract their informed consent and commitment.

Public spheres are constituted for *communicative action* and for *public discourse.* They involve face-to-face communication, but they could be constituted in other ways—via e-mail or the World Wide Web, for example. Public discourse in public spheres has a similar orientation to communicative action—it aims towards intersubjective agreement, mutual understanding and unforced consensus about what to do.

Public spheres aim to be *inclusive.* Whenever communication between participants is *exclusive*, doubt arises whether it is in fact a 'public' sphere. Public spheres are attempts to create communicative spaces that include the parties most obviously interested in and affected by decisions and also people and groups peripheral to (or routinely excluded from) discussion in relation to the topics around which the groups form.

Expressing their inclusive character, public spheres tend to involve communication in *ordinary language.* Public spheres break down the barriers and hierarchies formed by the use of specialist discourses and have only the weakest of distinctions between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (they have relatively permeable boundaries) and between people who are relatively disinterested and those whose (self-) interests are significantly affected by the topics under discussion.

Public spheres presuppose *communicative freedom.* Participants are free to occupy (or not occupy) the particular discursive roles of speaker, listener and observer, and they are free to withdraw from the communicative space of the discussion. Participation and non-participation are voluntary.

validity and legitimacy of their sayings, doings and relatings in their efforts to overcome whatever is irrational, unsustainable or unjust in the conduct or consequences of their practices. Participants in critical communities in CPAR decide together what they will explore (research) and what they will change (action). They understand their communal work and lives as socially constructed through people's actions in history that can be socially reconstructed, when needed, by people acting together, wisely and prudently, to construct new histories.

Theodore Schatzi has described 'practice architectures', the different kinds of arrangements that enable and constrain the form of current practices. These include the existing cultural-discursive arrangements we encounter in *language* (in semantic space), the existing material-economic arrangements we encounter in *activity* and *work* (material-physical space-time) and the existing social political arrangements we encounter in relationships of *solidarity* and *power* (in social space). Semantic space, physical space-time and social space are three dimensions of the *intersubjective space* in which people encounter one another and the world. Practice architectures, formed in the history of people's interactions, shape people's present and future interactions—but they can also be remade (transformed), enabling and constraining interaction in changed ways. Practice architectures form a 'practice memory' stored in arrangements of ideas in language, in arrangements and 'set-ups' of material objects (including people and non-human things) and in arrangements such as established social relationships between people and relationships between roles in organizations. Every social practice has its own practice architectures: arrangements that provide the language for the sayings of a practice, the physical resources and set-ups necessary for the doings of the practice and the social arrangements (e.g. role relationships) necessary for the relatings of the practice. Nevertheless, practice architectures do not determine practices: Practices are flexible; as people consider their changed circumstances, their practices vary and adapt to the local and immediate conditions.

Practices and practice architectures are not abstract entities or a kind of 'social structure'. Practice architecture theory understands practices ontologically—as real and as 'happening' in actual sites. Participants in a CPAR initiative are interested in the practice of 'teaching' as it unfolds in their particular place, amid the particular arrangements found in (or brought to) their particular site, as it affects the teachers and students (and others and things) there.

CPAR participants thus explore their own practices and the practice architectures that enable and constrain their practices, giving distinctive forms to 'the way we do things here' (in the particularities of their local intersubjective space). They explore their own (individual and collective) sayings, doings and relatings (in their practices) and the cultural-discursive, material-economic and social political arrangements that enable and constrain their practices (tending to hold their practices in place, tending to cause their practices to be reproduced). In particular, participants aim to change the practice architectures that enable and constrain their interactions, by transforming the language they share in semantic space, transforming the material resources and set-ups they use in physical space-time and transforming the relationships of solidarity and power they engage in social space. Each of these arrangements is inextricably connected to the others in real social practices; changing one produces changes in the others. Participants in CPAR make these transformations in the interests of overcoming irrationality in their language and understandings (in semantic space), unsustainability in their use of resources and the material world (in physical space-time) and injustice in relation to one another and the world (in social space).

The familiar 'spiral of action research' captures the dynamism of this practice but understates its complexity. CPAR is rarely as neat as this spiral of self-contained cycles of planning, acting and observing and reflecting suggests. Stages overlap, and initial plans quickly become obsolete through learning from experience. CPAR as a practice-changing practice is more fluid, open and responsive. It is not important that participants have followed the spiral methodically but that they have a strong and authentic sense of development and evolution in their *practices*, their *understandings* of their practices and the *situations* in which they practice. CPAR creates forums in which people can join one another as co-participants in the struggle to remake the practices in which they interact—forums in which rationality and democracy can be pursued together, without an artificial separation ultimately hostile to both. The Habermasian theory of 'communicative space' and 'communicative action' establishes the principles under which the legitimacy and validity of practice are maintained.

CPAR opens a 'communicative space' in which people can reflect together on the character, conduct and consequences of their practices. CPAR transforms not only activities and their immediate outcomes (as in technical action research) or the persons and (self-) understandings of the practitioners and others involved in and affected by a practice (as in the case of practical action research) but also the practice architectures in which the practice occurs—the discourses (sayings) that orient and inform it, the things that are done (doings) and the patterns of social relationships between those involved and affected (relatings). These

constructivist intent and engender richer outcomes for those engaged in action research projects.

Vicki Stieha

See also classroom-based action research; Descriptive Review; educational action research; Listening Guide

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National School Reform Faculty, The Harmony Education Center: http://www.nsrfharmony.org

Critical Participatory Action Research

Participants in Critical Participatory Action Research (CPAR) study their own individual and collective social practices to identify how these practices may be irrational, unsustainable or unjust for those involved in and affected by them. If participants discover untoward social practices or consequences, they work to avoid or overcome what is untoward about them. To conduct CPAR, the participants in a social practice reflect individually and collectively on their own practice with the aim of changing (a) what they think and say in their current practice (*sayings*), (2) what they do in the practice (*doings*) and (3) how they relate to the other people and things they interact with in the practice (*relatings*). Participants conduct collective *critique* of the conditions and traditions that prefigure the current forms of sayings, doings and relatings of their practices, with a view to understanding how they constrain or enable new ways of acting, individually and collectively. CPAR is a practice-changing practice: It is a social practice deliberately directed at changing other social practices.

CPAR is practised in diverse fields, for example, the women's movement, indigenous land rights, green and conservation activism, disease prevention and professional fields such as education, nursing, medicine and agriculture.

Critical Communities in CPAR

CPAR involves commitments which only participants themselves can enact in practice. CPAR as an approach creates the conditions for practitioners to do the following:

1. Understand and develop the ways in which practices are conducted 'from within' the practice traditions that inform and orient them
2. Speak the language, use the interpretive categories and join the conversations and critical debates of those whose action *constitutes* practice
3. Participate in and develop the forms of action and kinds of interaction in which the practice is conducted
4. Participate in and develop communities of practice through which the practice is conducted, both in the relationships between different participants in a particular site or setting of practice and (in the case of a professional practice) in the relationships between people who are collectively responsible for the practice (whether as members of a professional body or as researchers into the practice)
5. Contribute to the individual and collective transformation of the conduct and consequences of the practice to meet the needs of changing times and circumstances by confronting and overcoming what the participants themselves regard as
   a. irrational, incoherent or contradictory in their understandings of a practice;
   b. unsustainable, unproductive or unsatisfying in the activities and work of the practice and
   c. unjust or harmful in the relationships among the people and groups involved in and affected by the practice

Participants in CPAR create critical communities to focus attention on legitimate concerns about their individual and collective work and lives, agreeing to work together to understand their work and lives more clearly, to act and work more constructively and to relate to one another and the world more sustainably. They form groups and networks that are 'public spheres' (inside and outside institutions) in which people participate (e.g. as speakers, as listeners, as observers or by absenting themselves) voluntarily, aiming to establish a critical distance from the formal structures of institutions and interest groups, in order to study problems and issues that arise in their work and lives and the conditions that shape their work and lives. In these public spheres, participants collectively aim to assist one another to establish the intersubjective

Similar to the notion of interpretive community in action research, the critical friend's role supports the co-generation of understanding and balances the closeness that the action researcher has with the data, participants and communities in her inquiry with an essential outside eye. The critical friend relationship offers understandings so that the researcher can see what might otherwise be elusive without the perspective of another person (or people). Arthur Costa and Bena Kallick, for example, use the metaphor of the optometrist, who offers first one and then another 'view' of the eye chart for the patient to try on as she discerns the clearest view.

The use of 'critical friend' has been most closely associated with educational action research and assessment efforts, first in primary and secondary schools and later in higher education. In all of its applications, the concept of the critical friend carries the assumption of a sustained relationship with the essential condition of trust.

Applications in Action Research

It is not uncommon to see published action research studies that seek to establish validity in their work by invoking a critical friend as a way of triangulating their research. While the spirit of this type of justification may be found in the critique the author received from reviewers or colleagues, the relationship between critical friend, action researcher and action research is far more complicated than being just a data point for triangulation. At the same time, as Mark Tappan points out, a functional critical friend relationship can indeed be a place where interpretive agreement is built.

Critical friends can serve numerous roles in the action research process; they can be insiders or outsiders to a particular research project. In this sense, insiders are those within the inquiry site who are closely associated with the contexts and/or circumstances of the investigation. Outsiders have no direct connection to the research site or context. For example, a community of critical friends may link action researchers involved in various projects to provide a venue to surface questions and uncertainties about process and the potential pitfalls of a research trajectory. Regardless of their position, critical friends can provide clarity to grey areas and bring a necessary muddiness to something that might have seemed prematurely clear. Particularly given the action researcher's stance to be in relationship with the participants, a critical friend can shine light into blind spots whether a researcher is in the first phases of defining the research question or working to understand outcomes. These groups should meet regularly and have a standard process for sharing quandaries and updates so that members of the group have the opportunity to both seek and provide input in a supportive community.

School Contexts

Coinciding with the push for assessment of student learning in education, early mentions of the term *critical friends* in education appear in the context of educational reform. These conversations provide a counterbalance to the standardized testing movement and situate the root of educational change and student learning in teachers' deeper understanding of teaching and learning. A leader in the critical friend movement in the USA is the National School Reform Faculty at the Harmony Education Center. There, educators are trained to facilitate critical friend groups, predominantly in primary and secondary schools. Harmony Education Center has made a sustained effort to train and support the development of critical friend groups in support of teachers' improved practice since 1994. This movement bears similarity to other collaborative processes in formative and summative assessment (e.g. Descriptive Review and learning from looking). Critical friend groups foster teachers' engagement with one another around explorations of teaching, planning, practice and learning through regular and sustained interactions.

References to critical friends in the higher education literature also coincide with calls for greater accountability for student learning outcomes. Critical friends are fostering constructivist approaches to understanding educational outcomes and moving inquiry beyond individual classes to programme-wide or institution-wide initiatives internationally. For example, the Inter/National Coalition for Electronic Portfolios project, which is conducting research and informing practice in this burgeoning sector of higher education learning assessment, cites the importance of critical friends supporting the work they conduct jointly in research cohorts and severally on their many campuses.

Critical Friends in Contexts Outside Education

Although the phrase *critical friend* emerges in the literature in fields outside education, and is used in modes of research other than action research, the associated meanings are not necessarily similar to that which is described above. However, the phrase does appear in research reporting in the fields of health, health education and psychology, both in the USA and internationally. These references, particularly where an inquiry approach to research is being used, can be characterized similarly to the discussion above. Regardless of the field, these relationships are deeply steeped in

universe can achieve a god-like perspective—no one can totally escape the web and look back at it from afar. Indeed, critical constructivists argue that we all must confess our subjectivity; we must recognize our limited vantage points.

Point 4. The 'critical' in critical constructivism comes from critical theory and its concern with extending a human's consciousness of herself as a social being—critical theory promotes self-reflection in relation to social power, and its ability to align our self-perceptions and world views with the interests of dominant powers.

Why are some constructions of research embraced and officially legitimized by the dominant culture while others are repressed? This is the type of question that critical researchers seek to answer. Indeed, the essence of critical constructivism concerns the attempt to move beyond the formal style of thinking which emerged from empiricism and rationalism, a form of cognition which solves problems framed by the dominant paradigm, the conventional way of seeing. Like Einstein's physics, critical constructivist researchers attempt to use their understanding of the social construction of reality to rethink and reconceptualize the types of questions we ask.

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Author's note: Permission granted by Peter Lang Publishing 2012 for generous extracts from Kincheloe, J. (2008). *Critical constructivism primer.* New York, NY: Peter Lang.

See also bricolage process; critical pedagogy; Frankfurt School; Freire, Paulo; Kincheloe, Joe

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Critical Friend

The term *critical friend* invokes a paradox of sorts—placing in tension the commonly received ideas of each of the words in the pair. In that tension, however, is the power of what it means to be a critical friend. To define the phrase requires a re-examination of the two words and a recombination of the meaning when they are used in partnership. While the word *critical* often carries a negative connotation, here it is applied to infer higher order thinking, particularly bringing evaluation and synthesis to bear. This application of 'critical' does not carry a positivist notion of objectivity, but rather it is subjective. It is assumed that the critical friend brings his or her own lenses, which are formed from a unique set of experiences, histories and understandings, into the inquiry.

'Friend' carries pieces of its meaning from its vernacular usage and challenges others. In this context, a friend is one who comes into relationship with another with the expressed intention of sharpening the partner's vision or understanding. The relationship is one that is sustained over time and is built upon trust, so that each individual in the partnership develops greater understanding of the inquiries brought to the fore—the relationship is reciprocal, not hierarchical. With these preconditions, critique can be received not as negative but as generative. A critical friend, in this sense, does not seek to bring quick agreement but rather to complicate by probing for deeper meaning and evidence and seeking possible alternative explanations, most often through the use of a protocol or process that is repeated regularly. For instance, critical friend groups may come together regularly and use a predictable pattern of presenting problems of practice, observations or research conundrums. Peers listen and offer responses in turn.

represents a neutral perspective—nothing exists before consciousness shapes it into something perceptible.

One must draw upon a constructivist epistemology to provide insight into how the pedagogical research world operates. Rejecting the rationalistic notion that there is a monolithic knowable world 'out there' explained by Western science, a constructivist epistemology views the cosmos as a human construction—a social construction. The world is what dominant groups of humans perceive it to be. This complicates our notion of theory. Positivistic or rationalistic theories were simple to the extent that they claimed truth-value on the basis of how they corresponded to true reality. More complex, post-positivistic theories study the various philosophical and social groundings of diverse theories, learn from them and understand their social construction. Critical constructivists take this understanding of social construction and add critical theory to the mix. Our pluralistic and multi-perspectival (or as it is termed elsewhere, *bricolage*) orientation is omnipresent, as we seek benefits from a variety of social, cultural, philosophical and theoretical positions.

In this theoretical context students of constructivism might ask these questions:

- How are our constructions of the world shaped?
- Are our psychosocial dispositions beyond our conscious control?
- What does this process of construction have to do with becoming an educated person?

Because people are often unable to discern the ways their environments shape their perception, the development of modes of analysis that expose this complex process becomes very important in our critical constructivist effort. This is where the term *critical* merges with *constructivism* to form critical constructivism. Thus, we understand the origin of our term, *critical constructivism*.

Point 2. Knowledge of the world is an interpretation produced by people who are a part of that world. Thus, understanding the nature of interpretation is essential.

From Constructivism to Critical Constructivism

In the twenty-first century, the need to understand the complexity of the educational world is almost a radical proposition in itself; many educational reformers see no need for teachers to be rigorous researchers and scholars. Indeed, current educational reforms demand disempowered teachers or researchers who do what they are told and who often read pre-designed scripts to their students. In a critical constructivist approach, such actions are insulting to the teaching profession and are designed to ultimately destroy the concept of public education itself. The study of constructivism and critical constructivism induces us to ask important research questions: What is the purpose of schools? How do we organize them for maximum learning? What is the curriculum, and how do we conceptualize it? How do we understand the relationship between schools and society?

Such research questions cannot be answered thoughtfully without the help of diverse theoretical knowledges. Theory is a body of understandings that help us make sense of education, its social and political implications and how we as educational researchers fit into this complex mix. In the social theoretical domain, we might ask how the existence of socio-economic inequality along the lines of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion and language influences our answers to these educational questions. What happens to our answers when we bring an understanding of power to our analytical table? In this context, we begin to understand the forces that construct knowledge. This is central to understanding constructivism and critical constructivism. The insights of critical constructivism change the way we approach the research act. In transmission-based conceptions of teaching, there is no reason to study the learner, the teacher or the researcher—and how relationships are shaped by these participants.

Critical constructivists understand that the social, cognitive and educational theories we hold must be consciously addressed. Such conscious awareness allows us to reflect on our theories, explore their origins in our lives, change them when needed and consider how they may have unconsciously shaped our teaching and our actions in the world in general. Thus, we come to better understand—as great educators always should—the ways the world operates and how that operation shapes research.

Below, specific points of critical constructivism as it applies to action research are summarized:

Point 3. Interpretations cannot be separated from the interpreter's location in the web of reality—one's interpretive facility involves understanding how historical, indigenous, social, cultural, economic and political contexts construct our perspectives on the world, self and other.

The knowledge that critical constructivist researchers produce is grounded on the assumption that the world is shaped by a complicated, web-like configuration of interacting forces. Knowledge producers, like everyone else, are inside, not outside, the web. As previously mentioned, the knower and the known are inseparable—they are both part of the complex web of reality. No one in this web-like configuration of the

socio-economic cultural context hold little meaning for educators concerned with social justice and ethical action.

A criticalized constructivist action research is based on a critical theoretical qualitative framework. This framework consists of tentative notions, which change in all research contexts. For brevity, the following points outline the basic tenets of critical constructivist action research, as described by Joe Kincheloe in the *Critical Constructivism Primer* (2008):

- The world is socially constructed—what we know about the world always involves a knower and that which is to be known. How the knower constructs the known constitutes what we think of as reality.
- All knowers are historical and social subjects. We all come from a 'somewhere' which is located in a particular historical time frame. These spatial and temporal settings always shape the nature of our constructions of the world.
- Not only is the world socially and historically constructed, but so are people and the knowledges people possess. We create ourselves with the cultural tools at hand. We operate and construct the world and our lives on a particular social, cultural and historical playing field.
- Research in this context involves understanding the nature of these constructions. In the realm of knowledge, it is simple and misleading to study random outcomes of the construction process—isolated 'facts' and 'truths'. Critical constructivist researchers are as much concerned with the processes through which certain information becomes validated knowledge as with committing much of it to memory. They are also concerned with the processes through which certain information is not deemed to be worthy or validated knowledge.

The research and learning process is intimately connected to the act of teaching. We must blur these categories and consistently examine knowledge production and research while at the same time analyzing teaching and learning. A key dimension of critical constructivism involves the complex interrelationship between teaching and learning and knowledge production and research. When critical constructivist researchers produce knowledge, they are not attempting to reduce variables but to maximize them. Such maximization produces a thicker, more detailed, more complex understanding of the social, political, economic, cultural, psychological and pedagogical world.

Research in the critical constructivist process is not to transmit a body of validated truths or outcomes. Instead, a central role of research involves engaging participants in the knowledge or research production process. A central dimension of research in this context involves engaging in analyzing, interpreting and constructing a wide variety of knowledges or research emerging from diverse locales.

Within the framework of critical theory, critical constructivists are concerned with the role power plays in research construction and validation processes. Critical constructivist researchers are particularly interested in the ways these processes privilege some people and marginalize others. Indeed, understanding the way in which power works within and around the research context would most certainly change meaning making if it were not considered.

Critical constructivists reiterate the notion, first raised by Paulo Freire, that knowledge is not a substance that can be deposited like money in a bank and taken out when it's time to use it. This is applied to the act of research. Critical action research informed by constructivist ways of knowing does not 'collect' or 'record' data as a detached form of depositing observations. In the critical constructivist formulation, knowledge is constructed in the minds of human beings—minds that are constructed by the society around them.

Research is constructed when academic (or formal) knowledge intersects with lived (or informal) knowledges. A key skill of a critical constructivist researcher involves nurturing this synthesis of personal experience and knowledge. Such a pedagogical act is extremely complex, and researchers and teachers must work hard to bring the different perspectives together. They reveal how their own perspectives came to be constructed and how the social values, ideologies and information they encounter shape their meaning making, pedagogies and world views. In their search for ways to produce democratic and evocative knowledges, critical constructivists become action researchers of new ways of seeing and constructing the world. In this context, they come to value knowledges and forms of meaning making traditionally dismissed by dominant culture and mainstream academics.

Points of Consideration in Critical Constructivist Research

An understanding of critical constructivist action research helps make sense of the world in a rigorous and criticalized manner. Following are points to be considered when engaging in the emerging act of critical constructivist research.

Point 1. Critical constructivism is grounded on constructivism. Constructivism asserts that nothing

should serve practice. Both CAL and action research eschew positivist and technicist approaches to research and practice, valuing praxeology instead, with its value for *phrónêsis* (knowledge derived from practice and deliberation) and *praxis* (purposeful action). Hence, CAL is a process in which knowledge is acquired through its relevance to the real-life engagements and tensions of the participants. A critical approach encourages reflection upon experience and active experimentation rather than the transmission of accepted knowledge and expertise.

Secondly, both CAL and action research place value on knowledge gained through the interrelationship between researchers' developing self-knowledge and emergent insight into the organizational context, as the researchers engage in action on meaningful issues. In this sense, the critical reflection and systemic thinking found in system psychodynamics are also seen by many traditions as integral to action research.

CAL finds application in management education and development and organization development through the integration of action-based processes of learning so as to create a synthesis of theory and practice grounded in real-world experiences through interaction with organizations. For example, learners may be encouraged to engage in a series of questions and conversations that mirror Revans' praxeology through corresponding with systems alpha, beta and gamma:

> *Alpha:* What is the reality of my situation?
>
> *Beta:* What do I need to know more about? What do I need to test out? What is my inquiry methodology?
>
> *Gamma:* What am I learning about how I act in the situation? How does knowing more about this change how I act and how I learn?

Participants are supported to challenge their assumptions, to work with ambiguity and contradiction, to acknowledge emotions provoked by the situation and the learning and to develop a greater self-awareness both of learning about practice and of learning through practice. The knowledge generated may remain within the organization or, in the action research tradition, may be connected and made more widely available.

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See also Action Learning; critical reflection; praxeology; praxis

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Critical Constructivism

Critical constructivism within a critical action research context presents a number of concepts which are connected to the inseparable acts of research, teaching and knowledge production. Critical constructivism is about research and pedagogy, and the multiple ways in which they are connected. The points fit together synergistically, as understanding one concept will enhance understanding of the others. This entry is not designed to fragment the concept of critical constructivism but to give those new to the concept better access to its main dynamics. Critical constructivism is grounded on the Frankfurt School's formulation of critical theory, in particular its attempt to explore how consciousness is tied to history. Guided by such concerns, critical constructivist teachers and researchers inspired by critical theory seek to expose what constitutes reality for themselves and for the participants in educational situations. How do these participants, critical constructivist researchers ask, come to construct their views of educational reality? Critical constructivist action researchers see a socially constructed world and ask, 'What are the forces that construct the consciousness, the ways of seeing of the actors who live in it?' Uncritical researchers attempt to provide accurate portrayals of educational reality, but they stop short of analyzing the origins of the forces that construct actor consciousness. Without such information, critical constructivist teacher-researchers maintain, emancipatory action is impossible. Descriptions of educational reality outside the boundaries of the

the ways in which Action Learning sets themselves become arenas for the interplay of emotional, political and social relations, in that they can mirror the range of inequalities, tensions and emotional fractures that characterize groups, organizations and societies. Russ Vince's concept of 'organizing insight' emphasizes the relationship between Action Learning and organizational learning and inquiry into the power and emotion within the organization dynamics in which Action Learning takes place. This illuminates the importance of critical collaboration—in other words, the opportunity to examine the politics that surround and inform the choices and decisions which constitute organizing.

In practice, for example, the facilitator might observe within a group that the pattern of interactions is dominated by some whilst one or two individuals are barely listened to. The facilitator might simply pose a question as to the significance of this. If the question resonates with the group members, it may be used to initiate a discussion on power and status within the group, perhaps extending to parallels within the immediate organization or network. As another example, individuals presenting anger at their immediate resource problems at work might be widened through peer or facilitator questioning to help them locate their own situation in a broader context.

CAL makes a further contribution to organization change through the insight of *learning inaction*, which highlights the ways in which organization behaviours and practices can restrict and discourage learning, through, for example, always prioritizing action over reflection, acting for the sake of action and at the expense of learning.

Facilitation in Critical Action Learning

The value and role of facilitators, or set advisers, occupies distinctive territory in CAL. They are commonly, though not always, used within traditional Action Learning groups, with a role to model the peer challenge/critical friend behaviours, to help the group establish ground rules and to develop questioning, reflective and inclusive team practices. Revans himself was ambivalent about the use of facilitators, because of his principle that participants have the expertise to solve their problems themselves and should not become dependent on external expertise or facilitation. However, in CAL, the implication is for a more active facilitation role, so as to illuminate the ways in which participants reinforce behaviours or power relations that sustain learning inaction. While traditional facilitation promotes reflection focused on the immediate presenting details of a task or problem, critical facilitation is concerned with promoting a process of critical reflection on the emotional and political processes within the group dynamics and making conscious the social, political, professional, economic and ethical assumptions underlying participants' actions. Supplementing this experiential learning with theoretical learning to form new knowledge, behaviours and insights, facilitation within CAL also places importance on supporting the transfer of the resultant learning to practice both inside the group and outside, within the wider organization.

Examples

CAL has been integrated into management education programmes, such as M.B.A., for example, by integrating the social and political dimensions of learning, by according 'task' and 'process' issues equal importance. Participants draw form critical literature to explore parallels between the power dynamics (e.g. the dynamics of gender or race) they experience within their Action Learning groups and their work organization. Students may be asked to reflect critically on their development as managers and are introduced to critical ideas, drawing on feminism, Michel Foucault's ideas on power and concepts of critical education based on Jürgen Habermas and Henry Giroux. Through questioning their assumptions and the source of these, they develop new perspectives on ways of being a manager; they reach a transformed perspective of themselves through making new connections between patterns of thinking or behaviour at work, at home and in the programme.

To accept that engaging with group dynamics emotions and associated feelings of fear and anxiety is an important element in the learning process means that questions of feelings, power and authority become embedded in the curriculum. Risks are many and varied in learning groups; the expression of powerful feelings such as anger, the risk of speaking or not speaking, the risk of leading, fear and anxiety all have important implications for a programme, and students are actively encouraged to work with these issues as they surface. In other contexts, for example, in organizational learning and leadership/organizational development, various studies have examined the impact of CAL, particularly in relation to how emotions, power and politics can both enable and constrain the learning process. A key insight is that the relationship between learning and organizing is bound up with complex internal, interpersonal and social processes and dynamics, and particularly with the emotions and politics generated through attempts to learn within organizations.

Application to Action Research

The relevance of Critical Action Learning to action research is twofold. Firstly, there is a shared commitment to change and a common value that knowledge

2. *Contextual awareness:* Realizing that our assumptions are socially and personally created in a specific historical and cultural context
3. *Imaginative speculation:* Imagining alternative ways of thinking about phenomena in order to challenge our predominant ways of knowing and acting
4. *Reflective scepticism:* Questioning universal truth claims or unexamined patterns of interaction through the above three activities

Systems Psychodynamics

Central to a psychodynamic understanding of learning from experience is the idea of learning from unconscious phenomena. Systems psychodynamics illuminates a distinction in organizing between behaviours and activities informed by rational task performance and those connected to emotional needs and anxieties. Psychodynamics in CAL draws attention to psychoanalytic defensive mechanisms, using concepts like repression, projection, pairing and regression, and links these to learning and organizing. An interest in unconscious processes challenges the assumption that improvement process are necessarily rational and raises questions about the extent to which accepted practices within an organization, regarding learning and innovation, for example, are the result of unconscious processes that promote defensive attitudes, protectionism and dismissal of new ideas as potentially threatening. As such, CAL highlights that learning is connected to political processes and power relations at the individual, group and organizational levels.

Action Learning is inevitably a site of emotions because of its integral challenge and experimentation. This is supplemented within formal learning environments by inverting the traditional dependency of learners on the teacher, through emphasizing the responsibility of the learners for themselves. It is anxiety provoking not to be taught or told because it means that the learner is confronted with responsibility for what and how he or she needs to learn.

Emotions are a source of significant learning in three ways. Firstly, critical reflection has the potential to disturb or to provoke dissonance amongst participants. Secondly, the processes of organizing that constitute the dynamics of Action Learning sets often provoke a range of emotions, from frustration to excitement. Attending to and making sense of these is a rich source of experiential learning about organizational behaviour. Thirdly, the process of critical reflection provides language and concepts which help people acknowledge and make sense of feelings they may have long carried but ignored, for example, over tensions and contradictions they experience in life and/or at work.

Collective Reflection

Key to CAL is the shift of emphasis from individual to collective reflection, learning from recognizing, discussing and potentially transforming the social power relations central to organizing. Action Learning has usually viewed the Action Learning set as the primary vehicle for collaboration, where work-based issues are addressed and organization change is achieved through questioning and reflection. CAL gives explicit recognition to the ways in which Action Learning sets themselves become arenas for the interplay of emotional, political and social relations, in that they can mirror the range of inequalities, tensions and emotional fractures that characterize groups, organizations and societies. In this sense, it is the process of combining critical reflection with Action Learning that carries potential for learning and change. Psychodynamic insights show how the Action Learning set can be a parallel process in which the set dynamics play out as a microcosm of the wider organization or system. The dynamics within the set often mirror patterns and behaviours in the wider organization, for example, in how particular members respond to conflict and diversity, or whether or not they position the facilitator as an authority figure to react against. If the set comes to understand its own behaviours, this can provide valuable insights into the wider organizational or systemic life of which its members are a part. Not only can this lead them to identify what might need to change, but the set can also be a place for action, in that it is itself a social community in which people can begin to organize differently.

Acknowledging the emotional experience of attempts to learn within a learning set encourages the members of the set not only to question their own behaviour and practice but also to analyze the collective emotional dynamics as a way of understanding characteristic power relations, for example, across an organization, and to recognize how these might facilitate or limit learning.

CAL has also been employed for organization or systemic change by connecting Action Learning sets in dialogue with each other. Parallel to the engagement of individual managers in their own inquiries, problem-solving and developmental journeys, collective critical reflection also aims to engage with the wider power relations, for example, by being voiced to senior managers.

Organizing Insight and Learning Inaction

Action Learning has usually viewed the Action Learning set as the primary vehicle for collaboration, where work-based issues are addressed through questioning and reflection. CAL gives explicit recognition to

education and development. The concern in CAL is that learning be seen as a means for individual or collective transformation or emancipation and not be simply confined to performance improvement. CAL has a number of distinguishing features, including its emphasis on the way learning is supported, avoided or prevented through power relations; the linking of questioning insight to complex emotions, unconscious processes and relations; and a more active facilitation role than is implied within traditional Action Learning. Key ideas in CAL are critical reflection, organizing insight, learning inaction, systems psychodynamics and active facilitation.

Traditional Action Learning

Action Learning is underpinned by the central assumption that learning derives from taking action and asking insightful questions about urgent problems or enticing opportunities. Action Learning was formulated around the formula L = P + Q, where L stands for learning, P for programmed knowledge (i.e. existing theory) and Q for questioning insight. Formal instruction and theory are not sufficient. External training, instruction or expertise cannot be relied upon, because the existing codified knowledge, whilst it may be drawn from, may not suit the specific context of a particular problem. Processes such as action and feedback, asking fresh questions, learning from and with peers and creating a multiplier effect between individual and organizational learning are central to Action Learning.

The objectives of Action Learning, as originally expressed by Reginald Revans, are

- to make useful progress on the treatment of some real problems or opportunities,
- to give participants sufficient scope to learn for themselves with others and
- to encourage teachers and others engaged in management development to help participants learn with and from each other.

Based on a philosophy of action (praxeology), Action Learning is a challenging educational method that is much more than simply learning by doing, in that it engages participants in risk-taking experimentation and a degree of self-challenge, on the basis that individuals cannot expect to change others or an organization if they cannot change themselves.

Critical Reflection

Although reflection is integral to the classical principles of Action Learning, this is often interpreted to mean simply an instrumental encouragement of participants to think about their individual experience of action, as in, for example, 'What did I do? What happened? What went well? What would I do differently next time?' This emphasizes the rational but excludes the emotional and political aspects of the learning process. Purely instrumental reflection neglects the fact that action and learning are always undertaken in a context of power and politics, which inevitably carries a potential for conflict, anxiety and obstruction of learning. In response to this critique, CAL is a development of conventional Action Learning in that it aims to promote explicit critical thinking, giving recognition to the way politics and emotion are integral to organizing, as well as to the role they can play in facilitating and constraining the scope for learning. Critical reflection as a pedagogical approach emerges because these dynamics are treated centrally as a site of learning about managing and organizing.

Critical reflection engages a deeper reflection on the assumptions, values and unquestioned norms held about organizational and personal practices. Recognition is given to the ways in which the daily realities of participants are always undertaken in a context of power and politics, which inevitably gives rise to conflict and tension. CAL is a development of conventional Action Learning in that it aims to promote a deepening of critical thinking, giving explicit recognition to the role that politics and emotions can play in facilitating or constraining the scope for learning and organizing. Critical reflection engages participants in a process of drawing from critical perspectives to make connections between their learning and daily work experiences, to identify the assumptions governing their actions, to locate the historical and cultural origins of their assumptions, to question their meaning and to develop alternative ways of thinking and acting.

Key to this process is the emphasis on collective as well as individual reflection, going beyond simple reflection on action (learning from experience) to learning from organizing through reflection on existing organizational, political and emotional dynamics created in action. Part of the critical reflection process is to challenge the prevailing social, political, cultural or professional ways of acting. Through the process of critical reflection, adults come to interpret and create new knowledge and actions from their ordinary, and sometimes extraordinary, experiences. Critical reflection blends learning through experience with theoretical and technical learning to form new knowledge constructions and new behaviours or insights.

Four activities constitute critical reflection:

1. *Assumption analysis:* Thinking in such a manner as to challenge our beliefs, values, cultural practices and social structures in order to assess their impact on our everyday practices, and recognize our core assumptions about the order of the world

who work within the legal and criminal justice systems, such as lawyers and current and former police officers, prison guards, superintendents and policymakers; and professional researchers and scholars who understand how to use multiple strategies for social inquiry. While the context of specific PAR projects will dictate what kinds of expertise are relevant and meaningful, establishing the research team as a 'participatory contact zone' that enables different standpoints to wrestle with each other can strengthen the overall validity of the research.

What Is Action?

Research-based action and activism is a steep climb if the goal is to change the criminal justice system—its policing, its courts, its laws, its policies and its prisons. These are long-term projects that involve community building, media engagement, lawsuits, voting blocks and legislation, to name only a few of the many mechanisms that together create social change. With a systemically minded perspective on the criminal justice system, a diverse group of experts on the research team and multi-positioned allies working with the project, it can be useful to think of action not as an end-of-research happening but as a series of efforts, relationship building, community awareness activities, support for legal activism, networking with grass-roots organizations, organizing political events and many other short- and long-term, small and large events—grounded in data—that are needed to support sustainable social movements.

Conclusion

No one is disconnected from the criminal justice system. Across many nations, policies such as the 'tough-on-crime' policies of the USA can serve to locate the problem of crime within the individual while its social, economic and cultural root causes go insufficiently addressed. Increased use of PAR to study the criminal justice system in partnership with those most closely connected and affected by it is a necessary step to unsettle dominant narratives of crime, criminals, punishment and rehabilitation, and to reimagine safety and justice internationally.

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See also advocacy and inquiry; Community-Based Participatory Research; Critical Participatory Action research; liberation psychology; quantitative methods

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Critical Action Learning

Critical Action Learning (CAL) is a contemporary development of Action Learning which holds that learning and organizational development can be advanced when the power and emotional dimensions of learning are treated centrally as a site of learning about managing and organizing and learners draw from critical ideas to make connections between their individual and work experiences. The potential for criticality in Action Learning derives from the tensions, contradictions, emotions and power dynamics that inevitably exist both within a group and in individual managers' lives. This entry provides an outline of the origins, traditions and key ideas of CAL. Examples of applications are illustrated before concentrating on the particular relevance to action research.

Origins, Traditions and Key Ideas

The term *Critical Action Learning* can first be found in print in a 1994 article by Hugh Willmott that called for greater application of critical thinking to management

In another example, data revealed that the local police were not connected enough to the desires and needs of the communities they served. The processes by which community members were consulted were found to be ineffective, and the residents reached were not satisfactorily representative of the larger community. As a result, the local neighbourhood police developed and distributed a very short survey to learn more about residents—an activity they called 'road shows'. The officers collected 1,400 surveys from a broad sample of residents, and both the data and the data collection process proved very successful. It helped the police, in a representative way, to understand their communities better, while at the same time, it greatly increased their local visibility and created a context to engage with residents one on one.

Partnering With Women Behind Bars

Researchers from The Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY) partnered with inmates from the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York State to conduct a 3-year, multi-method participatory study of the impact of college within a maximum-security prison on women in prison, on the prison environment and on women post-release. The participatory design included archival research on college records and documents, focus groups with current students and dropouts, interviews with women post-release, interviews with corrections officers who were either sympathetic or hostile to the college programme, surveys of faculty and university administrators and a focus group with the adolescent children of prisoners who had participated in college. In addition, the New York State Department of Corrections provided a quantitative longitudinal analysis of 36-month recidivism rates for all women who participated and those who did not participate in college during a 14-year period. All methods were co-facilitated by the CUNY Graduate Center and inmate researchers, with the exception of the interviews with women post-release.

The study, titled *Changing Minds*, demonstrated dramatic positive effects of college-in-prison programmes on women in prison, on the prison environment, on the growth and development of their children and on the long-term economic, social, civic engagement and recidivism outcomes of women once released. Specifically, the study found that the 274 women who participated in college while in prison had a recidivism rate of 7.7% as compared with a rate of 29.9% for the rest of the prisoners ($N = 2{,}031$). The skills, knowledge and healthier social networks gained through participating in college proved transformative for the women, for their children and for creating lasting successful transitions out of prison. And inside, college improved the prison environment and its management, rendering it safer, with fewer disciplinary incidents. The research report, while multi-authored, and filled with photos, handwritten letters, and tear-out dear senator 'action' postcards, was written in one voice. It was distributed to prison superintendents and legislators in all 50 states and continues to be used towards efforts to rebuild and reopen college-in-prison programmes. Shorter brochures produced in both English and Spanish summarized the findings and were geared more towards providing data that would be useful for organizers advocating for college-in-prison programmes across the USA.

Questions to Consider

Though criminal justice systems vary internationally, many of the broad issues described in this entry are similar around the world. Thus, many of the critical concerns of PAR researchers studying this area can be generalized across countries. Three of these concerns are considered here.

Where Is Crime Located?

While not wanting to overlook individual agency and minimize personal responsibility for criminal behaviour, it is important for PAR research to carefully design studies that can position individual acts as systemically linked to oppressive or privileged contexts, cultural ideologies, institutional logics, legal definitions and the many outcomes of current social, educational and economic inequalities. Thus, it is useful within PAR research teams (whether with community members, inmates or police officers) to trouble dominant, often stereotypical notions of 'crime'—where crime resides, what it looks like, who it looks like and what communities bear the biggest burden. It can be useful to analyze not only the collateral damages of the criminal justice system but also how and in what instances communities resist.

How Diverse Is the Research Team and Its Allies?

Locating the PAR project within the vast and far-reaching systemic web of the criminal justice system, and the ways these layers echo across communities—particularly poor urban communities of colour—is an important process in this work. Part of this process is organizing a research team, allies and a range of 'sounding-board moments' that can account for and bring these multiple sets of expertise and perspectives into contact with each other. *Expertise* defined broadly might include diverse community members who can provide complex and nuanced perspectives on their surroundings—such as those who currently are, or were, incarcerated as well as their families; individuals

accused of breaking the law. The specific details of criminal justice systems differ widely across countries and even within countries; however, many fundamental principles are shared, particularly among Western nations. This entry first briefly describes the current US criminal justice system and some of its social justice concerns. Next, it provides two illustrations of Participatory Action Research (PAR) attending to parts of the American and British criminal justice systems. And finally, it raises three important questions to consider when doing PAR in this area.

In the USA, the criminal justice system includes law enforcement agencies (e.g. police departments, border patrol), courts (e.g. judges, lawyers and youth courts), prisons (e.g. jails, juvenile detention centres and community-based corrections) as well as parole, probation and post-prison activity (e.g. residential placement). Incarceration rates in the USA grew rapidly throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This is in part due to policies that limited judicial discretion and favoured lengthy sentences. Also contributing was the rise in 'hot-spot' policing practices that aggressively attended to neighbourhood disorder and low-level street crime. This 'zero-tolerance' climate—found both in and out of schools—often promoted entry into the criminal justice system, particularly for young men of colour, indigenous people and poor and working-class people.

The costs of incarceration are widespread, felt individually by those behind bars, collectively by families and communities and socially as cities, states and government face weakened labour forces and sizable prison budgets. Further, as the 'tough-on-crime' policies of the 1990s shifted emphasis and funding away from rehabilitation, those returning home from prison have had little meaningful preparation and support to ensure a successful transition. Many obstacles exist for those holding criminal records (even for non-violent crimes) as they seek basic living needs. As a result, recidivism tends to be high, particularly for those who are unable to access adequate educational, housing or employment opportunities. While the USA may be an extreme example among Western nations, the issues considered here are shared across criminal justice systems globally.

Though infrequent, PAR projects can be found addressing most slices of the criminal justice system and partnering with diverse sets of individuals, including communities in heavily policed neighbourhoods, prisoners who are currently incarcerated or formerly incarcerated individuals while they are transitioning home. Topics range from the influence of policing practices to recidivism implications of education in prison, to the family impact of parole policies. In other words, PAR researchers have found creative ways to study *with* those people most affected by *all* aspects of the criminal justice system, and in the process, they have made important changes based on grounded expertise. In the next section, two such studies will be used to illustrate the vast possibilities of PAR.

Project Illustrations

Partnering With Police

Researchers from the London School of Economics partnered with a British police department for over 3 years to help improve community relationships and other law enforcement activities. This PAR project had several collaborative components. The first part involved an extensive review of the relevant literature, observations of policing activity and analysis of some of the department's archival data. The second part involved deep qualitative research in four distinct neighbourhoods or environments: (1) urban, (2) rural, (3) market town and (4) seaside resort. The research included further observations of police interactions and rich, open-ended focus groups and interviews with community members, particularly populations deemed hard to reach, as well as local officers. The evidence and insight from this work provided recommendations that the police department acted upon to achieve a set of effective changes. Change was monitored and ongoing support provided. Furthermore, the PAR process was anonymously evaluated by the police department a year after the first data feedback to discover the strengths and weaknesses of the work and the ways in which the partnership could continue to thrive.

There is a concern among some academics as to the potential dangers of partnering with such a powerful arm of the government as the police. Indeed, such an undertaking would require action researchers to consider the power imbalance carefully. However, this work provides an excellent example of the potential for academic-police partnerships. Through systematic, multi-method, longitudinal research, this partnership helped improve the police department's ability to execute community policing for its residents. It provided the police with immediate, evidence-based feedback as well as independent perspectives that could make visible the normalized or silenced issues within the organization. For example, the research revealed a level of repeated racist victimization towards some residents that was neither recognized nor understood by some local officers as racist. This led to wider discussion (that included residents) and further investigations as to whether certain racist events were being properly recorded and dealt with. Ultimately, this as well as several similar events unearthed from the research led to a series of diversity trainings.

The covenantal ethics of action research also mean that researchers need to take time at the outset to explain and describe their research approach. Even if the local participants are fairly familiar with action research, one cannot presume the detailed knowledge necessary to understand the repertoire of techniques and work forms the researcher brings to the project, nor will they be familiar with the research tradition fuelling the researcher's efforts. Second, covenantal ethics also means that the researcher needs to renegotiate the agreement to co-operate during the project. As time passes, the situation may change, new factors may arise and people may come and go. It is not unheard of to have to renegotiate the agreement to co-operate and the understanding of what this entails with new participants as the initial people quit their job, change positions, go on leave of absence or in other ways alter the existing relationships. The important thing is to remember that the terms of co-operation need to be fully understood by all participants, old and new.

There might be a temptation to 'oversell' the project to new participants to ensure that the project does not falter or even get stopped. A new manager in a company engaged in an ongoing action research project may find herself surrounded by researchers eager to convince her of the continued worth of the project. When one's own interests are the most touched, the researcher most needs to remember the ethical demand to act in the best interest of fellow human beings. This means to be honest and explicit about what the project entails, even if that may mean the end of the project. Further, badly understood agreements to co-operate rarely make for a successful project, and one might as well renegotiate the agreements to co-operate whenever necessary rather than hope problems will not arise.

Third, covenantal ethics means that researchers need to constantly question their own motives and actions. The responsibility is unconditional, and the responsibility is present all through the project. In conventional research projects, ethics is often only about formal, contractual themes, such as informed consent, confidentiality and access to data. Once this is negotiated, the researchers are free to perform the research, adhering to the rules agreed on. A covenantal ethics requires researchers to constantly scrutinize their motives and ask critical questions as to how the best interest of the participants is being cared for. This question does not have a 'once-and-for-all' answer but needs to be revisited throughout the research process.

Action research is a joint exploration of an unknown landscape where local participants and researchers alike contribute with their experience and knowledge of what is needed to find the way. Covenantal ethics means the constant need to ask oneself what is happening, what one's changing needs and wants are and how one allows them to influence the research process. At some point, the researchers might come across something of great scientific interest but may realize that it could expose the local participants or make them vulnerable. Or the broader community might want a level of details on who did what that might harm or embarrass the local participants, and they might expect the researcher to feel no obligation to protect the participants. How does one handle those challenges? Whose interest should count the most? It is exactly in such situations that a covenantal ethics can serve as a compass guiding that process. As previously mentioned, the ethical demand is radical, with no exceptions. Therefore, the guiding principle should always be to act in the best interest of others and not put one's own interest first. This is the ethical demand of a covenantal ethics in action research.

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See also co-generative learning; communitarianism; ethics and moral decision-making; feminist ethics; institutional review board

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Criminal Justice Systems

Criminal justice systems are vast and complex networks of state and privately run institutions generally designed to maintain and regulate social order. Ranging from local community practices to large government agencies, the criminal justice system is charged with both preventing and mitigating crime, as well as punishing and rehabilitating individuals who break the law. It also includes prosecuting and defending those

political reasons, this may not happen. The proposed action might be costly, unwanted by people in power or unpopular with large groups that are satisfied with the status quo, or it may demand great efforts and much dedication of time resources. In conventional social science approaches, the researcher's responsibility tends to end with the publication of the research results. In action research, this is not sufficient.

Because action research *can* make a difference, the ethical responsibility becomes a question of what kind of difference one makes and for whom. Who benefits from the research and who does not? Should the researchers work only with powerless or impoverished groups, or is it defensible to work with big industry and rich companies? Will improving working conditions, competence level and worker influence in companies in First World countries lead to more low-skilled and underpaid jobs being outsourced to low-cost Third World countries? Will working to improve conditions for groups of people in a politically oppressive system serve to legitimize the political regime instead of opposing it outright through boycotts? On a smaller scale, would action research efforts to improve working conditions for employees in a company producing harmful products such as tobacco be acceptable? Should the ethical demand in action research compel researchers to only work for globally worthwhile causes, and what would be the consequences of this? Such are the ethical questions facing action researchers in a global world where what is done in one place influences what is happening elsewhere. There are no easy or absolute answers to such questions, but they need to be constantly addressed by ethically responsible action researchers.

Theoretical Foundation of Covenantal Ethics in Action Research

The theoretical foundation for this unconditional ethical responsibility to act in the best interest of others was laid by Knud Ejler Løgstrup (1905–81) and his concept of 'the ethical demand'. To Løgstrup, the ethical demand comes from the basic understanding that life is given as a gift that can never be reciprocated but can be reflected in our relationship to our fellow human beings. His understanding and fundamental idea is that people are always dependent on and thus delivered over to one another. This entails an unspoken demand to care for the other person's life. Løgstrup has relevance as a philosopher and a humanist, even if one does not agree with him as a Christian. In fact, Løgstrup defines himself more as a humanist than a Christian, and he argues that the ethical demand is founded in the relationship between recognized human beings. We are in this world together, and that places a demand on everybody to care for the other from a purely humanist perspective.

This ethical demand is radical, by which Løgstrup means that it is absolute. There are no exceptions, and one cannot choose when one finds it appropriate to follow. This refers back to the humanist perspective of interdependency. He quotes Martin Luther, saying, 'We are each other's daily bread'—that is, we cannot live solitarily and outside the community of one another. This image is particularly relevant to action research because of the codependency of generating new knowledge and new practice together. Action research is not something researchers can do on their own, but it requires a working relationship with the local participants. Researchers and local participants are together what make action research possible; we are each other's daily bread. This gives the ethical demand an uncompromising quality that makes it particularly relevant to action research. The ethical demand is there also when it is not in the researcher's 'interest' to follow or even when it does not favour the interest of the researcher. In action research, the researcher has responsibility for the effects of the research on others, and the ethical demand is a framework for understanding this responsibility.

Practical Implications of a Covenantal Ethics in Action Research

There are at least three issues that need to be addressed when discussing the practical implications of covenantal ethics in action research: (1) how the research is established, (2) how the joint understanding is reaffirmed throughout the project and (3) how the ethical demand is addressed at all points during the project.

First, it means that the ethically responsible action researcher has to present the research agenda at the onset of a project (e.g. why one is interested in the subject, what kind of research interest inspires the research, etc.). Not only that, he must also state who the stakeholders or funding organization behind the project are and what their interests in the subject are. The researcher needs to discuss roles and responsibilities with the local participants, so that they all know what is expected of each of them and what the implications will be for the project. If the local participants are expected to run local activities in their own organization or enterprise, this needs to be discussed at the onset. Will the researcher(s) be responsible for taking the minutes from joint meetings, and will these be shared with the participants, and in what forms? What kind of changed practice is expected to emerge from the project, and how will the local participants benefit from it? Unless such issues are made explicit at the onset of the project, the co-operation is skewed in the researcher's favour.

require a revolution in university structure. Issues of tenure and promotion guidelines, incentives for collaboration and disparities in funding structures between communities and campus must all be addressed. As graduate students, we must consistently rethink our practical theories for changing university structure while being in it.

• *Lastly, what do we offer the larger action research community?* CPARN made a name for itself by making information available. With the rise of new information technology, we now have an opportunity and a challenge to redefine that role. What does a twenty-first century PARchives look like? If you have any thoughts or have a knack for design, let us know.

John A. Armstrong

Author's note: With contributions from past and present CPARN members, including Susan Boser, Davydd Greenwood, Helene Gregoire, Patricia Haines, Margo Hittleman, Richard Kiely, Courtney Knapp, Thane Maxwell, Scott Peters, Monica Ruiz-Casares and Alicia Swords.

See also critical friend; higher education; teaching action researchers

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Websites

Cornell Participatory Action Research Network (CPARN): http://www.cparn.org

Covenantal Ethics

A covenant is a pact defining the bond between parties engaged in a relationship. It can be a relationship between a professional and a client, between a researcher and the local participants or, as in the original meaning, between God and his people.

Covenantal ethics is based on the work of William F. May, founding director of the Cary M. Maguire Center for Ethics and Public Responsibility, USA. Although not an action researcher, May developed the concept of covenantal ethics to discuss the relationship between the researcher and the field, or 'host population' as he refers to it. He developed the concept as particularly relevant to medical ethics and the relationship between doctor and patient.

As action research is based on a commitment to working for the good of others through engaging in processes of change, it is obvious that the ethical responsibility of the researcher goes beyond the conventional contractual relationship between the researcher and the local participants. Action research is closer to a covenantal ethics that is reciprocal and responsive in character. The researcher stands not outside the research process but alongside the local participants. The term *covenantal ethics in action research* refers to an understanding of research ethics that is based on the responsibility to act in the best interest of others. This responsibility should be demonstrated at every step of the process. This entry discusses the relevance of covenantal ethics in action research and the theoretical foundation of covenantal ethics, as well as giving examples of what this ethical foundation means in practice.

The Relevance of Covenantal Ethics to Action Research

Paralleling the basic values of action research, covenantal ethics can be operationalized in three specific practices: (1) the acknowledgement of human interdependency, (2) the co-generation of knowledge and (3) the development of fairer power relations. The basic premise for this ethical demand in action research is the recognition that human life is relational and so the notion of an objectified other is unacceptable. Action research does not do research *on* others, but rather, it explores the possibilities for changed practice together *with* others, with the local participants or the host population. The researcher and the local participants are co-researchers in developing new knowledge and new practice together, and their relationship is mutual and complementary.

Action research is based on a commitment to promote social justice. Therefore, the researcher has an ethical demand to take responsibility for the social consequences of the research and make it explicit both in practice and in communications about that practice.

This relational research process makes it even more unavoidable to be ethically accountable than conventional research approaches. Many other types of social science research aim at being used, in the sense of being applied to a practical political context. At the same time, even applied research is often less applied than potentially applicable. The researchers may reach a conclusion with practical and/or political consequences, but it is then up to others to actually implement this new knowledge. For practical or

But apart from these larger organizational and programmatic functions, CPARN built an intellectual and social home for graduate students who valued democratic research practices within a larger institutional structure of expert-oriented research paradigms. Lacking proper support from critical friends and colleagues, completing a degree attentive to action research philosophies often proved quite difficult for individual scholars. David Deshler, now emeritus professor in the Department of Education, sensed this need and in the early 1990s began convening a series of consultations to provide constructive criticism to individual students doing action research. The 'Deshler consultations' were arguably the greatest benefit students received from participating in CPARN. Any student wanting advice on a project or paper could send out a notice to the e-mail list server stating a time and location, and a dozen or so network members would undoubtedly arrive, eager to hear ideas, pose questions, suggest resources and brainstorm avenues for moving forward. A support group of critical allies proved an invaluable element in graduate education at Cornell.

CPARN was a fluid organization, constantly being remade by the members of the time. CPARN members have often been (self)labelled as activist, outlier, rebellious, Marxist, Freirian, anti-system, why-can't-my-committee-understand and strategically minded zealots. An organization full of such people, practically all of whom went through Davydd Greenwood's action research class, was inevitably unusual. CPARN did not fit the conventional hierarchical mould of student organizations or academic units, though each year they were required to elect a chair, a president and, at one time, a director, even though the organization intends to operate on more democratic grounds. Given the unconventional students and structure, it is not surprising that the network ebbed and flowed with the tides, as four generations of students and faculty redefined CPARN's identity and purposes.

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, CPARN felt the effects of regional and international shifts. As compatriots built networks in other institutions, such as Syracuse University (with John Burdick and Pramod Parajuli) and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (with Budd Hall at the University of Victoria), specific individuals formed bonds of trust and collaboration. But over the same period, the absence and presence of individual faculty and the cycle of graduate studies constantly redefined the organization. During the past decade, as the language of participation became comfortably adopted and co-opted by graduate committees, Cornell and major institutions like the World Bank, CPARN's internal discussions became more exclusionary and confrontational around what participation was and was not. Eventually, the network folded, and in 2006, PARnet as an electronic resource was lost.

In the fall of 2010, Greenwood returned to Cornell University from a sabbatical and taught his biweekly action research course. Three graduate students in that course—Christina Davis, Jen Ayres and Courtney Knapp—asked what had happened to CPARN and whether it could or should be revived. Their questions led to plans and action, and CPARN is alive again.

Past CPARN alums have provided current graduate students with a vibrant legacy to continue and shape. The following list of lessons or questions will hopefully guide CPARN's development, and CPARN's story will become one to share with other student-based networks bringing action research into a new generation:

- *How do our many identities help and hurt our cause?* Building spaces together is tough, especially when everyone involved in the network consistently overcommit themselves. It is not a fault; it's just who we are. The past has shown us that the spaces we collectively form must be challenging *and* safe. They must be places imbued with courageous dialogue and a welcoming spirit for both veterans and neophytes. CPARN at times can be 'clubbish', and this is an identity we must shed if we hope to sustain CPARN in meaningful ways for future graduate students. How the network grows—what it includes and excludes—is a question of particular interest especially in this time of increased administrative preoccupation with public engagement as a strategic initiative.

- *Which structures work?* Deshler consultations are the core of our support network and cannot be forgotten, but we have also created ground rules for dialogue that is productive for both research and the community. We can neglect neither if we hope to grow in our scholarship and lives. Additionally, meetings of all types must be fast, furious and productive if we are to be honest about our needs.

- *What fights must we fight at institutional levels in higher education to solidify our normative claim for democratic research?* CPARN has always had two identities: (1) the largely benign student group that has regular meetings and organizes great talks and (2) the underground student movement looking to de-colonize and democratize the practice of research. These two identities are linked in our everyday work, yet the latter is our overarching project. We and our allies hope to bring about a new era in scholarship. This will

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Cornell Participatory Action Research Network

This narrative of the development of the Cornell Participatory Action Research Network (CPARN) is offered with multiple goals: (a) introducing the organization, (b) narrating its history and present status and (c) sharing the experience of trying to maintain action research within more traditional, conservative and expert-centric academic environments.

In the spring of 1992, a series of conversations on action research at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, sparked heated debates among graduate students, faculty and staff about how to support such work, and within a year, a small group of students and faculty established the CPARN. In the 20 years since, the network has waxed and waned—at times vibrant, at other times dormant. The current members of a revived CPARN are looking back on this history, but not to reminisce. Current members are looking back for the issues addressed, structures built and information gathered by CPARN's alumni to inform a vision of CPARN's future. The following paragraphs seek to both celebrate and critically reflect upon that inherited legacy.

In collecting this 20-year history, it is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to separate the public role that CPARN played within the global action research community from the personal role it played as a scholarly home for its members. CPARN's broader impact on the action research community is what warrants its inclusion in this encyclopedia, but this entry hopes to also shed light on the more personal side, the side that generated so many strong personal commitments.

The network began as a means to collect and distribute information on action research. During the early years of CPARN, literature on action research was not widely available, and the building and maintenance of the PARchives, begun by Davydd Greenwood and continued by Carla Shafer, Richard Simpson and Nimat Hafez Barazangi, was a direct response to that need. The collected information was essential for Cornell students and faculty and was made broadly available for distribution to other institutions and organizations. PARnet, a website founded in 1993 by CPARN member Carla Shafer, gave the PARchives a larger user-generated electronic presence and a common connection point to reflect on the global picture of action research. At its height, PARnet had over 600 user-generated resource references. The goals of this collection included the identification of trends and common elements as they emerged within the action research literature. At PARnet, users could find descriptions and discussions of shared concepts. Most critically, it provided a readily available way for action research scholars to find materials they did not otherwise have access to. It was the first action research website on the Internet. This experiment in information collection and distribution may be CPARN's largest historical contribution to the action research community. During the 1997 ALARA World Congress in Cartagena, Colombia, CPARN took the lead in cataloguing and archiving all of the material Orlando Fals Borda had collected and made it available for distribution. CPARN's participation in subsequent World Congresses in 2000 and 2003, in local and regional conferences and as invited guest lecturers all contributed to the network's growing wealth of information, resources and relationships.

This proliferation of information spurred countless digital and face-to-face conversations during the ensuing period of network development. These conversations were a place for philosophical dialogue, practical debate and, at times, painful confrontation. As websites became more interactive and online publishing became more accepted, the network's electronic presence shifted. In 2002, PARfem, a collaborative group established by Nimat Hafez Barazangi with a goal of fostering a learning environment to restructure the relationship between feminism and PAR, built an electronic presence. PARfem was born out of a CPARN project that brought Pat Maguire to speak in January 2002. Selected writings on feminisms and action research were collected and made available for purchase to facilitate that conversation. Later, a structured online dialogue was developed, intentionally designed for a safe, open and constructive discussion. In 2005, CPARN members published podcasts on the use of blogs by graduate action researchers. For 15 years, the use of digital communication technology remained a strong element of CPARN's more official functions.

Establishing a Group

The initiator's first task is to gather together a group of people who will be interested in joining the project. Sometimes the group is self-evidently formed, but more often it is recruited by some form of circular letter: For example, the Black social worker mentioned above invited social work managers, practitioners and students to a meeting to discuss mutual interests and propose the establishment of inquiry groups. Groups of up to 12 persons can work well; below 6 is a little too small and lacks variety of experience; above 12 needs time and possibly professional facilitation.

Contracting

It is most important that as far as it is possible people have an opportunity to define the inquiry agenda and establish the process of the group. But this does not mean that they have to start from a blank sheet: Usually the initiators put forward some proposal in a letter inviting people to a meeting to discuss the possible formation of a group. The meeting can explore the following agenda:

1. Welcome and introductions, helping people feel at home
2. Introduction by the initiators: What are we interested in researching?
3. Discussion by people in pairs of what they have heard informally, followed by questions and discussion
4. Introduction to the process of Co-Operative Inquiry
5. Pairs discussion followed by questions and discussion
6. Decision time: Who wishes to join the group?
7. Practical discussion: dates, times, financial and other commitments

It may be that a full discussion of items (1) to (5) is as far as a group can go in one meeting, and a second meeting is needed for decision-making and practical arrangements.

Devising an Overall Research Plan

Most groups agree to a programme of meetings arranged so that there is sufficient time for cycles of action and reflection. A group wishing to explore activities that are contained within the group, such as meditation skills, may simply meet for a weekend workshop which will include several short cycles of practice and reflection. But a group which involves action in the external world will need to arrange long cycles of action and reflection, with sufficient time for practical activity. The holistic doctors group met to reflect for a long weekend after every 6 weeks of action on the job, and a health visitors group met for an afternoon every 3 weeks or so. An inquiry into interpersonal skill met for a weekend workshop at the home of two of the participants and then for a long afternoon and evening every month to 6 weeks, finishing with another residential weekend workshop.

Roles

It is helpful to agree early on how roles will be distributed. If the initiator is also to be the group facilitator, that should be made clear. It may be helpful to identify who has skills in group facilitation, inquiry facilitation, management of differences, working with distress and so on, and share out roles appropriately. Decide if you wish to be fully democratic and rotate leadership or if you would prefer one or two people to facilitate on behalf of the group. And so on.

Ground Rules

You may wish to agree on ground rules, particularly to preserve confidences within the group.

Writing

It is helpful to decide who the audience for your research is early on. Is it just for yourselves, or do you wish to influence some outside persons? If you wish to produce a written report or article, it is worth discussing who will write it and on what basis. Do all members of the group have to see and agree on it before it can be sent out? Or is it acceptable for one or two people to write their own report based on the group experience? Some groups adopt a rule that anyone can write whatever they like about the group so long as they state clearly who the author is and whether other group members have seen and approved the text.

John Heron

See also cycles of action and reflection; extended epistemology; first person action research; insider action research; practical knowing; quality; second person action research

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Managing Unaware Projections

The group adopts some regular method for surfacing and processing repressed templates of past emotional trauma, which may get unknowingly projected out, distorting thought, perception and action within the inquiry. The very process of researching the human condition may stir up these templates and trigger them into compulsive invasion of the inquiring mind.

Authentic Collaboration

Since intersubjective dialogue is a key component in refining the forms of knowing, it is important that it manifests through authentic collaboration. One aspect of this is that group members internalize and make the inquiry method their own, so that they are on a peer footing with the initiating researchers. The other aspect is that each group member is fully and authentically engaged in each action phase and in each reflection phase and is fully expressive, fully heard and fully influential in the decision-making.

Outcomes of Co-Operative Inquiry

There are four main kinds of inquiry outcome, corresponding to the four forms of knowing—(1) experiential, (2) presentational, (3) propositional and (4) practical:

1. Transformations of personal being through engagement with the purpose and process of the inquiry
2. Presentations of insight about the purpose of the inquiry, through dance, drawing, drama and all other expressive modes, which provide imaginal symbols of the significant patterns in our realities
3. Propositional reports which are informative about the inquiry purpose, describing and explaining how it has been explored, with full details of the inquiry method; provide commentary on the various kinds of outcome and give details of the validity procedures used and an overall appraisal of the validity of the inquiry
4. Practical skills involving (a) transformative action in fulfilling the inquiry purpose and (b) various kinds of participative knowing and collaboration used in the inquiry process

Some Examples of Co-Operative Inquiry Groups

A group of general medical practitioners formed a Co-Operative Inquiry group to develop the theory and practice of holistic medicine. They built a simple model of holistic practice and experimented with it in practice, exploring a range of intervention skills, power sharing with patients, showing concern for the spiritual dimensions of doctoring as well as paying attention to their own needs as medical practitioners. The experience of this study contributed to the formation of the British Holistic Medical Association. This study was taken forward when a group of general and complementary medical practitioners worked together to explore how they might work effectively in an interdisciplinary fashion.

A group of co-counsellors met to map the processes used by self-directing clients in co-counselling sessions, and they had a further inquiry to explore the range of skills used in the midst of incidents in daily life to deal with the sudden re-stimulation of past distress.

A group of obese and post-obese women explored their experience together, looking in particular at how they were stereotyped in society and how it was difficult for them to obtain appropriate attention from doctors and other medical people. This is one of several inquiries in which groups of people with a particular physical or medical condition have taken active charge of how their condition is defined and treated. Two Black social work teachers established inquiry groups of Black social work students, practitioners and managers to explore in action their relationships at work, especially between Black managers and subordinates working together, and how a creative Black culture could be generated.

Several inquiry groups have met to explore ritual, mystical and subtle experiences in order to create forms of spiritual practice which are appropriate to the present times—and to open up the discussion on how the Co-Operative Inquiry process itself engages with the spiritual reality *of the relation between* co-inquirers.

Other groups have formed to explore questions of gender. One inquiry looked at how Black women might learn to thrive, as well as survive, in British organizations. Another looked at whether men in organizations need to explore questions of their gender in the workplace.

Practical Issues in Setting Up an Inquiry Group

Initiation

Most inquiry groups are initiated by one or two people who have enthusiasm for a purpose they wish to explore. They may be engaged on a research degree and are attracted to Co-Operative Inquiry as a means of doing research, but they might just as well be members of an interest group—a patient's group, a women's or minority persons group or a professional interest group—who see that Co-Operative Inquiry could be a way of moving forward their concerns.

Reframing refers to conceptual revisioning in perceiving a world. With this skill, we not only hold in abeyance the constructs being imposed on our perceiving, we also try out alternative ones for their creative capacity to articulate an account of people and a world. We are open to reframing the assumptions of any conceptual context or perspective.

The second group of skills relates to radical practice with transformative intent in order to engage in action that seeks change within its domain. Again, all these skills relate to what is going on in a person when he or she is engaged in action.

Dynamic congruence involves practical knowing, knowing how to act, beyond ordinary competent action. It means being aware, while acting, of the bodily form of the behaviour, its strategic form and guiding norms, its purpose or end and underlying values, motives, external context, supporting beliefs and actual outcomes. At the same time, it means being aware of any lack of congruence between these different facets of the action and adjusting them accordingly.

Emotional competence is the ability to identify and manage emotional states in various ways. These include keeping action free from distorted reactions to current events that are driven by the unprocessed distress of earlier years; and from the limiting influence of inappropriate conventions acquired by social conditioning.

Non-attachment is the skill to wear lightly and without fixation the purpose, strategy, kind of behaviour and motive chosen. This is the knack of not investing one's identity and emotional security in the action while remaining fully intentional about it and committed to it.

Self-transcending intentionality involves having in mind—in the midst of one overall form of action—one or more alternative forms and considering their possible relevance and applicability to the total situation.

Validity Procedures

Research Cycling

If the research purpose as a whole, and different parts singly and in combination, are taken round several cycles of reflection and action, then experiential and reflective forms of knowing progressively refine each other through two-way negative and positive feedback.

Divergence and Convergence

Within the action phase of any one cycle, or indeed between the action phases of two adjacent cycles, the co-inquirers can diverge over different parts of the topic or converge on the same part or on the whole. This gives rise to innumerable combinations of divergence and convergence which, expressed through research cycling, can enable all forms of knowing to articulate the research purpose more thoroughly.

Reflection and Action

Since reflective and experiential forms of knowing refine each other through cycling between the reflection and action phases, this effect also depends on getting a right balance between these two phases, so that there is neither too much reflection on too little experience nor too little reflection on too much experience.

Aspects of Reflection

Within the reflection phase, there is a balance between presentational (expressive or artistic) ways of making sense and propositional (verbal or intellectual) ways. And within intellectual ways, there is a balance between four mental activities: (1) describing, (2) evaluating descriptions, (3) building theory and (4) applying what has been learned in one cycle to the management of the next.

Challenging Uncritical Subjectivity

Any inquirer is authorized at any time to adopt formally the role of devil's advocate to question the group as to whether one of several forms of uncritical subjectivity is afoot. These forms include (a) not noticing, or not mentioning, aspects of experience that show up the limitations of a conceptual model or programme of action; (b) unaware fixation on the false assumptions implicit in guiding ideas or action plans; (c) unaware projections distorting the inquiry process and (d) lack of rigour in inquiry method and in applying validity procedures.

Chaos and Order

This is not so much a procedure as a mental set which allows for the interdependence of chaos and order, of nescience and knowing. It is an attitude which tolerates and undergoes, without premature closure, inquiry phases which are confused and disoriented, ambiguous and uncertain. These phases tend in their own good time to convert into new levels of order. But since there is no guarantee that they will do so, they are risky and edgy. Tidying them up prematurely leads to pseudo-knowledge.

the reflection phases. There is usually an initiating facilitator who supports group members in exercising the high degree of autonomy and co-operation involved in this full democratization of the knowledge generation process.

The method also applies a radical epistemology involving a congruence of four forms of knowing: (1) propositional, (2) practical, (3) presentational and (4) experiential. Propositional knowing, or knowing that, is expressed in statements. Practical knowing, or knowing how, is expressed in the exercise of a skill. Presentational knowing, or intuitive knowing of significant pattern, is expressed in graphic, plastic, moving, musical and verbal art forms. Experiential knowing, or knowing by acquaintance, is manifest as imaging and feeling the presence of some energy, entity, person, place, process or thing. The full range of human sensibilities—a transparent body-mind with an open and unbound awareness—is available as an instrument of inquiry.

This entry outlines the typical development of a Co-Operative Inquiry and focuses on the inquiry skills, validity procedures and practical choice points which ensure methodological rigour and quality. Examples of co-operative inquiries, and the outcomes which have emerged from these, are also shared.

An Outline of Inquiry Stages

Stage 1 is a reflection phase for the inquirers to choose the purpose of the inquiry and the type of inquiry, a launching statement of the inquiry purpose, a plan of action for the following action phase and a method of recording experiences during the coming action phase.

Stage 2 is an action phase when the inquirers are exploring in experience and action some aspect of the inquiry purpose and keeping records of the experiential data generated.

Stage 3 is full immersion in the action phase with great openness to experience, applying an integrated range of inquiry skills (see below).

Stage 4 is the second reflection phase; the inquirers share data from the action phase and do the following:

a. Review and modify the inquiry purpose in the light of making sense of the data
b. Choose a plan for the second action phase to explore the same or a different aspect of the inquiry purpose
c. Review the method of recording data used in the first action phase and amend it for use in the second

Subsequent stages will do the following:

1. Involve usually from five to eight full cycles of reflection and action (including the first cycle), with varying patterns of divergence and convergence in the action phases
2. Include a variety of intentional procedures in the reflection phases (as well as the special skills in the action phases outlined above) for enhancing the validity of the process. The purpose of these procedures is to free the various forms of knowing involved in the inquiry process from the distortion of uncritical subjectivity—that is, a lack of discriminating awareness. This occurs when, for example, the mind fails to do justice to the claims of the given cosmos in which it participates, to the claims of appropriate method and to the claims of dialogue and engagement with other minds involved in the same arena of participative knowing. All the validity procedures (see below) need to be planned for, or applied, within the reflection phases.
3. End with a major reflection phase for pulling the threads together, clarifying outcomes and deciding whether to write a co-operative report
4. Be followed by post-group collaboration on writing up any agreed form of report.

Inquiry Skills

The first group of these skills relates to radical perception in order to become descriptive and explanatory of the inquiry domain. All these skills relate to what is going on in a person when he or she is actually there, engaged with the experience.

Being present is about empathy, about meeting and feeling the presence of people and a world. The skill is about harmonic resonance and attunement, participating in the inner experience of people and the mode of awareness, the prehension, of things. It is a matter of indwelling the inward declaration made by the being of the other.

Imaginal openness involves being aware of the co-creative, participatory process whereby we both give meaning to and find meaning in our world through a combination of perceptual imagery, memory, productive imagination and conceptual constructs.

Bracketing means managing the conceptual labels and models embedded in the process of perceiving people and a world. The skill is about holding in abeyance the classifications and constructs we impose on our perceiving so that we can be more open to its inherent primary, imaginal meaning.

test the emerging interpretations with each additional participant. This process can equally work even if only one interviewer is engaged in the data collection process, provided that he or she is systematic in recording emerging ideas to explore in subsequent interviews. The activities of the single interviewer can be strengthened through discussions with members of the research team even if those same team members are not engaged in data collection. Other strengths of the CI process include the ability to engage early with any pre-existing literature (unlike, e.g., Grounded Theory approaches, which may equally encourage constant comparison), as well as its maximum-variation sampling strategy, such that the topic of interest has as many inputs from different perspectives as possible.

CI for Action-Oriented Research

While CI has not been extensively used in action-oriented research, it is an interviewing technique and research method that is ideally suited to action research. Action research, by definition, is a group of people working together as a community of practice (in other words, people, albeit from different areas of expertise or knowledge, who share a common goal and are collectively working towards that goal) to effect change. CI prompts participants to reflect on both the positive and the negative aspects, or the things that work well and did not work well in their experiences with the topic under study. Very quickly, researchers can compile aspects of the experiences that might help facilitate change and identify areas that could create barriers, or at least identify those aspects that might make effecting change more difficult. Moreover, CI can allow for the evaluation of early interventions in action-oriented research through its constant-comparative process. Similarly, a modification to the CI process, as originally envisioned by Dick, that would work well in action-based research could be to adopt a more cyclical approach. Rather than relying on the sequential ordering of interview participants to dictate the reflections of earlier issues from earlier interviews, it could be possible to return to the earlier participants with insights gained from the later interviews to assess the relevance to the topic under study from a multitude of experiences. In this way, the development of knowledge and insights is not limited by the level of experience or knowledge of participants as determined by who is interested in participating and when. Hence, even if by timing, an early-interview participant has a great deal of insight and knowledge, it would be possible with a modified CI to return to that earlier and more knowledgeable participant to reflect on those aspects raised by later participants. This modification would extend the strengths of the CI process greatly and would enable the greatest breadth of reflections across the analysis of the entire set of interviews.

S. Michelle Driedger

See also data analysis; epistemology; Grounded Theory; interviews; ontology

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Co-Operative Inquiry

Co-Operative Inquiry is a way in which people who have similar concerns and interests intentionally develop together their own experience and action to make sense of their lives and acquire new ways of looking at things and, above all, to know how to act to change the things they may want to change and how to do things better. There is both an informative and a transformative dimension to the inquiry: Most co-operative inquiries are strongly action based (and thus transformative). Simultaneously, active change in the direction of enhanced human flourishing is also potently informative about the human condition.

Co-Operative Inquiries develop progressively through a series of cycles, each cycle consisting of a move from a reflective planning phase to an action phase and back to a reflective review and further planning of the next action phase. Each person is a co-subject in the action phases and a co-researcher in the reflection phases. Thus, all the co-subjects are fully involved as co-researchers in *all* research decisions—about purpose, method and final outcomes—taken in

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Convergent Interviewing

Convergent interviewing (CI) is both a way of designing a research study as well as a style of interviewing. The aim of CI is to collect and analyze people's opinions, experiences, attitudes and knowledge that converge around a small set of interviews. Originally developed by Bob Dick, then at the University of Queensland in Australia, CI was created to address primarily research areas in which the state of knowledge was less developed. Other researchers have argued that it is equally effective in areas where more is known about a topic but critical knowledge gaps remain. As a method, CI enables researchers to develop a flexible project that leaves the content of data collected unstructured, permitting reflexivity throughout the research process. Since its inception, it has been used in a variety of contexts: marketing/business and health and social sciences research more generally. This entry describes CI as both an interviewing method as well as a research process, and it also outlines how it can be usefully applied in action-oriented research.

CI as an Interviewing Method

In its original form, CI as a method designs the interview process to be guided by a general opening question that sets the boundary for the area of inquiry and ultimately seeks to have participants comment on both the positive and the negative aspects. In that original form, the opening question asks a participant to reflect on aspects that are positive about the phenomenon or issue in question. Once all aspects of that response have followed through their normal course (in other words, the normal prompts asking participants to clarify the points raised or to provide more specific information), the participant is then asked to reflect on any negative aspects, based on his or her experiences, about the phenomenon or issue under study. In more recent variations of CI, the formal prompts for participant reflection on the positive or negative aspects have been dropped, and they are only introduced if the participant has not raised any of these elements in the initial part of the interview. For the second and subsequent interviews with different participants in the project, the interviewer also asks the participants to reflect on the applicability of aspects raised during earlier interviews that had not been already raised. For example, Participant 1 might raise three main issues. Participant 2 might raise two of the points raised by Participant 1, and he or she might bring up two additional points. By the turn of Participant 3, the interviewer will probe for all unique issues that were raised by Participants 1 and 2 but were not already mentioned by Participant 3. This process follows in this continuous and sequential pattern until no new issues are being raised over the entire set of interviews.

CI as a Research Process

This sequential pattern of the interviews is one of the strengths of the CI process as it helps the researcher arrive at saturation (in other words, where no new ideas are being introduced by the participants) more quickly. Moreover, when a project involves more than one interviewer, CI provides a process to ensure that the interviewers are being consistent to the ontology (in other words, recognizing when aspects of interest to the larger study are being identified in a non-directive manner) and epistemology (in other words, capably identifying what counts as 'knowledge' for the topic under study) of the project. The process afforded by CI when using two or more interviewers is that by design, the interviewers must have frequent conversations, usually shortly after an interview has taken place, to share the aspects raised by different participants. Equipped with that knowledge, the interviewers can then probe more quickly in subsequent interviews around aspects of convergence and divergence. Effectively, analysis begins immediately after the first interview is conducted. This constant-comparative process permits researchers to

the research process, as opposed to knowledge that is discovered. For constructivists, these characteristics apply to the research process, regardless of which tools researchers use and the questions they ask.

Guba and Lincoln have described how this contrasts with positivist empirical approaches that are nested in the belief that there is one reality and that objects and events that exist within it have a universal, essentialist nature understood and experienced by all people in the same way. So too does it contrast with post-positivist beliefs about reality existing in a universally 'true' way, with human beings only being able to approximate understandings of its true nature because of our flawed intellectual mechanisms—not because it does not exist.

Constructivism in Practice

The sociologist Kathy Charmaz has written at length about what constructivism means for social science research in the twenty-first century. Charmaz has noted that when taking a constructivist approach to research, social scientists must assume reflexive stances towards knowing and representing studied life throughout the research process. This means that researchers must locate themselves in the realities they are studying, examining how their interpretive frames, life histories and interests and the research context influence their actions throughout. As also suggested by Guba and Lincoln, constructivist approaches to social science inquiry place significant focus on the relationships between the researcher and the participants in a study and how these relationships relate to the knowledge generated during and after a study runs its course.

These forms of a constructivist orientation to knowledge production and human relationships have also begun influencing theory development in social science disciplines that have been largely dominated by positivist and post-positivist paradigms, such as developmental psychology. Developmental psychologists such as Margaret Beal Spencer have recently forwarded models of human development that acknowledge that peoples' perceptions of experience radically differ depending on the aspects of the context in which they develop and the interactions they have therein with both other people and structures of power. Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of Ecological System's Theory model reflects a view of reality as experienced and constructed differently by developing young persons, drawing attention to their varying perceptual and appraisal systems. This model can be used to explain, in part, how a police officer can mean something entirely different to a youth of colour growing up in a 'high-risk' inner-city neighbourhood in the USA with experiences of police officers as threats compared with a Caucasian, well-to-do youth growing up in a protected suburb with only positive interactions with the police.

Constructivism and Action Research

Contemporary understandings of constructivism in the social sciences highlight subjective and intersubjective social knowledge and view this knowledge as core to understanding human phenomena. As Gergen and Gergen have noted, this orientation to knowledge production is only one of many convergences between participatory and action research processes and constructivism. They have highlighted several threads that run through discussions of both, including collaboration and intersubjectivities in the knowledge production process, re-envisioning the world as opposed to remapping and re-articulating it (through, e.g., language and rhetoric) and prioritizing utility and practical impact over assumed objectivity and distance between the researcher and the researched. Gergen, Gergen, and Charmaz, among many other scholars, have argued that when these ideas are put into practice in research, the research process and products have the potential to reduce oppression, broaden dialogues around human compassion, increase cultural sensitivities and pave the way for continued collaborative action with the aim of creating more viable futures.

Participatory and action research projects that have occurred throughout the world in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have achieved some of these goals, in part by emphasizing that knowledge is not only created through relationships between people in a particular community or setting but also possessed by each human being (i.e. the concept of indigenous knowledge). Participatory and action researchers view the collaborative nature of knowledge production as an asset to the research process and make use of it, bridging the expertise of scientists with the expertise of participants in a study. Importantly, these systems of knowledge are often treated and remain as separate silos in much of the social science research informed by positivist paradigms. When these various experts come together in a participatory and action research project, diverse knowledge systems are united and more viable knowledge and action follow, towards effecting social change.

Rachel M. Hershberg

See also critical constructivism; epistemology; intersubjectivity; ontology; Participatory Action Research; relational-cultural theory; social constructionism

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emphasizes that the nature of knowledge is that it cannot replicate an independent ontological reality. If there is a true, knowable reality, it cannot be known to the cognitive organism as it is (or may be) in metaphysical terms. For Von Glaserfeld, Piaget provided a theoretical map and language for separating questions about knowledge and what can be known to a human being from questions regarding an ontological reality.

George Kelly (1905–67), the founder of personal construct psychology, also argued that every human being perceives the world through constructions of objects and other notions of the world. Kelly referred to the system of meaning people utilize to perceive their worlds as constructs. More recently, the psychologists Gabriele Chiari and Maria Laura Nuzzo further divided constructivist thinking in the twentieth century into two main categories: (1) epistemological constructivism and (2) hermeneutical constructivism. According to Chiari and Nuzzo, Kelly's personal construct psychology and Von Glaserfeld's radical constructivism could be classified as forms of epistemological constructivism because both suggest that there may be an external reality that is independent of people's own constructions of reality but that it's impossible for people to know of this reality except through their constructions of it.

In epistemological constructivism, these human-made constructions are nonetheless viewed as necessary for gleaning something about the world. In this way, epistemological constructivism adopts Von Glaserfeld's notion that knowledge should be viewed in terms of its viability rather than in terms of its accuracy with regard to representations of reality. Put differently, epistemological constructivism posits that human beings, as cognitive organisms, cannot be certain about whether their systems of meaning or constructions of the world correspond to an independent reality but they can ascertain (as with the young Piagetian child) if their constructions work for them.

In contrast to epistemological constructivism is hermeneutic constructivism, which Chiari and Nuzzo identify as the view that there simply is no external reality separate from that which is constructed and perceived by human beings (critical constructivism and literary or rhetorical constructivism would belong to the latter category). For hermeneutic constructivists, knowledge is a product of language and meanings developed through activity within a community, group, culture and/or society. For this reason, there are likely as many systems of knowledge as there are groups constructing and utilizing them through language, discourse and other socially constructed means. Hermeneutic constructivists also argue that the process of knowledge production cannot be understood without understanding how language is used by and given meaning within a specific group. There is no knowledge, in other words, without interpretation, and interpretation is culturally and contextually specific and tied to histories and intersubjective group experiences.

Constructivism in the Twenty-First Century

These discipline-specific and meta-theoretical understandings and instantiations of constructivism throughout the twentieth century significantly moved forward the social science fields and research conducted therein. Through varying understandings of the cognitively constructed and constrained nature of reality as perceived by human beings, research with human beings could be theorized about and improved. Using Von Glaserfeld's terminology, the paradigms guiding research with human beings could be made more viable through adapting to what had been learned about knowledge production through Piaget, Vygotsky, Bruner, Von Glaserfeld, Chiari and Nusser, among other constructivist thinkers throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Constructivism as a social science research paradigm in the twenty-first century echoes many of the ideas about the nature of knowledge production espoused by Piaget, Vygotsky, Bruner and Von Glaserfeld. An arguable difference lies in these scholars' primary focus on the processes through which organisms construct knowledge, as opposed to simultaneously considering this process of knowledge production, meta-theoretical questions about the existence of an ontological reality and how both should be approached as part of the research process. The education researchers Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln (among others) have written about and put into practice constructivism as a contemporary research paradigm, in which these different dimensions are considered. They have explained how, as a research paradigm, constructivism provides a framework for thinking about reality, how the researcher should go about studying reality and what tools the researcher should use to do both.

According to Guba and Lincoln, constructivism posits that reality can only be known through multiple mental constructions that are based on experience and socialization but are also local and specific in nature. While reality is necessarily constructed, the members of a group and culture may share aspects of the same reality. These constructed realities change, and their meaning depends on the individuals and groups experiencing them. They explain further that what researchers can ever know about reality, and the topics they study, is created through their interactions with the phenomena under study, the participants in a study, and/or other aspects of the research context. Here, the emphasis is placed on knowledge as created through

Historical Origins of Constructivism

Constructivism in the Early Twentieth Century

The constructivist account of learning and human development, prominent in education fields, dates back to the early 1920s, and specifically to the developmental psychologist and biologist Jean Piaget (1896–1980) and his research on the development of children. Piaget posited that children, as early as in infancy, are similar to little scientists, discovering the world and constructing knowledge as they move through it. Through interactions with their physical environments and through the cognitive processes of assimilation and accommodation, children's mental models of the world or schemes change, incorrect theories are dropped and knowledge is learned.

An example of this is how children learn about cows, for example, by first assimilating their observations of cows with earlier learned theories, such as those about dogs. When they observe that cows neither bark nor wag their tails when happy, children experience some level of confusion and cognitive disequilibrium. This is because the new information is not fitting with the developed schemes. These cognitive schemes must be modified, or new schemes created, for children to understand that cows are another species and distinct from dogs.

Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934), another eminent developmental psychologist of the twentieth century, also argued for a view that children construct knowledge as they move through the world. Vygotsky made this argument, however, while emphasizing the social nature of knowledge production and learning. For Vygotsky, knowledge production and learning throughout development occur through interactions with culture and in relationships. Vygotsky can be credited with this initial transition in developmental theory from constructivism to social constructivism. Vygotsky's social constructivism describes a process wherein learning and development occur through collaborative activity and socialization processes. In this conception, children learn through contact with their social environments, on an interpersonal and external level first and then on an internal level. An example of this learning process is a child pointing a finger at a desired object. This motion begins simply but becomes meaningful as others interact with the child and react to the gesture. The child then knows, and has a culturally situated understanding, that pointing will elicit the attention of others and involve them in an interaction with a particular end goal in mind.

Several decades after Piaget and Vygotsky's earliest writings, Jerome Bruner applied a cognitive constructivist orientation to learning theories as well as to education research and practice. Bruner focused largely on instruction and teaching, arguing that both should match the nature of discovery and individual learners' cognitive abilities. Bruner specifically posited that instruction should offer children opportunities to build upon and reflect on their existing knowledge as part of the learning process. For Bruner, education should provide children the structure to work out learning new concepts for themselves, enhancing what they already know.

Constructivism in the Late Twentieth Century

Since these earlier theories and writings, scholarship on constructivism has expanded to include psychological theories and meta-theories about the nature of knowledge and reality. These later contributions to constructivism view human beings as actively engaged in constructing not only their own knowledge but also their subjective realities. The philosopher Ernst Von Glaserfeld (1917–2010) significantly contributed to further developments of this constructivist view and its more recent applications to research, largely by arguing for alternative interpretations of Piaget's research.

Von Glaserfeld believed that in his work on the developing child, Piaget had already identified several important characteristics of knowledge production and the nature of reality, despite Piagetian theory being understood as predominantly an understanding of cognitive processes and learning. According to Von Glaserfeld, Piaget's research forwards the notion that human beings are cognitive organisms that produce knowledge through interacting with their environments and that through continued interaction this knowledge is improved because it reflects the environment more accurately. Von Glaserfeld's unique contribution to this understanding of knowledge production, however, is his claim that knowledge does not necessarily become more accurate through an organism's interaction with the environment but, rather, more *viable.* Knowledge becomes more viable as it leads developing persons to be more successful in their worlds, but knowledge, or what can be known through continued interactions, may not mirror reality in an ontological sense.

Despite this subtle distinction, Von Glaserfeld espoused the belief that Piagetian constructivism was intended to apply to a human being's experience of sensory objects and events, language, other human beings as well as himself or herself. Piagetian constructivism, for Von Glaserfeld, established an understanding that human beings shape coherent and structured worlds through experiences and interactions, and cognitive interpretations thereof.

With this view of constructivism, Von Glaserfeld contributed to another instantiation of constructivist theory: radical constructivism. Radical constructivism

be entirely indifferent to the interests of those who are funding and using their findings. In other words, action research clearly points to the dialectical relationship between subjectivity and objectivity and to the realization that the blind call for objectivity in scientism rather than science already involves a high dose of subjectivity. Unlike the false pretence of total objectivity supposedly required to avoid the research being contaminated by factors that are considered political, Freire's notion of conscientization requires that researchers acknowledge that all research is political in nature—the question is simply whose interests are ultimately being served.

Consequently, action research requires that the act of uncovering new knowledge is an act of knowing with which researchers are engaged by problematizing their role in the process of inquiry and their relations with respect to the humans and the subject matter being researched. Thus, action research is invariably Freirean in that it always involves conscientization, which, in turn, is predicated on praxis which requires both critical reflection and action—a process through which the individual, in transforming the world, is himself or herself transformed.

Donaldo Macedo

See also critical pedagogy; Freire, Paulo; post-colonial theory; praxis

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Constructivism

Constructivism has been defined as a theory of learning, as a theory of knowing and, more recently, as a paradigm guiding contemporary social science research. As a social science paradigm, constructivism reflects a set of beliefs about the world and how it can be understood and suggests various approaches to the study of human phenomena based on these beliefs. In the social science literature on constructivism that is most relevant to action research, this paradigm is defined as a view of human beings as actively constructing knowledge, in their own subjective and intersubjective realities and in contextually specific ways. This world view evolved from constructivist thought and scholarship predominantly in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, spanning the fields of philosophy, science and psychology. Outside the social sciences, definitions and applications of constructivism vary, as they have throughout history. Despite this variation, definitions across disciplines often include references to knowledge production and/or social processes. This is because these discussions of constructivism are part of what the social psychologists Kenneth Gergen and Mary Gergen identify as a social movement of constructivism. This is arguably the most encompassing movement in the history of constructivism. Other movements, according to Gergen and Gergen, include critical constructivism and literary/rhetorical constructivism.

Though not entirely distinct from the social movement, critical constructivism focuses on challenging authoritative accounts of the world and interrogating the power structures that influence these accounts. Similarly, literary/rhetorical constructivism has been identified as an area of constructivism that challenges scientific theories and their assumptions of universality, utilizing literary theory, rhetorical study and discursive arguments to do so.

As Gergen and Gergen have also argued, these overlapping movements of constructivism, and the various definitions and conceptualizations of constructivism offered in other disciplines, are not necessarily in opposition to one another. It is more fitting to view them as together contributing to contemporary understandings of a relational self, a core tenet of action research. They also reflect how the concept of constructivism evolved into a research paradigm through several important instantiations of scholarship and thought on constructivism. For ease of understanding, this entry focuses on the instantiations that are most relevant to understanding action research processes and constructivism as a paradigm of social science research—scholarship that could be classified as related to the social movement. Even when limiting discussions of constructivism to the social realm, vast scholarly terrain must be traversed to do justice to the various minds that have contributed to this form of constructivism throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The scholarship reviewed below provides glimpses into several of the many important topics that are part of this social movement, including considerations of constructivism as (a) an orientation to learning and development, (b) a meta-theory about the nature of knowledge and/or (c) a paradigm influencing contemporary social science research.

with which they must intervene to liberate themselves. This sequestration of language denies oppressed people the possibility to understand the dialectical relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Therefore, it is by engaging in the process of conscientization and questioning the oppressive drives and dimensions of terms that an individual might begin to liberate himself or herself.

Misunderstanding Conscientization

Unfortunately, Freire's notion of conscientization is often incorrectly defined in ways that fail to do justice to what Freire had in mind. One of the most problematic common misunderstandings of conscientization is the paradoxical view that the process is applicable only in the 'Third World', as if it is an unviable objective for the societies of the 'First World', which are often perceived as more 'complex'. Problematically, this assumption, in refusing to acknowledge that Third World nations are complex in their own way, presents a false hierarchical dichotomy between the so-called (and hierarchically termed) First and Third Worlds. This dichotomy represents yet another sequestration of language designed to lead to a form of mystification—a distraction that functions as a reproductive mechanism designed to create a centre or a core of romanticized Eurocentric values while relegating other cultural expressions to the margins. Certainly, the Freirean notion of conscientization does not include this hierarchical dichotomy, which goes against Freire's intention that the process be liberating. In fact, negotiating this dichotomy with Freire's conscientization process could help bring to light horrors that are often hidden by this constructed dichotomy, such as that there are within the First World order what are often thought of as strictly Third World realities, characterized by ghettos and large-scale poverty, human misery and illiteracy, and that extant within the Third World are problems such as class privileges and the accumulation of capital and power by a minority of ruling elites and oligarchs, which are commonly perceived as belonging only to the First World. And thus, those educators who view conscientization as only applicable to liberation movements in the Third World are failing to truly grasp what conscientization actually meant for Freire.

Conscientization as an Antidote to Banking Education

In a curricular sense, conscientization is especially important as an antidote to the kind of unimaginative education that Freire termed 'banking education', a process in which the teacher 'deposits' knowledge into the student and the student uncritically receives, memorizes and stores that knowledge. The banking model of education is largely supported by instrumental literacy for the poor, in the form of a competency-based skill banking approach and the highest form of instrumental literacy for the rich, acquired through higher education in the form of professional specialization. However, despite their apparent differences, the two approaches share one common feature: They both prevent the development of critical thinking that enables one to 'read the world' critically and to understand the reasons and lineages behind the facts and behind what may appear seemingly obvious but remain ill understood.

Literacy for the poor through the banking concept of education is, by and large, characterized by mindless, meaningless drills and exercises given to prepare students to take multiple-choice and high-stakes tests that reflect an often militaristic, controlled transaction of the teacher's narration and student's memorization of the mechanically narrated content. Consequently, banking education has as its major goal the fattening of a student's brain through the deposit of the teacher's knowledge, and thus detrimentally, under this pedagogical model, the understandings that students absorb do not emerge from their own creative struggles to negotiate the world. This kind of education invariably results in the paralysis of the learner's epistemological curiosity and creativity due to the overload of the usually imposed teacher's knowledge, which, because it often has very little to do with a student's sociocultural reality, is alienating for the student. Thus, a banking approach to education sets the stage for the anesthetization of the mind, for which Freire's process of conscientization, which demands that a student exercise his or her critical consciousness, serves as an antidote.

Conscientization in Action Research

Conscientization is an important part of performing action research as it prevents a disarticulation of knowledge that often anesthetizes consciousness, without which one can never develop clarity and confidence in one's interpretation of reality. It is only through conscientization that the apprehension of reality can occur which, in turn, requires a high level of political clarity. Conscientization in research which engages members of the oppressed community as equal partners can be achieved through the intervention of the researcher in the inquiry process by asking critical questions that uncover the larger social, economic and political mechanisms which create and sustain systems of oppression. Thus, the action researcher is not afraid to name ideology in his or her inquiry and critiques the facile call for the so-called scientific objectivity of researchers who might try to hide in the alleged neutrality of scientific pursuits and might not

to voicelessness. The denouncement of colonialism, for example, found a rigorous analysis in the writings of Frantz Fanon, who called for the decolonization of the minds of oppressed Africans both in Africa and in parts of the world where African peoples had been enslaved. Fanon argued that their liberation included, in addition to political independence, the simultaneous development of a critical consciousness regarding the dominant forces that had sentenced them to a life of quasi-slavery, as they were inculcated with myths and beliefs that left most of the oppressed people to internalize inferiority with respect to their oppressors. This raising of consciousness among the oppressed was labelled, similar to conscientization, *conciensier*—a French word meaning the development of a critical consciousness in relation to one's position in the world and with the world—by Fanon in his seminal book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952). While Freire was not the first to theorize this process, he was the first educator to rigorously use the concept of conscientization within an educational theoretical framework.

Understanding Freire's Notion of Conscientization

Importantly, Freire insists that to work towards freedom, conscientization must be employed with specific contents, objectives and methods designed to nurture liberation. At the heart of conscientization, then, is the desire to enliven the right of the student to have a voice and to create pedagogical structures that would enable students' submerged voices to emerge. Often, this means the reclaiming of the oppresseds' own words as a process of coming to voice that will allow them to speak their word, engage their own identity and take hold of their destiny. It is this right that the dominant forces go to great lengths to suffocate, seeking to sequester the words of the oppressed—words that unveil the mechanism of oppression and are distorted or repressed in a society that often celebrates a language emptied of any commitment to democracy, freedom or justice. And so, for Freire, critically unravelling language to a liberating end was essential to his project of conscientization, as it was the only means through which he could have exposed and done justice to the complexity of the various concepts of oppression with which he dealt. This means that conscientization entails questioning what power relations are inherent in the terms or words that one is taught, such as what definition—against what, for whom and against whom—a certain term implies.

For example, imagine if instead of writing the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire had written the *Pedagogy of the Disenfranchised.* Negotiating 'disenfranchised' through a process of conscientization, analyzing it through the above critical questions, reveals that the term is often overly used by the educated class and the media to refer to the oppressed, which, in turn, represses while hiding the actors of oppression. The first title utilizes a discourse that names the oppressor, whereas the second fails to do so. The *Pedagogy of the Disenfranchised* dislodges the agent of the action while leaving in doubt who bears the responsibility for such an action. This leaves the ground wide open for blaming the victim of disenfranchisement for his or her own disenfranchisement. This example is a clear case in which the object of oppression can be also understood as the subject of oppression. Language such as this not only distorts reality but is also a destructively powerful and easily hidden method often employed by dominant forces to distract attention away from the real issues that ail society. Consequently, the process of liberation for the oppressed in a society shrouded by a politics of distraction and mystification must include conscientization, as it develops the critical consciousness necessary for the oppressed to recognize, navigate and resist the forces that subjugate them.

In his work, Freire illustrates a wonderful example of the liberating powers of conscientization by relating a tale from when he was holding a 'cultural circle' during his literacy campaign in Guinea-Bissau. Once during this cultural circle, a peasant, who was part of the oppressed masses that Portuguese colonialism forbade from becoming literate, got up suddenly and said, 'Thank you teacher', before leaving the circle. Freire remained perplexed, thinking that he probably had said something that was culturally inappropriate and had unknowingly hurt the feelings of the peasant, who eventually returned to the cultural circle. When Freire, upon the peasant's return, inquired as to why he had left, the peasant, without hesitation, replied, 'Teacher, I know now that I can know and I don't need to come every day to know'. For Freire, this story reveals a process of fracturing the yoke of Portuguese colonialism, which for centuries had inculcated the Guinea-Bissau natives with myths and beliefs regarding their backwardness, their savage nature, their inability to read or write and their incapacity to know—myths and beliefs which were used as yardsticks to present literacy always as the hallmark of White European superiority.

In a more current sense, conscientization might be employed to combat the oppressively mystified language that is now often used (intentionally or not) by educators and the media. For example, many narratives, rather than actually referring to oppressed individuals as 'oppressed', instead label them as 'disadvantaged', 'disenfranchised', 'economically marginal' or 'minority', among other names, which obfuscates the true historical conditions that explain the current context of the situation within which the oppressed are living and

See also critical pedagogy; Dewey, John; educational action research; empowerment; ethics and moral decision-making; Freire, Paulo

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Conscientization

Conscientization is an emancipatory pedagogical process developed by the educator Paulo Freire that is designed to teach students, through critical literacies, how to negotiate the world in a thoughtful way that exposes and engages the relations between the oppressor and the oppressed. Its central educational objective is to awaken in the oppressed the knowledge, creativity and constant critical reflexive capacities necessary to demystify and understand the power relations responsible for their marginalization and, through this recognition, begin a project of liberation.

Its commitment to critical reflection and transformative action makes conscientization central to action research as action research requires that the researcher perform the critical questioning inherent to conscientization in order to ensure that due consideration is given to important social, economic and cultural contributors to social justice in designing the research.

This entry, focused around Freire's use and development of conscientization, articulates the history of conscientization; the principles of the Freirean notion of this process; a detrimental—yet popular—misunderstanding of conscientization; how conscientization, as a liberating pedagogy, functions as an antidote to the detrimental pedagogies of what Freire termed 'banking education' and the vital role conscientization plays in action research.

History of Conscientization

Freire first wrote about conscientization in his educational theories on the liberating power of literacy for the oppressed peasants in northeastern Brazil whom he was teaching. In this area of Brazil, blatant discrimination affected economic development and mobility for millions of peasants who, by virtue of their race, class, gender and culture, were sentenced to a perverse poverty with its ever-constant threat of death by hunger. Before he termed this mode of pedagogy 'conscientization', Freire had been working for some time with these peasants to develop their literacy in ways that would help them become critically aware of the socio-economic circumstances responsible for their dire poverty and to see how their silenced culture made them voiceless. The term is an approximate translation of the Portuguese word for Freire's pedagogical process that was given to Freire by Dom Helder Camara, a bishop from Recife, Brazil, who told Freire that the type of liberating literacy experiments he was engaging in with these peasants constituted a form of consciousness raising called *conscientizacão.*

For a while, Freire only used the Portuguese conscientizacão in his writings and teachings, despite being under pressure to translate the term into English. His initial refusal to translate the term was both political and pedagogical. It was political in that he saw the call to translate conscientizacão as emerging from the quasi-colonial expectation on the part of most English-speaking educators that published works in languages other than English be simultaneously translated because English speakers, unlike speakers of different languages, should not be expected to struggle reading works published in other languages. Freire, by refusing to translate his term into English, was in essence pedagogically challenging the parochialism of English monolingualism, which he believed, in the long run, constituted a type of linguistic de-skilling experienced by most English speakers, who remained unaware of the obvious benefits of multilingualism, unaware that their monolingualism sentenced them to a form of cultural and linguistic exile from the world of other languages and cultures, which incessantly produce myriad world views. He saw monolingualism, then, as a cultural cage that prevented English speakers from accessing the insights and knowledge so obvious to those educators who dared to cross cultural and linguistic borders. Eventually, however, Freire did agree to have conscientizacão translated into its approximate English translation, 'conscientization', and popularized the term in his writings.

Although Freire popularized the term, the process of conscientization has also been employed towards the goal of liberation by initiatives outside of Freire's teachings. Historically, this way of negotiating the world was popularly used by worldwide anti-colonial movements, whose major aim was to liberate subjugated people who had been sentenced to a life circumscribed in a culture of silence that relegated peasants

on field trips, during which he provided them with opportunities to link textual knowledge with reality by exposing them to social problems and encouraging them to reflect and debate about the issues. As noted earlier, Confucius also encouraged students to serve in the government and to continue studying after they became officials, as he believed that theoretical or textual learning informs practice and practice generates new knowledge. His way of teaching represents that learning is acquired through both reading of the classics and social practice. In addition, Confucius' conception of truth goes further, referring to one's ability to enact and realize what one says.

Likewise, action researchers also strongly advocate the integration of theory and practice. One of the tenets of educational action research is to bridge the gaps between academic research and practical implications in classroom settings. Action researchers recognize that theory informs practice and practice can generate theory. The purpose of learning and developing theory is to improve practice. For practitioner researchers, for example, action research provides them a tool to build their own practical theories of teaching and develop praxis by conducting classroom research and generating practical theories. Specifically in learning, one of the most influential educators in Participatory Action Research, Freire, proposed problem-posing education, in which students and teachers engage in dialogue with one another to understand and create knowledge. When teachers present learning materials to students, students are supposed to relate problems to their own experience and the world. Freire also believed that students' comprehension and critical analysis of knowledge would grow as they practise more. Similarly, John Dewey, another scholar whose work has influenced many educational action researchers, proposed that it is teachers' responsibility to provide opportunities for students to identify problems that interest them and help them see their connection to the larger society. Action researchers not only recognize the importance of linking theory and practice for the purpose of learning but also put this into practice by translating their experience into concrete actions. Both action researchers and Confucius agree with the idea that knowledge is achieved through action.

Last is the ethical standard of caring and respect. Confucius loved and cared for the people and the society. It was out of his love and care for the people that he established private schools and taught moral values to students of all classes. It is the same goal of achieving social justice that drives action research. Moreover, both Confucius and action researchers emphasize the importance of respect. One of the key Confucian principles, a variation of what is known as the Golden Rule, is 'What you don't want done to yourself, don't do to others' (*Analects*, Chapter 15, Verse 23). A person of humanity, according to Confucius, does not impose his or her values upon others. Instead, he or she shows respect towards others, a respect for people's knowledge and ability to understand and address the problems confronting them as well as a respect for personal values and choice. Respect is equally valued in action research. It is the same ethical rule followed by action researchers that helps them build and strengthen their relationship with participants.

Although Confucius shares many thoughts with action research, there are also aspects of his ideas incompatible with the action research approach. With respect to the principle of reflection, for example, both recognize reflection as a way to learn and eventually to take action, but they differ in terms of the content of reflection. In addition to using reflection to understand one's knowledge, capabilities as well as bias and limitations, Confucius emphasizes reflection more on ethical practice. Reflection is the examination of one's consideration of one's behaviours and attitudes with respect to daily events, as well as comparison with others' behaviour. Generally, action research, especially with the influence of Freire, stresses critical consciousness and self-interrogation of hidden prejudices, narrow interests and people's own individual and group privileges rather than a moral examination of virtues and adoption of an ethical lifestyle.

The differences in reflection content can be further traced to divergence in the purposes of education. For Confucius, the emphasis on moral education is to train virtuous people who can be examples to others and who can bring good to the society. In a warring period of dangerous chaos, the goal of Confucius was to teach the people of China how to find the ethical way that could take the country back to the good old days when China was stable, civil, unified and virtuous. Education is used as the means to bring about a peaceful and civil world. It starts with the internal transformation of individuals and extends to larger social transformation. For Freire and action researchers, social transformation is to change oppressive social conditions and to create a more egalitarian society. Through critical consciousness and collective reflection, Freire encouraged people to question their own existence, to feel in control of their own worlds and finally to transform the material and social conditions of their existence. The purpose of education, therefore, is to promote liberation and overthrow oppression. These differences notwithstanding, Confucius has a great deal to teach modern action researchers, especially around the themes covered in this entry, which include co-operative learning, integration of theory and practice, the act of reflection and caring and respect.

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by Confucius, such as moderation, respect towards one's elders and social harmony, are still emphasized in schools and play a significant role in people's life. Nowadays, Confucius still has an important place in the education system of other counties in Asia, such as Japan, Singapore, Korea and South Vietnam, especially in the domain of moral education.

Confucian Principles and Action Research

One of the similarities between Confucian thought and action research is the emphasis on reflection. According to Confucius, reflection is about the inward examination of actions and the ethical principles one follows in one's life. 'Each day I examine myself on three matters. In making plans for others, am I being loyal to them? In my dealings with friends, am I being trustworthy? Am I passing on to others what I have not carefully thought about myself?' (*Analects*, Chapter 1, Verse 4).

As the practice of virtues is a continuous process, so is the act of reflection. Moreover, the idea of reflection being constantly reiterated in *Analects* is one of the abilities needed to be a noble man. It involves not only self-reflection but also an examination of and reflection on others' behaviours for the purpose of learning and improvement. 'When you see a virtuous person, try to be like him. When you see someone who lacks virtue, reflect upon your own lack of virtue' (*Analects*, Chapter 4, Verse 17). Self-reflection is also for understanding one's knowledge, capabilities and bias with the purpose of improving oneself. So the process of reflection is closely associated with learning, as it is acquired through learning and built towards learning. Likewise, in action research, reflection is a skill required for action researchers who think about and critically analyze their actions with the goal of improving their professional practice. Through the examination of action, it also attempts to identify underlying assumptions and feelings and how they relate to practice. As one of the activities in learning, reflection in action research is also considered a continuous process.

Another tenet shared is Co-Operative Inquiry represented in the roles of and relationships between students and teachers/researchers. Confucius was eager to learn and open to learning. Unlike his commitment to roles and compliance with ritual propriety in social relationships, he held a different attitude towards education. In *Analects*, Confucius said, 'Among any three people, there must be one who can be my teacher. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them' (Chapter 7, Verse 22). To acquire learning, one has to seek for knowledge from the young and less sophisticated. This perspective is based on the understanding and acknowledgement that each one in a community has his or her own knowledge, and learning needs the contribution of each member of the learning community. Regardless of role, no one can understand every single piece of knowledge; instead, we learn from each other. So the teacher-student relationship is not unilateral but a two-way and interactive process that requires the teacher to become engaged as a learner in the creative process of learning.

Co-Operative Inquiry in action research involves people researching a topic through their own experience and knowledge in order to understand and learn how to make positive changes. A key value shared by action researchers, thus, is respect for people's knowledge and ability to understand and address the problems confronting them. Regarding teaching and learning, Paulo Freire's dialogical approach emphasizes the interaction between teachers and students and their joint contribution to knowledge. It requires the active participation of teachers and students to produce knowledge through meaningful dialogue. Specifically, the role of the teacher as researcher in action research resembles the idea of the teacher as learner—the pragmatic stance towards knowledge of Confucius. The common thread between the two is the inquiry stance towards learning, a stance that allows them to act both as a teacher and a learner, and as a researcher and a learner. The authority of both teachers and researchers in their relationships with students and participants is challenged. Instead, respect and mutual learning are the key. Teaching is not transmission of established knowledge but mutual learning and an interactive process through which teachers gain more understanding towards subject matters and pedagogical knowledge.

Teaching and learning to Confucius are about the integration of theory and practice. Learning is situational, with students having to adapt and extend their learning to illuminate their lived experiences. As Confucius said, 'Learning without thinking is pointless. Thinking without learning is dangerous' (*Analects*, Chapter 2, Verse 15). 'Thinking' in the quote means to raise questions about one's surroundings and to link them with one's lived experiences. Confucius expected students to be critical thinkers by examining textual information in relation with reality and using traditional knowledge as a source for improving understanding of current circumstances. However, learning does not stop at being the purpose of informing action. It goes further by linking theory and cultural legacy to practice and achieves this only through actions. Confucius taught six arts: (1) ritual, (2) music, (3) archery, (4) charioteering, (5) calligraphy and (6) mathematics. These subjects included both knowledge from classic texts and knowledge achieved by doing and practising. In teaching, he used examples from reality by questioning and conversing with students. He took students

He finally left Lu with a group of his loyal disciples and began 14 years of political exile in the neighbouring states, seeking to persuade political leaders to adopt his beliefs. However, he did not see any of his political ideas implemented. With the help of one of his former students, Ran You, Confucius was able to resettle in Lu at the age of 68. He then devoted his last years mainly to teaching and writing and passed away at the age of 73 after losing his son and two of his favourite students.

Confucian Principles

The core of Confucian principles is about the cultivation of moral virtues and maintenance of ethics. In *Analects of Confucius* (2007), a collection of conversations carried on between Confucius and his students, these principles are shown to exemplify the notion of a noble man (*junzi*; 君子), with virtues such as humanity (*ren*; 仁), righteousness (*yi*; 義), social/ritual propriety (*li*; 礼), loyalty (*zhong*; 忠) and filial piety (*xiao*; 孝). Humanity is the first and foremost principle. In *Analects*, Confucius asked for the practice of respect, liberality, trustworthiness, earnestness and kindness to achieve humanity. Righteousness is the virtue of doing good, generally in connection with morally proper conduct. Filial piety means respect for, obedience to and service and duty to one's parents. Loyalty is an extension of filial piety at a different level, referring to one's duties to family, spouse, friends and country. Social and ritual propriety is about social norms that regulate how people behave towards others, such as family members, friends and superiors. Respect for elders by their children, for example, is one of the rituals practised. To acquire and maintain all these virtues, the best way is through learning and self-cultivation.

Confucius' beliefs are strongly embedded in the social context of his age. He lived in a time characterized by moral disorder, political upheaval and social chaos. The unified and peaceful country that existed in the earlier dynasty was replaced by the division of a number of small states fighting for supremacy. People suffered from heavy taxation, corrupt officials, social injustice and wars. It was under such circumstance that Confucius aimed at achieving social stability and harmony by restoring rituals from the earlier dynasty. The principle of social/ritual propriety asks for proper behaviour of father to son and husband to wife within a family, which when extended to society requires people to perform their own roles properly and everyone to play his or her part so that harmony and peace are maintained.

Confucius' political thought is based upon his ethical principles. He stressed the importance of ethics in rulers and officials for successful governing. Managing a country starts with improving and cultivating oneself and requires all kinds of virtues and principles in working with its people and officials. In addition, family is the basis for ideal government. Confucius believed that if people are filial, respectful and loyal to their family members, then they are able to extend these values to others in the community and even the whole society. A cultivated self does not end with individual perfection but also helps and nurtures others by extending one's knowledge and virtues to other people.

Confucius on Teaching and Learning

Confucius was credited with establishing one of the first private schools in ancient China. He charged small fees for students who wanted to study with him and accepted them regardless of their social status, thus making education available to the non-aristocratic. Before his time, general education was open only to children from privileged families, and there was no full-time teaching profession. In accepting and teaching students from all classes, Confucius developed his own pedagogical beliefs. According to Confucius, teachers should adopt individualized teaching methods based on students' characteristics and needs. Students are supposed to be motivated learners who devote themselves conscientiously to study and take delight in learning. For Confucius, learning is considered as a lifelong effort achieved with reflection, humbleness and open-mindedness. Confucius' instruction stressed the importance of classic literature and transmission of the knowledge and wisdom contained there to students. He also paid special attention to the learning of social and ritual propriety from the Zhou Dynasty, with the purpose of instructing people to perform their roles and communicate properly and meaningfully with others. In addition to intellectual education, moral education played a significant role in Confucius' educational theory and practice. The purpose of learning is to acquire all kinds of virtues and to become an enlightened and educated person. Through the teaching of virtues, he hoped to cultivate the moral person, who could then contribute to the well-being of society, a bottom-up approach to reach social reform.

The influence of Confucius' thoughts on education has been tremendous in Chinese society. One of his major contributions lies in the recognition of the importance of education. Because of the perceived role of education in cultivating people and strengthening a nation, education as a goal in itself has been internalized through Chinese society, even by those who have not received any schooling. Education as a serious undertaking, ever since it was made available to students from all classes, has become a means for individuals from more humble backgrounds to achieve higher social status. Moreover, many of the values advocated

guided by a third party, conflict resolution, and transformation in particular, will often emphasize an 'elicitive' approach to knowledge and data generation. That is, these approaches will look to the parties and their native knowledge, cultural norms and experiential and intuitive expertise to frame the conflict issues and the ways in which they may be creatively addressed. In these cases, which may be viewed as akin to action research, the third party will be more of an organizer, convener and facilitator than an expert charged to determine and direct a process.

Perhaps a conceptually useful, if somewhat overstated, analogy is to view the role of the conflict manager as generally aligned with the role of the 'normal science' researcher. In both, knowledge is developed and data gathered to assist the researcher or third party in deriving authoritative understandings, or at least convincing hypotheses, about the nature of the issue being studied or conflict being addressed, in order to generate ideas or suggestions for solutions. In action research and the more elicitive forms of conflict engagement, these outside actors view the parties as the knowledge experts and any data generated by them as 'belonging' to the parties themselves. Data is gathered not so much for the third party or researcher to 'do something' with this information (e.g. generate new knowledge, write a research paper or determine the appropriate conflict intervention) as much as it is gathered and organized for effective feedback to, and decision-making by, those from whom the data was gathered.

Another common denominator between action research and elicitive forms of conflict engagement is collaboration. In both, there is a deep commitment to shared learning, systematic and Co-Operative Inquiry and ongoing reflection and participatory evaluation, all ideally leading to more effective action and deeper insights.

Jay Rothman

See also Action Evaluation; facilitation

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Confucian Principles

Confucian principles in this entry refer to Confucius' ideas and perspectives towards social relationships, ethics, humanity, politics and education. Often related to Confucius is the term *Confucianism*, referring to an ethical and philosophical system based on Confucius' ideas but further developed by his disciples and followers, known as scholars of the Confucian school. Confucianism has embraced and absorbed new thoughts from many other scholars ever since its origin, but it still shares with Confucius the core Confucian principles, such as the virtues of humanity, social and ritual propriety, righteousness, loyalty and filial piety. This entry discusses the life of Confucius, his major principles and educational thoughts, his influence on current education and the connections between Confucius and action research, especially within educational action research.

Life of Confucius

Confucius (551–478 BC) was a Chinese educator, politician and social philosopher and the founder of Confucianism in ancient China. He is known as Kong Fuzi ('Master Kong'), or Kongzi in Chinese. His original name was Kong Qiu, in which Kong was the family name and Qiu was the given. The name *Confucius* is a Latinized version of Kong Fuzi, created by Jesuit missionaries to China in the sixteenth century. Confucius was born into a family with an aristocratic past in the state of Lu, now in Shandong province of China, during the Spring and Autumn Period (771–476 BC) of Chinese history. His father died at a young age, not long after Kongzi's birth. Growing up in poverty, Kongzi studied hard and enjoyed learning the great classics of Chinese literature, history, poetry, music and archery. During his early years, Confucius worked as a shepherd, clerk and bookkeeper, before he established his own private school around the age of 30. During his lifetime, he enrolled 3,000 students in his private school.

Confucius advocated the idea that those who excel in learning should serve in government, and many of his pupils became successful officials serving in government posts. Following this belief, all through his life, Confucius pursued a political career in order to practice his principles and create a unified and stable country. Around age 50, he was appointed to a position as governor of a town and then became the minister of justice in the state of Lu a year later and eventually deputy prime minister. Due to political disagreements and internal conflicts, he lost a campaign through which he tried to weaken the power of three aristocratic clans.

In addition, concept mapping within action research allows for reflective practice, allowing the participants to revisit the knowledge and to make changes as needed.

Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt proposes using concept mapping to develop Action Learning and action research projects to help clarify the project for those participating. Focusing predominantly on organizational learning and action research, Zuber-Skerritt offers guidelines and step-by-step help in using concept mapping in action research. In the educational arena, Roberts uses an action research framework to explore the use of concept maps to teach statistics in a university classroom. Roberts' central research focus investigates a variety of themes that emerge when using concept mapping as a teaching tool.

Valerie Louis

See also cognitive mapping; community mapping; facilitation; fishbone diagram; two-column technique

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Conflict Management

Conflict management is a diverse and growing field. Over the past 30 years, it has evolved out of a mostly activist-oriented peace and justice focus to become a more politically 'neutral' or 'multi-partial' amalgamation of theories, practices and interdisciplinary studies. There are now hundreds of peace and conflict studies programmes in the US and throughout the world, including graduate studies programmes leading to the new profession of conflict management or resolution. Work is found in areas such as mediation, coaching, management consulting, human resource management, community relations, law-based alternative dispute resolution, international development and diplomacy and research and teaching.

The 'field' is as diverse as the many names used to describe it. The differences in terms frame differences in the ways conflicts are understood and addressed. Perhaps the most differentiating feature is the extent of third party control over a conflict engagement process. All forms of dispute resolution, or third-party-supported conflict engagement, share a basic commitment to disputants' empowerment when it comes to the content and outcomes of conflict processing. The extent to which third parties guide and control the process, however, is one marker of difference between different approaches. Three primary approaches, among others, are described below.

Conflict management is functional and managerial in focus. Problems are viewed as based in competing interests, over which disputants may be assisted by a third party to find common ground, and ideally generate outcomes that foster 'mutual gains'. *Conflict resolution*, alternatively, focuses more on threatened or frustrated human needs and is organized around an effort to identify the sources of such problems and how they may be solved. In conflict resolution efforts, parties are brought together by third parties who assist them in defining their own problems in inclusive ways and in finding their own both/and solutions to previously us/them problems. Next along a continuum to an even more 'client-centred' approach, there is *conflict transformation*, in which confrontation between people is seen as a product of disempowerment and injustice, mostly for the weaker side, but for the stronger as well, in which, for example, men may be caught in cycles of oppression themselves when engaging in socially conditioned sexist behaviour. A way to summarize these three general 'baskets' into which the field may generally 'fit' are interests (management), needs (resolution) and values (transformation).

These baskets (and others) can be called 'conflict engagement', suggesting an inclusive, contingency-based formulation intended in part to transcend a battle of methods and instead suggest that different approaches are needed for addressing different types and levels of conflicts at different times.

Conflict Management and Action Research

Conflict engagement and action research share some important core assumptions about knowledge and data generation and use. This is particularly the case with less directive and more 'client-centred' resolution and transformation variants. While conflict management is often a largely expert-directed process with expertise in conflict analysis and its creative management

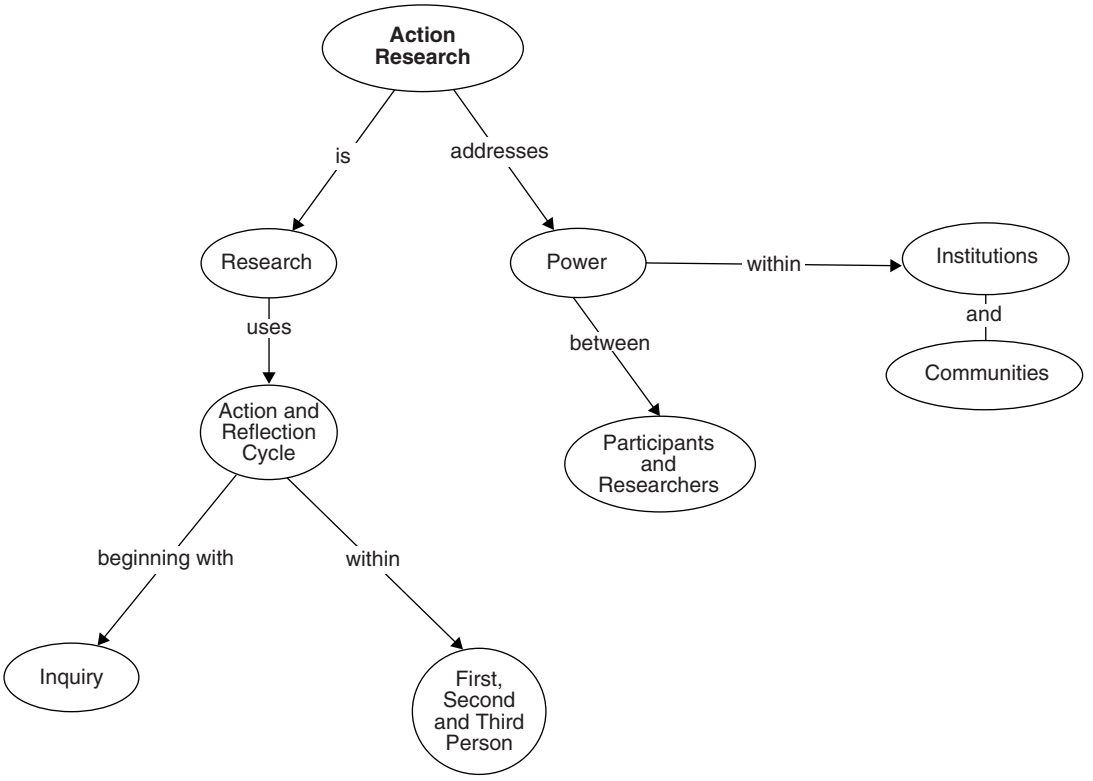

Figure 1 *Concept Mapping*

to help all involved see a topic or project in its entirety and therefore identify areas of strength and concern. Concept maps can also show what information is missing in learning and collaboration. In addition, mapping fosters creativity by helping people think about connections and relationships in a new way.

Action Research and Concept Mapping

As a tool for researchers and participants, concept mapping is useful in both individual and group action research projects to explore the development and relationships of various concepts, themes and ideas within the research. Concept mapping can be used to help refine and focus a project as well as to develop a general theme, sub-themes and a concept and/or question that relates to the research.

In collaborative settings, concept mapping can be used as a facilitation tool of knowledge construction within action research. Groups can use concept maps to develop questions and assessments, show knowledge generation and the development of ideas and highlight relationships among the ideas explored in the research. Concept mapping can be used in all the stages of an action research project, from planning to implementation of findings and reflection, to show what questions the research will examine, the voices of researcher-participants, outcomes and analysis of process. Concept mapping in the pre-stages of an action research project could help document the knowledge that the researcher or participants will bring to the project, helping to construct learning onto previous knowledge. Therefore, concept mapping can help with planning in action research by building on an idea and former knowledge to form areas of development and inquiry. The individually developed concept maps can help create a shared vision of the project as well as show the diversity of knowledge among the constituents.

Multiple ways to create concepts maps in an action research process can include maps made by individuals and then compiled by a facilitator or a map made by a group with one central facilitator. Concept maps may also be used to take notes during research sessions, as an evaluative tool to see what learning occurred as well as to show knowledge generation when bringing new collaborators on board.

As a process for collaboration, concept mapping is an interactive, knowledge-generating activity to help action research groups share and communicate ideas and concepts that are meaningful for the group.

Computer-based instruction allows for an interactive learning environment. The freedom afforded by not having to rely on hard-copy text resources opens up opportunities for innovative pedagogy. Learners can be both self-regulated and self-paced, controlling their interaction with the computer-based content. Such features enhance learner motivation. Offering variety in how learners interact through learning activities also enhances the intrinsic motivation for, and engagement with, deep learning. Learners can engage and participate through traditional text-based activities or through video- or audio-based activities.

A strength of action research is its inherent flexibility. As you progress through each cycle of the process, the ongoing reflection allows you to adapt, adjust, respond to and redesign your work. Likewise, the design of any computer-based instruction for action research, for example, learning about reflective practice, also needs to offer flexibility. This flexibility may be achieved through offering students and teachers control and choice over what content is studied and what learning activities and teaching strategies are chosen and offering a range of resources to support learning. The strength of providing choice and flexibility is that developmentally appropriate content, activities and resources can be selected to scaffold the instruction and learning of students by responding to their stage of understanding and extending their learning to a higher level.

The computer-based approach enables, with ease, the sharing of multiple and multimedia resources. The resources can be sourced locally or through the World Wide Web, or if a gap and a need are identified, they can be created for your project. In the case of developing modules on reflective practice, a series of short YouTube videos were developed reflecting the multiple perspectives, or lenses, of students, teachers, colleagues and theory.

Decisions about the technological platform that is to be used can be influenced by the online environment or learning management system that is most familiar to the learner. Institutional influences may include policy directives on which platform is endorsed and supported by the learning institution. Usability of the interface needs to be evaluated to ensure that the computer-based instruction is easy to learn, is efficient to use, has few errors and results in high satisfaction for the learner.

Marina Harvey

See also communities of practice; critical reflection; online action research

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Concept Mapping

Concept mapping is a structured visual way to show the relationships among components within a knowledge domain. The map uses geometric shapes with connecting lines and words to diagram connections among the elements of a system. Concept maps give visual representation of the larger picture along with the more specific details. Words are used within the connecting lines to show the relationship between concepts. For example, if action research was the main concept at the top of the map, the connecting lines could say ‘addresses’, with links to the ideas of ‘power’, ‘collaborations’ and ‘ethics’ (see Figure 1). Mapping helps show how the construction of knowledge takes place by highlighting what individuals know about a topic in logical order, and it also highlights the relationship between themes. The linear progression between points on the map affords the ability to connect themes across disciplines, communities and constituents. Mapping is a versatile tool that can be used to show knowledge construction in all fields of learning. This entry explores the history of concept mapping and how it can be a useful tool for action researchers.

History of Concept Mapping

Concept maps were developed by Joseph Novak to shift learning in classrooms from rote learning to meaningful learning experiences rooted in a constructivist view of education. Concept maps in this context represent existing knowledge in addition to showing what students are currently learning. The process had the best results when students developed their own concept maps, compared with teachers’ pre-made maps. Concept mapping afforded an opportunity for students to take ownership of learning, investing more in the process of knowledge creation instead of just memorizing facts.

Concept mapping has been used in various disciplines and settings, including programme planning and evaluation, educational settings, computer science, community health, business development and community planning. The process is useful in group settings

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Computer-Based Instruction

This entry outlines how computer-based instruction can be designed and developed to produce a tool that supports the development of action research capacity.

Definition

Computer-based instruction, of which a common form is online or e-learning, uses the computer as a tool to support learning. It can be used as an independent tool but is often integrated with the Internet. It can be an alternative to face-to-face instruction, but its efficacy for learning is increased when it is blended or integrated with other modes of delivery.

The Growing Need for Computer-Based Instruction

The number and diversity of students entering higher education is increasing. This diverse cohort brings to the learning environment a diverse presage, for example, different motivations, life experiences, orientations and approaches to learning. Different approaches to instruction are required to cater to the needs of this diverse, global and international student body. Computer-based instruction can engage students, synchronously or asynchronously, through a variety of learning activities, for example, discussions, quizzes, blogs, games, wikis and assessments, and through multimedia resources. The integration of assistive technologies such as speech-to-text functionality expands the accessibility of this approach.

Relevance to Action Research

Action research, as an inherently iterative and evolving methodology, invites researchers to select tools that provide the best fit between their context and their research. Computer-based instruction provides a tool that offers multiple options to support key tenets of action research. This tool can enhance and make possible collaborative learning and co-generation of knowledge through an online community of practice which invites participation regardless of geographical boundaries. It can act as a nexus for action with research, linking action with an international repository of research literature. Through the integration of reflective tools, the reflective practice that underpins action research can be encouraged. Computer-based instruction can also have a role to play in the development of action research capacity.

Good Design

The starting point for good design of computer-based instruction is adopting an action research approach. A collegial and collaborative team can work synergetically through iterative action research cycles of plan, act, observe and reflect. Time must be allowed for good design and development. Action research enables multilevel and multidisciplinary teams, with the benefit of drawing on the expertise and strengths that each team member can contribute whilst at the same time providing an environment where each person's capabilities are developed. This is aligned with a distributed leadership paradigm, where each participant assumes a leadership role for the design of the computer-based instruction module.

Criteria for Computer-Based Instruction

Through the design of computer-based instruction, for example, for learning about reflection, criteria were established for good design. These criteria are closely aligned with the principles of universal design for learning and are as follows:

- An aligned curriculum
- Interactivity
- Flexibility
- Scaffolded instruction
- A familiar online environment
- Usability of the interface

To ensure positive learning outcomes, the curriculum needs to be aligned. Clear aims for the computer-based instruction module are first articulated, from which learning outcomes are developed. Aligned with each learning outcome are the content, learning activities, teaching strategies, assessment tasks (if applicable) and supportive resources. Multiple iterations of the action research cycle are necessary to develop an aligned curriculum, as each learning outcome is individually evaluated and reflected upon before the action of further development and refinement occurs.

Thus, CDP generates a learning process which initially results in planning as per local needs, opportunities and constraints, and in the long term leads to empowerment of the communities and effective support to local-level institutions. It not only helps in developing individual capacities but also strengthens institutional capacities for planning.

Goal

The primary goal of CDP is to achieve the well-being of the entire population of the district in all respects, in other words, participation in the planning processes, livelihood enhancement through preparing projects based on local resources and elimination of deprivation and social discrimination in any form (e.g. gender, caste, communal and economic).

Process

The CDP process is complex and often requires clarity in terms of what a district wants to achieve and who are the stakeholders needed to be involved in the process. A conducive and enabling environment is also crucial for the success of the process.

CDP can be viewed as a sequence of steps which include the following:

- *Mobilization of people to participate:* People from different walks of life, segregated on the basis of their social or economic status, are mobilized to participate in the process. Sometimes people get mobilized by themselves based on the necessity of the issue. In other circumstances, the role of civil society and citizen groups is important in this regard.
- *Meetings of stakeholders from different sections of societies to identify needs:* They have to develop a common consensus on the felt needs. They identify goals and set the vision for the district.
- *Focused group discussions among the different sections or groups, such as schedule castes, schedule tribes, youth, women, physically challenged and so on:* This is important because all the stakeholders are not comfortable enough to express their concerns and needs in front of the more privileged and powerful.
- Generation of a database for planning by the community themselves, using various tools such as social mapping, resource mapping, preparing a timeline, transect walk, seasonal mapping, problem tree analysis and so on
- Identification of variations in the planning unit and their causes, using various tools such as rapid rural appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal
- Preparation of reports based on information collated using the above tools and techniques and their analysis
- Preparation of plans on the basis of these reports and depending upon the unit of planning
- Sharing of these plans with the larger public, such as the village or town/district
- Integration of local plans with higher order plans, such as development block or district level
- Approval of the plans by the appropriate body at the district level
- Integration of the district plan with the state plan or any other higher order plan.
- Formulation of projects on the basis of these plans with the support of technical and financial experts
- Approval of the projects by local-level institutions
- Implementation and monitoring of the plan

CDP and Action Research

The process of action research does not limit itself to knowledge generation; it is also applied to the process of utilization of that knowledge. CDP is a process which draws heavily on action research. When people or communities come together to find solutions to their needs, they collectively prioritize what is most important to be addressed, what are the resources required to address those felt needs, where these resources are available, what could be the most sustainable approach to utilizing those resources and what the benefits are in doing so. The planning exercise—from formulation to implementation—is a continuous process of inquiry, finding solutions and applying those to solve the desired, identified needs. The knowledge generated during the process is not only useful in the short term but in the long term also provides support to the process itself and sets a benchmark for the community to respond to. It is a process which brings together people to work for a common cause.

Anshuman Karol

See also citizen participation; local self-governance; microplanning; participatory budgeting; participatory governance; participatory monitoring; Participatory Rural Appraisal; participatory urban planning

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collaboratively change the culture within their school through action research. They have applied the ideas through action research in a number of teaching contexts, from mathematics and language education to teacher education more broadly.

Renata Phelps and a number of Australian colleagues used complexity to inform several research initiatives focused on information and communications technology learning. Action research with pre-service primary and secondary teachers led to the development of a metacognitive approach, and further research investigated the implications of this approach for teacher professional development within the whole-school context. Also in Australia, Susan Wong draws on complexity to understand and inform governments' formation of regional development and telecommunications policy.

Stewart Hase, from Australia, builds on ideas from complexity in his seminal work on heutagogy, the study of self-determined learning. Action research is viewed as a key example of a heutagogical approach. Others have applied Hase's ideas to a range of areas of educational research, such as John Hurley's work on emotionally intelligent mental health nurse training.

The Italian researcher Michela Mayer draws on ideas from complexity in her personal exploration of crossing borders, between cultures, ways of thinking and ways of life, in a globalized world and her experience of action research with a group of teaching colleagues. In Iran, Mohammad Ahmadian and Mansoor Tavakoli explore the utility of action research to investigate second-language classrooms as complex systems.

In the UK, Matthew Atencio, Mike Jess and Kay Dewar used complexity to envision collaborative learning communities for physical education teachers. Cherry Kilbride and colleagues also employed action research, informed by complexity, to examine the lessons learnt from setting up an in-patient stroke service in a London teaching hospital, documenting the interplay of various non-linear but interrelated factors. Additionally, in Scotland, Laura Colucci-Gray and colleagues acknowledge complexity in their discussion of evidence-based practice and teacher action research.

Renata Phelps

See also generalizability; Lewin, Kurt; Participatory Action Research; reflective practice; systems thinking

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Comprehensive District Planning

When decentralized decision-making processes are used both vertically and horizontally in the practice of social and economic planning at the district or local government level, it is called comprehensive district planning (CDP). Decentralized planning is an interrelated system of decision-making processes to arrive at an integrated, participatory and co-ordinated idea of development for a local area. Decentralized planning at the district, sub-district and village or city levels is necessarily a citizen-centric process through which participation of all stakeholders is ensured for economic development and social justice. It not only enables the marginalized, women and the deprived to express their aspirations and needs but also enables them to become part of the decision-making processes which affect their lives. Opposite to this, decisions taken and policies formulated through a decision-making process which does not include the beneficiaries in the process are known as a centralized planning process, often practiced in many countries around the world.

Viewing CDP in the context of action research makes it a platform for learning rather than plunging directly into problem-solving. This learning is multidimensional in nature. People sit together for the identification of felt needs and find ways and means to fulfil those needs through a process of consensus. In doing so, the marginalized and not so influential sections of society are able to participate, interact and in turn contribute to the preparation of the plan, thereby feeling empowered. CDP integrates local and traditional knowledge into the designing and formulation of projects. When local communities are involved in the preparation of plans, they also commit to monitoring its implementation.

more complex stabilities. Complexity theorists recognize that such bifurcations are prompted by conditions which may not be known or knowable. Thus, the input of a new idea, individual, action or rule into the system at any point can lead to subtle changes which may subsequently lead to dramatically different outcomes, outcomes which cannot be predicted.

Agent Interaction, Redundancy and Diversity

Complexity is primarily concerned with the relationships and interactions between agents. It focuses on how behaviour and change are influenced by internal schema (the rules and patterns internal to the agent, which might—amongst other manifestations—include beliefs, values or assumptions). Such schema are constructed through interaction between agents and subsequently continue to change through such interaction.

'Redundancy' refers to a system having a degree of similarity or commonality in its characteristics in order for there to be some level of cohesiveness. However, systems also require a level of diversity among and between agents which enables novel responses, thus facilitating evolutionary possibilities. Such diversity can prompt either gradual emergence or rapid, radical bifurcation. As an example, if all the staff within an organization have very similar educational, socio-economic, cultural and experiential backgrounds, then the 'system' will be more limited in its capacity to respond in innovative ways when confronted with unforeseen stimulus.

The Relevance and Value of Complexity for Action Researchers

The idea that change is emergent and a process of self-organized adaptation is very consistent with the Lewinian cycle common to all action research. Action research, by virtue of its approach, mostly works with the complexity inherent in social contexts rather than trying to control variables or engage in reductive analysis. Most action researchers recognize that they cannot hope to understand or predict all the factors affecting their research context and that, while they can participate in the unfolding of understandings, they cannot prescribe what will be learnt or how the cycles will proceed. Both theory and subsequent cycles of practice emerge from the unique circumstances and experiences within specific contexts. This leads to particular understandings of generalizability. Complexity provides a theoretical rigour to such understandings, challenging action researchers to recognize the significance of aspects of their research which they otherwise may not notice—or only intuit as important.

Both complexity and action research are primarily concerned with the relationships and interactions between agents (or participants). Participatory Action Research opens up what, in complexity terms, might be termed 'collective possibilities', providing a vehicle for co-researchers to seek and share meanings constructed from shared experience. Here, the schemas of these agents are critical in processes of change.

Action research can be considered a means to both promote and study processes of bifurcation and autopoiesis (from the Greek 'self-producing'—simply defined as where the components of a system reproduce themselves from themselves). Consistent with complexity, it is not the schema themselves which are seen as governing change but rather the interaction of various agents and their own schemas.

Integral to action research is reflexivity—a mental process in which one questions and challenges one's own assumptions, values, beliefs and practices, generally with other participants. The action, observation and reflection phases of action research might be viewed as introducing 'noise' or disturbance into a system to see what happens. In some instances, this prompts a state of non-equilibrium from which new possibilities, and perhaps new stabilities, emerge (bifurcation). From the perspective of complexity, such disturbance remains unpredictable and non-replicable, since each system is different in its initial conditions. Recognizing, celebrating and fostering diversity among participants becomes important, and complexity challenges us to consider whether everyone should be learning and doing the same things in the same ways (e.g. in training contexts).

Action research which is informed by complexity thus pays attention to the histories and events which can evoke significant changes in outcomes, not in order to generalize to other contexts or predict future change but to understand these emergent dynamics in all their richness. While many research approaches traditionally disqualify disconfirming cases and outlying data, action researchers embrace them, actively exploring 'exceptions' to better understand the change dynamics and inform subsequent cycles. For example, the acknowledgement and study of dissonant views and the potential consequence of this dissonance can assist us to understand the bifurcation points.

Action research can thus be an effective vehicle for engaging individuals and organizations with notions of non-linearity and emergence and supporting them to embrace complexity-informed perspectives on change and learning. It provides the opportunity to engage with phenomena while they are evolving and to explore the myriad variables that might be influencing the situation.

Examples of Application

Canadians Davis and Sumara draw on complexity principles to challenge their own teaching practice and to

can be considered as such systems, but these ideas resonate particularly in contexts such as teaching and learning, management and organizational change, contexts where action research has traditionally been practiced.

Complexity acknowledges the inability to totally understand the whole through an understanding of the parts. Rather, it aims to understand the whole by understanding the interaction of its parts. At its briefest, complexity is concerned with the 'big consequences of little things', helping to understand how coherent and purposive patterns and wholes emerge from the interactions of simple, non-purposive components.

Complexity's foundational ideas (outlined below) can help action researchers to 'make sense' of their research context, particularly the nature of change and learning. It is also argued that action research provides an appropriate meta-methodology for those who recognize and embrace complexity in the social sciences.

That said, the application of complexity to action research has not been without critique. Such arguments are often based on particular modes of practice of action research itself and are ultimately influenced by the ontology, epistemologies, philosophies, beliefs and assumptions of those engaging in it. For example, action research which is focused on hypothesis testing or generalization of findings may not sit comfortably with complexity thinking. Additionally, some working with complexity in the hard sciences have challenged the application of these theories to the social sciences more generally.

Origins

The literature explicating complexity owes much of its development to a group of eminent cross-disciplinary researchers, several of them Nobel laureates, working at the Santa Fe Institute in the USA. The historical background to complexity is well outlined by Mitchell Waldrop (1992) in his popularized book *Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos.* This text references the seminal contributions of writers such as Fritjof Capra, Stuart Kauffman, Heinz Pagels, Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers.

While a number of writers drew loose connections between complexity and action research in the late 1980s and 1990s, the most explicit theoretical work in this area was made in the late 1990s by the Canadians Brent Davis and Dennis Sumara, who have gone on to publish key papers on the topic.

There is a close relational lineage between complexity and systems theory, which has been linked to action research by a significant number of writers. While complexity has much in common with systems theory, it places focus on some very specific concepts (perhaps considered 'sub-theories'), which are considered as follows.

Foundational Concepts of Complexity

There are a number of key concepts which underpin complexity. Since these ideas have been applied in diverse disciplines and contexts, from the study of weather and ant colonies to the understanding of social systems, the language used when describing these concepts is often generic. For example, the term *agent* is used to refer to a contributing 'part' in the system; so this might represent a nerve cell, an ant or, in a social system, an individual or a collective entity, such as a group or corporation. Similarly, *schema* can be differentially understood in different contexts but generally refers to the sets of rules or patterns that guide and shape a system. Here, we focus on how these ideas are understood in the social settings most likely to be the focus of action researchers.

Change as Emergent, Self-Organized Adaptation

From the perspective of complexity, development and change are viewed as natural, evolutionary and emergent; a process which is neither imposed nor random. The interaction among the various 'parts' of a system and the ways the system is subsequently organized and structured in turn influence future events. Complexity thus views change as adaptation, stemming from the interaction, alignment and organization of agents into higher levels of complexity. Learning, for example, is viewed as adaptation to environment based on experience.

Feedforward, Feedback and Sensitivity to Initial Conditions

Complexity recognizes that, over time, interactions and events 'feedforward' to produce the systems which are discernible at any given point in time. However, complexity also acknowledges the role of 'feedback', by which past or present events influence events in the present or future. In this way, it is asserted that complex phenomena embody their histories and that processes are critically dependent on their initial conditions, conditions that may be unrecoverable or unknowable. This notion of sensitivity to initial conditions is the essential idea behind the often discussed 'butterfly effect', a metaphor that suggests that the flap of a butterfly's wings can change the climate on the opposite side of the globe.

Homeostasis and Bifurcation

Homeostasis refers to the tendency of a system to maintain a stable, constant condition. Bifurcation (sometimes termed phase transition or, more popularly, 'tipping points') occurs when a system moves from one form of stability to another, resulting in new but

part of its research and networking on social capital, lifelong learning and renewal of place-based development. Finally, campus-community partnerships for health have built expertise and resources in Community-Based Participatory Research and engaged scholarship in the health field that is relevant to other disciplines.

CURPs have become permanent and essential instruments to enable cities and towns across the globe to analyze, navigate and adapt in a turbulent world. Rising inequality, extreme climate events and frequent food crises are only three of the complex, 'wicked' problems that such partnerships can and must be mobilized to address. The world needs more CURPs. In this paradoxical sense, the future of CURPs is bright. The challenge now, and the opportunity, is for community organizations and higher education institutions to prepare a new generation of leaders in both spheres to take CURPs to a higher level of effectiveness and impact.

Edward T. Jackson

See also Community University Partnership Programme; Community-Campus Partnerships for Health; Cornell Participatory Action Research Network; Global Alliance on Community-Engaged Research; higher education

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Complexity Theory

This entry explores complexity theory, its meaning, its origins, its foundational ideas and its relationship to action research. As a cross-disciplinary theory, complexity is concerned with evolving and changing non-linear systems and the inability to totally understand the whole system through an understanding of the parts. The entry argues that complexity can provide an epistemological, theoretical and methodological basis for action research, and a number of examples of such application are provided.

Complexity theory has emerged relatively recently as a valuable underpinning for action research theory and practice. As a collection of ideas, and thus perhaps more accurately referred to as 'complexity theories' (or sometimes 'complexity science'), this body of literature has influenced a broad range of disciplines from biology, climatology, immunology, architecture and economics to education, business and psychology. Such cross-disciplinary relevance foreshadows the potential of *complexity* (the term used henceforth) as an epistemological, theoretical and methodological basis for action research.

Complexity is concerned with non-linear, evolving and changing systems—those that are unpredictable in that even if one were familiar with all the components of the system, one would still not be able to determine what exactly would happen next. Most social contexts

and support are often required to enable these groups to participate effectively, on a 'level playing field', with more powerful and informed stakeholders. Among other things, it is often necessary for partnerships to provide for translation and interpretation into local languages; plus written agreement by the authorities not to seek retribution for critical comments by participants is often a necessary measure.

Such efforts to strengthen the power and amplify the voice of the stakeholders most affected by the issue under study are consistent with the activist stance and engaged methods of participatory research. Forty years ago, that field was consolidated by the coming together of social movement learning among Aboriginal, women's civil rights and labour organizations in rich countries and the anti-colonial politics and education movements of Latin America, Africa and Asia, particularly the dialogical praxis of Paulo Freire. Other traditions that have helped shape the methods of CURPs include the extension work of land grant universities in the USA, the science shop movement in Europe, universities in poor countries that are mandated to promote equitable development and the transnational networks of civil society organizations fighting for social justice. At the same time, recent years have seen the incorporation of online and social media tools into the methods of governance and knowledge production of CURPs. Collaborative, cloud-based project management, file sharing and communication platforms, SMS (short message service) texting, Skype calls, tele-learning, webinars, live streaming of meetings and conferences, videoconferencing, mapping via geographic information systems, data mining and data visualization software, blogs, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and LinkedIn (and their analogues in China and the Middle East) are some of the tools deployed in this regard. Used strategically, they can be powerful supplements to—but never replacements for—regular face-to-face interaction by the partners. Used indiscriminately, however, these tools can become time-consuming distractions that delay, defer and even undermine the core activities and outcomes of the partnership.

Overcoming Obstacles to CURPs

Experience indicates that there several obstacles that must be overcome for CURPs to achieve success. Chief among these is lack of money on the part of community organizations. In most countries, non-profit organizations in particular are badly underfunded and often lack the resources to participate in research partnerships. Indeed, the opportunity costs of their leadership or staff devoting significant time to CURPs are very high, given other pressures and priorities. What is required is ongoing, predictable funding that pays for the time of community representatives working on CURP activities.

A second obstacle is lack of time on the part of faculty members, who are required to teach, do research, publish and sit on university committees, among an array of duties. Furthermore, in some parts of the world where university salaries are low, professors must supplement their income through consulting and other business income. In the short term, teaching release stipends for faculty doing engaged research can go some distance towards reducing this particular obstacle.

A third, and related, obstacle involves tenure and promotion policies in universities that are misaligned with community engagement in general and CURP participation in particular. Such policies act as strong disincentives for young professors, especially, to participate in CURPs. Campus-community partnerships for health have prepared tools for engaged professors to build their case for career advancement, as well as model tenure and promotion policies that reward, rather than punish, partnered research in the community.

One important success factor that can help reduce the effects of these and other obstacles is the presence of system-wide funding programmes for CURPs. One model is that of the Community University Research Alliance Program of the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada, which, over more than a decade, provided $120 million in multi-year grants to a wide range of CURPs. Another funding programme model is the Seventh Framework Program of the European Commission and its predecessor programmes, which have made grant funds available for nearly 15 years to the Living Knowledge Network of science shops. For such programmes to be instituted and sustained, of course, it is essential for citizens to elect governments that value the kind of action-oriented, co-produced knowledge that CURPs deliver.

International professional networks have contributed to the theory and practice of CURPs as well. The Global University Network for Innovation, based in Spain, promotes CURPs in the context of the university's mission of social responsibility. The Talloires Network provides opportunities for university presidents to explore the experience of research partnerships as part of the university's engagement in civic affairs. The Living Knowledge Network connects and strengthens the science shop movement across Europe and elsewhere in the world.

For its part, the Global Alliance of Community Engaged Research has the advancement of the theory and practice of community-based and other forms of partnered research as its goal. The PASCAL International Observatory shares knowledge about CURPs as

a large hydroelectric dam project. In the Philippines, university researchers and local government agencies enhance the capacity of municipal officials for environmental enforcement and the promotion of biodiversity. On Canada's Pacific coast, a university office for community-based research joins up with Aboriginal organizations to document and strengthen traditional languages. In southern England, a university partnership project helps families, service agencies and professors design research projects for children with complex needs. And in Denmark, a conservation nonprofit, a university and local residents work together to analyze and improve the quality of water in a cluster of village ponds.

These are all examples of community-university research partnerships (CURPs): collaborative arrangements for the co-production of knowledge and associated learning and action. CURPs generate actionable knowledge aimed at advancing the public interest, especially among marginalized and vulnerable groups, in critical economic, social, environmental, cultural or political issues facing localities and regions. A growing number of cities and towns are supported by these partnerships in their efforts to rapidly understand and solve emerging problems in a globalized environment of turbulent and continuous change. Regional economic distress, homelessness, climate change, food insecurity, youth crime, gender inequality, ethnic conflict, corruption and authoritarian regimes—the list of problems addressed by CURPs is broad and constantly evolving. This entry reviews the basic structure and membership of CURPs and some of the methods they have used to conduct research. A discussion of some of the obstacles faced by CURPs is then presented, along with some recommendations for addressing them.

Membership, Structure and Values of CURPs

The community entities involved in CURPs may be non-profit organizations, co-operatives, community development institutions, local governments, social movement organizations, think tanks, professional or sectoral associations, social movements, foundations, social enterprises or private, for-profit businesses—or some combination of these actors. On the academic side, participants may include individuals—particularly faculty and students—working on specific projects or courses, research centres or extension offices, or even entire institutions. Sometimes a group of colleges or universities will join forces to work with local community partners on regional initiatives or campaigns. Often there is a partnership 'broker'—a unit inside the university or a non-profit outside—that brings the parties together, helps them develop a common understanding and agenda and provides ongoing support to the knowledge production and utilization process.

Structures for governing CURPs take a variety of forms. Advisory boards or committees, working groups, task forces and project teams are common structures employed to guide and monitor partnered research initiatives. The terms of the partnership may be formalized in a written agreement, protocol or memorandum of understanding signed by the parties. The most effective CURPs are characterized by reciprocity, transparency, shared decision-making, mutual benefit and mutual respect, especially for the value of knowledge produced by the community partners. Ownership and use of intellectual property produced by the partnership should be shared as well. All of these elements can, and should, be encoded in the terms of the partnership agreement. The most dysfunctional and exploitative relationships between universities and communities feature knowledge extraction behaviour by professors and students and persistent asymmetries in favour of universities in terms of decision-making, funding flows and direct benefits, together with the wholesale privileging of academic knowledge.

CURPs constitute a specific form of the broader field of campus-community engagement. The higher education institutions with the deepest, widest and most sustained community engagement are those that, first, find ways of integrating faculty scholarship into the research partnership paradigm and, second, commit meaningful institutional resources—especially through multi-year budget allocations, targeted fundraising, permanent administrative support, integrated assessment systems and meaningful faculty rewards and incentives—to partnership efforts at all levels and across all disciplines.

Research Methods and Participation in CURPs

The research methods mobilized by CURPs vary considerably across partnerships. Qualitative methods such as open-ended key person interviews, focus groups, ethnographies, participant observation and case studies are often used by these partnerships. But so too are quantitative methods, including large-scale surveys and sophisticated statistical analysis of their results, randomized clinical trials and other experimental designs, especially in the hard sciences. However, the crucial element in the methodology of a CURP is that the body overseeing and guiding the research process represents all the major parties to the partnership. Ideally, this body should include substantive representation from the most marginal and vulnerable groups affected by the issue under study. This can be called the imperative of the primary stakeholder. Special training

justice is not central to CBPR, then it is an empty buzzword, co-opted for purposes that can harm communities.

CCPH considers how it leverages assets as an organization to play a greater role in ensuring that the policies, practices and systems are in place for community-campus partnerships to thrive and have an impact. If it is successful in supporting authentic and equitable CBPR, it would expect to see that

- the research has been endorsed by formal and informal community leaders who have participated in its conceptualization, design and implementation;
- research budgets demonstrate equity of funding across the community and academic partners;
- research teams reflect the diversity of the communities engaged in the research;
- community advisory boards are replaced by community governing boards;
- community members involved in the conduct of research are fairly compensated for their time and expertise;
- requests for applications explicitly invite CBPR proposals and community-based applicants;
- there are mechanisms to support community groups to own and manage the research process;
- peer-review processes include an equitable number of community and academic peer reviewers who are properly oriented and prepared for their roles;
- indicators of genuine community engagement and CBPR are articulated and incorporated into funding announcements, review criteria and peer-review processes; and
- policy change is viewed as a legitimate and fundable outcome of research.

Sarena Seifer

See also Community-Based Participatory Research; community-university research partnerships; health care; knowledge mobilization; social justice

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CCPH homepage: http://ccph.info

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Community-Engaged Scholarship Toolkit: http://communityengagedscholarship.info

Developing and Sustaining Community-Based Participatory Research Partnerships: A skill-building curriculum: http://cbprcurriculum.info

Community-University Research Partnerships

High in the mountains of Srinagar, an Indian university and a civil society organization set up a research centre to support village groups in intervening in plans for

decisions about research practice and policy, are true partners in research and fully benefit from the knowledge gained through research. The recommendations being advanced by the network and supported by CCPH include the following:

- Communities want a shared, balanced and equal ownership stake in the decision-making system for the research enterprise at the federal, state, local and academic levels.
- Research-funding agencies must make meaningful financial investments to ensure that community leaders participate on national advisory councils, grant review panels and policymaking bodies related to research and that their voices are heard.
- Research institutions must be held accountable for equitable partnerships through clearly articulated memorandums of understanding with community-based organizations that describe the principles that will be followed and a plan for how these will be monitored and evaluated.
- Public research–funding agencies should establish a minimum set of standards when making grants to research institutions for community-engaged research. These would include, for example, the following:
  - Community leaders and community-based organizations will not primarily serve as recruiters for research participants.
  - Community leaders and community-based organizations will be compensated at the same rate of pay for their time and expertise as academic partners.
  - Community leaders and community-based organizations will have equal say in how data is presented, published and used.
- Investments must be made in the training and mentoring of community leaders and community-based organizations.

Funding is needed to support the start-up and continued operations of Community Research Ethics Boards. These entities—accountable to the communities they serve and represent—play a critical role in ensuring that the community risks, benefits and feasibility of the proposed research are carefully considered.

Community leaders, community-based organizations and their allies must advocate for supportive changes in research funding and policy that lead to

- increased investments in CBPR,
- direct funding to community-based organizations for research capacity building and infrastructure,
- support for training and mentoring and
- a proposal for review panels that include community leaders as full reviewers.

Brand of CCPH

In the year leading up to CCPH's 15th anniversary in 2012, it critically examined its name, mission, values and vision. After reflecting on the organization's accomplishments, scanning the environment and conducting a SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis, the 'brand' or theme of CCPH that clearly stood out as consistent from its beginning was its commitment to principle-centred partnerships for a purpose: health equity and social justice.

CCPH believes that it is important for its mission statement to clearly state *why* it engages in community-campus partnerships. The original wording, 'to promote health (broadly defined) through partnerships between communities and academic institutions', didn't fully capture its vision of health equity and social justice. The organization realized that it needed to explicitly include the words *equity* and *social justice* in its mission.

Equity means all people have full and equal access to opportunities that enable them to attain their full potential. The determinants of equity are the social, economic, geographic, political and physical environmental conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age that lead to the creation of a fair and just society. Inequities are created when barriers exist that prevent individuals and communities from accessing these conditions. *Social justice* is about sustaining a flourishing human existence, meeting fundamental human needs and eliminating oppression. Social justice is linked to health in three interrelated ways:

1. Health is constructed through the social and political conditions we experience and is therefore necessarily influenced by the just or unjust power arrangements that determine those conditions.
2. Health is an asset and a value, enabling people to live fully and realize their potential.
3. Health is a public concern associated with the decisions that a society makes for the collective good.

A deep dialogue about why CCPH engages in community-campus partnerships is especially important now as interest in community engagement and community-academic partnerships is growing, in particular around research. CCPH shares the concern, for example, expressed by the Community Network for Research Equity and Impact, that CBPR could simply replace the conventional approach to research without embracing social change, policy change, paradigm shifts and power sharing. In other words, if the 'why' of social

experienced 'community engagement' as no more than recruiting minority participants into clinical trials.

Participatory Paradigm

Implementing the participatory paradigm is not easy to do, and this is where CCPH is having a significant impact. By mobilizing knowledge, providing training and technical assistance, conducting research, building coalitions and advocating for supportive policies, CCPH is helping ensure that *the reality of community engagement and partnership exceeds the rhetoric*. Below, a few organizational successes are highlighted.

Reforming Research Funding

CCPH's strong relationships and effective communication with community groups from across the country contributed to a critical mass of community leaders being appointed to the Council of Public Representatives, which advises the director of the National Institutes of Health (NIH). The council's recently released framework for community engagement and NIH's formation of a working group to recommend community engagement strategies across the agency are direct outcomes of these efforts. CCPH challenged NIH's recent decision to only allow universities to apply for funding that was intended to build research infrastructure in communities. Although the organization was unable to change the established eligibility criteria, it supported dozens of community groups in their negotiations with academic partner applicants. It also delivered testimony at NIH public meetings about the value of CBPR and the importance of community organizations as lead applicants, fiscal agents and peer reviewers. NIH subsequently invited community-based CCPH members to review applications for its CBPR grant programmes. CCPH helped design CBPR grant review processes involving community and academic reviewers for the Healthier Wisconsin Partnership Program and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. It co-founded the CBPR Funders Interest Group, a learning community of 56 private and public funders that support CBPR as a strategy for social justice.

Developing Authentic Partnerships

CCPH is frequently in the position of provocateur—asking tough questions (e.g. What makes a partnership authentic?) and challenging assumptions as academic institutions seek to become more community engaged (e.g. What are your motivations and goals for engaging with communities?). Community groups frequently contact CCPH for guidance on developing memorandums of understanding with academic partners and for ensuring that community members are appropriately compensated for their time and expertise. With support from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, it produced the evidence-based curriculum 'Developing and Sustaining CBPR Partnerships' to help guide partnerships through a series of learning modules, exercises and best practices. This free online resource has been downloaded hundreds of times and incorporated into dozens of trainings.

Evolving Higher Education Policy

CCPH is often a leading voice nationally advocating for communities to have a voting seat at institutional decision-making tables. For example, it successfully argued for including community members on the National Advisory Panel for the Carnegie Foundation's community engagement classification for universities. It boldly tackles persistent institutional challenges to CBPR, including university faculty promotion and tenure (P&T) systems. CCPH has led three national projects that have changed P&T policies to recognize CBPR, established CBPR faculty development programmes and launched a unique mechanism for peer reviewing and publishing diverse applied products of CBPR that would otherwise not 'count' for P&T.

Facilitating Community Ownership of Research

Often missing from investments in CBPR is the support for research capacity and infrastructure that is vitally needed in communities. As more community organizations enter into research partnerships with institutions as well as initiate and conduct research, it is clear that they need funding and research resources as well as supportive networks for professional development, mentoring and advocacy.

Towards that end, CCPH joined with the Center for Community Health Education Research and Service to obtain funding from the NIH for two successful National Community Partner Forums on Community-Engaged Health Disparities Research, held in December 2011 in Boston and in December 2012 in Washington, D.C. Through a national call for applications and a rigorous peer-review process, a diverse group of over 200 community partners from across the country have come together through these forums to deepen the knowledge and skills they need to successfully conduct community-engaged health disparities research, negotiate community-academic research partnerships and serve in leadership roles. Uniquely designed 'by and for' community partners, the forums have built an ongoing network for community partner professional development and peer support. The resulting network, formally established in January 2013 as the Community Network for Research Equity and Impact, aims to ensure that communities have a significant voice in

- To mobilize the knowledge, wisdom and experience in communities and in academic institutions to solve pressing health, social, environmental and economic challenges
- To ensure that community-driven social change is central to the work of community-academic partnerships
- To build the capacity of communities and academic institutions to engage each other in partnerships that balance power, share resources and work towards systems change

CCPH's members—a diverse group of over 2,000 individuals affiliated with community organizations, colleges and universities, health-care delivery systems, student service organizations, foundations and government—are advancing these goals in their work on a daily basis. CCPH is governed by a board of directors who are national leaders with spheres of influence in key networks related to the organization's mission. What ties the network together is a commitment to social justice and a passion for the power of partnerships to transform communities and academe. Since its inception, CCPH has played a leadership role in advancing authentic partnerships that build capacity, generate knowledge that directly benefits communities and influence policies that affect health.

At CCPH's first conference in 1997, the organization engaged participants in a series of conversations to begin to articulate principles of good community-campus partnerships. Broad input was sought on the draft principles that emerged from the conference, and a final set was adopted by the board of directors in 1998 and widely disseminated. Through a similar process, the principles were re-examined and revised in 2006 (see below). The CCPH principles are not intended to be prescriptive or to be adopted verbatim but rather to provide a starting point or framework for discussion when forming or periodically reflecting on the progress of a partnership—to help clarify the terms of engagement and expectations among partners.

CCPH Principles of Partnership

- Partnerships form to serve a specific purpose and may take on new goals over time.
- Partners have agreed upon the mission, values, goals, measurable outcomes and accountability for the partnership.
- The relationship between partners is characterized by mutual trust, respect, genuineness and commitment.
- The partnership builds upon identified strengths and assets, but also works to address needs and increase capacity of all partners.
- The partnership balances power among the partners and enables resources among partners to be shared.
- Partners make clear and open communication an ongoing priority by striving to understand one other's needs and self-interests and developing a common language.
- Principles and processes for the partnership are established with the input and agreement of all partners, especially for decision-making and conflict resolution.
- There is feedback among all stakeholders in the partnership, with the goal of continuously improving the partnership and its outcomes.
- Partners share the benefits of the partnership's accomplishments.
- Partnerships can dissolve and need to plan a process for closure.

As the principles were being re-examined and revised in 2006, CCPH convened experienced community partners from across the USA to provide a stronger community voice to the advancement of authentic community-campus partnerships. The contention at the time, still largely true in 2013, was that community perspectives were usually missing from deliberations and decisions about these partnerships. Participants in that inaugural National Community Partner Summit articulated a framework for authentic partnerships with three essential components:

1. Quality processes that are relationship centred
2. Meaningful outcomes that are tangible and relevant to communities
3. Personal, institutional, community and political transformation

CCPH helps advance a Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) paradigm in which community members and researchers collaborate to conduct research that builds capacity, leads to knowledge that directly benefits communities and influences policies that affect health. Increasingly, research funding agencies are identifying community engagement in research as central to understanding and addressing racial, ethnic, environmental and socio-economic health disparities. Substantial federal investments are being made to support faculty members and academic institutions to engage with communities and to conduct health research in and with communities. On one level, these supports are a welcome sign that CBPR is being viewed as rigorous, legitimate and effective. On another level, they raise genuine concerns in communities that have been harmed by research and have

otherwise been possible with the academic and community partners working separately.

However, despite the growing availability of resources to assist CBR teams, there remain a number of challenges and barriers to translating theory into practice. While both academic and community partners may be amenable to partnering, they each have respective constraints related to their roles that may limit their ability to partner. For the academic partner, their institution may not support their involvement in CBR or recognize the time it takes to develop partnerships before any scholarly outputs are produced. For the community partner, research may be an additional requirement on top of their already busy schedule of providing services to the community. For individual community members, it may be managing a health issue or other personal issues that limit their ability to participate. While funding is increasingly available for CBR, it may privilege data collection and be inadequate to sustain the research project throughout the change component.

CBR in Action: The Canadian HIV CBR Movement

In some communities, there is an especially strong legacy of work in CBR. In Canada, CBR focusing on issues related to HIV/AIDS has been particularly effective, marked by the development of a dedicated federal programme supporting the work of teams conducting CBR on HIV/AIDS-related issues. The Canadian Institutes of Health Research, in collaboration with HIV researchers, people living with HIV, and AIDS service organizations, have developed a unique 'HIV/AIDS Community-Based Research Program'. The Canadian Institutes of Health Research HIV CBR programme supports CBR that engages communities affected by HIV in all stages of research from designing the research topic to dissemination activities. The programme has a unique governance model that involves a steering committee composed of equal representation from researchers and community organizations. Proposals are reviewed by an academic and a community member and evaluated for both scientific merit and potential community impact.

Future Outlook

CBR is growing in popularity and has become the standard approach for research with many communities, including communities affected by HIV and of indigenous people. Recently, the United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization appointed a Chair in Community-Based Research and Social Responsibility in Higher Education. The objectives of this role are to facilitate collaborations between researchers and communities in the northern and southern hemispheres, identify best practices in CBR and community engagement and support policymakers to make use of CBR. This recognition at the international level demonstrates that CBR is an important research and action strategy.

Adrian Guta and Brenda Roche

See also arts-based action research; collaborative action research; community development; Community-Based Participatory Research; experiential knowing; experiential learning

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Community-Campus Partnerships for Health

A national non-profit organization founded in 1996, Community-Campus Partnerships for Health (CCPH) promotes health equity and social justice through partnerships between communities and academic institutions. The organization views health broadly as physical, mental, social and spiritual well-being and emphasizes partnership approaches to health that focus on changing the conditions and environments in which people live, work and play. Its strategic goals are as follows:

the partnering community organizations' practices and shared with decision-makers at multiple levels.

Defining Characteristics of CBR

A number of scholars have identified the principles for CBR which have guided many projects and served as the basis of CBR-specific funding requirements. Here, we identify and discuss some key characteristics of CBR and how they are taken up in practice.

Community Driven

CBR recognizes the importance of democratizing research and privileges research identified or initiated by communities. Communities should have leadership, or co-leadership, roles throughout the research process, and their needs and interests should guide the research design, including the development and refinement of research questions, and the selection of the methods.

Community Relevance

CBR prioritizes the lived experience of community members and the collective efforts through which communities organize to improve their conditions and circumstances. CBR should address and advance community-identified needs and promote the interests of community members and the representing organizations. Research methods should be chosen based on the particular context, the resources available and the larger change goals (e.g. Is the goal to improve a specific service or change policy at the state/provincial level?).

Collaboration and Partnerships

CBR projects recognize the importance of long-term and sustainable partnerships between academics and the community. Each partner brings unique skills and experiences necessary for undertaking the research. Once established, research teams should strive to develop equitable decision-making processes to attend to who controls the money, data and research products.

Capacity Building

CBR projects promote co-learning and knowledge exchange throughout the research process between the project stakeholders. The goal of capacity building is to enhance individuals' and organizations' capacity to conduct research and achieve goals related to promoting social change. Examples of capacity building include research training for staff and integrating community members in the research process to provide research and employment skills.

Attending to Process

Developing a CBR partnership takes time and a commitment to fostering trust between the project stakeholders. CBR teams need to attend to the power relations between stakeholders and use collaborative decision-making processes. Some teams adopt formal 'memorandums of understanding' that detail how decisions will be made and who needs to be involved in the decision-making processes. However, the key issue is that teams maintain open lines of communication between the project stakeholders.

Multiple Forms of Knowledge

CBR recognizes a plurality of perspectives, ways of knowing and techniques for producing evidence. CBR projects use a range of scientific methods, including both quantitative and qualitative, and often, they mix methods to capture a range of experiences. While there is no specific CBR method, many projects have included innovative arts-based approaches to allow community members without special training to participate in data collection and generation. CBR continues this openness to different ways of knowing and learning by disseminating knowledge back to the community in accessible formats that are able to reach multiple audiences.

Action or Outcomes Oriented

CBR differentiates itself from traditional forms of academic research by its commitment to fostering social change and producing tangible improvements in the lives of community members. When CBR is community driven and relevant, it will produce outcomes that are of interest to the community and result in greater buy-in and uptake of results from community members, community-based organizations and policymakers.

Benefits and Challenges of CBR

There are numerous benefits for both academic and community partners from researching together. CBR provides the skills and capacity that community-based organizations need to use research as a tool to improve their programmes and services and to produce data that will appeal to policymakers and other change agents. For academics, CBR provides opportunities for the direct application of their research in 'real-world' settings. This can be especially beneficial for graduate students, who receive hands-on experience and preparation for either an academic or a community position in the future. Overall, CBR brings together the best of academic and community knowledge to identify problems and develop solutions that might not have

and colleagues identify three core influences: (1) the popular education model, (2) the action research model and (3) the participatory research model. The popular education model draws on the influential writings of Paulo Freire and uses techniques from adult education and critical pedagogy to engage communities in identifying problems and generating solutions to improve their local conditions. Second, the action research model gives CBR its emphasis on producing change within local organizations and systems through 'multisector' partnerships involving academics, the community and government. Finally, CBR has been greatly influenced by the participatory research model, from which it took up the need to challenge positivist research models and recognize the perspective of so-called lay people in knowledge production.

The Role of the Academic Partner

The emphasis on community knowledge in CBR initiatives may suggest that academic partners are not necessary. Indeed, there are some organizations that have well-developed programmes of research and are able to conduct research without partnering with a university. However, the intent of CBR is not to position one body of evidence or expertise against another but to bring these together in a synergistic fashion, recognizing the particular strengths and assets of the contributing partners. Depending on the nature of the project and the community's research capacity, the academic partner's role may fall along the spectrum from leadership to facilitation. When a community does not yet have the capacity to undertake research, the academic partner may play more of a leadership role and direct the process with significant community input and consultation. When the community has more capacity, the academic partner may have more of a 'facilitation' role to support the community-initiated research process. In either case, the academic partners may need to help their community partners navigate various granting opportunities and provide access to ethics review, data storage and funding administration.

The academic partner may also bring a cadre of students into the project, who can work on the data collection and analyze aspects that require specialized training. This is called 'service learning' and encourages students to leave the academy and make their training (e.g. master's level projects) useful to community-based organizations. Ideally, the academic partner brings the technical expertise, and the community partner brings a nuanced understanding of the context and pressing issues: Together, they are able to develop a research strategy that will be rigorous and meet the community's needs.

The Role of the Community Partner

Community partners on CBR projects bring particular, specialized knowledge depending upon their social and professional location(s) within a community of interest. Community members are thought to bring expertise that is informed by life experience to research projects, including perspectives about the issues at hand and insights about solutions. This can include detailed local knowledge of local issues, networks and population dynamics, as well as facilitating access to local agencies and community members relevant to the research initiative. Community partners may come to the research initiative with a distinctive lens, one that is more informed by lived experience and local organizing, service delivery or advocacy work. Such a perspective can complement that of the academic partner.

In an effort to construct mechanisms for greater and more meaningful community participation, there has been a rise in the number of projects that seek to engage 'peer researchers'. Peer researchers are members of a research study's target population who are trained to participate as co-researchers. In some cases, peer researchers partner in all facets of the research. In others, peer researchers have been instrumental in one or more aspects of a project (e.g. recruitment or data collection). The role of peer researchers in CBR has been the subject of some discussion and critique as there may be unresolved tensions between ideal notions of community participation and the limitations of research as it is practised in community settings.

Stages of CBR: From Research to Action

CBR promotes an iterative and cyclical approach to research and action: Reflections on policy and practice influence the design of research, which is then used to improve that same policy and practice. The cycle is constantly starting over again and needs to be considered ongoing and part of the community's processes. Like all good research, CBR starts with a research question and related methodological objectives. However, in CBR, the research question should be community initiated and relevant. Research questions may reflect lived experience (e.g. the experience of being a low-income parent) or come from practice encounters (e.g. service providers working with parents accessing services). Research questions are often determined through a process of consultation where various community interests are weighed. CBR projects tend to require considerable planning and negotiation to reach a consensus about what the critical issues are and how best to proceed. Once established, many projects undertake continuous research and action by using an integrated knowledge translation model where data is quickly integrated into

Finally, challenges may emerge in relation to the evaluation of CBPR projects. Although a strong process and outcomes evaluation is integral to effective CBPR, this component also takes time and resources, which may be in short supply. Discussing early and often the importance of evaluation to the project's continued progress and achievement of its goals and, where possible, as Chang notes, having a designated evaluator and creating an evaluation subcommittee with members representing different partnership groups may increase the appreciation and efficacy of the evaluation.

Summary and Conclusion

CBPR involves many challenges, from the substantial time and labour involved through the compromises that must sometimes be reached over research design and other key aspects of the work. These challenges may be intensified when partnering with marginalized groups, often with low educational levels, limited command of the dominant language and severe time and income constraints. Yet the potential of CBPR for improving what Rachel Morello-Frosch calls the 'relevance, rigour and reach' of the research and for building individual and community capacity may well outweigh the limitations involved. As a form of action research that puts a special emphasis on the community as a unit of identity and action and on building community capacity as a part of the research process, CBPR is a valuable part of the action research continuum.

Meredith Minkler

See also capacity building; co-generative learning; community-based research; community-university research partnerships; Feminist Participatory Action Research

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University of Kansas' Community Tool Kit: http://ctb.ku.edu

Community-Based Research

Community-based research (CBR) is a form of action research that involves research partnerships between university-based academics and communities, emphasizes lived and experiential knowledge to guide the research process and promotes capacity building to empower communities to take a leadership role in the research process. CBR projects bring project stakeholders together throughout the research process, from identifying the issues to collecting and analyzing the data, to developing strategies to bring results to policymakers with the goal of producing systemic social change. CBR shares key similarities with Community-Based Participatory Research, including recognition of the community as a unit of identity and an important resource for developing locally initiated solutions to issues affecting the community. CBR also privileges community knowledge in developing research questions over solely academic knowledge and a commitment to working collaboratively throughout the research process. However, CBR also has some important differences and unique attributes that will be discussed further.

Defining 'Community'

In CBR, *community* describes people with a shared experience (e.g. living with an illness or in a specific postal code), but it may also include a range of stakeholders working to improve their conditions. 'Community' in this sense can be understood to involve not only lived experience but also communities of shared practice in the form of activists and service providers who work directly with communities. This approach recognizes that while the perspectives of those directly affected are crucial for understanding an issue, organizing community members often requires the infrastructure and networks developed by allies.

Historical Development

CBR has roots in a number of social science disciplines and philosophical orientations to science and knowledge production. While these are diverse, Kerry Strand

is often compounded when working with youth, low-literacy groups or immigrant workers, who frequently work long hours and return home to serve as primary caregivers across generations. Translation costs and time delays and the extra training time needed when working with partnerships that vary in education, social class and racial/ethnic background create extra pressures. Finally, CBPR's call to include action as part of the research process often requires the engagement of outside researchers and their partners well beyond the funded project period.

Conflicts and power dynamics are also a challenging but necessary part of the CBPR process. Partners who engage in a CBPR project must be comfortable dealing with conflict. Struggles over power, the just allocation of resources and elements of the study design and implementation are part of the process. Developing early on the ground rules, principles of engagement and memorandums of understanding will help address such concerns. Further, as Charlotte Chang notes, a strong process evaluation, with evaluators reporting back to the group periodically and 'calling time' when the project process needs to be attended to more directly, can be of significant value.

A related and challenging part of CBPR, particularly when conducted with university partners, is that ethical review board criteria were never developed with participatory research in mind. Indeed, requirements that the principal investigator (typically a university-based partner) assume overall responsibility for major project-related decision-making is antithetical to CBPR, with its accent on shared power and equitable participation in decision-making. Sarah Flicker and her colleagues in Toronto have developed a set of guidelines for institutional review boards as they evaluate CBPR projects. Importantly, these criteria stress the community- and not individual-level risks and benefits of research proposals. Yet, while a small number of universities have adopted such criteria or created subcommittees specifically trained to evaluate CBPR proposals, the continued mismatch between the principles of CBPR and the requirements of institutional review boards' approval is a substantial hurdle.

Some immigrant partners may be reluctant to air their concerns when doing so means challenging partners with more education and a better command of English, particularly in areas related to research. Demonstrated openness and valuing of the immigrant partners' contributions on the part of the academic and other partners is a strategy that has proven effective in this regard. Similarly, small-group meetings incorporating popular education elements of critical reflection and action which allow immigrant (and other) partners to talk amongst themselves and then have a representative speak to the larger body also have demonstrated utility.

Trade-offs between scientific and community concerns and priorities regarding research instruments and interventions are among the greatest challenges to academic and professional researchers and their community partners. The enhanced cultural sensitivity and relevance of research instruments made possible by high-level community collaboration may at times conflict with outside research partners' desire for the most rigorous research designs and study instruments possible. Community partners may question the relevance of certain validated scales or may oppose intervention designs such as randomized controlled trials since not all gain equal benefit. In rural Oklahoma, academic and 40 community representatives from eight tribal communities had agreed to partner on a study of a lay health worker intervention to address the high rates of lead exposure among children in this former mining community. Although the partners worked closely on many aspects of the study, an early decision by the academic partners to use White children as a control group raised strong objections among the Native American partners. As they explained, their marginalized status in the USA had led to their having experienced generations of exclusion, and they did not want to repeat this pattern by excluding White children who might benefit from participation. The academic partners agreed, noting that while the lack of a control group would weaken the study design, the exclusion of White children could indeed be seen as discriminatory and harmful; so the study design was changed. Continuing discussions about concepts like rigour and validity from a science and a community perspective as well as discussions of the need for both scientifically strong data and findings that matter locally and reflect local knowledge can help address, yet often not fully resolve, such conflicts. Academically trained researchers must therefore be open to considering changes in research plans while also helping share their own knowledge as the partnership continues to dialogue and engage in joint decision-making.

Not infrequently in CBPR and related approaches, community partners may wish to move quickly from preliminary findings to action, including advocating for changes in programmes, practices and policies, while academically trained research partners may wish to move more slowly, ensuring the accuracy of any findings put forward and, in some cases, waiting for peer review. Conversely, findings may emerge which could show the community in an unflattering light, which community partners would not want publicized. Continued dialogue and memorandums of understanding may be helpful in anticipating such 'what ifs' and deciding on ways to deal with them early on. However, such methods are not likely to preclude unanticipated issues which may require the utmost care to address.

did not smoke were called in earlier from breaks and whether workers had experienced a variety of forms of wage theft). Validated scale items which did not translate well into Cantonese (e.g. the CES-D [Center for Epidemiologic Studies—Depression] Scale's inclusion of the idiom 'butterflies in my stomach') were also flagged by the worker-partners, and brief explanations were subsequently included to make them more easily understandable to respondents taking the survey in Cantonese. Such culturally and socially appropriate additions resulted in a final product that was far more likely to achieve accurate responses and include issues that were of substantial interest in the community.

Community members can also play a key role in 'ground-truthing' or checking the validity of existing government or other data sets. In the rural Vulindlena region, South Africa, Admire Chirowodza Chirawoga and his colleagues used GIS (geographic information systems) to map the location of HIV testing and counselling facilities throughout the region. Using those maps as a starting point, community partners then walked and drove through the region to verify the existence and location of stationary and mobile HIV testing and counselling sites. Their ground-truthing revealed that there were many more sites than the official maps had suggested. This new knowledge led to a change in the planned intervention, providing new testing equipment to existing facilities rather than creating new ones which were not needed.

A fourth added value of CBPR involves its potential for improving the design and implementation of interventions, increasing the likelihood of success. Based in the rural community of Salinas, California, the 12-year old CHAMACOS project was initially designed as a cluster-randomized controlled trial of interventions to reduce the take-home exposure of children to pesticides from their farmworker parents. Yet two of the interventions included would never have succeeded had it not been for the input of farmworker members of the project's CAB. When CAB members were asked about the proposed addition of hand-washing stations in the fields, they pointed out that in Mexican culture, washing hands in cold water was believed to cause arthritis. With that information, the proposed intervention could be redesigned to include a water heater, and handwashing, both before lunch and before going home, was significantly improved. Such respect for community wisdom also helped build the trust that has enabled much additional collaborative work.

CBPR also can help in improving data interpretation. In the Chinatown study above, worker-partners pointed out that the high proportion of workers reporting that they got 'paid sick leave' (42%) was likely inflated, reflecting the fact that for many in this community, paid sick leave simply means taking a day off when ill or caring for a sick relative and making it up later with no pay.

A sixth value added by CBPR involves its role in identifying and using new channels for dissemination. Although the importance of traditional academic and professional vehicles for dissemination of findings cannot be minimized, community partners can play an important role in determining how best to reach community 'end users' and policymakers. In Harlem, New York, concerns about the high rates of childhood asthma and the neighbourhood's extensive exposure to diesel buses and other polluting sources led to a partnership between the non-profit West Harlem Environmental Action and epidemiologists at Columbia University. They began by training high school youth to conduct bus and pedestrian counts and personal air monitoring at five key intersections for five 8-hour days. The data generated was both scientifically robust and deeply troubling. While the academic partner took the lead in submitting jointly authored articles to peer-reviewed journals, the community partner used numerous other avenues to 'get the word out' to the local community and policymakers. Seventy-five bus shelter ads, an alternative fuels summit, briefings and testimony, articles in a community newspaper and 'toxic and treasure tours' for local policymakers—highlighting not only toxic exposures but also the rich cultural heritage of the neighbourhood—were among the methods employed. Such dissemination of findings did not preclude subsequent publication of more detailed analysis but helped jump-start the process of community organizing and advocacy to bring about a number of policy changes.

A final and essential value added through CBPR involves its commitment to building individual and community capacity, leaving behind a community better able to study and address other issues of concern. A major outcome of the Chinatown study was the individual, organizational and community capacity built through the training and active engagement of the six worker leaders as well as 17 other community members who were hired and trained as surveyors. While the community partner organization gained new visibility and benefited from a major new grant, of equal importance was the training of a new generation of worker leaders, many of whom have remained active within the organization and in other efforts to improve their community.

Challenges and Limitations of CBPR

Many challenges are encountered by partners engaging in CBPR. Key among these is the time- and labour-intensive nature of the work. Building and maintaining partnerships takes substantial time both early on and throughout the research and action process. This

However, Meredith Minkler and Nina Wallerstein argue that CBPR principles should also explicitly include attention to gender, race, class and culture, as these interlock and influence every aspect of the research enterprise. They add to this list a point on 'cultural humility'. Developed by Melanie Tervalon and Jane Garcia, the concept of cultural humility suggests that while researchers cannot ever be 'competent' in another's culture, they can demonstrate openness to learning about others' cultures while examining their own biases.

A number of tools have been developed making possible the more rigorous and relevant assessment of CBPR projects, with special attention to their effectiveness in attending to CBPR principles. Mercer, Green and their partners in British Columbia developed reliability-tested guidelines for assessing the fidelity of CBPR projects to such principles. This Likert scale–type tool is now widely used by funders and CBPR partnerships to measure their effectiveness and to identify areas for improvement vis-à-vis CBPR processes. Israel and her colleagues similarly developed a set of questions used by many to assess their fidelity to the basic tenets of CBPR. Finally, websites, including Community-Campus Partnerships for Health and the University of Kansas' Community Tool Kit, offer many useful resources.

Growing Support for CBPR

CBPR has received increasing recognition in the USA, Canada (where it is more commonly called community-based research) and elsewhere, particularly in fields such as public health, medicine, education, social work and urban and regional planning. Close to a decade ago, for example, the prestigious Institute of Medicine named CBPR as one of eight new content areas in which all schools of public health should offer training. Funding bodies in the USA including the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and The California Endowment have been major supporters of CBPR. The CDC was an early sponsor of this approach—through the dozens of prevention research centres it funded at universities and which were conceived in part as portals of entry through which community organizations and academicians could collaborate on studying locally relevant concerns. Since the mid-1980s, NIH-funded Clinical Translational Science Centers have also offered major opportunities to bring CBPR into health sciences research.

Similarly, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research as well as the Social Science and Humanities Research Council in Canada have dedicated community-based research funding streams. The National Research Foundation in South Africa has supported such work, as have national research funders in Brazil and global health entities such as the World Health Organization and UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization).

How CBPR Adds Value to Research

CBPR adds substantial value to research processes and outcomes. First, it helps ensure that the research question comes from, or is important to, the local community. In rural North Carolina, community residents who suspected a link between their itchy eyes and respiratory symptoms and the rapid proliferation of industrialized livestock operations conducted some initial 'barefoot epidemiology' to test their suspicions. After measuring the depth of wells and their proximity to the large hog operations, they approached an epidemiologist at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, about working with them on more sophisticated studies in this area. The research relationship born of this encounter has lasted over 17 years and involved numerous respected studies, supported by the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (a division of the NIH), that in turn have helped contribute to policy change.

Yet even when the research question comes from an academic or other trained researcher partners, going to the affected community, meeting with respected community-based organizations or engaging an active CAB can help determine local relevance and, if needed, refine the research question. When Magboeba Mosavel and her colleagues wanted to undertake a CBPR study of cervical cancer in South Africa, where the rates of this disease are among the highest in the world, they began by forming a CAB. They learned that in South Africa, cervical cancer was of lower priority than HIV/AIDS, domestic violence and other problems. At their community partners' suggestion, they broadened the scope of the proposed research from *cervical cancer* to *cervical health*, a term that respected this broader range of concerns.

Second, CBPR can improve the cultural acceptability of study instruments, often enhancing their validity. In a Chinatown Restaurant Worker Health and Safety Study in San Francisco, California, six worker-partners were hired and trained for extensive involvement throughout this CBPR effort. Both the lead community partner organization and the worker partners made substantial improvements to the draft worker survey that was used as a template. This review process increased the survey's cultural relevance and ensured that 'the right questions' were asked. New, worker-recommended items were added (e.g. about whether workers who

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Brighton and Sussex Community Knowledge Exchange: http://www.brighton.ac.uk/cupp/whatwedo/community-knowledge-exchange/bscke.html
South East Coastal Communities Programme: http://www.coastalcommunities.org.uk

Community-Based Participatory Research

Growing calls for research that is 'community *based*' rather than 'community *placed*' and increasing attention to translational research that can improve intervention outcomes have contributed to the growing popularity of a variant of action research known as Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR). Building on the work of Barbara Israel and her colleagues in Michigan and of Lawrence W. Green and his Canadian colleagues, CBPR is a collaborative and systematic approach to inquiry that involves all partners in the research process, emphasizing their complementary strengths. CBPR commences with a research topic that comes from, or is of importance to, the community and stresses co-learning, capacity building and long-term commitment, with action integral to the research.

Historical Roots

CBPR traces its roots in part to the action research tradition of Kurt Lewin, Davydd Greenwood and William Foote Whyte and others in the 1940s and beyond. But it also finds parentage in the liberatory philosophy and methods of the Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire and other scholar-activists of the 1970s and 1980s from Africa, Asia and Latin America, who emphasized action based on critical reflection and commitment to social transformation as a key component of participatory research. Finally, CBPR also owes a debt to feminism and feminist action research traditions, with their focus on the personal as political and the importance of women's voices in and ownership of research.

As Lawrence Green and Shawna Mercer have suggested, CBPR effects a change in the balance of power where research 'objects' become research subjects, offering not only their consent but also their knowledge and experience to the formulation of the research question and to many other aspects of the research process. It is to this *orientation to research*, with its accent on issues of trust, power, dialogue, community capacity building and collaborative inquiry, towards the goal of social change, that CBPR ideally is committed.

CBPR has evolved in many directions and occurs along a continuum. Applications of CBPR range from the use of community advisory boards (CABs) to help with sample recruitment, interpretation of findings and other specific tasks to the more emancipatory end of the continuum, with its accent on community engagement throughout the process. Increasingly, efforts are being made in both government-funded university partnerships and grass-roots, community-led partnerships to live up to the 'gold standard' of CBPR, with genuine, high-level community engagement throughout the process.

Principles of CBPR

Although many CBPR partnerships develop their own principles and tenets of engagement, the set of principles developed by Israel and her community and academic partners is among the most commonly used. Briefly, they suggest that CBPR

- recognizes the community as a unit of identity, whether the community is defined in geographic, racial, ethnic or other terms;
- builds on strengths and resources within the community;
- facilitates a collaborative, equitable partnership in all phases of research, involving an empowering and power-sharing process that attends to social inequalities;
- fosters co-learning and capacity building among partners;
- achieves a balance between knowledge generation and intervention for the benefit of all partners;
- focuses on the local relevance of public health problems and on ecological perspectives that attend to the multiple determinants of health;
- involves systems development using a cyclical and iterative process;
- disseminates results to the partners and involves them in the wider dissemination of results; and
- involves a long-term process and commitment to sustainability.

money for small projects and academic 'buyout'. By forming a group of senior researchers among academics interested in partnership working, Cupp was able to respond to a broad range of requests for research help and practical support.

The Help Desk

A key feature of the Cupp programme is the community-facing help desk which offers a route into the university. Universities are large and complex organizations, and the help desk provides the first point of contact for inquiries. Through networking and outreach activities, the help desk manager was able to promote the service and offer an initial chat with a researcher to help frame requests and explain the different ways in which the university might help. This could include research support, student involvement in either a practical or a research project or a longer term academic partnership.

Student Community Engagement

Taking a lead from the service learning movement in the USA, a programme of student involvement was added to the team's profile. This began with the development of a generic undergraduate module offered across a range of schools in which students undertake a period of practical work with a community-based organization. Accompanied by a series of academic and reflective assignments, it enables students to gain academic credit for experiential work. Discrete modules were developed on a similar model for particular schools, linking practical experience with reflection and including theory and policy analysis. Cupp also brokers live research projects for postgraduate students, drawing from the European Science Shop model (www.livingknowledge.org). These provide valuable experience in an organizational context for students and enable organizations and community groups to have access to research that might not otherwise be funded.

Community Knowledge Exchange

In 2004, Cupp received funding from the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) for the Brighton and Sussex Community Knowledge Exchange. This was an opportunity to develop longer term funded partnerships with significant community impacts as well as academic research and curriculum outputs. Projects included 'Count Me In Too', a comprehensive analysis of the needs of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender population in Brighton and Hove. In 2007, further funding from the HEFCE enabled Cupp to facilitate the South East Coastal Communities Programme, which, in collaboration with eight other universities and their community partners, developed a range of projects aimed at improving health and well-being within disadvantaged and excluded communities.

As these funding streams came to a close, a local programme, 'On Our Doorsteps', focused on supporting small (£5,000) action research projects in close proximity to one of the university's five sites. These are funded through donations and provide an opportunity for a community group and an academic to develop a working relationship. Over time, about half of these have led to mature, long-term partnerships.

Communities of Practice

Cupp's work has been informed by Etienne Wenger's Communities of Practice approach and Anthony Gibbons' Type 1 and Type 2 knowledge. By constituting learning partnerships that focus on sharing practice and valuing different types of knowledge, those involved within them are able to take a more holistic view of areas of shared concern. Cupp have also contributed to national and global networks of socially engaged universities, sharing experience with other institutions in the UK and internationally through staff exchange, international seminars and consultancies. In 2008, The Beacon's Project for Public Engagement was established with HEFCE funding to influence culture change and promote engagement within UK universities. Cupp have been able to support the Beacons on some of these initiatives, and university-community engagement has become more prevalent across the UK. However, as time and resources become increasingly scarce for communities and universities, Cupp and its partners have had to adapt their way of working to focus on those activities that are fully linked to core activities and do not require additional funds. This has included a greater focus on student engagement, the promotion of staff volunteering activities among all university staff and larger collaborative research partnerships. Now part of the Department of Economic and Social Engagement, they remain central to Brighton's strategic mission.

Juliet Millican and David Wolff

See also communities of practice; community-based research; community-university research partnerships; Mode 1 and Mode 2 knowledge production

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to assume the responsibility to monitor and manage the discourse (metacognition). Similarly, there is the misconception that in a community of inquiry, the teacher is only a facilitator and should not be too directive; this may also be a mistake. In a purposeful community of inquiry, participants have a goal and expect that this will be achieved effectively and efficiently. Ultimately, this is the responsibility of the formal leader.

Conclusion

The importance of communities of inquiry for learning and creativity in a number of contexts is only just emerging and their potential broadly recognized. From the perspective of communities of inquiry, significant learning is purposeful, shared inquiry powered by curiosity and uncertainty. Communities of inquiry provide constructive collaboration that is the environment for problem-solving and creativity. Most successful organizations have recognized this reality in the digital age. It is through collaboration in communities of inquiry made possible by new and emerging information and communication technologies that the conditions for creativity and innovation leading to increased effectiveness and efficiency are created.

The opportunities for collaboration found in communities of inquiry are transforming organizations. In an educational context, the community of inquiry described here is emerging as the means to learn effectively in a digital age through sustained collaboration in constructing new ideas and knowledge. Communities of inquiry reflect the 'free inquiry' that Dewey espoused, along with teaching presence based on transactional relationships and not standardized outcomes. It is a process that creates collaborative environments that build social and cognitive connections among participants. The creative construction of knowledge is not predicable and therefore must be based in collaborative free inquiry.

Donn R. Garrison

See also Action Learning; constructivism; Dewey, John; dialogic inquiry; social learning

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Community-University Partnership Programme

The Community University Partnership Programme (Cupp) at the University of Brighton, UK, was founded in 2003 with the objective of building long-term, mutually beneficial partnerships between the university and its local community. It was initially funded by seed money from Atlantic Philanthropies, an American philanthropic trust, to explore how universities could make their resources available to the local community in ways that were equally beneficial to local groups and to the university's core aims of teaching and research. While this work is more common in the USA and Australia, there was little precedent within the UK, and Cupp's initial period was one of exploration and experimentation. In 2007, when project funding came to an end, Cupp was incorporated into the university's new corporate plan with core funding for a team that includes a director, an academic, an administrator and three development managers. It remains very rare as a key strategic initiative within an English university.

The Initial Programme

The early phase consisted of active engagement with key university staff and colleagues from community-based organizations in order to determine the aspirations, possibilities, constraints and traditions of the different sectors. The team members were encouraged to 'define their work in the doing', and three pilot projects were established in 2004 which offered some important parameters for the programme as a whole. These included the importance of activities that address social exclusion, directly connect with areas of university expertise and have prospects for sustaining themselves beyond any initial funding.

Cupp established three interrelated aims:

1. To ensure that the university's resources (intellectual and physical) are available to, informed by and used by its local and subregional communities
2. To enhance the community's and university's capacity for engagement for mutual benefit
3. To ensure that Cupp's resources are prioritized towards addressing inequalities with our local communities

The role of the Cupp development team became largely one of brokerage, bringing together partners who could learn from each other through shared activity, and in Cupp's early days, seed funding provided start-up

Inquiry is a process that takes learners beyond assimilating inert knowledge. It is a process that often leads in unexpected directions. In the CoI framework, inquiry is labelled cognitive presence and operationalized through the practical inquiry (PI) model. PI is defined here as a multiple-phased process initiated by a triggering event and proceeding through the phases of exploration, integration and resolution. The PI model is a two-dimensional model. The first dimension, action-deliberation, reflects the sociological (shared) and psychological (private) aspects of inquiry. The second dimension reflects the perception-conception dimension of PI and the fusion of the shared and private worlds. At one extreme is the divergent process of the analysis of ideas, and at the other extreme is the convergent process of constructing meaning. The PI model represents a clear picture of the complex, collaborative constructive process of knowledge building.

However, as noted previously, inquiry is best realized through collaboration and community. In turn, community and collaboration are based upon trust. Creating a climate and cohesion that will encourage and sustain open communication is essential to a community of inquiry. For these reasons, a core element in the CoI framework is social presence. What then are the social elements that will support a purposeful academic environment including critical discourse and reflective thinking? How do we create a complex dynamic that includes intellectually challenging critical discourse while sustaining a respectful community of learners?

The key to answering these questions is to recognize that individuals first identify with the shared purpose of the group. It is only through purposeful collaborative activities that interpersonal bonds develop. The mistake is to focus too much on interpersonal connections and not enough on open communication and group cohesion. Consistent with this perspective, social presence is seen as participants identifying with the group, communicating purposefully in a trusting environment and progressively developing interpersonal relationships. It is important to note the dynamic nature of social presence (as with all the presences) in developing a community of inquiry, beginning with an emphasis on open communication, then moving to the development of group cohesion through collaborative activities and, eventually, establishing interpersonal relationships naturally over time. Social presence has been shown to be associated with satisfaction and perceived learning.

While social presence does provide the environment for respectful discourse, it does not guarantee a functional community of inquiry. The element that brings together cognitive and social presence in an optimally functioning community is leadership. Leadership in the CoI framework is defined as teaching presence. It is important to recognize that in the context of a community of inquiry this responsibility is distributed and therefore assumed to varying degrees by all participants (note that this is why it is referred to as *teaching* and not *teacher* presence). Notwithstanding the collaborative nature of a community of inquiry, teaching presence plays an essential role and represents a set of three interdependent responsibilities—the design, facilitation and direction of cognitive and social processes. Like the other community of inquiry elements, these responsibilities are developmental and shift in focus over time. Teaching presence is required to initiate a community of inquiry and also to sustain the community through the functions of facilitation and direction, which ensures that its intended goals are achieved in a timely manner.

Practical Implications

When establishing a community of inquiry, social presence is of critical importance. The practical advice here is to focus on open communication and build group cohesion through purposeful collaborative activities. While introductions are important, excessive time spent on these activities on the front end may be counterproductive in establishing and sustaining a community of inquiry. The risk is that participants may lose interest, or they may become too personally attached to engage in honest critical discourse. It should also be noted that social presence as a whole will rise and fall over time as the nature of the activities evolve and community cohesion develops.

From an educational perspective, the practical challenge of a community of inquiry is moving inquiry effectively and efficiently through to resolution. Early research with informal learning communities has shown that without sufficient leadership, the group has a high probability of becoming distracted and fragmented. Sustaining a community of inquiry begins with design and the clear provision of goals and expectations. Next, whether it is an informal, nonformal or formal learning experience, a successful community of inquiry requires sustained facilitation and direction.

The great challenge from a teaching presence perspective is for the formal leader to provide the appropriate degree of presence. Research has shown that if the leader or another participant dominates a discussion, other participants will hesitate to engage in meaningful discourse. The same is true if leadership is absent. When there is too little teaching presence, discussion will wander and soon dissipate. This may happen when expectations are not clear or participants are not ready

grow in all segments of society. This is no less so in educational environments. This entry discusses action research's goal of contributing to community issues and the participants of those communities.

The use of the term *community of inquiry* was first adopted by Matthew Lipman in the 1980s, when he and his colleagues began to rethink educational practice from the perspective of a reflective paradigm. Critical reflection and dialogue are apparent in a community of inquiry when participants engage in respectful discussion but critically explore and challenge ideas and reasoning for the purposes of solving problems and constructing personal and public knowledge.

Description

The genesis of the concept of a community of inquiry can be historically traced to ancient Greece and is consistent with modern social constructivist epistemology. However, the term brings with it a degree of imprecision. The philosophical foundation of the community of inquiry concept has its origins in the work of John Dewey. Community and inquiry were important themes in Dewey's work that recognized the inseparability of the public and private worlds. Dewey believed that an educational experience must be socially worthwhile and personally meaningful. It is the fusion of public discourse and personal reflection that goes to the heart of the process of inquiry.

We begin our assessment of what constitutes a community of inquiry by analyzing the core concept of inquiry. In general terms, inquiry is a process leading to deep and meaningful understanding. We define inquiry here as a process of critical thinking and problem-solving based on the generalized scientific method, with the purpose of resolving a problem or dilemma and resulting in the growth of personal and collective knowledge. Critical thinking and making sense of questions are central to the inquiry process; however, inquiry does not take place in isolation.

For example, inquiry is not privately surfing the Internet. The Internet encourages ideological cocooning. It allows one to live within a set of assumptions and beliefs without challenge. It makes possible the reinforcement of one's biases with the avoidance of contrary perspectives and facts. On the other hand, communities of inquiry make use of the technological affordances of a rapidly evolving digital world that has the potential to create the conditions for sustained critical discourse, where breadth of access to information is fused with depth of critical thinking. In short, inquiry is inherently social and depends upon collaboration and community. Communities of inquiry take advantage of the connectivity of the digital world around us and actively engage learners in deep and meaningful learning experiences.

The social nature of inquiry draws our attention to the concept of community. A community is defined by its context and purpose and displays the characteristics of interdependence, collaboration, communication, trust and a common purpose. It is a place to connect with others and share. Community is essential to sustained inquiry, where participants feel connected to the goals of the group and sufficiently secure to challenge ideas, sustain the discourse, collaboratively construct meaning and validate knowledge. As such, a community stimulates public discussion and personal reflection. Beyond group identity, it is the elements of critical discourse and reflection that are inseparable in a community of inquiry.

Perhaps the most significant development of the concept of community in modern times is that we no longer have a restriction based on geography. Communication technologies not only have radically changed the way we create and sustain communities but also present a more complex dynamic. This increasing technological complexity creates a new challenge and at the same time provides enormous possibilities. What is crucial to understanding this paradigmatic shift is recognizing two important communication functions—accessing and transmitting information (one way) and engaging in open dialogue (two way). It is, of course, understanding the interactive nature of the latter that is central to a community of inquiry.

The best example of the idea of a community of inquiry can be found in the field of education, although variations can be found in the world of business and training (one variation being communities of practice). The fact that inquiry is learning centred and socially situated gives it an intimate connection to the educational process. Dewey believed strongly that inquiry is indispensable to the educational process. Communities of inquiry provide intellectual challenges and the environment for individuals to stretch their depth and breadth of knowledge. To understand the application of the community of inquiry construct, we turn our attention to a framework that has drawn considerable attention in the past decade.

Elements of a Community of Inquiry

We focus our discussion on what may be the most prominent, coherent and conceptually rich description of a community of inquiry—the Community of Inquiry (CoI) theoretical framework. The elements of the CoI framework were originally described over a decade ago. It is a generic framework, although it has been applied largely in online and blended learning environments. Since the original publication of the series of papers describing the CoI framework, considerable work has been done to develop and validate the framework.

Applications and Uses

Community mapping has been employed for a variety of purposes ranging from natural resource inventories and bio-regional mapping to crime fighting and efforts to alleviate urban poverty. It has been used to support many different goals, including community building, planning, conservation, advocacy and reform. Examples of communities engaged in community mapping can be found all over the world. Using 'community-mapping images' as a web search query leads to web images of community-mapping products from across the globe. Clicking on any of the icons tells the story behind each initiative. Community mapping ranges from grass-roots efforts undertaken in isolation by a single community to highly organized global efforts, for example, Green Map, which has engaged over 800 communities in 65 countries to map green living, nature and culture.

Parallel Initiatives

Community mapping has been practised by civilizations for a long time without a formal label attached to it. Mapping information by the community about itself to advance a cause eventually became recognized as 'community mapping'. Today, there exist other names to reflect similar practice. The subtle differences between these initiatives can be confusing.

'Asset mapping' describes the process of community mapping where the primary focus is on the community recording its assets, which can be physical assets as well as emotional, including attitudes, values or beliefs. The advent of digital mapping and geographic information systems (GIS) led to interest in exploring how emerging technologies could contribute to community mapping. Participatory GIS is the combination of GIS, multimedia and Participatory Learning and Action, exploring interactive tools to facilitate spatial learning and group-based decision-making primarily to help disadvantaged groups. Underlying processes build on community-mapping principles. Public Participation GIS is a related effort bringing GIS capacity to marginalized populations to empower and give a voice in the public arena. *Counter-mapping* is a term that gained popularity with the introduction of the concept of Web 2.0 and the notion that the World Wide Web, and efforts like Google Earth and 'slippy maps' facilitate a service that allows users to interact and collaborate with each other counter to a world ruled by authority and specialists. Finally, Volunteered Geographic Information explores how to harness tools to create, assemble and disseminate geographic information provided voluntarily by individuals, including the marginalized.

Further Information

It is advisable to seek guidance and mentorship from those who can claim previous experience with community mapping. Universities and/or non-governmental organizations often are brought aboard as partners to help with specific design and management of the process. They often also give support with the translation of high-tech information into concrete information products.

Peter Keller

See also asset mapping; collaborative action research; Community-Based Participatory Research; geographic information systems; map-making; Participatory Rapid Appraisal

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Community of Inquiry

A community of inquiry is a collaborative form of purposeful discourse focused on exploring, constructing meaning and validating understanding. Communities of inquiry are becoming critically important in a world of instant communication driven by the economic need for increased effectiveness, efficiency and innovation. In any organizational context, collaboration and critical thinking are of growing importance to remain competitive. Innovative collaboration and inquiry made possible by new and emerging information and communications technology are transforming how we learn and

exists among the people in the situation and not only among the professionals and experts. Recognition of personal experience and feelings as important knowledge for decision-making reflects an important shift in understanding who 'owns' knowledge that is usually regarded as belonging to researchers and professionals. This issue is particularly relevant when participants in processes come from excluded groups whose voices tend not to be heard in the public space.

Both methods focus on dialogic learning that emphasizes exchange and mutuality among people committed to promoting a common interest. This kind of learning makes use of methods that moderate the influence of existing hierarchies and strives to create a free space in which critical thinking is legitimate. In both community dialogue and action research, the learning and action nurture each other. The issue of participation is another central feature of the two methods, both of which aspire to create processes in which different people are connected to the given situation and make their opinions heard. For this reason, different participatory practices and processes of outreach are a part of both methods.

The role of professionals takes on a similar character as participatory figures who consult, involve and enable others under the guidance of these methods. Finally, it is important to note that people learning to conduct community dialogue and those taking part in action research develop an awareness of the possibility of developing knowledge and generating solutions from within the collective.

Orna Shemer

See also citizen participation; democratic dialogue; dialogue; empowerment; hegemony; multi-stakeholder dialogue; voice; World Café, the

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Community Mapping

Community mapping is the process and product of a community getting together to map its own assets, values, beliefs or any other self-selected variable. It is about mapping by the community for the community using relatively informal processes. It is opposite to mapping by authority for authority using formal rules. It is a methodology that encourages and empowers the community to explore itself and to advance on action. It facilitates building meaningful and accurate knowledge of what a community looks like while allowing for that knowledge to remain in the community. It is a form of action research that has the capacity to significantly empower the community when negotiating with outsiders by enabling it to be in a stronger position when representing itself.

Both a Process and a Product

There are no formal rules determining the process of community mapping. But a number of recognizable steps do exist. A community usually (a) self-identifies, (b) agrees to engage in mapping itself as a community, (c) identifies the primary 'action' or purpose for mapping, (d) decides what information to collect, (e) completes information gathering, (f) analyzes the information focusing on the 'action' under consideration, (g) organizes and analyzes the information so that it can be meaningfully and effectively communicated and (h) uses the information strategically and as planned to achieve action.

The product of community mapping often includes an actual map to organize and communicate the information gathered. These maps can be hand drawn and abstract. Today, we more commonly see output in the form of highly sophisticated digital maps capitalizing on the latest in the geographic information sciences, digital multimedia and web-based cartography. Contrary to what the label 'community mapping' suggests, an actual map is not essential. The product can equally be written documents, tables and graphs or other media forms, including oral narratives. The outcome often is a combination of all the above.

In community mapping, the journey is as important as reaching the destination. The process of community mapping helps bring a community together to work on a common cause. The process facilitates sharing of insights about assets, attitudes, values and beliefs. The information products generated facilitate recording what was shared as well as communicating this to outsiders. The combination of process and product has the capacity to empower the community by making it better prepared to stand up against and/or negotiate with outside interests.

the various senses widens the range of opportunities available to people to express themselves.

Uniqueness of Community Dialogue

A number of features of community dialogue practice come together to define its uniqueness. The following are some, but by no means all, of these defining features:

An Approach to Community Development

Community dialogue is not simply a method but also an approach to community development, based on the co-operation of community members as active citizens who together shape their way of life. Community development avoids centralization, exclusion, hierarchy and the exercise of authority since, as its name implies, it collectively develops and empowers people from the community. This approach is based on the belief that every person and each culture have something to contribute to the public space.

Community Dialogue as a Personal and Community Journey

Community dialogue is a personal journey no less than a community journey. The personal dimension enables people to expand themselves through listening to others with respect and acceptance. This kind of listening does not necessarily mean agreement, but rather, it ensures openness and a strong willingness to understand what the other is trying to say. This openness and acceptance are an important factor in generating successful dialogue since they lead to the emergence of change which begins with the individual person and spreads to the collective. Many philosophers, educators and therapists (e.g. Socrates, Nietzsche, Buber, Carl Rogers and Paulo Freire), as well as religious leaders from both the West and the East, see dialogue as a fundamental, complex action in which one person opens to the other and, through this openness, change begins to happen.

On the community dimension, dialogue can deepen the sense of community among people and lead to a deeper understanding of the meaning of community. This process creates an opening for finding the common and unifying factors that cannot be discovered by a shallow and unnatural universalizing of people. In a dialectical way, the engagement of conflicts that divide people can lead to the discovery of what is shared and unifying.

Conflicts Are a Part of Life

Community dialogue starts out from the assumption that competing interests, arguments, tensions and conflicts are a part of life. Despite being the source of difficulty, blockages and delays, conflicts also contain within them points of power, strength and connection. It is not uncommon for them to constitute the starting point for change. Avoidance, denial or denigration of conflict is liable to make conflict worse over time and even more painful.

Dealing With the Intercultural Encounter

In order to make connections between people from the community, it is important to understand how culture contributes to this meeting among people and where cultural characteristics can present obstacles to dialogue. Engagement based on interpersonal and organizational cultural competence can help overcome some of these obstacles. This competence may include ensuring linguistic accessibility through translation; separate preparation for some of the members of different cultural groups; setting meetings for appropriate times for everyone, with consideration for holidays; culturally sensitive facilitation; the use of art and other non-verbal forms of expression and coordinating steps with leaders of the different cultural communities.

Size of the Process

Community dialogue can take place in many kinds of forums of different sizes. It can occur in small groups of only a few people or in large forums of hundreds and even thousands of people who communicate with technological assistance. In order to deal with issues that arise during the process, it is sometimes necessary to expand the circles of participants. For example, in dealing with educational issues, it might be important to include educational professionals and non-governmental organizations as well as representatives of parents and students. Alternatively, the dialogue will sometimes be more effective in small circles, with the understanding that in dealing with certain issues it is preferable to leave the dialogue to representatives or leaders who gain their legitimacy from their communities.

Between Dialogue and Action Research

Community dialogue is based on the same principles that guide action research. It aspires to create change through learning and the participation of people who have a stake in a particular issue. As with action research, community dialogue places issues of relevance to people on the agenda and provides them opportunities to participate in learning and in presenting different points of view. Both methods strongly stress the fact that much valuable knowledge

the two methods tend to go together and complement each other in different ways.

Guiding Principles of Community Dialogue

Community dialogue is guided by a number of general principles. These principles may contradict each other and need to be applied by each community according to its unique situation.

Deep Democracy

The depth of democracy is achieved through determined and honest efforts to enable a wide range of people in the community to have their voices heard, including those who are generally not heard. These efforts help democracy go deeper than the limited concept of democracy as 'majority rule', 'governance by the people' or defence of minority rights. Deep democracy is characterized by the legitimization of diverse interests, full transparency, listening and well-informed decision-making based on significant learning about the issues involved.

Deep Multiculturalism

Community dialogue strives to create a public space characterized by fairness and critical awareness of the explicit and implicit power relations that constitute it. Power relations among cultural identities do not enable the formation of a neutral space because different cultures possess resources and barriers that place their members in different positions in the space. Deep multiculturalism means adapting the public space to the different characteristics of the community members. This process of adaptation requires dealing with intercultural interactions through open discussion, negotiation and decision-making according to criteria that are explicit and clear to everyone.

Solidarity and Shared Responsibility for the Community

Developing a community perspective expresses common loyalty and concern among people with different identities. This commitment and concern apply to both the relationships among individuals and the public space that is considered to be common to all.

Commitment to Basic Universal Rules

Community dialogue requires establishing rules that enable people to remain true to a particular way of acting even when they have not yet formed a common denominator. These rules include integrity, carrying on fair discussion, direct and honest decision-making processes, commitment to carrying out decisions, fair disclosure of information, living up to rights and obligations, refraining from coercion and exclusion and ethical behaviour on the part of professionals who take part in the process.

Methods of Community Dialogue

Community dialogue is a concept recognized worldwide, and there are many different practical approaches for applying it. At the same time, there is considerable ambiguity over the concept, and it is often used inaccurately to describe other community processes and tools. First of all, the term *community* can apply to functional spaces that are not solely geographical. Second, this process can apply to dialogue that takes place with different kinds and sizes of communities and uses methods that do not always involve direct, face-to-face contact.

In part, community dialogue methods give expression to deliberative democracy, which is based on discussion among participants for the purpose of influence and developing ideas but not necessarily for decision-making. In part, they give expression to participatory democracy, which emphasizes the participation of people in decision-making processes. It is not uncommon for power relations and control to be carried out under cover of co-operation and dialogue. Facilitators of 'community dialogue' must possess the awareness and the tools to recognize and deal with manipulations and covert processes that undermine fairness.

The methods listed below are not usually carried out all in one meeting. Each one is based on a process of detailed and sensitive preparation, professional facilitation, teamwork, learning, use of technology and communications, documentation and data processing. Accepted community dialogue processes include different kinds of meetings, gatherings and conferences that enable free and democratic participation of people from the community. Structured methods of dialogue led by facilitators and involving systematic recording and analysis of its contents include open space, town hall meetings, World Café, knowledge café, round tables and a participatory narrative model of learning about a community. Other methods, such as dialogue groups, provide a more open, intimate and long-term process. In addition, community dialogue can take place through representatives such as in-community coalitions, citizen-based consensus conferences, multiparty mediation and consensus building. These methods can be supported by communication mechanisms such as community newspapers, television, radio and Internet sites with forums and blogs that facilitate the transfer of knowledge and opinions. Community dialogue methods can include non-verbal forms of expression. For example, the use of material, movement and

community action during the implementation phase and, of course, evaluating the outcomes.

Future Directions for Community Development

The field of community development is at somewhat of a crossroads. In the urban USA, some CDCs became so successful at creating new housing and storefronts (or simply benefited from the improving economy of the 1990s) that they almost developed themselves out of business. Declining crime rates, skyrocketing housing prices and neighbourhood gentrification gave a less urgent appearance to urban community development. In the Global South, critiques of institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, along with the rise of redistributive governments in Venezuela and other places, seemed to offer a temporary sign that the existing community development practices either were not necessary or were already self-sustaining.

The global economic meltdown of 2008, however, is showing signs that the practices may not be sustainable and that even many of the successes may be undone. Housing foreclosures and failing businesses created ghost neighbourhoods again. The major community development question facing post-industrial cities such as Detroit, Michigan, in the USA is not how to grow but how to shrink. Rather than discussing how to rebuild housing for residents, policymakers are discussing how to remove buildings altogether, returning entire swaths of cities back to nature. Similarly, to the extent that the realities of climate change are becoming obvious, sustainability is entering into the community development discourse in ways never before seen.

What does community development look like in such a context? One of the new emphases in community development that seems to embody all of these interests is urban agriculture. As an extension of the 'locavore' philosophy, urban agriculture is developing areas of the city for growing things rather than for industrial production, commerce and housing. Bicycling and pedestrian routes are also part of community development in the 2010s. But while there are some isolated examples of local communities trying to do more comprehensive planning for self-sustainability, there is no widespread community development model for producing sustainable communities beyond abstract approaches such as the European *The Natural Step* model, which focuses on reducing resource extraction, waste, the degradation of nature and the degradation of humans. Whether such models will become prominent in policy and practice is perhaps the main question facing the future of community development.

Randy Stoecker

See also Alinsky, Saul; asset mapping; Asset-Based Community Development; Freire, Paulo; Highlander Research and Education Center; Horton, Myles; ladder of participation; Society for Participatory Research in Asia

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Community Dialogue

Community dialogue gathers people from different groups in the community together to meet for the purpose of engaging in deep democratic discourse. These groups include both stakeholders in the community and service providers. The participants in the process are people who jointly face common issues, problems and tensions that stem from their encounter or from shared situations that influence their lives in different ways. Usually, dialogue is generated to fill one or more of the following functions: problem-solving, providing a concrete response to a need, preventing the escalation of a situation such as inter-group conflict or laying the foundations for co-operation and influence stemming from an aspiration to engage difference and the challenges it poses.

The power of community dialogue lies in the interpersonal and inter-group co-operation that enhances the ability of communities to deal with problems. It enables people to get to know each other, to exchange information and to express thoughts and perspectives. It also enables them to influence the community's agenda, to discuss conflicts and dilemmas and to arrive at common solutions.

Community dialogue is not appropriate for every community and, in any event, requires adaptation to the cultural norms, values and goals of the specific community.

There are many parallels between action research and community dialogue. They share a common set of guiding principles as well as methods. As will be seen,

others. But there are an equal number of projects that are born from residents, designed by residents and carried out by residents with the support of staff from CDCs and other non-governmental organizations who act as community organizers. Professional organizations such as the Community Development Society also promote codes of ethics that emphasize meaningful and powerful participation of all community members in the entire community development process.

Knowledge and Research Issues in Community Development

The field of community development has achieved status as an academic discipline in many places. There are academic programmes in community development or related practices such as community organizing and community planning in more than half the states in the USA. As the field has developed as an academic discipline, it has also become integrated with various research methodologies.

Some research and knowledge methodologies have been intertwined with community development for a very long time in the Global South. Perhaps the most famous of these is the practice of popular education, a form of community education where residents come together to participate in the design and implementation of their own educational process, often with an outsider who facilitates rather than leads. The most famous popular educator is Paulo Freire, who developed a form of literacy training with Brazilian peasants that integrated community development into the literacy training process. In the USA, a similar practice was evident in the work of Myles Horton, who helped found the Highlander Folk School (now the Highlander Research and Education Center), which was so central to the success of the Civil Rights Movement.

Another form of research integrated with community development came from Rajesh Tandon's work in India engaging residents in forms of research that helped them critique and transform existing power structures. Part of the global protests of the 1960s and 1970s, Tandon explicitly contrasted his practice of participatory research from what he saw as the more top-down model of action research developed by Kurt Lewin.

This work in the Global South became influential in similar research methodologies in the Global North. In Europe, science shops developed as university-supported services where community groups engaged in community development could seek out research support for projects. In the USA, community-based research and Community-Based Participatory Research were founded as models of research support for community development, particularly in the field of public health. These models, however, have had difficulty maintaining an ethic of resident participation in their practice, and critics of current practices continually invent new labels to try and distinguish more participatory work when the existing labels get spoiled by those who do not understand the ethics and politics of community participation and control.

There are also a number of more specific research methods used in community development contexts. In rural contexts of the Global South, rapid rural appraisal is used by external experts to make the most out of limited research resources. The idea is to limit the research scope to only those questions that are truly worth knowing something about, and to limit the time and effort expended on the research to only the level of accuracy needed to produce knowledge that can guide effective practice. Rapid rural appraisal relies on existing documented information; indigenous knowledge; key indicator data; short, multidisciplinary site visits and focused interviews and observations. Participatory Rural Appraisal uses similar data-gathering techniques but shifts control over the generation of questions and research to residents rather than outsiders.

Needs assessments and asset mapping are also becoming staples of research supporting community development practice. In a needs assessment, the questions are focused on residents' concerns or perceived needs. In an asset map, the questions are focused on residents' skills and talents, as well as on community resources. The distinction between these two methods has become part of the debate between ABCD proponents and those working from a conflict model of community development. ABCD practitioners use asset maps, believing that they portray the community more positively than needs assessments. Of course, in community development, the focus is on improving the community, and an asset map is taking the long way around to determine what to improve. But needs assessments must be done carefully so that both community residents and outsiders can understand that needs develop out of a system of exclusion and marginalization rather than from the failings of residents themselves, or otherwise the research can indeed make people feel less, rather than more, hopeful.

Recently, a comprehensive model integrating community-based research and community development has been developed by Stoecker. The model steps through the process of diagnosing a community condition, developing a prescription for that condition, implementing the prescription and evaluating its effect. The community either acts as its own 'physician' in this process or as a full collaborator with outsiders who may have the needed expertise. At each step of the process, there are research tasks: researching the causes and consequences of the condition, researching the prescription options, perhaps doing research as a

community problems were needs based, making community members seem helpless and putting the power for solutions to problems mostly in the hands of service providers. They instead started from the assumption that community members had 'assets' and all they had to do was mobilize those assets to develop their communities. The ABCD model's unintended drawback, however, was that it led to a blaming-the-victim mentality, distracting community workers and community members from understanding the outside forces working against community development that prevented people's assets from being effectively mobilized.

The controversy that developed over the ABCD model was symptomatic of an underlying debate between co-operation and conflict theories. Social co-operation theories argue that people who occupy very different and unequal stations in life nonetheless have more common interests than they have conflicting interests. Thus, they can come together and collaborate on community development projects. Social conflict theories argue that conflicting material interests, across lines of class, race, gender and other divides, create conflicts. Groups and individuals occupying more powerful class, race, gender and other positions win in that conflict unless those on the other side of the divide organize. It is easy to see, then, how community development workers who adopt a conflict perspective will deploy comprehensive community development models that emphasize local control and community member participation. Those who adopt a co-operation perspective will be more comfortable with corporate and government elites leading community development priorities. The two theories consequently lead to very different perceptions of stakeholders, with the powerful holding an antagonistic 'stake' from a conflict perspective and holding a complementary stake from a co-operation perspective.

The Relationship Between Community Organizing and Community Development

The debate between the conflict and co-operation models in community development also necessitates some discussion of the relationship between community organizing and community development. Community organizing is a practice of community work most associated with Saul Alinsky but also visible in many of the strategies of the Civil Rights Movement, especially those organized by Ella Baker. Community organizing emphasizes building the power of communities, especially neighbourhood-based communities, to influence government and corporate policies on a sustained basis. Consequently, the organizations built by community organizers were adept at public confrontation with existing power holders as they challenged the systems of inequality in cities. Many of the issues that those groups took on—fair housing and local influence over economic development—were directly tied to community development.

So if one arranges various forms of community practice from the most conflict oriented to the most co-operation oriented, one will find traditional community organizing at the conflict end and the most top-down community development at the co-operation end of the spectrum. The most comprehensive forms of community development often include full-fledged community organizing. But it is difficult to combine the two practices because they come from incompatible models. Organizing power in a community can threaten the funders needed for community development projects. However, the community development possibilities available to a community will be limited unless the community is powerful enough to leverage funding for projects that elites may otherwise not support.

Some of those who think carefully about community work then emphasize the necessity of doing both community organizing and community development, however difficult they may be to combine. Steve Callahan and colleagues, in a widely read paper, talked about 'rowing the boat with two oars' regarding the relationship between community organizing and development. Randy Stoecker has also discussed how to co-ordinate the two practices.

The Issue of Participation in Community Development

As more grass-roots models of community have gained prominence, the question of how people participate in the community development process has garnered more and more attention. The Institute of Development Studies built an entire unit around the question of participation in community development in international contexts. In 2001, Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari produced an edited volume under the title *Participation: The New Tyranny*, questioning whether the lip service given to the topic of participation was supported by meaningful practice. Others have echoed the critique of participation practices as not being followed up with deeds. Some of these critiques have resurrected Sherry Arnstein's original ladder of participation to show how many of the 'participation' practices in many forms of government programming and community development are kept at the level of tokenism.

Forms of resident participation in community development have indeed ranged widely. Some CDCs don't even have democratically elected boards of directors or other forms of community accountability. Sometimes, residents are invited only to complete token needs surveys, or asset maps, or to review plans created by

A second origin was the post–World War II expansion of programmes to influence the development path of the Global South. With the rise of a community development policy in the United Nations, various non-governmental international aid programmes and institutions, such as the World Bank, became associated with the term *community development*, even though many such programmes imposed top-down mandates for certain kinds of capitalist-friendly development, and the accompanying fiscal policy. At the same time, a number of US academics became involved with agriculture-related community development in the Global South.

In the 1960s, community development became more political. Critiques of top-down development models, destructive industrial-agricultural models and disempowering outsider-controlled processes gradually gave way to small-scale, locally controlled practices. Informed by books such as E. F. Schumacher's *Small Is Beautiful* and the global reaction against industrial agriculture, community development also became more influenced by community organizing models that emphasized building local power as a foundation for community development.

As the protest wave of the 1960s and 1970s subsided, community development lost some of its politicized edge but retained an emphasis on small-scale local interventions. In particular, government funders and private foundations in US cities engineered a shift to defund politically successful community organizing groups in favour of organizations that did not threaten the existing balance of power. This strategy led to the rise of community development corporations (CDCs)—usually neighbourhood-based non-profit organizations that emphasized local housing or economic development. Such 'bricks and sticks' organizations concentrated on physical development, building housing and business storefronts in disinvested neighbourhoods.

Such technocratic approaches were criticized for not considering the need to empower neighbourhood residents, instead of just building business storefronts and housing. As CDCs went out of favour, funding for them decreased, and many folded or merged. A cheaper alternative, called capacity building, then expanded into the 2000s. Capacity building remained relatively depoliticized, however, and emphasized building community capacities to self-manage service organizations, run businesses and guide local development rather than to reshape the political-economic structures that created the problems to begin with.

Models of Community Development

The history of community development makes clear just how many models can inform the practice. There are many ways to distinguish the models.

The first distinction is between large-scale and small-scale development. While the large-scale model has fallen out of favour among those practitioners who self-identify with the practice of community development, it is still widely practised by institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In such a model, community development policy is set by international power brokers and agreed to by national governments. Projects are large-scale and capital-intensive, requiring high levels of technical knowledge to manage and maintain. In contrast, small-scale development emphasizes simple technologies that can be designed by local people and managed with a moderate amount of education. Consider the difference between centralized electricity generation and an easily maintained solar panel that can serve basic electrical needs, such as powering a reading lamp, for a single household.

In 1993, Peter Boothroyd and H. Craig Davis elaborated on this distinction in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research* by deconstructing the term *community economic development*. They explained that there were really three approaches embedded in the term. When the community is emphasized, the focus is on building grass-roots participation and relationships. When the economy is emphasized, the community's interests may be subordinated to the demands of business for profit and concessions needed to attract capitalist investment and jobs. When development is emphasized, the focus is on the social structural changes needed to help people meet their basic needs. Actual programmes, and the processes by which they are designed, vary depending on the emphasis.

Another way to differentiate community development approaches is by the extent to which they are comprehensive or specialized. The USA, through the CDC model, has developed a highly specialized system. Many CDCs not only specialize in a single section of a city, but they also specialize in only one aspect of community development, such as housing or business development. In some cases, a CDC may specialize by supporting business development for a single racial or ethnic group. A large number of international development models, such as those practised through the Institute of Development Studies in the UK, are much more comprehensive and combine community organizing and community planning processes with physical and social development projects.

There has also been a distinction in North America, now spreading across Europe, between needs-based and Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD). In 1993, John Kretzmann and John McKnight came out with their famous book *Building Communities From the Inside Out.* This book inaugurated the practice of ABCD. Their argument was that past attempts to solve

a non-profit corporation by an administrator through a local American Institute of Architects chapter and supported by Community Development Block Grants and other sources of funding to facilitate volunteerism.

Other, more comprehensive community design practice is carried out by centres that promote community-based control of local projects with related community improvement activities. Because these centres concentrate on providing a variety of services, they help generate projects for which architectural services will eventually be required. CDCs look to organizers, neighbourhood planning groups, individual low-income clients, community service committees and non-profit boards of directors for their leadership in building communities.

Design centres tend to receive favourable press reports in their local communities, which indicates that they successfully serve their advocacy mission.

A study of 114 community design practitioners was conducted in 2007 to identify the recent trends in community design practice compared with the initial principles. The findings revealed that current practitioners have diverged from the initial conceptualization of community design. Some of the terms used by practitioners, such as *sustainability* and *new urbanism,* are new to the community design field. According to Randy Hester, the current practices of community design are a diversion from the initial ideal of rebelling against the system as opposed to current practices of surviving in the system. It is, however, inevitable for a practice type to shift its focus in order to survive changing economic and social conditions.

It is no longer possible to plan effectively for people given the changing nature of the economy and the political landscape, and the speed at which these changes occur in cities and urban areas of the world. This notion stems from Kurt Lewin's concept of action research, a model that not only integrates theory and practice but also requires that one must act on a system in order to understand it and that the designer/planner will consequently have some effect on the outcome. Action research is a proactive strategy where research utilization has political and social relevance. By placing people and their concerns as the starting point, research takes on a more activist role and can be described as participatory research. Participatory Action Research involves practitioners in the research process from the initial design of the project through data gathering and analysis to the final conclusions and actions arising out of the research. Consequently, this distinguishes community designers from the more traditional practitioners.

Henry Sanoff

See also Asset-Based Community Development; design research; participatory design programming

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Community Development

Community development, in its most general sense, is a field that focuses on improving the lives of people by changing the conditions through which they meet basic needs—food, clothing and shelter. Who should do what, how it should be done or what success looks like varies considerably based on who is being asked. Consequently, community development is not so much a single practice as a toolbox of practices and perspectives that have developed over time. Community development thus looks different in different places and at different points in history. There is also wide variation in perspectives on the theories that inform community development and the practices that should come from those theories in the USA versus the Global South. This entry will review some of the history, models and future directions of community development as a field.

Historical Influences on Community Development

It is difficult to determine the actual origin of the field of community development. For some, it might be the settlement houses of the early twentieth century. While beginning in the UK, the model spread to North America fairly quickly with the founding of the famous Hull House in Chicago by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in the late 1800s. The settlement house model was premised on the practice of a residential community worker in an immigrant neighbourhood who could both develop immigrants' abilities to adjust and succeed in their new city and influence city policy to support these new residents.

responsibility constituted a new movement. Following this movement, community design centres (CDCs), aiming to offer design and planning services to enable the poor to define and implement their own planning goals, were established in the USA. Community design is based on the recognition that professional technical knowledge is often inadequate in the resolution of design and planning problems. Initially, community design was based on the belief that people affected by design and planning decisions should be involved in the process of making those decisions.

Influenced by Paul Davidoff's advocacy model of intervention, many design and planning professionals rejected traditional practice. Instead, they fought against urban redevelopment, advocated for the rights of poor citizens and developed methods of citizen participation.

Federal programmes of the 1960s such as the Community Action Program and Model Cities encouraged the participation of citizens in improvement programmes. With these programmes, people outside the professions were allowed to make decisions about planning and financing. Citizens were given the right to participate in planning and implementation processes through grants and technical assistance.

The experiences provided by the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act in community action agencies and the stimulus of the Office of Neighborhood Development (part of the Department of Housing and Urban Development) strategically enhanced the economic development role of grass-roots organizations and the usefulness of professional advocacy networks such as the Association for Community Design. CDCs became the staging ground for professionals to represent the interests of disenfranchised community groups. The social momentum of the Civil Rights Act and the innovations of the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas Program were rapidly building a framework for change throughout the nation. Similar efforts took place in the UK that were referred to as Community Architecture. Other grass-roots activities were also occurring in Europe.

CDCs are dedicated to providing planning, architecture and development services unavailable to emerging civic organizations or established community-based development corporations. Design centre organizational structures range from architect-led non-profit corporations to university service learning programmes, to private practices and American Institute of Architects and community–sponsored volunteer programmes. Support for design centres came from Community Development Block Grants and other sources of funding to facilitate volunteerism. Services provided by most CDCs then and now have included the following:

- Comprehensive, participatory and strategic planning
- Technical assistance in the selection and financing of development projects
- Advocacy and support for the acquisition and management of housing and community facilities

The 1960s and early 1970s was a time of great organizational flourishing. Organized in 1963, the Architectural Renewal Committee in Harlem opposed a proposed freeway in Upper Manhattan. In Cleveland, Architecture-Research-Construction remodelled hospital wards, community-based treatment centres and group homes, working with patients, staff and administrators in a participatory design process. In Tucson, the design centre removed over 100 pit privies from barrio homes and replaced them with prefabricated bathroom units. Founded in 1973, Asian Neighborhood Design has a long history of work on issues in San Francisco's Chinatown. Today, it is a full-service professional planning and architectural service, dedicated to housing and community development throughout the region, with an annual operating budget of about $4 million. In Salt Lake City, ASSIST, Inc. continues to provide accessibility design services, seeing more than 100 projects through construction each year. Architects, landscape architects and planners, working as volunteers and paid staff in CDCs, complete hundreds of similar projects annually.

Over the last 45 years, CDCs have been effective in providing a broad range of services in economically distressed communities. For the design and planning professions, CDCs have been the equivalent of what health clinics are to medicine and what legal aid is to law. People are served through pro bono professional assistance, but often after the injury has occurred. Long-term community-based planning and visioning processes require linkages between design centres and community organizations, with a full-time commitment to relieving distress in urban and rural environments.

CDCs evolved through two distinct phases. During the initial, idealistic phase, in an effort to help low-income people define their own planning goals and effectively present them to city hall, CDCs became advocacy groups, providing professional and technical support, including information, management know-how and design assistance. Towards the late 1970s, community design practices had gradually become less idealistic and more pragmatic due to a more conservative political climate. CDCs were almost forced to replace their political model of empowerment by an economic one. In response to the economic and political pressures of the 1980s, some CDCs remained project based. Such a centre is generally organized as

and task forces lies in their temporal manifestations. A task force is a special type of team pulled together to address a specific problem, usually of broad scope. Often people are selected in order to represent for a fixed duration an organization, or a unit within it, in a co-ordinative negotiation of a solution or long-term strategy or policy. Teams and workgroups as organizational entities are also usually ad hoc and task oriented in nature. By contrast, CoPs exhibit no specific time-bound work objective but exist indefinitely, depending upon the issues around which they are formed. Indeed, CoPs usually share an evolving area of competence and are willing to share the experience of their practice in that particular area as a long-lasting effort.

Another difference is that CoPs are held together by the 'learning value' members find in their interactions, whereas task forces, workgroups and teams are held together by a task. When the task is accomplished, they disperse. Although the team members are likely to learn through task performance, this learning does not define the team—nor is long-term learning part of the team's mission. The team members' commitment and respective contributions to the task are the main source of trust and cohesion among them. The source of motivation for CoP members is different. They may perform tasks together, but these tasks do not define the community. It is the ongoing learning that sustains their mutual commitment. Members may come from different organizations or perspectives, but their engagement as individual learners is the most salient aspect of their participation.

Initiators and managers who wish to introduce CoPs to their organizations must understand that CoPs are fundamentally self-governing social entities with self-selected leaders and self-defined rules and regulations through which they operate. CoPs cannot be forced into an organizational structure; they only come into being in a natural manner. They are hard to 'domesticate', and in fact, almost by definition, they should not be made a formal part of the organizational structure or directly controlled by the organization. Additionally, CoPs are not static in nature but evolve over time. They change as the members of the community change. They can also change if there is a change in the organizational culture, in the organization's values or mode of operation or, most important, if the business strategy changes.

CoPs and Action Research

As the primary purpose of action research is to produce practical knowledge that is useful to people in the everyday conduct of their lives, connecting people with specific shared areas of interest and allowing them to generate, share and disseminate the knowledge they produce to their communities is of critical importance. CoPs as a mode of ongoing accumulated and documented conversation among individuals with shared interests and goals, especially when supported by new information technologies that are eliminating space and time constraints, are becoming a critical enabler to any serious action research initiative. The democratic, self-governed, collective, trusting and open mode and culture of interaction that are inherently embedded in CoPs perfectly suit the state of mind required in operating and maintaining most action-oriented research. CoPs can enhance and leverage any action research towards practical outcomes and assist it in creating new forms of understanding.

Yonathan Mizrachi

See also community of inquiry; insider action research; online action research; tacit knowledge

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Community Design Centres

Community consciousness in many low-income neighbourhoods emerged in the early 1960s. Direct involvement of the public in the definition of their physical environment and an increased sense of social

experience. It is their commitment to the process that keeps them going and their respect for the voices they represent that builds trust. This allows CoP members to openly share information, insight and advice; explore ideas and act as both human 'transceivers' and 'repeaters'.

The data, information and insights they harvest, create and share ultimately accumulate into knowledge. As the CoPs not only extend across the units of a single organization but can also comprise members of separate organizations, this knowledge leads to the development of a common body of knowledge, approaches, techniques, templates, tools and methodologies within the CoP and beyond—to the organization(s) and the rest of society. Thus, CoPs have been cited as a vehicle for knowledge transfer and competence development and as a bridge between the theories of organizational learning and organizational performance.

Each of the CoP's members brings a unique set of skills, which is then shared to create a greater body of knowledge and skills amongst the members of the community. This assists in innovation and knowledge creation within organizational units and across the boundaries of organizations. This also creates a good process flow of knowledge and accelerates innovation and intellectual property creation, which is usually well linked with the business strategy of the organization, thus creating benefits that are strategic in nature. As a result, in recent years, CoPs have gained increasing popularity as a way to manage the human and social aspects of knowledge creation and management in organizations and enterprises. Many organizations have implemented CoPs, and they remain one of the important vehicles of knowledge management in the twenty-first century.

CoP and ICTs

Ever since the invention of the electric telegraph, the telephone and radio communications, information technology has always been relevant to organizations and communities to help members connect across time and space and share relevant resources. With the introduction of the Internet as well as intra-organizational communication and information-sharing capabilities (LAN: local area networks)—sharing in an interactive manner is now affordable and easy to implement. New Internet Web 2.0 applications include social networks (Facebook), shared cloud document depositories (Dropbox), shared notes repositories (EverNote), video-sharing ecologies (YouTube), Wiki spaces (Wikipedia), individual and group blogging (Blogger) and micro (Twitter) blogging, information tagging and sharing tools (StumbleUpon) and much more. CoPs are now often being aggregated using these new, more 'horizontal' ways to connect and share information. This in turn further enhances networked thinking and new forms of converged data representation. The ability to converge text, audio, graphic and video information states of matter, combined with hypertext and hypermedia linking and embedding tools, allows CoP not only to share knowledge in a richer and more comprehensible manner but also to generate, express and easily share new insights in ways never seen before.

Given the developments in ICTs and the overall improved interaction capabilities they provide (Web 2.0 technologies, mobile computing), the link between CoPs and ICTs has become natural, especially with the vast penetration of Broadband and Cloud computing–related applications. The virtual manifestations of CoP are thus turning out to be the common and almost mandatory complement to real-world CoPs. CoPs can be very technologically advanced, using, for example, sophisticated intranets or corporate social networking tools, or they could be as simple as having a group of like-minded people discussing a work-related problem, seeking a solution, using no or limited technology. Because it is difficult for others to imitate or copy tacit knowledge, there is growing agreement that this type of knowledge is a key element in sustaining organizational competitiveness. It has been argued that sharing and internalizing tacit knowledge require active interaction among individuals. When it comes, however, to creating, accumulating and sharing tacit knowledge, the new Web 2.0 tools demonstrate a number of major advantages. As CoPs allow members to voluntarily create and share both explicit and tacit knowledge (easier from an IT perspective since the coming of the new Web 2.0 technologies), ICTs today can support both modes of knowledge creation, harvesting, dissemination and long-term storage, allowing things such as real-time co-authoring, group discussions without space-time boundaries, documentation of the evolution of knowledge generation and much more. Armed with these new digital information tools, CoPs are today more equipped than ever to be the primary organizational entity leading innovation and intellectual property generation within and beyond organizational boundaries.

CoP Interventions

A common issue in all implementation and intervention efforts of CoPs is the lack of a direct distinction between them and more familiar structures such as task forces, work teams and workgroups. Misunderstanding the differences and the nuances between these organizational manifestations turns out to be a major obstacle to effective implementation of CoPs. Perhaps the major difference between CoP and working teams, groups

of treating people as consultees to feed into what the professionals would decide as health priorities, or as mere volunteers to implement plans that have been fixed, residents in project areas were invited to participate in facilitated discussions to identify what was causing the most problems and what they, with the help of the health professionals, could do to help their relatives and neighbours. The interventions developed included assistance in shopping for healthier food, spreading messages about particular health risks in hair salons and mutual inspections to spot hazards in homes which posed a real risk in causing falls, the single highest cause of emergency admission to hospitals for the targeted elderly group.

Communitarian action research has in the 2010s become a mainstream, if still underused, approach to finding solutions grounded in the experiences of communities themselves. Experiments in the transfer of assets from public bodies to community organizations, the raising of community shares to take over the ownership of private enterprises and community monitoring of locality-focused public services have all benefited from facilitators-researchers working alongside citizens to generate options to be tested, assessing emerging outcomes and drawing up proposals for longer term changes.

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See also Confucian principles; covenantal ethics; ethics and moral decision-making; feminist ethics

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Communities of Practice

In its narrowest strict sense, the term *communities of practice* (CoPs) is defined as a group of individuals who are concerned with a specific practice and learn jointly, in a 'communal' manner, how to improve it by interacting and exchanging regularly. Broader and more detailed conceptualizations of the term view CoPs as an exercise that goes beyond 'practice' in the sense that these may be groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems or a passion about a topic and who deepen their knowledge and sets of expertise or skills in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis. As such, the development communities of practice can be seen as a central component of action research by promoting both theory and practice. In spatial terms, communities of practice can be located locally or can be virtual in nature.

The concept of CoPs appeared in the world of organizational theory and knowledge management in the early part of the 1990s with the realization that, using CoP concepts, practitioners in various fields can acquire valued knowledge from other community members and share explicit and tacit knowledge (with special emphasis on the latter). In the context of the rapidly expanding information economy, and given the current competitive business and NGO (non-governmental oraganization) ecology, in which the ability to master and apply data information and knowledge quickly, effectively and in an innovative manner are key, CoPs are naturally perceived as central vehicles to gain a competitive advantage. This entry will describe the characteristics of CoPs and CoP interventions, with a focus on their relationship with emerging information and communication technologies (ICTs).

Characteristics of CoPs

Harvesting, creating, sharing and leveraging of knowledge are what CoPs are working together to achieve. The exchange of knowledge in communities can take place explicitly or implicitly. Therefore, the distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge is important. Members in a CoP usually mutually dedicate and identify the relevant field of expertise or a particular topic to share their ideas. Community members may have different backgrounds, but they all work together towards achieving the same goal(s), using their knowledge, skills and abilities. In general, CoPs are self-emerging and self-organizing knowledge networks in which everyone can participate. Members of a CoP do not necessarily work together daily, but they find value in their meetings and interactions.

Usually, the members of a CoP have a common motivation to cultivate a climate of trust, learn together and develop best practices for the organization. The trust members develop is based on their ability to learn together: to care about the domain, to respect each other as practitioners, to expose their questions and challenges and to provide responses that reflect practical

power relations should not retain structural or cultural barriers which hold people back from accessing information, putting forward their suggestions, questioning proposals or sharing in decision-making processes.

Development of Inclusive Communities

Communitarians share the objective of guiding individuals, institutions, cultures and laws towards general dispositions as well as specific policies that will enable people to live reciprocally in inclusive communities. The direction of travel for the development of inclusive communities is set by the three communitarian principles. The extent to which the character and behaviour of individuals and groups help or hinder human interactions in relation to the conditions advocated by those principles provides the reference point for judging their acceptability.

One of the key instruments for translating communitarian concerns into practical support for the development of inclusive communities is action research, or Action Learning. For any given community, neighbourhood, or organization, this involves providing all those concerned with the confidence, skills, support and opportunities to engage in shared deliberations regarding what they think is problematic, what they make of the available evidence and testimony, what suggestions for change are to be put forward, how conflicting views and priorities are to be resolved and what conclusions are to be drawn from their own experience and collected data about the impact of the selected actions.

The deployment of citizen-centric action research is an integral part of the development of inclusive communities and is a key factor in differentiating it from non-communitarian forms of social intervention where a programme, based on the claimed expertise of a small group, is rolled out without any serious prior engagement with the people who will be affected by it.

Examples of Communitarian Action Research

One of the largest programmes of communitarian action research was undertaken by the British government between 2003 and 2010. The 'Together We Can' programme initiated action research across the country to empower citizens to participate in shaping policy development, reviewing policy impact and influencing policy adjustment in the light of their experience. A common assumption running through the diverse action research projects (covering housing, health, crime, education, the environment and every other key public policy area) was that while the government was aware there were obstacles to efforts to advance towards more inclusive community life, it was only through researching and learning with citizens themselves that sustainable progress could be made.

For example, the active learning for active citizenship initiative, also known as 'Take Part', arranged for trainers or facilitators to work with groups whose views had not featured in local service and policy development. In Manchester, resettled refugees and asylum seekers were enabled to produce a guide on what they could do for the city and how the city could help them settle more effectively into their new life. In Exeter, people with learning difficulties were given the support so they could explain to the public service care providers what worked well and what did not, so that informed improvements could be made.

The Civic Pioneers project involved a partnership of locally elected authorities from across the UK committed to learning from their citizens and from each other on how such learning could be continuously improved. The experience of the participating authorities and local citizens confirmed that the ongoing exchange with the public as civic equals, as opposed to mere service recipients or supplicants, had a key role to play in boosting public confidence and satisfaction with public institutions and in achieving shared objectives such as crime reduction, environmental enhancement, health improvement and significant savings both through efficiency gains and more effective prevention of costly problems.

In tackling crime and the fear of crime, communitarian Action Learning partnerships consistently delivered better results than comparable areas without such partnerships. In one case example in Bexley, London, crime fell across the board while the percentage of residents of the neighbourhood in question feeling safe after dark went up from just 22 to 93 per cent. When one initiative involving the deployment of locked gates to keep out burglars apparently failed to deliver burglary reductions in certain streets, the collaborative spirit engendered made it possible for residents in the area to inform the police frankly that they (the residents) had neglected to lock the gates. They immediately remedied the oversight, and burglary in those streets was brought down.

The effectiveness of involving citizens in ascertaining what public actions should be taken in changing circumstances was replicated in different areas, and not just in relation to crime and disorder. Tenants on housing estates given a role in reviewing local problems and prioritizing intervention consistently attained a higher level of satisfaction with housing services. Road safety projects, in Bradford, for example, centred on the observations and deliberations of people who lived in the areas concerned and led to safety measures which cut injuries by half and reduced fatalities down to a third of the baseline level.

Community health initiatives have also significantly benefited from communitarian action research. Instead

the sake of preserving rigid hierarchies. For Mo Tze, people could not be expected to put up with conceding more resources and privileges to an elite on the ground that it would maintain order. Not only would such asymmetric divisions breed tensions that would stoke disorder, a truly sustainable form of social stability could not be secured without people co-operating with each other on mutually acceptable terms. Mohist philosophy therefore requires all social actions to be judged by the test of mutuality—one should bring about a state of affairs affecting others if and only if one is prepared to accept the equivalent state of affairs being brought to bear on oneself. Strong communities, on this model, are built on having members ready to support one another on the understanding that any support given would be reciprocated.

Aristotle's communitarian ideas stem from his opposition to the Platonic tendency to privilege abstract uniformity over the diverse experiences of actual social life. He objected to Plato's conception of an entire community as a singly organic entity, with its many parts being mere subordinates to the 'mind' represented by the ruling elite. In contrast, he viewed communities as composed of autonomous citizens who had to constantly deliberate and review what they had in common and how they could best pursue their shared interests. What was good for a community could only emerge from the lived experiences of the people concerned and not be defined by some absolute metaphysical idea in isolation.

The demands for co-operation on equal terms and for social prescriptions to be grounded empirically on what people actually experience were to be notably fused in nineteenth and early twentieth century Anglo-American civic activism. It began with the adaptation of Robert Owen's ideas in the development of worker and community co-operatives—the characterization of which led to the coining of the term *communitarian*. Communities could improve themselves by being liberated from socio-economic constraints which had hitherto held people back from making a greater contribution to the common good. By the turn of the century, communitarian-minded liberals such as L. T. Hobhouse in the UK and John Dewey in the USA were applying their social and epistemological critiques to debates regarding the participatory opportunities in schools, the workplace and public institutions in general. Their shared premise is that a thoroughly democratic culture would empower people to participate in shaping the decisions that affect their communities, increasing the likelihood of those decisions responding to the needs of the communities and building trust and confidence in their collective endeavours.

The influence of these ideas declined in the 1970s and 1980s, when the political culture in Britain and America came to be dominated by the assumption that either social problems were of the kind that should be dealt with by an elite wielding strong authority (based on religion, status, expertise or wealth) or they were better tackled by individuals operating on their own (without the constraints of statutory regulation). The persistence of this dichotomous attitude in turn provoked a resurgence of communitarian ideas around the end of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, reflected by the twin criticisms of conservative defenders of oppressive hierarchies and liberal exponents of individual-centric morality. Communitarian alternatives for mending social divides were put forward by thinkers such as Philip Selznick, Michael Sandel, Amitai Etzioni, Charles Derber and Henry Tam.

Communitarian Principles

There are three communitarian principles that are central to assessing the appropriateness of interpersonal behaviour. First, the principle of Co-Operative Inquiry requires anyone making an assertion to be judged with reference to the extent to which informed participants deliberating under conditions of thoughtful and uncoerced exchanges would concur. Any provisional consensus reached by one group of individuals must in turn be open to possible revisions subject to examinations carried out with input from other groups. The ultimate strength of any truth claim rests in the likelihood of that claim surviving the critical deliberations of ever-expanding circles of inquirers.

Secondly, the principle of mutual responsibility requires all members of any community to take responsibility for enabling one another to pursue those values which stand up to the test of reciprocity. What an individual may value cannot expect to command respect from others if its pursuit is incompatible with the realization of goals valued by others. The range of mutual responsibilities would expand over time to cover direct and indirect care for dependents, help to those who would otherwise be neglected, safeguards for verifiable evidence and coherent reasoning and cultivation of personal abilities not inimical to those of others. Omission to support, as well as action to harm, would be deemed a breach of the responsibility owed to one another.

Thirdly, the principle of citizen participation requires that all those affected by any given power structure be able to participate as equal citizens in determining how the power in question is to be exercised. All those subjected to potentially binding commands should be entitled to learn about, review and determine how to reform the decision-making processes. This applies not only to government institutions but also businesses, schools and community organizations. It follows that

In action research, the focus is on the effort of laying the foundation for a learning system, and learning systems seem to take a wide variety of shapes and forms.

Last, the inquiry process provides some additional insights into the similarities and differences between CMR and action research. In CMR and action research, the process follows collaboration around the exploration of a wide variety of data collection tools and processes, and choices are made about the most appropriate data collection tools and data collection process. In CMR, the senior management will be involved in the final decision about the recommended data collection tools and data collection process. In action research and CMR, following the data collection, study teams review the raw data and create the shared meaning of the data and identify possible action steps. In CMR, the management team will also review the raw data, the shared meaning of the data created by the study team and identification of the possible action items by the study team; they will then create their own shared meaning of the data and couple that with what was created by the study team and advance action items and steps.

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See also collaborative action research; Co-Operative Inquiry; inter-organizational action research; multi-stakeholder dialogue; organization development; practical knowing; work-based learning

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Communicative Action

See Critical Participatory Action Research

Communicative Space

See Critical Participatory Action Research

Communitarianism

Communitarianism is an evolving philosophical outlook with a core emphasis on the need for reciprocal relationships in functional communities. Communities are functional to the extent that their members experience mutual co-operation rather than conflict as the norm. A characteristic communitarian concern is to oppose both top-down declarations on how everyone should live and any form of laissez faire thinking that suggests that individuals are always best left to finding their own ways without any collective structure. What it offers instead is an inclusive approach to assessing human interactions so as to determine what improvements can be made by all the members of any given community. It has a natural affinity to action research, especially given its focus on empowered community participation in problem-solving. This entry provides an overview of communitarian ideas and their relevance to the development of action research.

Historical Perspective

The earliest proponents of communitarian thinking include Mo Tze (a Chinese philosopher, ca 479–399 BC) and Aristotle (384–322 BC). Mo Tze criticized Confucian teachings for sacrificing genuine reciprocity for

central in capturing the effectiveness of collaborative efforts. The first factor is the change implementation in the organization, which potentially includes organizational improvements, specific learning on the studied phenomenon, improvements of quality of work life, the development of organizational learning competencies and the possible observation and analysis of these learning and change processes. The second intended outcome is the creation of new scientific knowledge, that is, scientific production and research group development (in terms of knowledge and skills, both on the studied topic and on the collaborative processes). The third possible outcome concerns the creation of evaluative systems: A post-study review and/or a continuous monitoring programme can be developed to generate further reflections and learning about how the collaborative processes and the change actions were performed. Finally, the fourth outcome is the possible consolidation of a collaborative research protocol and coherent tools, the protocol for ongoing organizational learning and the tools and processes for continuous discovery.

These outcome factors and their quality are a result of the complex interactions, relationships, processes and activities that occur throughout the course of the collaborative effort. As the manuscript suggests, the outcomes of CMR effort are influenced by the development of the collaborative process and its quality, which in turn is influenced by the quality of the collaboration, which is itself influenced by contextual factors. To add to this complexity, the outcomes later influence the process itself, the quality of the collaboration and, at times, even the contextual factors, for example, the organizational features or the research group/s. The dynamic nature of the model helps explain the reasons for the variety of approaches and outcomes associated with collaborative efforts.

CMR and Action Research

Action research and collaborative research inquiry orientations have some similar and some distinct features. A comparative examination reveals the following: Both are focused on developing a deeper level of understanding of an important issue for both the system studied and the scientific community; the purpose of the study is identification, modification and transformation of the studied system; they constitute a transformational social science in the realm of practical knowing; they share the concern for the inquiry process and scientific rigour; the researcher is involved in the inquiry process and, lastly, both are concerned with system improvement and added value to the management science.

Action research and CMR are embedded in research, collaboration and the synergy between them. Both tend to engage an external researcher in the conversation and discovery process. At the most basic level, action research efforts start from action and are followed by a collaborative inquiry process, and this refers to the ontology of 'action' and 'intervention'. CMR tends to start from the development of a shared view of a critical issue of interest to both the senior management and the researcher to investigate. This is followed by the exploration of alternative ways to design the inquiry mechanisms and process. As such, the CMR ontology includes 'collaboration' and 'intervention'.

Based on the different ontology, the context and the process within which action research and CMR take place seem to differ as well. Another key difference in the context of both action research and CMR is the initial interface with the system. In CMR, the initial interface is with the top management, which is viewed as a key actor in the process. In action research, the initial interface is not limited to the senior management, which is not necessarily viewed as a key actor. The initial interface tends to be with members at all levels of the organization.

Action research and CMR place the researcher as an observing, engaged actor. The interactive relationships that develop in both orientations between the researcher(s) and the members of the system generate a deeper level of analysis, insights and understanding. These sets of issues seem to be a critical contextual element for both action research and CMR. In CMR, the researcher is also continuously engaging with the senior management, maintaining the balance between senior management involvement and detachment from the study and facilitating the mutual education process and research skills acquisition. In action research, the researcher is mainly concerned with facilitating the inquiry process, facilitating the ongoing learning process and, at times, the engagement of senior management.

The role of senior management seems to differ in each approach. In CMR, the senior management is viewed as a key partner in the process and plays an important role in the initial framing of the research focus and the study design. In action research, the senior management is viewed as a possible partner but not a necessary one in the framing of the study focus. It usually will sanction the effort but is not necessarily involved in the study design. The structuring of the inquiry process seems to follow a similar pattern. In CMR, the orientation is different. Specific design alternatives are explored, and choices about specific structural and process configurations are made. Furthermore, following exploration of alternative learning mechanisms to carry out the study, specific choices are made about the most appropriate study-learning mechanism (in other words, steering committee, study teams, links between study teams and formal organizational management hierarchy).

outcomes. The context in which the collaboration takes place does much to determine the quality of the collaboration that will eventually evolve, but the management of the collaboration is equally important, if not more important. In this sense, the quality of the collaboration depends on different factors. First, the establishment of the collaborative process sets in motion the emerging collaborative dynamics. This factor includes different variables, such as the perceived level of need for collaboration, the collaboration potential and the alignment of interests, values, languages and meanings. Unlike other orientations, the CMR process strives towards arriving at a common definition of the critical issue to focus on and then developing an agreement concerning the collaborative study and its scope. The organization does not seek help, and the researchers do not impose their studies; the collaboration here is really co-determined by the constructive dialogue between the researchers and the top management of the organization about a topic of mutual interest.

An integral part of the exploratory dialogue is the establishment of a collaborative climate. Nurturing a collaborative climate refers to the pioneering and learning logic, the building of trust and openness and, finally, the modelling of concern for others, respect and acceptance. As a part of the early dialogue with the top management, different ways to manage the project and the possible mechanisms to carry out the project are explored. Some tapestry of research project steering group and study teams that best fits the organization and topic under study is explored and established. A few of the key variables in this factor include (a) possible criteria for the formation of the collaborative research team(s), (b) the appropriate number of organization and academic members; (c) the structure, roles and resources (e.g. time, spaces) of the team; (d) diversity (e.g. in terms of basic demographics, motivation or personality) and (e) the development of a shared vision. This factor also includes the development of working processes, such as how the study teams and steering team should work, how the teams should interact with organizational members who are not part of the steering/study teams, what should be the most appropriate co-ordination mechanisms and how unanticipated challenges should be handled. Finally, development and possession of the skills and competences that are needed in the facilitation of the collaborative research process seem critical to both the quality of the collaborative relationships and the quality of the CMR process.

The development of the collaborative process can be captured by a cluster of different sub-processes and phases. These processes are influenced by, and at the same time influence, the *quality of the CMR process* among the actors involved in the effort. Since the quality of the collaboration continuously evolves throughout the inquiry process, the delineation of which variables influence what other variables is complex. The variables can be organized based on those that have to do with the design of the collaborative research process, those that have to do with the inquiry process and those that have to do with the implementation process.

The first process is the collaborative research process design. It includes mutual education and learning with the top management about the emerging issue for the collaborative effort; the establishment of the research mechanisms, scope, resources and timeline and further mutual learning about the issue; the possible scientific research methods to be used and the design and management of the ongoing communication with the organizational members about the study. In this process, the key words might be two. The first is *pluralism*, both theoretical pluralism and methodological; in fact, given that different theories inform different methodologies and methods, methodological pluralism (drawing upon methods from different paradigms) becomes a useful partner to theoretical pluralism. The second key word is *change*, as collaborative research processes are best suited to the investigation of situations in which action leads to change.

The second process is the inquiry process itself. It is seen as an operative core of the collaborative process, and it is a joint process managed by the collaborative research steering group and study groups, if formed. Typically, it includes exploring alternative data collection methods and processes and finalizing them, training the research team(s) in data collection, systematic data collection, initial data analysis by research team(s) and developing the process for creating shared meaning and data interpretations.

The third process is the implementation phase. This includes identifying and formulating possible managerial implications and actions, and possible additional research actions, based on the shared data meaning or interpretation; presentation of the possible actions for change to the top management; top management's decision about the next actions and steps and actual implementation of the actions. This could lead to significant changes, and it influences the quality of outcomes of the collaborative effort. As change actions continue to take place, and ideally become an integral routine of organizational life, ideas for change could be enhanced and iteratively reformulated. Finally, the collaborative process itself as described is influenced by the quality of the collaboration, developed and transformed through the evolution of the effort. At the same time, the development of the collaborative process has a direct influence on the outcomes of the effort.

While one can capture the *outcomes of the CMR effort* in a variety of ways, four main factors seem

> likelihood of drawing false conclusions from the data collected, with the intent of both proving performance of the system and adding to the broader body of knowledge in the field of management. (p. 20)

Collaboration, Management and Research

CMR occurs in a natural setting within a specific business and industry context, involves true collaboration between practitioners and researchers, addresses an emerging specific issue of concern, uses multiple methodologies that are scientific, involves the creation of a learning system via the establishment of learning mechanisms, improves system performance and adds to the scientific body of knowledge in the field of management. At the core of CMR, one can find three terms or pillars: collaboration, management and research.

Collaboration is about a full range of relationships amongst individuals within and outside the boundaries of a system. In the context of CMR, collaboration implies research efforts which include the active involvement of managers and researchers in the framing of the research agenda, the selection and pursuit of methods and the development of implications for action (e.g. *co*-determination of the research, *co*-evolution and *co*-interpretation). Collaboration does not impose the requirement of an equal partnership in each of these activities, although it is assumed that a more equal partnership would be preferred. At the heart of this endeavour is 'collective inquiry', which is the joint pursuit of answers to questions of mutual interest through dialogue, experimentation, the review of knowledge or other means. To be more precise, management engages in collective inquiry to get a better understanding of a certain issue or phenomenon by means of input of scientifically valid knowledge from researchers. Similarly, scientists engage in collective inquiry in order to get a better understanding of a certain issue or phenomenon by means of practically valid knowledge from practitioners. If two parties don't share a fundamental interest in learning, there can be no collective inquiry and no collaborative research.

The second pillar in the term, *management*, should have the same meaning to most. Yet this is not necessarily the case, nor can the meaning of *management* be fully explored within this entry. For some *management* is a noun: an individual or collective group of actors who aspire to influence the behaviour or performance of a system. *Management* (or *managing*) can also be a verb: the practice of those actors—in other words, what formal or informal managers actually do to achieve their intentions. In addition, *management* signifies an art or a practice or, otherwise put, what managers tacitly or explicitly know and believe about how to go about managing an organization or a complex system. One can envision a three-dimensional matrix, in which one dimension focuses on the actions of different types of managerial actors (e.g. individual, organizational and systemic), the different settings are the second dimension (e.g. a single organization, networks of organizations, systems, regions or communities) and the third dimension is the aspect of management studied (e.g. specific managerial actions, systems of management processes affecting the organizational culture or performance and the co-ordinating mechanisms among networks of organizations). One can also add to this complexity by inserting additional dimensions, such as managerial roles. Thus, the question of what is management and how one should approach its study is open to debate, experimentation and discovery.

Research is the third and last pillar of the term. At the most fundamental level, what every form of research shares in common is the desire to understand something of importance through the use of means that limit the likelihood that false conclusions will be reached. What researchers aspire to add to the discussion of these topics is 'objective data', or rather to express beliefs justified by earlier research, by observations having been gathered through more rigorous methods and having been arrived at by a better application of a formalized logic than one would casually use in forming an opinion about something based on one's personal experience or informal conversations with others.

The CMR Process

Leading CMR effort is a challenging task that requires careful attention to the context, the development of collaborative relationships, the collaborative research process and outcomes.

The *context* includes the nature of the external business context (e.g. the state of the economy, the characteristics of the industry in which the effort takes place and the national and regional characteristics as captured by cultural, political and educational dimensions), the nature of key organizational features (e.g. business strategies, structure, key processes, technology, the social system, economic performance indicators and management systems and dynamics) and the initial research activities (e.g. the preliminary dialogue with top management about common areas of interest, perceived legitimacy and the added value of a collaborative orientation and past experiences in collaborative research).

The *nature and quality of the emergent collaborative relationships* differentiate CMR from other specific orientations and have the most significant impact on the collaboration process and, in turn, on the

to the field of action research. Originally based on Jane Loevinger's Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development, the CDAI measure of ego development was refined by Sussane Cook-Greuter and Torbert, is currently available in several versions and has been used in numerous organizational consulting engagements and academic dissertations over the past 20 years. Case studies and small quantitative studies have shown some validity for the CDAI ego development, but more research is certainly needed to assess its power as a predictive tool. In addition, because it uses sentence completion, it shares some of the same constraints associated with related sentence completion tests and developmental stage instruments. In particular, the instrument does not support a retrospective biographical analysis of a leader's development, nor does it shed light on the dynamics of development. E. Kelly's 2011 University of Lancaster dissertation on Warren Buffett provides a promising new analytic method for scoring detailed historical episodes of action. Finally, because developmental theory empirically predicts that leaders at later action logics are more capable of generating collaborative transformational development in their colleagues and organizations, CDAI strikes some people as being overly normative and hierarchical.

A second feature of CDAI that is both a source of its strength and a challenge to its future deployment in research and action is its tendency to apply its theories across levels of analysis and contexts. The evolution of its treatment of developmental theory provides a useful illustration of this phenomenon. As noted above, CDAI first applied and then reformulated Erikson's developmental theory for a higher level of analysis. Only later was it integrated with empirical measures derived from Loevinger's work to diagnose individual adult developmental stages. Since that time, the developmental framework has been applied across many levels of analysis and contexts and has been used to assess the developmental stages of people, groups, organizations, institutions and even scientific paradigms themselves. Similarly, the four territories of experience have first, second and third person manifestations as they are applied to the individual, group and organizational levels. This tendency of CDAI to extend its constructs across levels of analysis is both a source of its strength and a potential challenge going forward, in that its complexity may make it hard for future scholars and practitioners to master its many interrelated constructs and applications. Indeed, Torbert himself contends that it is not a theory to be mastered and then applied but rather an approach worthy of an entire lifetime of 'living inquiry'.

Pacey Foster

See also Action Science; authenticity; first person action research; Lewin, Kurt; second person action research; systems thinking; third person action research

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Collaborative Management Research

The Collaborative Management Research (CMR) approach refers to a stream within the action research family that has been identified as a potent method for advancing scientific knowledge and bringing about change in organizations. At the most basic level, the CMR orientation claims that by bringing management and researchers closer together, the rate of progress in understanding and addressing issues such as creativity, innovation, growth, change, organizational effectiveness, economic development and sustainable development will be faster than if either managers or researchers approached these topics separately.

One of the most comprehensive definitions of CMR was advanced recently by William Pasmore and his colleagues (2008):

> Collaborative Management Research is an effort by two or more parties, at least one of whom is a member of an organization or system under study and at least one of whom is an external researcher, to work together in learning about how the behavior of managers, management methods, or organizational arrangements affect outcomes in the system or systems under study, using methods that are scientifically based and intended to reduce the

	First Person Attention	*Second Person Conversation*	*Third Person Organizing*
First territory	Attending/intending	Framing	Visioning
Second territory	Thinking/feeling	Advocating	Strategizing
Third territory	Sensing/behaving	Illustrating	Operating
Fourth territory	Perceiving/effecting	Inquiring/listening	Assessing

Table 1 *Four Territories of Experience and Three Forms of Research/Practice*

The final element of CDAI is focused on explaining what makes some individuals, groups or organizations more or less able to engage in this kind of real-time self-correcting activity and why it is critical to the development of more just societies.

Developmental Theory

The incorporation of adult development theory has been the most distinctive, important and controversial aspect of CDAI. The use of developmental theory began when Torbert encountered the theories of Jean Piaget, Erik Erikson and Lawrence Kohlberg as a graduate student at Yale working with Argyris. Developmental theory was first used at the organizational level to analyze Yale Upward Bound, an organization that Torbert founded and studied as part of his doctoral work. It was only later that the framework was reapplied to the individual level and used to develop a psychometric instrument based on the Washington Sentence Completion Test and an organizational assessment tool, which together have been used to predict the success of organizational change initiatives.

CDAI identifies a set of eight developmental stages, or action logics, which can be used to diagnose personal and organizational development as well as social scientific paradigms. In early statements of the theory, the stages are described as being organized in a hierarchical sequence, with later stages being both more effective than earlier stages and containing the abilities of earlier stages. More recent statements of the theory treat them as widening circles of awareness and behavioural choices on a spiral of personal growth. As people progress through each developmental stage, the same set of basic issues, such as identity, power and love, get revisited at each transition.

Unfortunately, providing a complete description of each developmental stage as it is manifested at the individual, organizational and institutional levels is beyond the scope of this entry. However, because relationships with power are particularly diagnostic of different developmental stages, describing how an individual at each stage might view the use of power in an interpersonal relation is one way to effectively summarize the developmental aspect of the theory:

1. *Opportunist:* Maximize own winning, minimize own losing—coercive power
2. *Diplomat:* Minimize eliciting others' negative emotions—reference power
3. *Expert:* Maximize rationality in self-presentation and goals—legitimate power
4. *Achiever:* Achieve own self-defined goals—productive power
5. *Individualist:* Optimize inquiry about whether actual performance aligns with our stated values—visioning power
6. *Strategist:* Optimize internal alignment and commitment of partners to shared vision—praxis power
7. *Alchemist:* Maximize mutual influence and positive freedom of choice at a given time—mutually transforming power
8. *Ironist:* Generate timely action (according to multiple criteria)—the power of liberating disciplines

This list illustrates the increasing mutuality in the use of power and timeliness of action that is characteristic of later stages of development. There is also an important dividing line between the first four stages of development, which are not open to double-loop learning, and the last four stages, which are. In an interesting parallel, the first four stages, where over 90 per cent of managers are found, closely mirror the governing variables of Model I behaviour in Action Science. In contrast, the last four actionlogics differ significantly from Argyris' Model II, which is described simply as maximizing valid information, free choice and internal commitment.

Applications and Limitations of CDAI

As mentioned above, the developmental component of CDAI has been its most significant contribution

(and most limited) form of learning as it focuses narrowly on the link between actions (the third territory of experience) and outcomes (the fourth territory of experience). In a single-loop system, when current actions do not generate the desired results, a simple control device can alter the system's actions (within a narrow range) to generate more desirable results. A thermostat is the canonical example of a single-loop learning system in that it sends feedback about the state of the current system (the room temperature) to a heater, which instigates a limited set of actions (turning on or off) to keep the system within the desired parameters (the temperature set on the thermostat). A simple organizational example would be dropping the price of a product or increasing marketing activity to increase net revenue via increased sales.

Double-loop learning is the process of examining the links between one's strategies and actions to better understand the cause of some set of outcomes. Continuing with the previous example of increasing profit via sales, if the root cause of low sales is actually product quality, dropping prices could increase sales volume, which would also increase product returns and, thus, increase total labour and material costs, resulting paradoxically in reduced net revenue. Correcting these broader systemic problems requires a double-loop solution like assembling a quality control team composed of colleagues in marketing, customer support and production to identify the source of the quality issues.

CDAI shares with other action research approaches the idea that triple-loop learning focuses on one's deeper mission and assumptions and how these are related to one's plans and actions. In the preceding example, if the problem was found to be in the performance of a critical component made by a small number of unreliable suppliers, the organization might find it necessary to move into a new line of business entirely, thereby altering its basic mission. In addition to this basic definition, CDAI also includes an aspect of triple-loop learning that relates to the quality of one's attention. Specifically, CDAI argues that engaging in triple-loop learning requires the effective integration of three kinds of research and practice. This attentional aspect of triple-loop learning has yet to receive much attention from other schools of action research and represents an area of possible future integration.

First, Second and Third Person Research and Practice

One of the central claims of CDAI is that ongoing timely action requires the integration of three types of research/practice in the midst of practice. First person research and practice is focused on issues such as the ability to engage in self-reflection, recognize one's own behavioural patterns and reactions and manage one's choice of words and actions to optimize their timeliness and effectiveness. Second person research and practice involves testing the congruence between our own and others' frames, actions and impacts. This aspect of CDAI includes Action Science methods such as balancing between advocacy and inquiry and so on. In addition to the *advocacy* and *inquiry* of Action Science, CDAI adds the ideas of *framing* and *illustrating* as additional parts of speech that are necessary for aligning frames and actions among people.

Therefore, whereas traditional Action Science approaches focus on two parts of speech, CDAI identifies four parts of speech that correspond to the four territories of experience described above. *Framing* is stating the purpose for a given conversation, event or occasion in pursuit of a shared purpose. *Advocating* is recommending a course of action, stating a fact or opinion, asserting a goal or option. *Illustrating* is painting a visual picture or offering a story based on some concrete observation that either supports or contests what is being advocated. *Inquiring* is asking a genuine question, inviting feedback, seeking input from others and so on. One of the fundamental observations of CDAI is that people typically emphasize advocating and illustrating and, as a result, rarely develop shared goals for their conversations or test for the impact of their words and actions in real time.

Third person research and practice is the kind of objective inquiry on third person 'objects' that is typical of traditional social science (and even some kinds of action research). William Torbert illustrates the distinction between first, second and third person research and practice with an anecdote about the moment when Kurt Lewin's researchers at Bethel allowed research participants to join them in their evening discussions of the day's observations. What had been a group of scientists engaged in third person research on the activities of participants earlier in the day (i.e. in the past) was transformed into first and second person research in the present when the participants began to receive feedback from the researchers and also began to question the interpretations of the researchers.

Table 1 presents a synthesis of the previous two sets of constructs (four territories of experience and three forms of research and practice) and lists the typical actions that occur at each territory of experience in each form of research practice. For example, in the first row (first territory), intention and attention at the individual level correspond to a frame (or purpose for a conversation) at the second person level and to a vision or mission at the organizational level. This kind of cross-level theorizing is typical of CDAI and is a source of both its strength and some of its limitations (which are discussed in the final section).

CDAI treats attention and self-awareness as core skills that need to be developed through a process called first person research and practice (described below). This rigorous focus on attention and personal development is one of the central contributions of CDAI to the broader field of action research.

Drawing from the Action Science principles developed by Argyris and his colleagues, CDAI is a prescriptive theory that shares the goal of helping people moving from less effective Model I behaviours into more effective Model II behaviours. In CDAI, these two modes are renamed 'Mystery/Mastery' and 'Collaborative Inquiry', but they maintain the basic structure and functions of the Model I and Model II action logics of Action Science. As in the Model I action logic, the organizing principle behind Mystery/Mastery is keeping one's own goals and motives secret while trying to master the external world through unilateral uses of power. Collaborative inquiry shares the Model II organizing principle of developing shared goals through inquiry, collaboration and mutual uses of power.

One of the most important contributions of CDAI to the field of action research is its use of developmental theory. The integration of developmental theory helps address the central question of what kinds of people, groups, organizations or institutions can reliably practice collaborative inquiry. Because CDAI integrates attention practices (first person research), developmental theory and the basic principles of Action Science, it addresses questions that are not as well explored in other forms of action research. The unique contribution of CDAI to the broader field of action research can be found in its approach to answering three primary questions:

1. What factors enable individuals and organizations to engage in collaborative inquiry?
2. What kind of attention is necessary to remain awake to the evolving, moment-to-moment connections among one's own and others' intentions, plans, actions and outcomes?
3. How can people and groups develop increasing capacities to practice these skills with mutually transforming power and with single-, double- and triple-loop learning?

To address these questions, CDAI applies three sets of core ideas:

1. Four territories of experience and three kinds of learning that can become aligned through single-, double- and triple-loop learning
2. Three types of research and practice
3. Developmental theory

Four Territories of Experience and Three Levels of Learning

The idea that human behaviour is driven by semi-conscious mental models and even deeper, 'taken-for-granted' assumptions is a core insight that is shared among most action research approaches. Like many other schools of action research, CDAI recognizes the importance of exploring the relationships among one's purposes, strategies, behaviours and outcomes, which are called 'territories of experience' in CDAI. According to this school of thought, the human attention can (over the course of adult development) potentially develop the capacity to process experience across these territories simultaneously (e.g. purposes, strategies, behaviours and outcomes), allowing them to interact with one another in more timely ways. A fundamental claim of CDAI is that generating congruity among these territories at both the individual and the organizational scale by accepting feedback indicating incongruities is necessary for generating more timely actions and more collaborative and just outcomes.

The first territory of experience is the realm of *intentions* and is associated with the activity of visioning. This territory includes one's purposes, missions, aims and intuitions and the quality and focus of one's attention itself. The second territory is the domain of *plans* and is associated with the behaviour of strategizing. It includes game plans and strategies (both conscious and initially unconscious) for achieving one's intentions. The third territory of experience is the realm of our own *actions* as we experience them from the inside, our deeds, performances and conversational activities. The fourth territory of *outcomes* is associated with the activity of assessment and includes the impacts of one's activities, assessments of these outcomes, their broader and longer term environmental implications and so on. One of the central goals of CDAI is to help people and organizations pay attention to all of these territories of experience and the relationships among them in real time.

Another important aspect of CDAI is the theory of learning implied by reflecting on the links between each of these territories. In this area, CDAI draws from systems dynamics and cybernetic theory. However, CDAI reframes traditional cybernetic theory in terms that are congruent with the four territories of experience described above and has a unique perspective on triple-loop learning that focuses on the central role of attention and mindfulness in generating timely and effective actions.

According to CDAI (and related action research approaches), the depth of one's learning, and therefore one's ability to design more effective actions, is directly related to the number of linkages included in one's attention. Single-loop learning is the simplest

explanations. This is particularly important when there are major power differentials among group members. Reminding marginalized community voices that the reason they are at the table is because of a genuine desire to hear what they have to say can help. Providing a solid orientation, setting up ground rules and reflexively checking assumptions can also help minimize this risk.

When working with marginalized communities over long periods of time, care must be taken to set up realistic expectations. Where resources are available, providing honoraria, meals and transportation can go a long way towards validating time and experience. Furthermore, other social and psychological supports may be necessary to assist with diverse engagement.

Finally, there is a lack of consensus on what the role of the researcher ought to be in these arrangements. Some argue that researchers should merely be facilitators or midwives to the process. Others argue that researchers bring with them a wealth of knowledge and understanding too and should have an equal voice at the analytic table. As a team, it can be useful to engage in open and frank discussions about roles and responsibilities. In each example above, the researcher took on the role of facilitator and popular educator. She broke down traditional barriers or what it meant to be an 'expert' in the hope of opening up new lines of communication that might lead to different kinds of insights about her data.

Despite the promise, some projects are more participatory than others. What is clear across all the examples noted above is that engaging in collaborative analysis is time-consuming and resource intensive. It requires patience, creativity, a strong commitment to the process from all stakeholders and the human and financial resources to carry it out. In all the case studies reviewed, the authors felt it was well worth the extra effort.

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See also Community-Based Participatory Research; community-based research; data analysis; Participatory Action Research; Photovoice

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Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry

The term *Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry* (CDAI) refers to a school of action research that was developed by William R. Torbert and his colleagues beginning in the early 1970s. CDAI integrates from diverse theoretical traditions including adult developmental theory, various mindfulness and attention practices, Action Science as articulated by Chris Argyris and his colleagues and the political theories of justice developed by John Rawls and Amartya Sen, to name but a few. CDAI begins with the recognition that all social actions are also inquiries and vice versa. In the first case, actions may serve as inquiries by generating unexpected outcomes and novel information from the environment. In the second case, all inquiries are in some sense also actions in their framing, biases, omissions, modes of communication and impacts on the external world. The explicit linking of action and inquiry leads to a central organizing question at the heart of CDAI: How can we simultaneously enhance the validity of the information upon which we act and the effectiveness and timeliness of our actions and inquiries?

Paradoxically, if researchers try to practice maintaining an inquiring stance in the midst of action, they will quickly realize that they forget to do it. In fact, the more one tries to observe oneself in action, the more one may realize that one is not even clear where one's attention is directed most of the time. For this reason,

with intellectual disabilities in a Participatory Action Research project. Over the course of nearly 2 years, the team met to conduct their work. In the eighth month of the project, they began to fill out a 'who did what' checklist to document and reflect control. In order to facilitate analysis of this exercise, university researchers inputted the data from the checklists into Excel and generated a variety of bar graphs, pie charts and line graphs to visually depict the responses. The diagrams were brought back to the larger team for analysis and discussion. First, they went over each graph to make sure everyone understood what information was being displayed. Next, they broke into small groups to explore questions such as the following: Why do you think this happened? What does it mean? How does it make you feel? Are you okay with this? What needs to change? Using the graphs (data) to help prompt the discussions grounded all partners and helped them engage in the analytics of making sense of their data.

Similarly, Suzanne Cashman and her colleagues describe how a team in New Mexico used graphs and charts to help make quantitative data more accessible for community partners in their project. Academic partners took responsibility for data entry and generating preliminary frequencies and diagrams. Subsequent analyses were guided by community responses to questions such as the following: What do the percentages mean? What is your interpretation? Are there any surprises? How do you make sense of them? What other relationships would you like us to explore? Researchers then took the data 'back to the lab' to do more complex modelling or statistical exploration and then came back to the larger team for iterative conversations about meaning and necessary subsequent analyses.

In both these examples, the university partners took responsibility for data entry and preliminary analysis but depended heavily on their community partners for interpretation and direction for future analysis. In both examples, they tried to make the numbers more accessible through graphs and charts and avoiding unnecessary jargon.

New Methods, New Probabilities

Recent innovations in participatory research approaches have changed the landscape. For instance, methods like Photovoice, where participants are given cameras to document their lives and then are collectively involved in analyzing their work, deeply embed analysis in the participatory process. Other arts-informed research methods like Digital Storytelling or group collage making invite community members to reflect, scrutinize and analyze as they go. These approaches clearly delineate analysis activities into the data collection process. Community arts have been adopted by many action researchers to explicitly challenge the traditional power relationships between the researcher and the researched and make the research process more fun, transparent and accessible.

Other methodological innovations have also done a good job of incorporating analytical steps into participatory data collection. Concept mapping is an approach that uses collective brainstorming, sorting and rating activities to generate maps using multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis software. Groups are then asked to interpret the maps and use them for planning. Similarly, community-based mapping blends modern cartography with participatory processes. It draws on local knowledge and expertise to create maps that depict important geospatial and political relationships. Critical analysis is key to creating the map, deciding on scale and what to include. Maps can be created by hand or using accessible GIS (geographic information systems) software (e.g. Google maps).

What all of these 'new' methods have in common is that they involve the collective creation of a map or exhibit. As such, in making decisions about what to display and communicate, conversations about what is important to know or share become part of the data collection process. Each of these methods also has a cyclical component of planning-action-reflection. Embedding the action research cycle into the method makes it very hard to divorce data collection from analysis.

Challenges and Limitations

The work is not without its ongoing challenges. Care needs to be taken to build in training around confidentiality and develop protocols that are attentive to the ethical dimensions of this work. Especially in small communities, it is very likely that participants will recognize each other when working with transcripts containing identifying information. A plan needs to be in place to consider and mitigate these risks.

Done poorly, the process can result in tokenistic or exploitative labour arrangements. It can perpetuate the privileging of already privileged voices (e.g. those that have time, money and skills are more likely to participate than those who do not). Furthermore, collaborative group processes often advantage extroverts with strong communication skills. Ironically, it is often the quiet introverts who have the most interesting things to say. Strategies need to be in place to draw out diverse perspectives and personalities.

Working collaboratively also runs the risk of creating a situation in which 'groupthink' (where the desire for consensus trumps sound analysis) dominates. It is important to remember that the goal of data interpretation is not to come up with one right answer but to explore and engage with a range of plausible

approached, demands a high level of literacy, numeracy or both. Consequently, community members often opt out of this stage. Some are never invited. It can be argued that diverting community expertise, time and attention towards acquiring and polishing analytic skills may be an inefficient and inappropriate use of limited resources (particularly if academic partners are well positioned to take on these tasks).

In terms of promoting more equitable research relationships, it is not important for everyone to necessarily take on an equal share of all the work. Teams may decide that certain members are better suited to take on some tasks, while other team members pick up the slack in different areas. What is important is that everyone be given the opportunity to participate in those activities that they are interested in and able to perform. Furthermore, promoting equity may mean providing opportunities to build the skills and capacities of team members to engage in work that they are excited about and to find ways to be more inclusive.

Lack of community involvement in data analysis and interpretation may exclude those with the most to lose from important choices about shaping and interpreting study findings. When certain groups are systematically excluded from data analysis, we need not only to ask why but also to challenge ourselves to imagine how these barriers can be overcome. Rather than adopt a deficit model (i.e. considering community members to be unskilled/immature/illiterate/impaired), many researchers are finding ways to build on the skills, talents, competencies and wealth of knowledge of community members to engage them in accessible analysis opportunities. Recognizing that community members may see and understand the world very differently from researchers, these pioneers of collaborative analysis are creatively finding new ways to make the work inclusive and (often) more fun.

Old Methods, New Possibilities

Recently, several studies have begun documenting their participatory processes. Researchers partnering with children or youth, adults with intellectual disabilities and other marginalized populations have been at the forefront of the movement to advocate for and create more inclusive research practices.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Suzanne Jackson has written about a participatory group process she developed to analyze qualitative data with marginalized women. Jackson asked the women to come prepared for the first data analysis session by printing focus group field notes on coloured paper (one colour per focus group) and then cutting up the responses by question. At the meeting, she broke the team up into dyads and gave each pair a rainbow bundle of all the answers to one particular question. The colours helped the women remember which focus group the responses came from. She asked each dyad to sort the responses by theme and then name each theme. Themes were later posted in a plenary session to identify those that cut across all questions. As a whole, the group began to answer the larger research questions. Later, the themes were rearranged to look at possible connections and what images came to mind to represent the work. Using this strategy with multiple groups, Jackson has shown how by breaking analysis down into digestible and accessible steps, non-researchers can meaningfully engage in and contribute to analysis. She suggests that clear instructions and excellent facilitation are required.

In another international example, Marisa Casale in South Africa collaborated with partners in Canada and the UK on a project exploring the role of faith-based organizations in HIV prevention. Learner and parent focus groups were facilitated by field research assistants in isiZulu (the local language). All focus groups were recorded, and the records were transcribed and translated. Several members of the large team read multiple transcripts and over iterative Skype conversations developed a coding framework. Transcripts were then reread and coded by at least two researchers using NVivo qualitative data management software. During this process, the coding framework was revised and refined. Each coded theme was then analyzed collaboratively by the research team, using the following analytic discussion questions: (a) What are the dominant ideas? Where is there agreement? (b) Where is there disagreement? What are the unique opposing views? Where are there contradictions? (c) Are there systematic differences among the ways in which this code was taken up by different focus groups? (d) What are the silences (as highlighted by reference to the conceptual framework)? Team members were encouraged to fill out individual worksheets for each code and 'come' to phone meetings ready to discuss and debate their understandings. The goal of these discussions was not necessarily to come to a consensus but to explore the range of ways of seeing and understanding data. Having multiple eyes and ears and social locations helped enrich the depth of analysis.

In both examples, what made these collaborative efforts work were clear instructions, strong facilitation, breaking the process up into accessible activities and a deep commitment from the teams to the process.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Jessica Kramer and her colleagues have written about their project to evaluate the engagement of individuals

frequently, to act as a facilitator of those activities. But they are executed by the people themselves in different parts of the world. There are local CARN groups within institutions and regional networks. At the time of writing, there are 26 sponsoring partners in seven different countries, a Spanish-speaking and an embryonic German-speaking CARN network and Dutch and New Zealand networks. They may hold study days or organize more informal 'camps', or host a CARN annual conference, which since 2002 has alternated each year between a UK and a non-UK venue.

In keeping with the values of the CARN, these events are managed by the local institution(s). The aim is to enable a variety of spaces where people can come together to do action research, to network and to learn from each other. All events are open to non-members as well as members; what bonds participants together is a strong interest in social practice and social change through action research and the need to foster the range of skills and attitudes which enable people to adapt and grow in a context of rapid change. Members and sponsoring partners' subscriptions provide the oil to keep the network engaged and connected and to support newcomers. Matters that are of strategic significance for the network are considered at CARN steering group meetings on conference and study days, where non-members take part as well as members.

There is a particular ethos that is engendered at CARN events, loosely termed 'the spirit of CARN'. It is evident in the conference experience which supports a wide variety of modes of presentation, ranging from formal papers to interactive modes and creative expression such as dance, drama, poetry and song. Forums for interactive dialogue are promoted in the way the conference is organized, so that the ethos is not critical discussion for its own sake but rather supportive learning through dialogue across discipline boundaries and different traditions of action research. Work in its early stages can be presented without risk of rejection but benefiting instead from supportive inquiry. Action researchers hesitant to publish are inspired and validated. This supportive and nurturing space engenders the kind of collective spirit of inquiry and collaboration that befits the name of CARN itself.

The CARN website gives details about CARN conferences and other events that have taken place and are planned, along with publications and connections to other action research organizations, networks and sites. It provides a searchable tool to enable visitors to find CARN members by name and by country.

Ruth Balogh and Jane Springett

See also Action Learning; Critical Participatory Action Research; educational action research; narrative inquiry; practice development; reflective practice; supervising action research theses and dissertations

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Educational Action Research: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/EAC

Collaborative Data Analysis

Active engagement of community members in participatory research projects is often promoted as a strategy to empower participants, enrich the data gathered and improve research outcomes. Community members are sometimes welcomed onto research teams to partner in all aspects of the research process. However, empirical evidence shows that they are much more likely to take on meaningful roles with respect to research design and tasks related to data collection and dissemination than other important research activities. Community members are often left out of data analysis. Collaborative (or participatory) data analysis is an approach to democratizing this stage of the research process. This entry will (a) explore some of the reasons why researchers continue to dominate this research stage, (b) offer some suggestions and examples for taking a more inclusive approach and (c) discuss some of the limitations or additional considerations necessary for adopting and conducting collaborative or participatory data analysis.

Why the Widespread Lack of Inclusion?

Data analysis is commonly understood to be a highly skilled activity that requires in-depth training to do well. It is a time-consuming endeavour that is widely perceived to be tedious, difficult and somewhat arcane. It can be very technical and, when conventionally

in relation to academic knowledge are legitimate and important subjects of study.

It is perhaps the emphasis on inquiry and learning and the focus on practice and development, particularly among professionals, that is most distinctive about CARN within the wider family of action research. CARN's stated values derive from its inclusive position and its non-hierarchical approach. Doing research *with* people rather than *on* people and the attempt to make a difference in people's lives bring ethical and social issues to the fore and make it necessary to challenge ourselves as well as others. Much of the effort required for such endeavours to succeed turns on our ability to create contexts that are both supportive and critical. The sharing in public of reflexive accounts of what happens in such contexts is regarded as the basis for making substantive contributions to methodological and theoretical understandings of research.

However, it is also recognized that critical processes are social as well as methodological, that the quality of actions counts as evidence and that the reporting of action research benefits from using different forms. This position poses considerable challenges for the assessment of action research submitted for academic awards, and the network has supported significant achievements in moving the boundaries within postgraduate studies towards better recognition of evidence and reporting that departs from conventional academic practice. Marion Dadds, Richard Winter and colleagues are among those who have explored how to innovate in judging the quality of action research in higher education award-bearing programmes.

History

CARN was set up by John Elliott in 1976 in the UK as the Classroom Action Research Network to take forward internationally the 'findings' of the Ford Foundation–sponsored Teaching Project, a set of action research projects about the problems of implementing inquiry or discovery methods in classrooms. Deliberately setting out to move away from the 'power-coercive' role of academic research in education, the network aimed to provide a forum for the testing of ideas about teaching among peers. It was initially based at the Centre for Applied Research in Education at the University of East Anglia and later at the Cambridge University Institute of Education (1972–75). This project's precursor, the Humanities Curriculum Project (1967–72), led by Lawrence Stenhouse and sponsored by the UK Schools Council, was a defining influence.

During the late 1980s, professionals, educators and practitioners from a wider range of disciplines (particularly in health and social services) became involved with the network, and after a vigorous debate, CARN changed its title from 'Classroom' to 'Collaborative' in order to reflect this.

Publishing accounts of action research has always been one of the network's core purposes, and its regular bulletins reached a point in 1993 where the potential for a peer-reviewed journal was realized in the founding of *EAR*, an international journal that has also continued to grow. In 2006, the bulletin, drawn from the annual conference, was reinstated in recognition of the value of publishing work-in-progress which has not been peer reviewed.

Over the years, an extensive corpus of published work by CARN members and associates has emerged. The work overlaps with other transdisciplinary approaches such as evaluation and qualitative inquiry; for an insight into this authorship and the breadth and growing points of the body of knowledge, the pages of *EAR* and the records of CARN conferences on the CARN website offer excellent starting points.

Perspectives from John Elliott and Bridget Somekh on the history, development and growth of CARN can be found in the 2010 special issue of *EAR* which celebrates Somekh's contribution to the network and to action research more generally.

Philosophical Roots

CARN's focus on practice has developed an intellectual tradition that sees both social science and philosophy as its theoretical resources, though there are differing views on which of these disciplines merits greater attention. Pragmatists such as John Dewey and George Herbert Mead provide a perspective from across these disciplines, while Antonio Gramsci and Jürgen Habermas offer insights about the nature and potential of public spaces for the kind of dialogic activity which can critically challenge hegemonic discourses. Hermeneutic and ethnographic approaches have proved useful in the pursuit of naturalistic inquiry and also support the position that ontology and epistemology are interlinked. The tools of participatory inquiry and practice draw on the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire. These are some of the philosophical traditions that predominate, but they are far from exclusive. The network welcomes contributions from a wide range of philosophical positions which offer the ability to unsettle discourses that divide theory from practice and to elaborate their interlinkage.

How CARN Works

As a network, CARN is a product of the activities of its participants. There is a co-ordinating group with an administrative base in a UK higher education institution which meets three times a year, and often more

enhanced social position that collaborators can acquire as a consequence of their collaboration in 'research'. In all of these cases, the challenge is to establish and maintain equitable relationships between collaborators and to mitigate the effects of any disparity of power on the conduct of action research and on the development of mutually beneficial shared change.

Related Concepts

The concept of collaborative action research is closely related to other perspectives on the benefits of people working together. This includes forms of Participatory Action Research in which researchers, or others, work with communities to facilitate change. The differing roles of collaborators in action research in which one collaborator is identified as being a facilitator led to the identification of two 'orders' of action research. *First order action research* was the term used to describe the application of action research to achieve change by people within the setting for that change—in other words, the insider aspect of action research. *Second order action research* referred to the role of a facilitator, often an outsider and sometimes an academic or researcher. The term was first suggested by John Elliott and used to characterize the role of a facilitator of others' action research as being a form of action research in its own right, indeed to suggest to facilitators that they should see themselves as being action researchers and should ask the same questions of their facilitation as they do of the work of the action researchers they support. However, in part because of the problems of competing agendas noted above and in part because of the implied hierarchy which the terms *first* and *second order action research* implied, with *second order* believed to suggest a higher level of action research, these terms tend no longer to be used to distinguish between these differing roles. This idea of facilitating the participation of others is also related to the notion of participant 'voice', a form of which includes the attention paid to pupil, or student, voice in education. In this, the concern is for people taking a facilitatory role to provide a medium through which others can have their views heard and can have some degree of influence over the ways in which their contexts are changed and developed.

Finally, whilst a concept not directly derived from action research itself, the benefits of bringing together the different but complementary knowledge and skills of collaborators with differing roles can be related to the notion of relational agency. In this, the collective actions of groups are enhanced through their differing perspectives of an area of common interest. Sharing these views means that the partners understand their own areas of interest more fully and in working together are able to achieve change which they may not have been able manage working alone.

Andrew Townsend

See also collaborative action research network; dialogue; facilitation; insider action research; Lewin, Kurt; Participatory Action Research; voice

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Collaborative Action Research Network

As an inclusive network rather than a formally constituted organization, Collaborative Action Research Network (CARN) potentially supports action research in as many ways as action researchers care to imagine. Mostly its activities cover an annual international conference, study days, an annual bulletin and special initiatives. Its base is in the UK, with an institutional secretariat at Manchester Metropolitan University, but the network's reach is global, with representatives from six continents regularly taking part in its annual conference. Whilst supporting a membership and a journal (*Educational Action Research* [*EAR*]), CARN's aspiration to inclusivity and its commitment to being a network are reflected in its practice of welcoming non-members with an interest in action research into all its processes and activities, including its decision-making.

CARN's origins lie in the research and practice of teaching and learning in schools through inquiry and discovery, but this approach has been sustained in the network's extension to encompass practice settings beyond the school classroom. Initially envisaged as a network of teacher-researchers, it was based on the view that knowledge is provisional, that self-scrutiny and dialogue about practice provide the means to create new knowledge and that authority relationships

without negotiation, for example, in mandated policy initiatives. In contrast, the application of collaborative action research, which emphasizes the co-creation of knowledge, is, at least in part, intended to respect the independence, expertise and knowledge of collaborators in action research and, where concerned with professional practices, also their professionalism. It is also intended to challenge the idea of research as an objective activity which is unrelated to the cultural and social contexts for research and independent of particular actions and of the personal views of participants. Instead, the suggestion is that research should be a process which is both explicitly concerned with change and located, or based, within the contexts of interest.

As a result, collaborative action research can be seen, idealistically, to be reaction against, and rejection of, individualist modes of change and inquiry which serve only to promote self-interest and do not account for the relational components of social practices. This, by extension, can suggest that collaborative action research can be a means by which equitable and democratic social change can be achieved. This broader aspiration for social change associates the concept of collaborative action research with notions of critical theory and with subsequent critical interpretations of action research. In this, the potential for challenging social inequality is enhanced through the shared process and resulting collective actions associated with collaborative action research. It should be noted, however, that whilst collaboration is one component of critical, emancipatory approaches to action research, it is not the only one, and it would be possible to establish a collaborative approach to action research which, through a concern with instrumental, practical or technical change, would not fulfil the criteria for achieving truly critical change through action research.

Collaborative action research is therefore concerned with the development of mutually beneficial relationships, and this is achieved not only as a component of research but also as a way of presenting an alternative formulation of what counts as knowledge and how it can be developed. Within this, questions are raised about the ways in which dialogue is established between people with differing roles, ideals and responsibilities. These questions about the development of individual partnerships are further extended to embrace notions of collaborative communities of research and inquiry. Whilst the core of these communities is specific collaborative partnerships, the very nature of this work being based around dialogue can result in a spreading of interest and involvement which can start to include a wider group of people than those involved in the initial collaborative relationships. This can lead in turn to differing levels of involvement of people in a collaborative research community, from which some benefits and tensions can emerge.

Problems of Collaboration

The application of collaborative action research is associated with a number of challenges which stem from two related sources. The first is the problems arising from the emphasis collaborative action research places on the relationships between people as the means to yield knowledge and achieve change. These are problems which are inherent in any collaborative activity in that they arise from the relationships themselves. The second relates to the challenges derived from the differing roles of these collaborators in the social contexts for action research. These are problems which, whilst deriving from collaborative relationships, relate specifically to the particular positions of collaborators.

Bringing together people who have differing, but associated, roles means that the action research can be influenced by pre-existing relationships. For example, there is likely to be some power differential between collaborators who work for the same organization or who are from the same social context but have differing positions in those settings. For example, where action research is conducted within organizations, the relationship between collaborators who, in that setting, have the role of manager and subordinate is likely to influence how they work together in collaborative action research. This can lead to action research becoming a process which rather than overturning inequitable power relations becomes itself prone to those relations and even potentially reinforces them.

Where collaborative action research involves bringing together people with differing roles in the same context, a further challenge involves mediating the different agendas that each has and the expectations they have regarding the shared action research. An example of this is in the differing agendas of researchers and community collaborators. Whilst one of the agendas of researchers is likely to relate to their research careers, including an interest in publication, this is an agenda which may not be shared by their collaborators, whose own interests may themselves be very different from those of the researcher.

There is also a danger that the aspiration for collaborative action research to be extended beyond the group of original collaborators can result in further inequitable relationships. There are examples where collaborators have been unwilling to allow as much direct involvement of extended groups in action research as they themselves have had. Sometimes, this is a result of the pre-existing inequitable power relations noted earlier; at other times, it is related to the

commitment is to the ideals and collaborative process of action research but whose particular interests in the changes resulting from action research may vary. An example of this can be seen in the Collaborative Action Research Network. The network has its roots in the UK educational action research movement, but since its inception (as the Classroom Action Research Network, reflecting its educational origins), it has grown to encompass members from all over the world and from a wide variety of different disciplines. Whilst seemingly working in such different kinds of organizations and with divergent interests, they come together through their shared interest in action research as a means for achieving change.

The ideals of a collaborative approach to action research suggest that communities of action research are especially beneficial where they include people with differing perspectives on the issues being addressed and of the contexts in which the action research is based. These differing perspectives are intended to enrich the understanding of each partner and of any actions resulting through action research. Whilst these differing perspectives may be problematic in the day-to-day operation of an organization or in the interactions between people in particular settings, an aspiration of collaborative action research is to overcome this by providing a medium for sharing these points of view in order to allow the development of mutual understanding and shared actions. The differing perspectives of the partners therefore have the potential to become enriching features of collaborative action research. Some of the issues in achieving this, including some of the suggested approaches to bringing together people from differing backgrounds with varied perspectives, are explored in the following section.

Forms and Features of Collaboration

Because the focus of collaborative action research is on the joint actions of collaborators with differing experiences and expertise, a lot of the attention on this model of action research is concerned with how these differing protagonists, with their diverse interests and experience, work together. In this respect, the representation of action research is of a negotiated social activity which retains the core aspirations of other approaches to action research, the merging of research and action, for example, but which is also concerned with what action researchers can learn from and with each other. Whilst the focus remains on identifying a means by which the social contexts of protagonists can be understood and changed through the implementation of new actions, this is intended to be achieved through an exchange of complementary knowledge and skills between people with, perhaps, very different roles in the context in question.

This is typified by a common model of collaborative action research in which people with an expertise in the process of research—in other words, professional researchers or academics—collaborate with people, often practitioners, who have an expertise in and knowledge of a particular form of practice or of a particular practical setting. The pioneering work of Lewin and Corey could be seen as early examples of the establishment of this form of collaborative relationship. As a result of establishing collaborative relationships between people from within communities and between people with particular practical interests and external researchers, the conduct of collaborative action research can put an emphasis on the differing roles of insiders and outsiders in the process of action research. Whilst this can create problems, as explored in the following section, the intention is that through working together both partners contribute their distinctive skills and knowledge to a shared process from which both partners also learn and act differently as a result.

There is an emphasis in collaborative action research, therefore, on people with different roles and responsibilities being able to see things from each other's perspectives and being able to communicate effectively and productively with each other. As a consequence of this, collaborative action research places an emphasis on the ways in which perspectives are 'constructed' in reference to the personal attitudes and beliefs associated with particular roles. How, for example, can a researcher interested in practice perceive the object of his or her research, in other words, the practice, as the practitioner does and vice versa? And what can each learn from doing so? Knowledge, therefore, is seen as being socially constructed—in other words, the partners make sense of what they observe through their own interpretive framework of pre-existing knowledge and beliefs derived from their previous experience. Collaborative action research intends to overcome these differences and to establish a process by which knowledge creation and application is a shared activity which acknowledges and benefits from the differing perspectives of collaborators. The nature and extent of interaction between collaborators in this has led some to suggest that dialogue can itself be considered a form of research.

This aspiration for the production of new understanding through mutual learning is termed the *co-creation of knowledge*, which is presented as an alternative to more centralized models of knowledge generation and use. In centralized approaches, researchers generate knowledge which has implications for others. The consequences of this 'knowledge' can then be forced upon them

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Collaborative Action Research

The idea of collaboration in action research is one which emerges as a feature of the work of the early pioneers of action research, whose aspirations were for groups of people to achieve social and professional change through working in partnership with each other, sometimes including external researchers or facilitators as a part of the partnership. Since the inception of action research, the development of the field has also seen the evolution of a particular group of approaches which emphasize the collaborative aspects of the knowledge-generating change process of action research and which, in presenting particular means by which this can be achieved, can be regarded as being a distinctive approach to action research. Whilst collaboration is, therefore, a recurring theme in all interpretations of action research, collaborative action research, in this sense, is a particular form of action research.

The arguments underpinning the ideals of collaborative action research are in part pragmatic and in part principled. The pragmatic justifications for collaborative action research are based on a strategic desire to achieve change. In this, collaboration is perceived as an efficient way to get the desired results. From a principled, idealistic view, the adoption of collaborative approaches is related to a particular set of beliefs about the ways in which change in social settings should be achieved and the power that people gain over their own destinies from working with each other. In this, the term *collaboration* denotes a more active role for people in social and professional change processes than might be implied by some more passive notions of participation, such as consultative forms of political change.

In comparing with other modalities of action research, the 'collaborative' aspect of the phrase *collaborative action research* places an emphasis on the social, relational and interactive aspects of the conduct of action research. The iterative aspects of the process of action research, which are emphasized in some process models of action research, can still be evident in collaborative action research, but the distinctive features of this approach are in the mutual benefit of people, with differing but complementary knowledge, skills, responsibilities and sometimes social status, working together in trying to achieve change in a shared aspect of their work and life.

Collaboration and Action Research

As the inception of action research was based around interventions where groups of people worked together to make changes to their social, professional and, in some cases, physical settings, the ways in which people shared in the process of development—that is, collaborated—have been a common consideration of all action research. The idea of collaboration is, therefore, a recurring generic theme in action research and is one which was highlighted in the pioneering early work of people like Kurt Lewin and Stephen Corey. Whilst for Lewin, the aspiration was to challenge conventional research approaches through action research to achieve social and organizational change, Corey's interests, and use of action research, were focused specifically on educational settings. In both cases, the members of organizations or communities which were subject to change worked collaboratively with each other and with the researchers, in the role of facilitators, to examine and develop their work and their contexts. This establishes an idea of collective activity, of which collaboration can be one form, at the core of the aspirations of action research.

The term *collaborative action research* builds upon the general theme of collaboration and refers to specific applications of action research in which there is a particular emphasis on what in other approaches would be less specific, more general, collaborative components. This is a model of action research in which the main characteristic of the approach is providing a means for people with differing responsibilities and roles to work together to achieve a shared common purpose. The concept of collaborative action research as a distinctive method was based upon these general ideals of collaboration and has been outlined by, amongst others, Sharon Oja and Richard Sagor. These authors extended the generic collaborative ideals of action research to argue that the establishment of formalized collaborative arrangements enables, and requires, a consideration of the development of teams. The suggestion is that relationships are changed and developed through the sustained act of working together in collaborative action research which results in the establishment of new, or evolution of existing, teams with new working arrangements.

This has been further extended to suggest that the development of relationships in collaborative action research can ultimately result in the growth of communities of action researchers whose shared

The following sections outline the key aspects of causal, semantic and conceptual mapping.

Causal Mapping

George Kelly's personal construct theory is identified as the foundation and originating source for the development of causal mapping techniques. Individuals' perspectives on a situation or context is actually an intricate system of how they understand and interpret their world. Differences in behaviour can be explained largely by the differences in how people 'construe the world' around them. Causal statements are identified through the use of a wide range of single and complex phrases. This is how belief systems are revealed: friendly/unfriendly, tall/short, good/bad, masculine/feminine. By capturing the cause-effect relationships that people construct and use, new insights into a person's reasoning can be gained.

Semantic (Idea) Mapping

Semantic mapping techniques build on prior knowledge or schema and previous experience through recognizing their important components and showing the relationships among them. It is a way of revealing and identifying what is currently known and understood, together with one's subjective beliefs about a particular topic, idea, task or place, or whatever occupies the mind.

It enables one to focus on the idea or topic and visually represent it in the format of a diagram or illustration. In this way, thinking can be clarified on a particular topic or idea, leading to an identification of what could be added to the topic. Also, it provides opportunities to share the map with others in order to discuss how we collectively make sense of, understand or know about the idea or question under discussion.

Tony Buzan coined the term *mind mapping* and identified the technique of semantic mapping as the best way of exploring an idea without the constraints of an underlying structure or format. Drawing a semantic map involves creating an evolving or growing diagram. It represents a variety of ways of ordering an idea, words and tasks that are all linked and arranged around a central idea or key word. Working outwards in all directions, the map grows or emerges into an organized structure made up of key words and images (see Figure 1).

Sometimes called a spidergram or spider graph, it should not be confused with the spider diagrams used in mathematics and logic.

Conceptual Mapping

Building on John Dewey's seminal work on the place of prior knowledge and previous experience in learning, David Ausubel emphasized the importance of prior knowledge in the learning of new concepts. Joe Novak developed the use of concept mapping in the 1960s to visually represent the structure of information. By using concept mapping techniques in the context of analytic thinking and meaningful learning, the critical importance of existing cognitive structures for learning new concepts has been identified.

They are created in a hierarchical way, with the most general and inclusive concepts at the top of the map and the more specific and less general concepts arranged in a lower order of preference. The best way to construct a concept map is with reference to a particular answer we are seeking; this is called a focus question in the literature. When considering a particular domain of knowledge, the context or situation or event to which that knowledge is being applied will determine the 'top-down' structure. Cross-links identify relationships between concepts in different parts or segments of the map that are connected in some way (see Figure 2).

When we are thinking creatively, the underlying hierarchical structure of a concept map can assist us in searching and finding new cross links, thus creating new knowledge.

Cognitive Mapping and Action Research

Causal mapping can reveal individuals' perspectives and assist action researchers in gaining new insights into their own and others' reasoning and behaviour. It can help everyone understand their own and others' subjective beliefs about a topic, idea or task, or the context of an action research intervention.

Semantic mapping provides a way of identifying and clarifying what is known and currently understood about a topic, idea or question under discussion. It provides opportunities to share the map with others, to discuss and agree on collaborative actions. It is particularly useful in tracking idea generation within a team and in facilitating interventions within organizations.

Conceptual mapping can be used for idea generation, communicating complex ideas and diagnosing problems or misunderstandings. It can also help in the integration of old and new knowledge and in evaluating or assessing understanding.

Anne Graham-Cagney

See also asset mapping; community mapping; concept mapping; Dewey, John; geographic information systems; map-making

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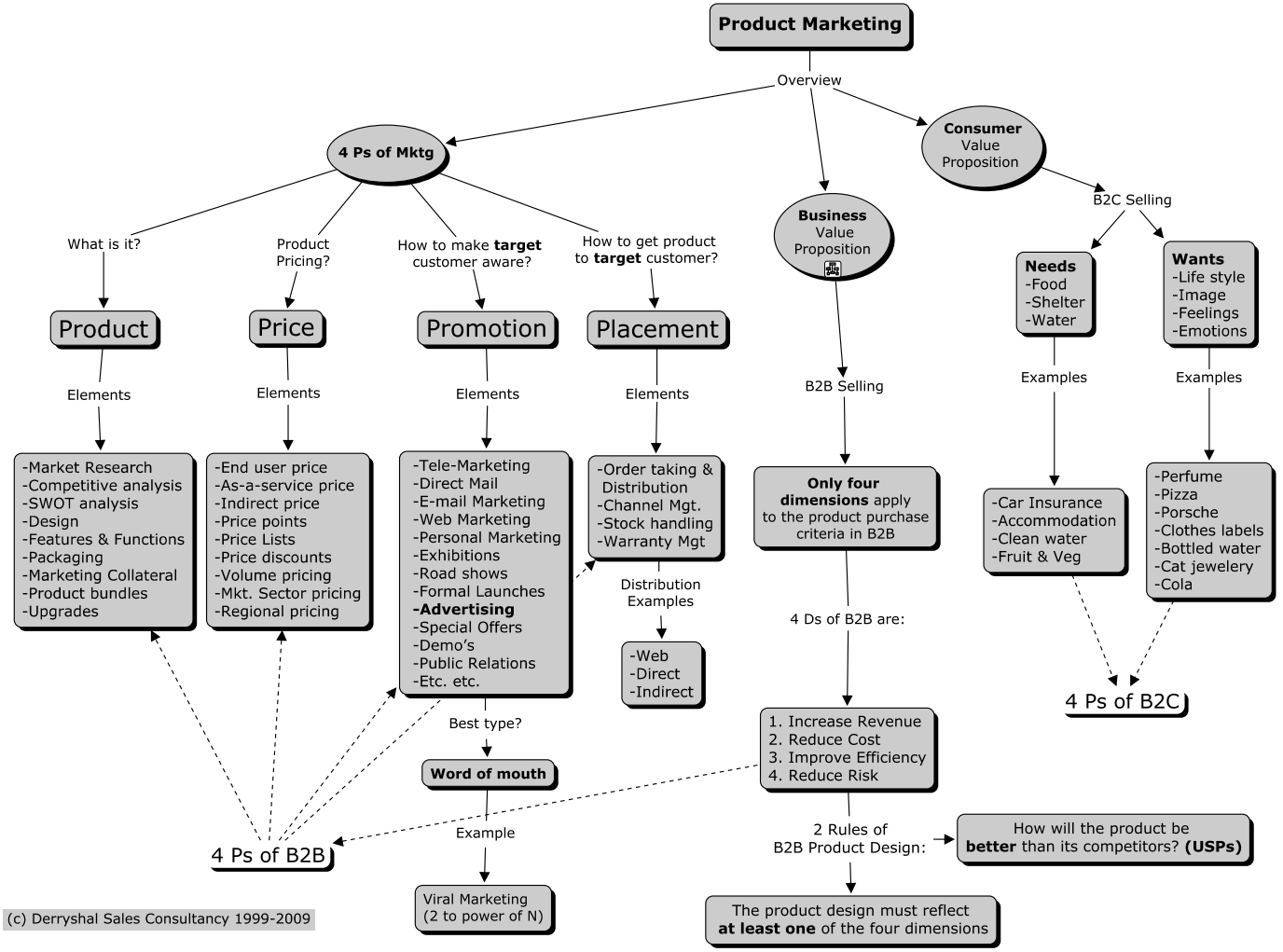

Figure 2 *An Example of Cognitive Mapping in Product Marketing*

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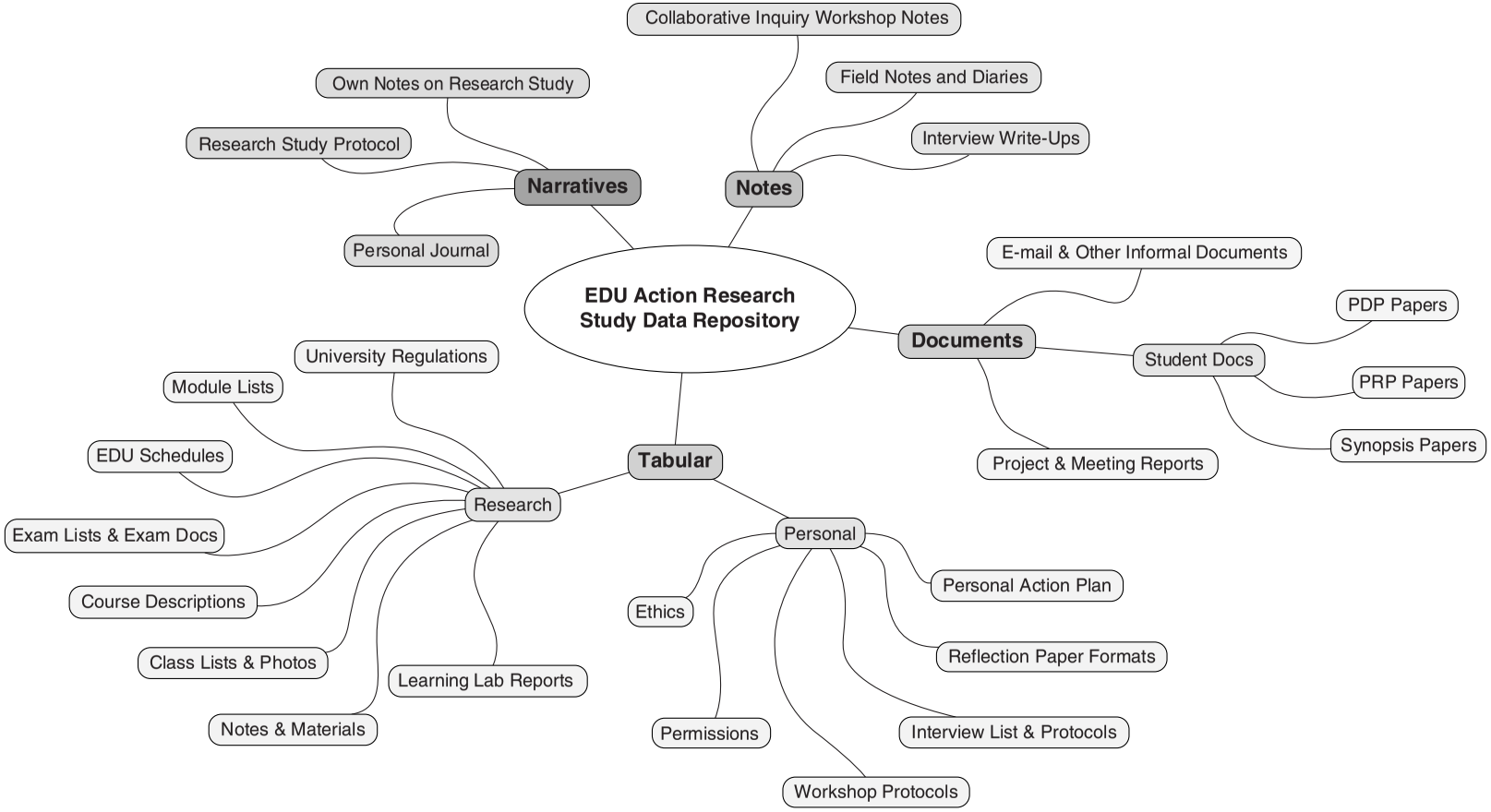

Figure 1 *Example of Mind Mapping*

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only in concrete problem-solving but also in how the organization is better able to manage its own learning processes. Results will and must always be measured in both the short and the long term. This is particularly important because learning and knowledge development involve a long-term process.

Initially, learning processes will result in concrete solutions that are implemented. These experiments reflect the initial learning and give rise to important experiences for further processes. A key step in this learning process is systematically to identify data that can show if the actions taken have produced the desired outcomes when it comes to measuring the intermediate results. In a participatory approach, feedback is necessary to understand the terrain because, to be sustained, such change processes must create a consensus that it is through the systematic 'experiments' that one can develop the organization.

The continuous learning process in the organizational work is simply a sequence of the following:

a. Collective reflection in order to develop alternatives for action
b. Experimentation to achieve the desired goals
c. Collective reflection on the results achieved
d. Separate learning loops, related to participants and leaders of the change process
e. Feedback and new learning on the shared learning arenas

This results in a continual learning spiral.

Reflection Processes for Participants and Action Researchers

Feedback loops are similar for both insiders and outsiders, but the interests they have in and the effects they experience from the communication can be quite different. For insiders, it may be central to improve their action-knowledge capabilities, whereas outsiders may, through the reflection process, produce meaning (publications or insights) for the research community. Both of these reflective processes are then fed back into the communicative process shaping the arenas for new dialogues aimed at either redefining the initial problem statement or improving local problem-solving capacity. Cycles like this continue throughout the life of a project.

For leaders of the change process, time for reflection on roles and experience is important to ensure the continued learning that provides the basis for their own improved practice as leaders of co-generative learning. The experience gained from the change process must be transformed into learning in such a way that the process leaders act as reflective practitioners.

Morten Levin

See also double-loop learning; Pragmatic Action Research; pragmatism

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Cognitive Mapping

A 'cognitive map' is an internal representation of how individuals have made sense of the world around them. Humans use them to help them navigate the physical structure of places and to find their way—literally—in the world. They also use them to assist them in handling information and recognizing patterns, situations, places and symbols while navigating, understanding and responding to the social world around them. They draw on their cognitive maps to support their decision-making and understanding of all that they know of the world.

Action researchers use cognitive mapping to facilitate interventions within organizations. By diagnosing problems or misunderstandings, cognitive mapping can help people understand their own and others' subjective beliefs about a topic, idea or task, or the context of an action research intervention.

Edward C. Tolman introduced the term as his contribution to the development of the understanding of how humans behave in the environment. It was not until the early 1970s that the term *cognitive map* became popular and began to be used by experimental and developmental psychologists. The phrase also took hold among geographers, to whom the term had particular appeal. The variety of forms and techniques for cognitive mapping has arisen in part due to the interdisciplinary nature of cognitive science, which studies the mind and intelligence. However, the universal appeal of the technique to researchers from a wide variety of disciplines has given the subject area a broad base of knowledge and viewpoints. These include geographers, planners and architects, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, cognitive scientists, computer scientists, biologists and neurologists.

on problem clarification, while the second and third phases follow the logic specified by the learning loops in the model.

Problem Clarification

The question to be researched must be of major importance to the participants, or the process will go nowhere. The first problem clarification is in many ways a miniature change process. Actors learn about each other's positions and experiences, develop an initial basis for trust and sketch out the first concrete actions based on their shared learning. The action researcher helps them subject this learning to close reflection and critique.

The challenge is to create a communication arena that surfaces and helps mediate the initially different perspectives held by organizational leaders and the groups of participants in the learning arena. This involves explaining to others the local insights participants bring with them. Fruitful problem clarification is established through a dialogue that allows these different perspectives to be raised and challenged. It lays the foundation for shared understanding and collaborative action.

In participative change, it is an absolute condition that the goals of all involved be accepted and treated as legitimate. Accordingly, it is necessary to develop a shared understanding among the involved parties that is transformed into mutually accepted objectives and strategies for the change process.

It is imperative to involve representatives of all groups that are the most affected in order to develop local understanding of a problem. The action researcher must facilitate communication and problem-solving, and at the same time, the action researcher will have to develop an independent understanding of the initial situation. The aim is to bring forward and legitimate diverse and even divergent experiences of these processes and help formulate explicit arguments to facilitate dialogue among the different parties involved. The action researcher initiates learning arenas that fit the actual context. The quality of the process depends on how well the participants are able to see alternative approaches before choosing the path for their future work. It is often fruitful to choose an initial starting point where it is fair to assume that it will be easy to get some first positive results before taking on more complex problems.

Planning and Designing Arenas for Joint Reflection and Learning

Central to co-generative learning is creating room for learning processes resulting in interpretations and action designs that participants trust. The arena for communication between the groups of actors must be properly configured. Shaping and facilitating learning processes in arenas represents the most important challenge for the action researcher.

Arenas can take many forms. Every meeting is potentially a learning arena. Even a large meeting dominated by one-way communication can be used afterwards to develop joint reflection. At the other end of the spectrum are group-based activities where it is quite easy to get people actively engaged as learners.

Arena design will be based on context-sensitive judgement, including on what problems seem to be central, who should participate and what the relevant organizational environment is. The discourse that takes place in these arenas is inherently unbalanced. The insiders have a grounded understanding of local conditions far beyond what any outsider ever can gain, unless he or she settles into that specific local community or organization to live and work on a sustained basis. Likewise, the outside researcher brings with him or her skills and perspectives often not present in the local context, including knowledge about how to design and run learning and reflection processes. The asymmetry in skills and local knowledge is an important force in co-generating new understandings as the parties engage each other to make sense out of the situation. The democratic ideals of action research also mandate a process in which the outsider gradually lets go of control so that the insiders can learn how to control and guide their own developmental processes on a sustained basis. These ideals also promote the development of the insiders' capacities to sustain more complex internal dialogues with a more diverse set of participants than would have been the case without these learning experiences.

The asymmetrical situation between outsiders and insiders lies at the centre of complex social exchanges. The outsider designs training sessions that make development and transfer of knowledge possible and uses his or her influence to direct the developmental process. The professional researcher necessarily exercises power in this process. Dealing honestly and openly with the power these requirements grant to the researcher is a central challenge in action research change processes. This has a significant effect on the development of local learning processes, and this power is easily abused.

Problem-Solving and Reflection

The results of the change in work processes materialize through the improved ability to identify and be able to handle specific challenges in more efficient and satisfying ways. The value of these changes is in the improved ability to master problematic issues and create good results. This capacity is reflected not

long-term goal is for the problem owners to take control over the learning process and make it a part of everyday life. This is key because these learning processes are cyclical, and ongoing reflections on one's own practice contribute to direct improvements of current practice and may also contribute to the design of new activities, new frameworks of understanding and processes.

Co-Generative Learning as Action Research

The foundation for co-generative learning is to integrate communicative processes in various types of organizational arenas into one learning process. Second, the co-generative learning model situates the action researcher as an actor whose integrity requires deep involvement in the development process and not just a facilitator or consultant stance. Third, co-generative learning emphasizes support for learning and enables the creation of common knowledge through solving concrete problems. It is essential to design arenas where participants can meet and learn together and recognize that their collaboration is creating new and better solutions for them and for the organization.

Figure 1 outlines the co-generative learning model. The left side relates to the people involved and their activity in solving the selected problems. This reflective practice process provides the basis for sustained learning. The right-side loop constitutes an important learning loop for the action researcher. These two learning loops are both similar and different. Based on the experiences gained together, the local participants participate in sense-making processes within their own social and material context, while the action researcher guides the process and contributes comparative knowledge from experiences in other organizations and context. These processes in turn provide a basis for their new input to the change process.

Phases, Actors and Learning Loops

The change process has three distinct phases, and they are integrated in the model. The first phase centres

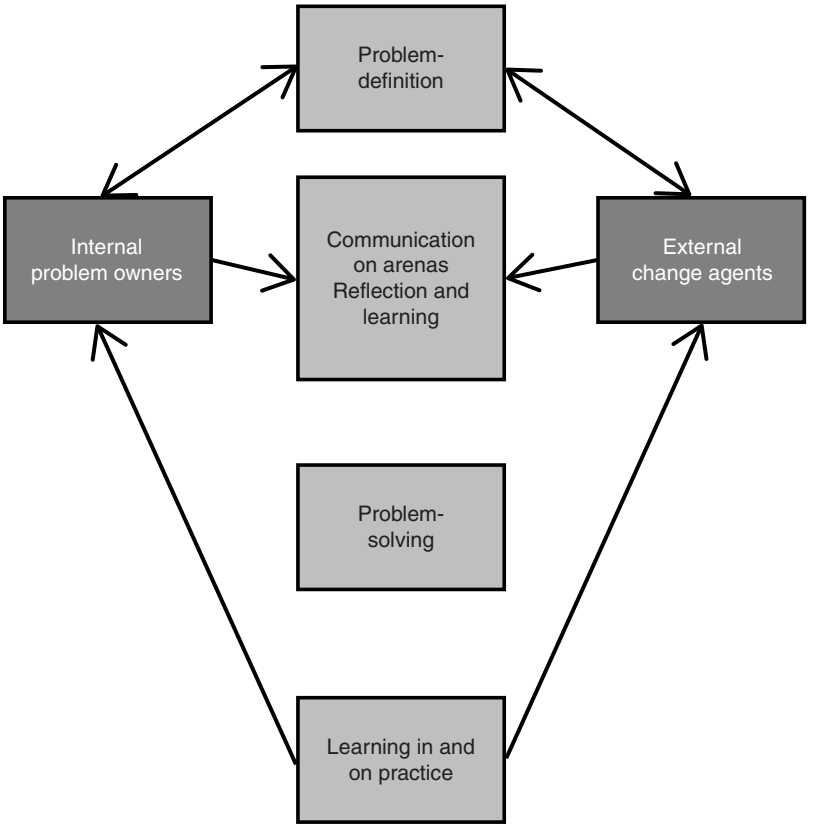

Figure 1 *The Co-Generative Action Research Model*

and as that knowledge is contextually embedded, it is generated through collaboration with the members of the organization in order to improve the situation as they define it. As described above, the collaborative process between the clinical researcher and the organizational members engages the latter in perceiving and understanding their own setting in order to use that knowledge to take action. The operations of perceiving, understanding and taking action are directed towards practical outcomes and actionable knowledge rather than universal principles.

David Coghlan

See also organization development; process consultation

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Co-Generative Learning

The co-generative learning model emerged as a way of conceptualizing roles, processes and learning dynamics in action research projects as centred on joint employee and management engagement in seeking solutions to concrete problems in both manufacturing and service organizations. Its pragmatic foundations view all participants in the change process as capable of and actively involved in creating new solutions to particular problems. This participatory dimension is anchored in a general belief in participatory democracy as a way of solving social and organizational problems. In business, it affirms that employees should have opportunities to manage their own working conditions, and it is the work-life equivalent of a commitment to democracy in general. Thus, co-generative practices in work life are seen as a necessary part of the political/electoral in society.

The model relies on the mutual learning that takes place when local problem owners (insiders) and facilitating researchers (either outsiders or specialists within the organization) join forces to solve pertinent local problems. Central to this is the creation of learning arenas where insiders and outsiders meet and learn together. A learning and developmental arena is composed of the participants, a physical structure and the actual learning processes that take place. The grounding factor in running a co-generative learning process is for the facilitator to construct learning arenas that enable the local stakeholders to generate the necessary knowledge and action designs to solve their pressing problems.

The co-generative model builds fundamentally on democratic beliefs and values, such as the ability and the right of everyone to exercise control over their own life situation. Methodologically, the model is anchored in a pragmatic philosophical position that new knowledge is developed through concrete experimentation aimed at solving practical problems.

The co-generative learning model has the potential to democratize knowledge generation processes in society at large. Participative involvement by all relevant stakeholders in shaping practical solutions to shared problems creates the basis for knowledge construction based on their own experiences and interests. While participation in general political and economic activity at the societal level is very important, a democratic society is one in which democratic processes of creating new knowledge and designing collaborative actions are broadly diffused through work, community and political structures.

The Action Research Process

All action research projects start by clarifying the objectives of the developmental work. In a co-generative process, it is argued that employees who live with the problems on a daily basis should engage in the initial analysis and develop the preliminary problem definitions because these are grounded in their everyday realities. This ensures that their everyday work and life situations are included in or addressed by the process and not looked upon as problems defined only from above in the organization or even outside it.

Thus, from the first phase of problem clarification, co-generative learning engages all the relevant categories of actors. Once completed, the next phase is initiating the actual change process by analyzing this shared knowledge and creating practical action designs. Here, it is vital to build a foundation for a long-term learning process that eschews quick fixes. This itself is a challenge because few people have the personal experience of involvement in participatory change processes.

The third phase involves gradually building a sustainable and continuous learning process where the

needs. In Clinical Inquiry, that the researcher is hired to and is being paid to help means that the researcher may be afforded access to perceptions and information that might not be shared readily with outsiders.

2. *Clinical researchers work from models of health* and therefore are trained to recognize pathological deviations from health. Clinical researchers, therefore, need to be trained in organizational dynamics and have models of organizational health so that that they know what to notice.
3. Clinical researchers are not only concerned with diagnosis but *are also primarily focused on treatment*. Accordingly, they need to be skilled in providing help in the manner of process consultation.

These three assumptions provide an important contrast between Clinical Inquiry and ethnography. Ethnography is built on unobtrusive non-interfering observation, while Clinical Inquiry is built on deliberate interference, where clinical researchers are hired to help change the system.

Through being present in a helping role, the clinical researcher notices how data is continuously being generated as the change process proceeds. While it may not be clear what this data might mean, the researcher's mode of inquiry enables the client to explore, diagnose and act upon the events as they emerge. In this way, the clinical researcher's data is in 'real time', generated in the act of managing change, and not data created especially for the research project.

Principles of Clinical Inquiry

There are several working principles underpinning the practice of Clinical Inquiry. The issues that clinical researchers work on are important. This is because they have been hired to help. They accept the assumption that unless they attempt to change the system they cannot really understand it. The primary sources of organizational data are not what is 'out there' but are in the effects of and responses to intervention. The organization development process, whereby the clinical researcher is contacted, enters the system and begins to learn to be helpful, is central. The clinical approach, therefore, focuses on diagnosing and treating organizational dysfunctions and pathologies.

Six clinical activities may be identified: (1) in-depth observation of crucial cases of learning and change, (2) studying the effects of interventions, (3) focusing on pathologies and post-mortems as a way of building a theory of health, (4) focusing on puzzles and anomalies that are difficult to explain, (5) building theory and empirical knowledge through developing concepts which capture the real dynamics of the organization and (6) focusing on the characteristics of systems and systemic dynamics.

Being Helpful

Working to be helpful is the central theme of Clinical Inquiry. It is the key starting point and a constant focus of attention. It is the client who owns the problem and the solution, and clinical researchers must constantly be aware that the interactions in the here and now continually provide diagnostic information about what is going on, how the client is responding and the relationship between the clinical researcher and the client. As diagnosis and intervention are parallel and simultaneous, rather than sequential, clinical researchers are always intervening. Everything is data. Accordingly, clinical researchers need to think out the consequences of their actions. Their interventions must seem normal and not be mysterious, so that clients themselves may learn the skills of attending to their experience, testing their insights and taking actions based on their understanding. The here-and-now confirmation or disconfirmation of working hypotheses of what is going on may be validated (a) by the participants' own experience and (b) by triangulation, especially what others have observed and understood. The measures of quality lie in how the participants have engaged in real-life issues, in how they have engaged in cycles of action and reflection, in the quality of collaboration and in the extent to which the outcomes are workable and generate actionable knowledge.

Skills

The activities of Clinical Inquiry make demands on clinical researchers to be skilled in their understanding of organizational dynamics and, thus, know what to look for as organizations malfunction. They also need to be self-aware and self-reflective, questioning their own assumptions, biases and filters in working with clients. They also need to be skilled in knowing how to be helpful and serve the needs of the client rather than their own.

Generating Practical Knowing

The realm of knowledge in which Clinical Inquiry operates is the realm of practical knowing, where knowledge is contextually embedded and there is a primary concern for the practical and the particular. Clinical Inquiry seeks to generate knowledge that is practical and useful for practitioners in particular settings,

of their current practice, with little evidence of further exploratory inquiry. The failure of instrumental attempts from above to deploy classroom-based action researchers to distil decontextualized 'best practice' suggests that for CBAR projects to be productive and emancipatory, they require a research design and infrastructure that is teacher initiated.

A continuing concern for CBAR is the need for individual teachers' classroom research to realize the aspiration of effecting wider change across the whole school. In attempting to connect teachers' classroom research with wider institutional development, it has been suggested that individual teachers' CBAR should be guided from inception towards ensuring whole-school change. For example, David Frost advises that externally facilitated CBAR programmes be carefully designed to ensure that individuals' research does not simply terminate in abstract recommendations for institutional improvement. He maintains that proposals for CBAR should always be initiated by the teacher to ensure that the issue has significance for the practitioner; however, once the focus has been decided, programme design should require the teachers to communicate their research intentions and actively collaborate in the research process with the school leadership, who will thus have an interest in both facilitating the investigation process and enabling the consequent implementation of the emerging CBAR findings across the institution by engaged and informed school leaders.

Andy Convery

See also collaborative action research; collaborative action research network; educational action research; insider action research; Participatory Action Research; practitioner inquiry; reflective practice

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Clinical Inquiry

Clinical Inquiry is a form of action research that is located within organization development and emanates from the process consultation work of Edgar Schein. Schein argues that the knowledge obtained by traditional research models frequently does not reflect what 'things are really like' in organizations and so is inadequate for studying organizational processes. Accordingly, he describes Clinical Inquiry as synonymous with process consultation, whereby the consultant creates a helping relationship with a client which enables the client to understand and act on the process events that are occurring in the client's internal and external environment in order to improve the situation as defined by the client. This entry introduces the notion of Clinical Inquiry as a form of action research, describes its basic principles and practices and discusses how clinical researchers can work with clients in addressing organizational problems and generating actionable knowledge.

Assumptions Underpinning Clinical Inquiry

There are three basic assumptions underlying the notion of Clinical Inquiry. These assumptions flow from the notion of a clinician as a professional who can work with a client to diagnose and address a problem in terms of a deviation from 'health'.

1. *Clinical researchers are hired to help.* The research agenda comes not from the interests of the researchers but from the needs of the client system. In this regard, Clinical Inquiry may be distinguished from forms of action research that begin from the researcher's initiative and where the organization accommodates the researcher's

research approach underpinning pre- and in-service award-bearing programmes. Classroom-based teacher action research had become recognized as a valuable research opportunity that enabled personal professional development.

Recent international developments in CBAR include the growth of 'learner voice' projects and initiatives which draw on the emancipatory ethos of engaging all the participants in the learning situation. Teachers design projects to enable pupils to adopt a fully participative role in researching classroom learning experiences and to take greater responsibility for an improved learning environment. Such attempts to emancipate learners as full contributors towards more informed classroom decision-making are cited as a logical development of the participatory, democratic and collaborative principles of CBAR.

Tensions Within CBAR

The CBAR movement has been an expanding area of practitioner-led and teacher-centred educational development since the 1970s, with CBAR acting as an emancipatory vehicle for increasing teachers' autonomy in creating a responsive and worthwhile curriculum. The increasing engagement in CBAR of teachers' colleagues, principals, parents and a range of paraprofessionals has been welcomed, as has the greater involvement of learners in a range of active research and co-researcher roles. However, debates continue over issues of the 'ownership' and purpose of CBAR, the positioning of academics in their relationship with teachers, the balancing of individual teacher emancipation with the collective generation of curriculum theory and the provenance of the 'teacher knowledge' that is generated.

There have always been warnings against inappropriate instrumental use of CBAR, amidst concerns that teacher research could be exploited as a form of technicist problem-solving. There is a long-standing suspicion that teacher research could be misappropriated to serve functional managerial interests in a performance culture. Even in 'learner voice' projects, there is discussion about how to maximize the educational empowerment of pupils as co-researchers, amidst cautions about their voices being misappropriated for political decoration.

There remain differences of emphasis about the appropriate role of academics in facilitating teachers' action research. For example, Jack Whitehead describes how teachers can use their investigations to understand themselves as 'living contradictions', as they come to recognize how their actual practices are frustrating their espoused values as teachers; the process of self-realization stimulated through CBAR enables teachers to better manage their lives and independently generate their own working theories from their practice. He suggests that externally initiated CBAR may take an 'interpretive' research approach which can relegate practitioners to the role of gathering data for 'spectator researchers', who will then generate educational theory. However, Elliott maintains that any teacher inquiry in which the end result is 'improved self-understanding' might offer the teacher an immediate solution to a problematic situation but does not effectively contribute towards improving the wider experience of teachers faced with similar curriculum challenges. He asserts that the generation of valuable curriculum knowledge arising from teachers' CBAR requires structured critique and publication, maintaining that teachers can adopt a more critical evaluation of their practice when they value themselves as researchers, and this identification can become strengthened by a democratic collaborative relationship with members of an established research community. He acknowledges the dangers of academic imperialism, insisting that external researchers who facilitate teacher research should engage in 'second order action research', both to ensure that the collaborative process embodies the academic researcher's own educational values and for the critical sharing of knowledge about the CBAR facilitation process.

Those promoting CBAR have been keen to use all opportunities to encourage teachers to engage in classroom inquiry as a vehicle for lasting change. They have worked with sympathetic policymakers and commissioners who sponsor initiatives which hope to draw upon classroom teachers' action research to determine 'best practice' models for informing teacher effectiveness. Educational agencies, commercial interests and national policymakers have occasionally provided funding to gather insider intelligence on teacher experience that will contribute to pedagogical change. Whilst facilitators have usually been positive towards opportunities in which practitioner research is recognized as stimulating reflective practice and inviting a 'bottom-up' approach to the generation of curriculum knowledge, there remains the concern that CBAR projects which are designed to provide privileged, insider perspectives on specific educational initiatives might prioritize the generation of transferable knowledge at the expense of individual teacher development. The emancipatory potential of the teacher's research could become restricted, subordinated towards delivering a technical research objective—that is, intelligence of 'what works' in the classroom. In practice, evaluators of such projects have reported that whilst individual teachers have celebrated the heightened sense of professional identity created by being invited to contribute, their resultant classroom reports are too often endorsements

Stenhouse at the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE). In this project, educational researchers encouraged teachers to experiment within their classrooms in order to develop an appropriate curriculum which would prepare school leavers for active and responsible participation in a democratic society. Following this programme, the approach of 'teacher as researcher' began to be developed, encouraged by Stenhouse's seminal text *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development* (1975), which promoted the principle that learners' curriculum experience needed to be designed and developed by informed teachers. Stenhouse suggested that such classroom inquiry constituted research if it represented 'systematic inquiry made public', and he encouraged reports of the research to be made available to other teachers so that the ideas could be tested in the classroom 'laboratory'. Whilst Stenhouse maintained that individual classroom studies could not be crudely generalized to apply to other teachers' unique classroom contexts, he optimistically suggested that an archive of individual teachers' case studies would represent a case record to be analyzed by professional researchers, and that might lead to generalizable propositional theory which would inform educational policymaking. Michael Bassey acknowledged the limitations of individual teacher case study research that cannot easily be transferred to other settings, but he suggested that singular studies could be validated through their 'relatability'—the extent to which practitioners can relate elements of the study to their own classroom contexts.

Following the HCP, the Ford Teaching Project, led by John Elliott and Clem Adelman, attempted to determine how teachers could best be supported in researching their classrooms. They derived hypotheses about the developmental process experienced by teachers conducting action research. They observed that teachers evaluated their practice more constructively once they began to view themselves as researchers. It was noted that the teachers' revised status as researchers helped them overcome their reluctance to investigate and articulate problematic aspects of their teaching experiences. The HCP and the Ford Teaching Project were designed to enable teachers to create practical, learner-centred responses to the constraints of rigid institutional and political structures and a centrally imposed, 'teacher-proof curriculum'. These projects laid the foundations for the establishment of the Classroom Action Research Network (CARN) in 1976, which held research conferences catering primarily to teachers and produced research bulletins (rather than research journals) in which teachers could report and share issues deriving from their action research. The 'teacher-as-researcher' movement spread internationally through those associated with the CARE projects. In Australia, there was significant interest in school-based curriculum development, and Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggart's 1982 Action Research Planner—'a procedural guide for teachers and administrators'—became a fundamental international text encouraging the growth in the number of academically initiated projects.

Although by the 1980s in the UK there had been a reduction in project-based funding for CBAR as a means of stimulating wider curriculum change, the influence of Stenhouse helped establish new 'Curriculum Studies' departments in higher education institutions which could claim to be independent of the 'borrowed' disciplines of philosophy, sociology or psychology of education. Such departments continued to encourage CBAR by promoting teacher research projects through a wide range of pre- and in-service programmes at both under-graduate and postgraduate levels.

Increasingly, attention focused on the limitations of teachers' classroom research in driving more enduring curriculum change, and some facilitators of CBAR began to argue for a 'classroom-exceeding' approach, which might progress beyond the private reflections of the individual teacher to encourage the educative involvement of school leaders, governors and local government departments. Internationally, classroom action research supporters acknowledged the importance of wider social and political influences on classroom experiences and attempted to engage with a variety of agencies (from social work to health, to police, to community) in a more participative action research which proposed that principles of CBAR be used as a methodology for wider social change. Experienced teacher-researchers such as Bridget Somekh were instrumental in extending the networking of educational action research across other disciplines and communities; she broadened her focus from teacher action research to embrace all those working in 'social endeavours' and attempted to engage policymakers in the inclusive 'supportive evaluation' of educational practices.

Collaboration with a range of associated social disciplines engaged in situated action research resulted in the CARN being renamed as the Collaborative Action Research Network in 1996. A research journal, *Educational Action Research*, had already been established through CARN in 1993, aiming to represent the wider notion of 'educational' action research as an essentially educative activity across a range of contexts.

Although the initial external sponsorship of curriculum-focused CBAR had not been widely sustained, the popularity of CBAR continued to develop, mainly through university departments accepting (and later promoting) teacher action research as a

she decided to experiment with a peer-tutoring and feedback activity. She organized pairs of learners to check each other's solutions to problems and negotiate an agreed solution when there was a difference between their suggested answers. The teacher discovered that following this intervention, the children were better able to articulate their mathematical thinking in discussion, and their workbooks revealed greater evidence of their attempting improved approaches to numeracy problem-solving in later lessons. However, she discovered that two learners had such little confidence in their knowledge of numeracy strategies that the exercise was proving confusing and unhelpful for them. Consequently, whenever she later repeated the paired activity with the class, she remained working closely with these two learners to provide a managed structure that would help them make confident progress with fundamental strategies.

The teacher shared her experiment with her head teacher, and she was asked to informally present her findings at the next after-school staff meeting, to discuss with her colleagues whether the peer feedback activities might be transferable to other classrooms. The director of the EIA also visited to observe the paired activities in progress, and the teacher's experiment was later presented at an EIA development day. The teacher wrote up this classroom action research study towards her master's award, and the supervising tutor drew on the teacher's findings about formative assessment strategies to inform her own teacher education curriculum.

As can be seen above, the data upon which classroom-based action researchers draw is typically found in the products and processes of everyday classroom experience (e.g. lesson plans, students' work, students' feedback, support assistants' observations, attendance registers, etc.), and these help clarify and inform the teacher's initial hunches about opportunities for improvement. In some cases, the existing evidence may be supplemented by more dedicated research techniques, such as recording of activities, interviewing or surveying learners using a range of written and pictorial feedback strategies or asking a colleague to observe and constructively analyze the focus of the inquiry. The rationale for teachers conducting their own action research to investigate their classrooms is that self-study enables teachers to appreciate why their 'curriculum intentions' (i.e. the learning experiences which they had planned) are not always fully realized in practice. Teacher-researchers are then ideally placed to make those necessary changes to their teaching which their investigation has indicated are desirable. It has been observed that teachers often display an occupational defensiveness and resist outside interference in their classrooms; however, teachers' own investigations provide a necessary condition for subsequent improvements to their classroom practice. Whereas CBAR does draw on elements of the 'reflective practitioner' approach to encouraging deliberative reflection as a basis for improved professional decision-making, a distinctive feature of CBAR is that it also requires practitioners to plan the systematic identification of evidence from the classroom as a concrete focus for reflection. Teachers conducting action research will also typically engage with those likely to be affected by the planned change (e.g. learners, colleagues, school leaders or parents). The classroom investigation assumes 'research' status when the findings of the inquiry and change process are shared with a wider audience within and beyond the school. This serves the dual purposes of both disseminating learning from the research and enabling informed feedback on, and validation of, the changes to practice.

Whilst CBAR may be initiated and supported by external facilitators who hope to generate collective insights into teachers' practices, the primary aim of CBAR remains the improvement of educational practices in the immediate classroom situation. However, CBAR does not assert that practice is an alternative to theory, but rather it foregrounds that practice as an evidence base contributing to the generation of more informed pedagogical and curriculum knowledge. And whilst CBAR often begins with a teacher's focus on an individual's practice and concerns, teacher-researchers are encouraged to acknowledge the collaborative nature of the social situation under study and invite feedback from those outside of the classroom who can make an informed contribution to supporting and disseminating the change—so that CBAR becomes more widely educative rather than remaining as an individual practitioner's private reflections.

Developments in CBAR

Stephen Corey's school-based research from the early 1950s in the USA is cited as an important early attempt to encourage teachers to study their own practice. Corey identified teachers' resistance to using theories generated by external academic researchers in their teaching. He proposed that teachers researching in their own schools would become empowered to overcome their occupational individualism, which insulated their established practice from developmental insight; he suggested that teachers who had become enlightened through their own research would then be well placed to implement changes based on their new understandings about their classroom practices. The movement to inspire teachers to research their classrooms was revived in the UK through the 1967–73 Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP), directed by Lawrence

research to suit the situation, developing new tools and techniques with the need for transparency and rigour in mind.

Unlike legal juries, which are by definition private and difficult to research, Citizens' Juries are, in principle, open to cycles of action-reflection, and thus continual improvement. Evidence from social psychology suggests that if decision-making processes such as juries are viewed by people as being fair, then they will be regarded as legitimate. People value fair treatment because, as Tom Tyler's research has shown, it communicates to them that the group to which they belong is a valuable, high-status group. If they are conducted in a way that embodies fairness, jury-type techniques have the potential to be an important part of processes that allow global-scale Participatory Learning and Action towards dealing with some of the greatest challenges of our age.

Tom Wakeford

See also bricolage process; citizen participation; democratic dialogue; empowerment; facilitation; multi-stakeholder dialogue; Participatory Learning and Action

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Classroom-Based Action Research

Classroom-based action research (CBAR) typically involves teachers conducting collaborative, evidence-based investigations into their own classroom routines and relationships with a view to understanding and improving the quality and justice of their practices in the classroom.

In the context of educational action research, CBAR usually refers to teacher-designed and managed small-scale investigations; however, those leading CBAR may include others in teaching, learning, support and leadership roles who make practical contributions to the educative empowerment of those engaged with classroom relationships and associated curriculum change. CBAR thus has links to participatory and practitioner action research. CBAR may be initiated through external projects, and it is also increasingly prescribed within teacher education programmes for providing teachers with professional development through informed insights into the consequences of their everyday classroom practices.

Enduring debates regarding CBAR centre on the sponsorship of teacher action research (*whose* issues are being addressed?), the value of teacher inquiry as 'research' and the aims and outcomes of teachers' classroom action research. A central debate in CBAR focuses on the extent to which individual teachers' improved practices can actually lead to more widespread pedagogical and curriculum change.

CBAR: An Illustration

The management team of an education improvement area (EIA) encouraged local school teachers to conduct action research into their practices to discover effective approaches for improving classroom experiences that might benefit all learners in this disadvantaged neighbourhood. The EIA provided funding and specialist input into a university-designed action research master's programme for teachers that was delivered in the evenings in a local school.

Following discussions with her tutor and the EIA learning director, one participating teacher investigated her numeracy lessons with 9- to 10-year-old pupils. From the work which pupils submitted for marking, she could find little evidence that her feedback practices were actually improving the children's subsequent approaches to problem-solving. Close examination of the term's numeracy workbooks revealed very few examples of where the learners had acted upon the guidance given in her written comments. Having attended a short introductory EIA course 'Formative Assessment',

these companies, fuelling suspicions that they facilitate largely the interests of the organization that commissioned them rather than the interests of jury members.

The explosion of methods, of which juries became one, was backed up by a plethora of handbooks purporting to enable government and organizations from civil society to make an informed choice of consultative tools. However, such toolkits cannot ensure fairness and competence in the use of the tools they contain. When conducting juries or similar processes, commercial companies have often disregarded key democratic safeguards—sparking, on occasion, censure from non-governmental organizations, academic analysts and even their own trade associations.

The impact of a jury is increased if those organizations that fund it or take part in its oversight also assist in the implementation of its recommendations. As in any multi-stakeholder process, some stakeholders may, as the jury proceeds, decide that it is not an efficient use of their resources, or perhaps not even in their interests, to associate themselves with the process. If such groups predict that the recommendations of a jury process are likely to be uncomfortable for them, they are faced with a dilemma: whether to remain an 'insider', potentially enabling them to be able to make more informed criticisms of the process, or an 'outsider', either ignoring or discrediting the process without being tainted by association with it.

The inclusion of community-based organizations is typically neglected in most commercially run juries—even though these groups may have the contacts and skills needed to continue work with the jurors and others after the process has finished. Such alliances between citizens, community groups and facilitators are at the core of do-it-yourself jury approaches, which draw on Community-Based Participatory Research approaches.

Do-It-Yourself Juries

Several groups of UK-based jury facilitators use a 'community-based' or do-it-yourself approach to a jury, allowing greater grass-roots control of what becomes a deliberative and Co-Operative Inquiry process. Here, groups whose knowledge and perspectives are generally marginalized by the policymaking process, often drawn from the geographical communities in which the jury takes place, co-design some or all of the key elements of the jury process. People who are normally outside policymaking processes are often able to gain understanding, voice and influence over the decisions that affect their lives. Involving groups from civil society at the start of planning a jury process will make it more likely that their policy recommendations will lead to policy change. People are far more likely to be engaged in discussing an issue if they can see that it could affect them or their community. Choosing the issue that will be the focus of their deliberations is therefore an important first step in a jury becoming a process of empowerment.

Creativity in a De-Colonizing World

De-colonizing research exposes the technologies of colonization, including the choice of the language (English) that is to be used as the means of research representation and the deployment of what Norman Denzin labels as Western epistemologies. As is the case with many action research techniques, those using Citizens' Juries in non-Western contexts are being accused of methodological imperialism, with the determination of the questions to be put before these juries often originating in the Western world. However, Citizens' Juries have been embraced by indigenous scholars in countries from India to Peru, from Mali to Manchester. There is a sense in which they could be seen as routes to de-colonizing existing political and research practices rather than further entrenching them. In less industrialized countries, juries have frequently taken place in relation to a high-profile public policy decision affecting indigenous peoples and other groups excluded from power. Here, the use of epistemological traditions from the West can be vital in defending the competence and appropriateness of a jury against those who wish to discredit the process.

A jury process is, looked at from the perspective of performance, a piece of theatre, which is why legal juries often play a part in fictional dramas on television and in film. Legal juries only investigate what happened in the past, whereas Citizens' Juries focus on what should happen in the future, based on participatory learning about the present and the past. Whereas legal juries oblige citizens to follow formal procedures, Citizens' Juries have no such restriction. Creative and arts-based approaches to action research allow witnesses and jurors to envisage how they would like the world to be in the future. Juries undertaken by organizations from civil society in India, Brazil, southern Africa and the UK have attempted to bring imaginative techniques, such as storytelling, scenario building and Theatre of the Oppressed, into the process.

Like many action research techniques, juries have—outside the USA at least—evolved into something more of a process of bricolage than a rigid set of procedures. An effective jury facilitator is, to use Claude Levi-Strauss' term, a *bricoleur*—a jack of all trades, a kind of professional do-it-yourselfer. Rather than follow a set procedure, a good facilitator will adapt the core principles of emancipatory action

target populations. Although they are core features of many present-day democratic societies, neither of the two approaches permits citizens the opportunity to hear or discuss the diverse perspectives that are often pertinent to a particular issue or to enter into an informed dialogue with those who have the power to bring about change. Juries have been designed to provide a more legitimate form of expression of public opinion. In some countries, they have been widely deployed as part of Participatory Action Research initiatives by organizations from civil society in order to empower those whose perspectives are usually ignored by opinion formers and policymakers.

Having registered them as a trademark in the USA, the Jefferson Center has been able to closely control the nature of the Citizens' Juries conducted there. Elsewhere, the process has developed without any restrictions.

The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), a think tank with links to the UK Labour Party, began to research Citizens' Juries in 1993. By the time Tony Blair's Labour government had been elected 4 years later, the IPPR had conducted five pilot juries and published a practical guide. Juries were rapidly adopted with the expressed aim of enhancing citizenship.

Although jury-type processes have been occasionally undertaken in at least seven countries outside the UK and USA—Australia, Brazil, Canada, Mali, India, New Zealand and Zimbabwe—by far the greatest number of juries have taken place in the UK. During the period 1997–2008, for instance, some 300 British juries were convened. This boom has been accompanied by frequent deviations from the three core elements of the jury methodology outlined in the Jefferson Center and IPPR's original guidelines. Some of these modifications have enhanced the inclusivity and legitimacy of the process, but others have seriously undermined it.

Approaches to Inclusion

The nature of any particular jury greatly depends on the strategy employed to attract and select the jurors. Under the market research model, a funder typically commissions a commercial specialist to conduct a jury process. Commercial recruitment teams typically invite people to be jurors via face-to-face recruitment or an advertisement in a local paper. As an incentive, there is often an offer of substantial payment. By contrast, when organizations from civil society lead the organization of a jury, they often invite people from local neighbourhoods or a community of interest to be jurors, without an incentive but with the members' needs directly supported—through the meeting of carer costs or provision of a crèche, for instance.

When asked, jurors generally say that they attend jury-type processes because they are interested in bringing about greater social justice. To ensure the deliberative rigour of a jury, its facilitation must heed critiques of deliberative processes by feminists, such as Iris Marion Young, and ensure that the interests of the more articulate jurors and their definition of the common good do not supplant the perspectives of those whose voices are quieter and more reflective. This process of domination can be extremely subtle and requires constant sensitivity to ensure that disagreements are handled in ways that ensure that everyone's experiences and views can be drawn upon in developing the jury's recommendations.

The seminal work of the team led by Elizabeth Barnett suggests that a jury must contain diverse interests, positions and life experiences that reflect those of the wider population. They conclude that facilitators seeking to support the deliberations of a particular social identity—for instance, the old, the young or the disabled—might need to implement safeguards to ensure that between one third and two thirds of the jury come from that group. Simply recruiting jurors at random or in proportion to their statistical representation in the population as a whole will not ensure that the interests of minority groups are adequately represented. Her classic analysis of a jury-type process undertaken for an advisory body to the UK's National Health Service demonstrates how a process that is meant to support minority perspectives can result in the tyranny of the majority if not carefully balanced and facilitated.

Safeguards and Commercialization

To date, only a handful of the several hundred attempts at jury-type processes commissioned by UK government bodies have abided by the most important democratic safeguard against their capture by particular interest groups—that they should be monitored by a body representing widely varying viewpoints and interests (see the third core element above). This key oversight role has been further threatened in the UK in recent years by the commercialization of juries with the emergence of what Celia Davies calls 'dialogic intermediary organizations'. In many cases, these specialist companies have effectively sidelined organizations from civil society, including most action researchers, as facilitators of juries. Moreover, confidentiality between commercial and government collaborators has led to a marked reduction in the transparency of the jury process. For instance, the criteria by which people were included in or excluded from the jury are usually kept confidential. With a few exceptions, most jury-type processes commissioned by such official bodies occur behind closed doors. Their refusal to use appropriate oversight has further undermined trust in

Social Outcomes

Citizen science provides important support for amateur scientists and natural historians and creates organizational and social networks and support structures for such amateurs. It mirrors the practices of action research by (a) educating, both formally and informally, citizens through the action of, and engagement with, scientific data collection; (b) empowering non-expert citizens in scientific knowledge making by creating community-based advocacy and interest groups and (c) fostering and providing a vehicle for behavioural change amongst contributing citizens.

Bill Boyd

See also capacity building; citizen participation; Citizens' Juries; Community-Based Participatory Research; data analysis; experiential learning; participatory monitoring; validity

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Citizens' Juries

The term *citizens' jury* is typically used to describe a process of multi-stakeholder dialogue that involves a small group of people—the 'jury'—deliberating on a particular set of issues in the light of evidence from invited speakers. Most juries aim at a process of participatory learning and advocacy that empowers both the jurors and, if their perspectives are the discussion, the wider community. As the culmination of their deliberations, juries usually develop a set of recommendations for policymakers and an advocacy strategy. The jury, or associated organizations, may then build political coalitions in an attempt to have the recommendations adopted.

Though diverse in their subject matter and style of delivery, juries have the stated aim of undertaking a fair and competent process of emancipatory action research. Competent juries generally include the following three core elements:

1. Members of the jury are chosen via a selection process that is rigorous and can be easily explained.
2. A facilitator provides support to the jurors in their cross-questioning of speakers who attend jury meetings. These 'witnesses' are invited in order to provide different perspectives on the topic. The facilitator provides neutral guidance to enable the jurors to collectively produce a summary of their conclusions, typically through a short report.
3. The fairness and democratic rigour of the process is safeguarded by an oversight body made up of a range of people who have relevant knowledge about the subject, an interest in the outcome or both. They take no direct part in facilitating the jury, but they can intervene at any point, potentially requiring elements of the process to be altered.

Early Citizens' Juries

The term *citizens' jury* was coined in the late 1980s by the Jefferson Center, based in Minnesota in the USA. The centre takes its name from Thomas Jefferson, the principal author of the American Declaration of Independence and the country's third president. A supporter of trial by jury, Jefferson famously stated in 1820,

> I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people. And if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion.

Although not widely known at the time, a very similar process, the *Planungszelle* ('planning cell') had been developed in Germany in the late 1960s. Both the *Planungszelle* and the jury contributed to a long-term trend towards supplementing conventional methods of public debate with organized deliberation among what Archon Fung calls 'mini-publics'.

Juries offer a potentially more empowering approach to the two principal methodologies that are claimed to enhance democratic debate—opinion polls and focus groups. Yet, far from enhancing dialogue, these two dominant approaches allow private corporations and governments to acquire quantitative and qualitative insights into the psychology and behaviours of their

affairs. All aim to improve dialogue between experts and citizens. In social contexts, citizen juries or panels play parallel roles to that of citizen science. It differs from amateur science (e.g. home chemistry experimentation) in being deliberately designed to engage many people to a common purpose. It overlaps with volunteer programmes (e.g. those of Earthwatch), which may include citizen science data collection and analysis.

Citizen science uses the time, abilities, skills and equipment of citizens interested in research. Citizens are co-ordinated and supported through local, regional or global networked organizations to contribute to the work of museums, universities, government agencies and specialist associations. Acceptance by the scientific community that amateur observations are reliable is growing, especially as co-ordinating bodies develop protocols—organization, guidance, training and support and project quality control—to ensure data validity and reliability. This, therefore, contributes to public education. The Australian Commonwealth Scientific & Industrial Organisation experts recently claimed that citizen science has improved community scientific and environmental literacy.

History and Recent Developments

Citizen science has a long history. The nineteenth century compilation of the Oxford English Dictionary was a prototype citizen science: People across England contributed word definitions to the compilers. The annual record, since the 1910s, of the first cuckoo heard in spring, in the letters to the editor of the (London) *Times* newspaper, is an example of spontaneous citizen science. More seriously, the Audubon Christmas Bird Count has engaged citizens in bird watching and recording continuously since 1900.

The number of citizen science projects and participants has grown significantly over the past two decades. WaterWatch (Australia) grew in 20 years to 3,000 groups monitoring 7,000 sites in 200 catchments. The growth was due to increasing public environmental awareness, public education and the accessibility of digital technology.

Desktop and laptop computing, Internet and mobile communication and digital camera, phone, GIS (geographic information system) and GPS (global positioning system) technology now support citizen science engagement with many more people. Technology allows data to be rapidly collected, collated and disseminated, with geo-reference technology (especially GPS) ensuring accuracy. Many projects rely on Internet surveys and reporting, while iPhone apps are being used widely to monitor wildlife. High-power laptop computing and distributed computing allow people to contribute to large-scale computational studies.

Scientific Uses

Citizen science most commonly provides core survey data for agencies such as museums and natural resource departments, especially where data can be measured or counted and needs to be geo-located. It builds large data sets over dispersed areas and cost-effectively, which would be difficult for small expert groups. This is foundational to good science, significantly contributing to large-scale censuses and to mapping of natural resources.

Observational citizen science has been around for many decades. The Atlas of Australian Birds is based almost entirely on 5.5 million amateur birdwatcher observations, and the (Australian) Bureau of Meteorology has collected volunteer rainfall data for over a century. The Birds Australia/Australian Museum 'Birds in the Backyard' project collects distributional and behavioural data on urban birds recorded in people's gardens. The Atlas of Living Australia uses citizen science to collate a national database of Australia's organisms, the web-based Biological Data Recording System.

Citizen science contributes to long-term environmental monitoring, recording cyclical events or changing events. It also records unusual, infrequent or dispersed organisms, situations or events that may otherwise go unrecorded.

Citizen science is also used in individual research projects and by environmental management agencies to address specific management issues. Over 1,000 citizens contributed to a University of Stirling (Scotland) project which now confidently reports a decline in one bumblebee species in Britain and the arrival of a French species. The New South Wales Heritage Office supports recreational divers to record and monitor historic shipwreck conditions, providing almost all the research on this resource. Other diving projects monitor pollution or threatened species.

Citizen science is harnessed for large-scale data management. Examples include the digitization of historical handwritten weather records and review of whale song recordings.

Finally, it contributes to large analytical or computational research, where the data set is larger than can be managed by a small expert team or the scale of calculations too large for single-mainframe computing. Low-cost computing, global Internet communication and cloud computing allow citizens to run parts of large-scale calculations or scan parts of large secondary databases. Examples include the SETI (Search for Extra-Terrestrial Intelligence) project, where citizens search for key indicators in telescope data. This is often done by passive use of software on their home computers, which some claim is not strictly citizen science.

To Reveal Hidden Costs

Citizen feedback can expose extra costs beyond the mandated fees while using public services. CRCs thus convey information regarding the proportion of the population who pay bribes (either demanded or freely given) and the size of these payments and estimate the amount of private resources spent to compensate for poor service provision.

Who Can Use CRCs?

Various types of organizations have acted as lead institutions to carry out CRCs. The lead institution manages and drives the CRC process.

There are three common types of lead institutions:

1. Civil society organization
2. Government body, whether it is an elected body, independent committee or government department
3. Independent consortium (group) consisting of government officials, civil society representatives, academicians and the media

In each case, the organization should consider whether it has the skills, resources, independence and motivation/commitment to carry out a CRC.

What Qualities Should a Lead Institution Have?

To conduct a CRC, the lead institution should be

- a credible part of the city or sector where the effort is started,
- politically neutral,
- committed to improvements in public services over the long term,
- able to oversee survey-related fieldwork (though not necessarily able to carry it out) and interpret the feedback collected,
- willing to disseminate both positive and negative findings, and
- experienced enough, or at least agreeable, to work with multiple stakeholders (the media, civil society organizations, government, etc.).

Many of the other skills involved in carrying out a CRC can be brought together externally if not available within the lead institution. Through informal networks or formal partnerships, organizations or individuals can be brought into the group to fill in gaps where skills are lacking.

CRCs and Knowledge Production

Carrying out CRCs leads to production of knowledge on areas of improvement in service delivery for service providers from a user perspective. Civil society organizations gain the expertise and power to hold governments accountable even if they have a monopoly on service delivery or programme implementation. In citizens, the CRC creates the capacity to demand improved services through sustained, focused advocacy.

Sita Sekhar

See also capacity building; citizen participation; Citizens' Juries

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Citizen Science

Citizen science is the co-ordinated engagement of volunteer citizens, usually amateur scientists or natural history enthusiasts, as observers, data collectors or analysts in large-scale observational or experimental research. Usually distributed throughout the community, they work as collaborators with researchers.

Citizen science engages the public as co-researchers in collecting and disseminating data and results. It accepts the skills of non-specialist contributors to research and thus empowers and educates citizens by acknowledging their contributions and developing their scientific skills. It democratizes the processes of knowledge production, dissemination and use. It addresses significant environmental, scientific and social issues by creating new knowledge and expanding community expertise. It exemplifies the principles of action research, developing, validating and authenticating the citizen's role in scientific data collection and providing opportunities to increase the citizen's knowledge base and expert skills.

This entry describes citizen science, focusing on its primary activity of public data collection, analysis and reporting. It summarizes the primary functions of citizen science and describes its social benefits.

Background

Citizen science is one of many techniques adopted by researchers to encourage public participation in public

The CRC methodology envisages the following objectives:

- To generate citizen feedback on the degree of satisfaction with the services provided by various public service agencies and to provide reliable estimates of corruption and other hidden costs
- To catalyze citizens and civil society organizations to demand more accountability, accessibility and responsiveness from the service providers
- To serve as a diagnostic tool for service providers, external consultants and analysts or researchers to facilitate effective prognosis and solutions
- To encourage public agencies to adopt and promote citizen-friendly practices, design performance standards and facilitate transparency in operations

In more practical terms, CRCs give the following strategic inputs.

Benchmarks on Access, Adequacy and Quality of Public Services as Experienced by Citizens

CRCs go beyond the specific problems that individual citizens face and place each issue in the perspective of other elements of service design and delivery, as well as a comparison with other services, so that a strategic set of actions can be initiated.

Measures of Citizen Satisfaction to Prioritize Corrective Actions

CRCs capture citizens' feedback in a clear, simple and unambiguous fashion by indicating their level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. When this measure of citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction is viewed from a comparative perspective, it gives valuable information to prioritize corrective actions. For example, the most basic feedback a citizen may give about power supply is total dissatisfaction. To appreciate this feedback, it must be related to the ratings given to other services by the same person. For example, water supply may be rated worse than power supply. When these two pieces of information are compared, one can conclude that power supply may be a cause of dissatisfaction but the priority for corrective action may be on water supply.

Indicators of Problem Areas in the Delivery of Public Services

CRCs inquire into specific aspects of interaction between the service agency and the citizens and seek to identify issues experienced by citizens in interfacing with the services. In simple terms, CRCs suggest that dissatisfaction has causes which may be related to the quality of services enjoyed by citizens (e.g. reliability of power supply or availability of medicines in a public hospital) or the difficulties encountered while dealing with the agency to solve service-related issues like excess billing or complaints of power supply breakdown.

Reliable Estimates on Corruption and Other Hidden Costs

Corruption, though widespread and rampant, often exists in the realm of anecdotes, without any quantitative base. This 'subjectivity' of corruption has severely undermined both corrective and collective responses. CRCs give very objective information on the nature and spread of corruption and other hidden costs.

Mechanism to Explore Citizens' Alternatives for Improving Public Services

CRCs go beyond collecting feedback on existing situations from citizens. They are also a means of testing out the different options that citizens wish to exercise, individually or collectively, to tackle various problems. For example, CRCs can provide information on whether citizens are willing to pay more for better quality of services or be part of citizens' bodies made responsible for managing garbage clearance in the locality.

Why Use a Citizen Report Card?

As a Diagnostic Tool

The CRC can provide citizens and governments with qualitative and quantitative information about the prevailing standards and gaps in service delivery. It also measures the level of public awareness about citizens' rights and responsibilities. Thus, the CRC provides a comparative picture about the quality of services and compares feedback across locations or demographic groups to identify segments where service provision is significantly weak.

As an Accountability Tool

CRCs reveal areas where the institutions responsible for service provision have not achieved the expected service standards. Findings can be used to identify and demand specific improvements in services. Officials can be stimulated to work towards addressing specific issues.

As a Benchmarking Tool

CRCs, if conducted periodically, can track changes in service quality over time. Similarly, conducting CRCs before and after introducing a new programme or policy to measure its impact is extremely effective.

Citizen Participation in Relation to Action Research

The practice of citizen participation in the development and governance sphere has also been facilitated by the use of participatory and action research approaches like participatory research, Participatory Learning and Action, participatory planning and citizen monitoring and social accountability approaches like Citizen Report Cards.

In all these approaches and methodologies, there is emphasis on the knowledge of the citizens and the recognition of individual and collective action to address issues of unequal powers which influence access to and control over development processes. The most effective use of these participatory methodologies and approaches is evident when they are used as important means for change and not as ends in themselves.

There have been evidences to support the contribution of citizen participation in development and governance initiatives in terms of more effective delivery of development services, sustainable outcomes, deepening of democracy and empowerment of citizens and their collectives. The past decade, however, has also witnessed growing criticism of the instrumental misuse of the concept of participation. There is a school of thought which highlights that citizen participation in development has failed to engage with the issues of power and politics and has become a technical approach to development. Concerns about the collective nature of participation have been raised, with studies claiming that participatory development projects focus only on visible and formal local organizations but overlook many other communal activities.

There is also a body of work which addresses the critiques of participation in development programmes. Supporters of the transformative dimension of participation critically explore the spaces provided for participation and its potential for empowerment. Further, they position the concept of participatory citizenship as a link between the social, community and political dimensions of participation.

Namrata Jaitli

See also microplanning; Participatory Action Research; participatory budgeting; participatory governance; participatory monitoring; participatory urban planning; social accountability; social audit

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Citizen Report Card

Evolved from the pioneering experience of Bangalore (now Bengaluru) in India and implemented in many countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Ethiopia and Tanzania, the Citizen Report Card (CRC) is an international best practice tool for improving service delivery. The CRC was developed in Bangalore, India. Frustrated with the poor condition of public services, a group of private citizens undertook a one-time effort to collect feedback from the users of services. The success of the initial effort in Bangalore led to the creation of the Public Affairs Centre, a non-governmental organization committed to improving the quality of governance in India. Since 1995, the Public Affairs Centre has independently and in partnerships carried out numerous CRCs in Bangalore and in various locations within India and around the world.

CRCs collect feedback through sample surveys on aspects of service quality that users know best and enable public agencies to rate services and to identify strengths and weaknesses in their work. CRCs facilitate prioritization of reforms and corrective actions by drawing attention to the problems highlighted. By means of collecting citizen feedback on the quality and adequacy of public services from actual users, CRC provides a rigorous basis and a proactive agenda for communities and local governments to engage in a dialogue to improve the delivery of public services.

The 1990s witnessed a growing recognition by international aid agencies and national governments of the role of community participation in facilitating effective, efficient, inclusive and sustainable human development. Multilateral agencies like the World Bank and the United Nations were significant players in mainstreaming community and citizen participation into development initiatives, and by 1990, most bilateral agencies also had policies on participation.

Since 2000, the idea of participation has moved beyond the narrow realms of beneficiary participation in development projects and programmes to address the broader issues of citizen participation in governance initiatives. The emphasis was on creating more inclusive and accountable democratic institutions from which the poor can benefit. A rights-based approach to participation and institutional accountability was proposed to strengthen the status of people from mere bearers of rights to rightful and legitimate claimants. There has also been an increase in the literature on linking participation to the concept of citizen's rights and citizenship.

Nature of Citizen Participation

The meaning and nature of the concept of citizen participation, thus, has undergone changes through the decades.

The early conceptualizations provide very important insights on the different dimensions of participation. In 1991, on the basis of an extensive literature review, Peter Oakley had categorized the definitions of participation by different researchers as follows: (a) participation as contribution, which includes voluntary or other forms of contribution to predetermined projects, (b) participation as organization, which includes organizational forms which are externally conceived or emerging as a process of participation, and (c) participation as empowerment, wherein participation is equated with gaining access to and control of the resources necessary to protect livelihood and working towards structural changes.

Participatory research and Participatory Action Research proponents recognized the importance of marginalized citizens' active participation in knowledge creation and subsequent collective actions and saw this process of learning and organizing as important vehicles for their empowerment. Empowerment thus included a process by which marginalized citizens gained greater access to and control over material, financial and intellectual resources, by creating pressure to transform ideologies, institutions and structures which perpetuate unequal access to and control over resources.

Participation when taken as a means to an end was seen as a way of harnessing the existing physical, economic and social resources of rural people to achieve the previously established objectives of development programmes more efficiently and effectively. As an end in itself, participation was seen as a process which unfolds over time, and its purpose was to develop and strengthen the capabilities of rural people to intervene more directly in development initiatives and to control their own development.

The international aid agencies further added the instrumental dimension to the concept of participation, emphasizing the decision-making space of the community in different phases of development projects and interventions. The World Bank in the 1990s specified six participatory mechanisms used in their work around the world, wherein the concept of participation is taken as a continuum: (1) information sharing, (2) consultative, (3) joint assessment, (4) shared decision-making, (5) collaborative mechanisms and (6) empowering mechanisms.

Citizen participation in the 2000s was increasingly described in terms of the relationship between citizens and the institutions which affect their lives, especially the state. Growing discontent globally resulted in citizens demanding their right to be treated as active participants rather than as mere voters or beneficiaries.

Highlighting the fact that citizenship is a learnt concept, Tandon has differentiated between the political meaning of participation, wherein the citizen derives his or her citizenship in relation to the state, and the cultural meaning of participation, wherein citizenship is defined in relation to the sense of belongingness to the community or kinship rather than the state. He further differentiated between the individual notion of citizenship, which deals with issues of entitlements and contracts vis-à-vis the state, and the collective notion of citizenship building from the collective identities of kinship, caste and community.

Through the process of critical reflection, learning and collective action, citizens were thus transcending the space of the individual notion of citizenship to a more nuanced, collective notion of citizenship and were also exploring the political as well as cultural meanings of participation.

With the work of educators like John Gaventa and Andrea Cornwall, the issue of spaces for citizen participation also gained eminence. According to them, the different spaces for citizen participation include closed spaces, invited spaces and claimed or created spaces. Calls for accountability and transparency of state institutions and direct participation of citizens to hold state institutions accountable have also increasingly become a reality in many parts of the world. The work on social accountability also effectively encompassed the notion of active citizen participation and active citizenship.

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Citizen Participation

The concept of citizen participation is multidimensional; it refers to the active engagement of citizens, especially those marginalized and oppressed, and their collectives in having access and control over resources and influencing critical decisions related to their lives.

The concept traces its historical roots to the participatory research and Participatory Action Research approaches, thus sharing a significant link with the concept of action research. The practice of citizen participation within a development and governance context follows the action-reflection cycle integral to action research interventions.

This entry traces the history of the term in development and governance discourse during the post–Second World War period. It then unravels the conceptual tenets of the term and explores its relevance in building a just and equitable society.

Historical Roots of the Concept

Within the international development discourse and practice, the concept of participation has undergone changes since its initial articulation more than six decades ago. It is thus useful to undertake a brief overview of the historical roots of the concept of citizen participation before attempting to unpack its different dimensions.

After the Second World War, a number of developing countries, like India, witnessed the dominance of the growth school of development, which emphasized industrialization and economic development and endorsed gross national product as a significant indicator of development. Development programmes were designed and managed by the government and agency staff, with the underlying assumption of professionals being the experts and the marginalized and oppressed citizens, the passive recipients of development aid.

The late 1960s and 1970s witnessed growing pressure by a section of social scientists, grass-roots groups and non-governmental organizations to bring the marginalized citizens and the community into the centre of development initiatives. In the year 1968, the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was published in Portuguese, with the English version published in 1970. This seminal document introduced Freire's dialogic approach to adult education, wherein the oppressed engaged in critical analysis and organized action to improve their situation. The concepts of conscientization and praxis introduced by Freire's work in the area of pedagogy of literacy were powerful ideas for empowerment of the oppressed.

It was also during the 1970s that the work of educators and practitioners like Budd Hall and Rajesh Tandon positioned the concept of participatory research as a powerful idea against the monopoly of knowledge being propagated by mainstream knowledge institutions. The facilitators of participatory research strengthened the belief that the popular knowledge and collective action of marginalized citizens were important vehicles for empowerment of the poor and marginalized.

Orlando Fals Borda's work with grass-roots groups in Columbia, with a focus on legitimizing popular knowledge, also led to the emergence of Participatory Action Research. The issue of citizens' and community rights was further highlighted by a number of social movements in the 1970s which made strong claims for livelihood, social justice and women's rights for the poor and marginalized. This significant development led to the recognition of the political function of citizen participation.

The decade-long search for alternative models of development wherein the recipients of development become drivers of the process was central to a number of important events and conferences in the international development scenario. The focus on community participation in the agriculture, health and education programmes of the government began gaining strength. In the developing countries, participatory methodologies like Participatory Rural Appraisal and participatory monitoring gained significance in the 1980s, assisting the incorporation of community and citizen participation in the development project cycles of the government and non-governmental organizations.

The structural adjustment programme of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, initiated in the 1980s to facilitate debt repayment by developing countries, led to pressure on the states to reduce unproductive social expenditure in a number of developing countries. This increased poverty and marginalization, resulting in increased demand for a rights-based approach to development from international non-governmental organizations. In 1986, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed development as a human right in its 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, thus bringing the claim of the citizen to the forefront of the development discourse.

the extended epistemology and the framework of first, second and third person inquiry or practice.

The term *spirituality* is used in many different ways. It typically refers to (a) a fundamental dimension of the human being, (b) the lived experience which actualizes that dimension and (c) the academic discipline which studies that experience. This entry is grounded in those usages that define spirituality as a fundamental dimension of the human person that is oriented towards transcendence, as lived experience and as an academic discipline. People cannot understand spirituality without some personal experience of it, and as such, experience is self-implicating.

Extended Epistemology of the Christian Spirituality of Action

Extended epistemology describes four kinds of knowing or reflecting the different ways in which we deal with and act within the world. This scheme of four kinds of knowing—(1) experience, (2) expression, (3) understanding and (4) practice—can be applied to Christian spirituality. What for the Christian is knowledge born of faith and prayer (*experiential* knowing) is expressed in *presentational* form through images of God; through the language of prayers; through religious art, poetry and music and so on. That experiential and presentational knowing is articulated in *propositional* form in the statements of faith, in the Creed and in how beliefs are formulated and understood through theology. All this is expressed in *practical* knowing as Christians apply themselves to trying to live the Christian faith. In terms of Christian spirituality, these forms of knowing involve attending to the experience of a personal God, who sent Jesus Christ to redeem the world and who invites people to love the way God loves and to serve God in the world. It means attending to how that love shapes experience, to how that love is expressed and understood and to how it guides living and acting in the world.

Christian First, Second and Third Person Inquiry and Practice

Christians engage in first person practice when they seek to find God in their own lives through personal prayer, meditative practices, reading and reflection on experience. They engage in second person inquiry and practice by virtue of participating in a community of faith, whether it be formally in a church group, by following a religious life or through an informal network of friends which meets to share faith and support its members. They also engage in second person inquiry practice through participating in faith-based social action groups that work on issues of justice and peace, poverty and social exclusion and through participation in faith-based schools. In the Christian life, more generally, third person inquiry practice becomes visible in the corporate life of the Church and in the progress of the planet as a whole. Christians try to build up communities of faith, to pass on their faith to the next generation and to promote God's action in the world at the institutional and structural levels.

For Christians, the work towards social justice for marginalized and excluded persons, for social, political and economic structures that contribute to the development of people rather than their enslavement in hunger, poverty or unemployment, is a process that may begin from the first person inquiry of the practising Christian, who engages with others in second person inquiry and contributes to a broader development of a struggle for justice in other groups and communities. In this manner, spirituality is not an inward-focused experience for the development of the individual only but one that challenges individuals to live a just life themselves and to have a personal spirituality that is both individual and social by having a concern-in-action for others and for the transformation of the world.

Ignatian Spirituality

A focused expression of the spirituality of action is found in Ignatian spirituality, a spirituality developed from the life and work of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). This tradition of spirituality within Roman Catholicism views God as a busy God, who is to be found not, or not only, in some ecstatic bliss but rather in acting in the world. It focuses explicitly on experience and action in a faith context and develops cycles of prayer, action and reflection in the service of God as its central process.

Christian spirituality is a spirituality of action and is congruent with action research's values of worthwhile purposes and reflection-in-action. What Christian spirituality brings to the processes of action research is the perspective of religious faith and love, which is both an intentionality and a way of interpreting reality and experience to love God and to love one's neighbour as oneself in imitation of Jesus Christ.

David Coghlan

See also extended epistemology; first person action research; karma theory; liberation theology; second person action research; theological action research; third person action research

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reflexivity and mutual vulnerability as an ethical obligation in collaborative inquiry.

Chataway's early writings on PAR occurred at a time when most participatory research scholarship was abstract, directive and lacking in rich description. In *Negotiating the Observer-Observed Relationship: Participatory Action Research*, published in 2001, Chataway's findings were not solely an explanation of how her original research questions and hypotheses were answered using particular methods, utilizing text and/or statistics as evidence. Her examination of the degree to which, through collaboration, she was successful at interrupting unequal relationships between the observer and the observed if read as a traditional results section would read as a failure. Another way to read Chataway's self-critical reflections on the highly political nature of the participatory process with the Kahnawà:ke Mohawk community while struggling with idealized prescriptions of action research is as an instance of writing that broke with the tendency many social scientists have to detach the process of discovery from the finished products of research. Chataway's highly self-reflexive writing style also influenced future PAR practitioners to think critically about negotiating trust, attending to power asymmetries, self-protection and silence among co-researchers, the many forms participation can take and what inclusivity means in their respective projects.

Chataway also offered an invaluable ethical tenet in her writing on mutual vulnerability and PAR. Implicitly, participatory research distinguishes itself from positivistic research by requiring researchers to be more reflective and more transparent regarding their respective standpoints, their vulnerabilities, the limits of their theories and their analytical strategies. Chataway taught future action researchers that PAR is an orientation and methodology in which vulnerability must be shared. Communities are made vulnerable in research when researchers are disingenuous, when the expertise, dignity and self-determination of the people themselves are not acknowledged and respected. Emerging researchers can be vulnerable in research when they are reliant on the products of research collaborations to forge reputations, to earn degrees and to procure job security in the academy. Without reflecting on mutual vulnerability and how implicated researchers' partners can become in each other's lives, PAR cannot hope to successfully redress the power imbalances between academic scientists and people who have been researched ad nauseam. Chataway's writing on mutual vulnerability predates current discussions and perceptions of ethics in participatory research. Nevertheless, in a relatively short career, she taught action researchers much about being intentional and self-conscious about the consequences of their actions and about the legacy of scientific research products not just to institutional review boards, grantors and academic peers but also to human relationships and to social justice.

Monique A. Guishard

See also Critical Participatory Action Research; Feminist Participatory Action Research; Participatory Action Research; reflective practice

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Christian Spirituality of Action

Christian spirituality is understood to refer to a lifelong journey in which one discovers one's self in relation to God and to God's creation. In its essence, the Christian approach to spirituality views God as one who is active in the world and who invites individuals and communities to seek and find God in the experience of their own lives and of the world and to respond in action. The fundamental assumption is that the twin commandments to love God and to love one's neighbour as oneself are commandments to engage in actions that foster love, justice and peace in the world as Jesus Christ taught. This mode of action in the Christian tradition is congruent with action research. This entry describes how the processes of action research inform and support the Christian spirituality of action through

Whitehead was not only a core member, as a tutor on the postgraduate research programme, but also had another vibrant action research identity, through his work in education and his ActionResearch.net.

CARPP no longer exists at the University of Bath. Through a mix of factors, the space for CARPP's work became more difficult to hold and resource. Perhaps the politics of knowledge played some part. Despite external recognition, action research sits uncomfortably in UK academia, with its research assessment exercises and their privileging of certain kinds of knowledge. Activities declined in phases from 2008 onwards; staff left. But traces of CARPP have spread far and wide. These include several activities at Ashridge Business School, which now runs a successor to the M.Sc. in RBP (the master's degree in sustainability and responsibility) and hosts the very active RBP e-mail list, and developments at Lancaster University Management School and at the University of Bristol. And many people have developed inquiry-based approaches to their work and lives in a host of different areas and also established congruent initiatives. There is a virtual CARPP network, and there are occasional 'watering-hole' gatherings at Hawkwood College near Stroud, where the research conferences used to be held.

Judi Marshall

See also Bateson, Gregory; Co-Operative Inquiry; first person action research; second person action research, sustainability; third person action research

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Chataway, Cynthia Joy

Cynthia Joy Chataway (1963–2006) was a Canadian social psychologist who made many enduring contributions to the field of action research in her short lifetime. Chataway earned a bachelor's degree in psychology from Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario, Canada, in 1987. She then left Ontario to pursue doctoral work at Harvard University, working with the eminent conflict resolution and social research ethics psychologist Dr Herbert C. Kelman. Chataway's dissertation, from which most of her completed academic writing stems, utilized Participatory Action Research to investigate the decision-making process and perceptions of justice among members of the Kahnawà:ke Mohawk community. Chataway later returned to Canada, attaining the rank of Associate Professor of Psychology at York University in Toronto.

Of the many conceptual gifts Chataway imparted to action researchers, arguably her most significant were her frank writings about the challenges of conducting participatory research with deep commitments to social justice, uprooting knowledge hierarchies and the conduct of ethical collaborative research.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is commonly construed as an orientation to collaborative inquiry rather than being pigeonholed as a specific methodology. PAR embodies a continuum of research activities that employ varying modes of participation and control between community-based entities and academic researchers. Ideally, however, PAR aspires to initiate transparent, democratic inquiry that is collaboratively designed, conducted, analyzed and disseminated in the context of equal partnership *between* scientists and people who are more often the subjects of research than they are perceived as knowledge bearers.

In early academic writings about PAR, there existed a gap between the ideals and epistemology of participatory research discussed in theory and the practical realities of attempting to co-create and sustain unconventional relationships between researchers and communities. In her seminal work, *On the Constraints of Mutual Inquiry*, published in 1997, Chataway filled this gap by providing a much needed example of the micro-dynamics of participatory research years before discourse on the particulars of PAR became more widely discussed. In detailing the many challenges of her collaborative journey with the Kahnawà:ke Mohawk people that she encountered, and where her intentions as a non-indigenous, English-speaking, White Canadian woman were repeatedly questioned, Chataway improved our understanding of several notions that are central to action research: the political nature of PAR, what constitutes knowledge in research,

at the time of writing this entry, are still available to download through the World Wide Web).

The community was also diverse. While people were committed to the core principles of action research, each had different approaches, priorities and constituencies.

CARPP members especially made contributions to the following themes in action research:

- The interaction of first, second and third person forms of inquiry
- Developments of Co-Operative Inquiry, a disciplined form of second person action research in which people co-research issues of mutual concern (Peter Reason and others)
- Reflective inquiry practices; developing rigour in first person action research, including *living life as inquiry* (Judi Marshall), recognizing ourselves as *living contradictions* (Jack Whitehead) and a commitment to *living educational values in living theories* (Whitehead)
- Concepts of a participatory paradigm (Reason)
- Conducting research as a political process
- Developments of innovative and rigorous practices of action research through CARPP's own experimentation
- Education as a practice of participative inquiry
- Development of experimental, creative and innovative forms of writing and representation

Also contributing to shaping the field, Reason and Hilary Bradbury (Oregon Health and Science University) co-edited two publications (in 2001 and 2008) of *The SAGE Handbook of Action Research*, and in 2003, they launched the journal *Action Research*, an international, interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal which has established itself as a forum for the development of the theory and practice of action research.

Experimentation in CARPP's own practice accompanied intellectual exploration. In any activity, people aspired to develop communities of inquiry and practice—emancipatory spaces—in which taking authority, participating and exercising autonomy were integrated for all concerned. Programmes and projects thus modelled in practice the participative action espoused by the research principles, with significant attention to process, reflexivity and mutual decision-making.

Studying at CARPP—doing the M.Sc. in RBP or the postgraduate programme in action research—was stimulating, affirming and developmental for many people, at least some of the time. And it could be troubling, unsettling, challenging, frustrating and scary, as it could also be for tutors. Given CARPP's bold aspirations, paradoxes of power and collaboration were, for example, encountered as well as discussed.

Many people developed a strong sense of affiliation to CARPP and identified with its aspirations, ideas and practices. People mixed across different 'generations' and activities, aligned through a shared sense of culture and practices of personal and collective inquiry. And some people who encountered this critiqued CARPP as potentially a 'cult'. Perhaps a notion of tribe would be more appropriate. A sense of collegiality, of being amongst supportive and critical friends engaged in similar questioning, was, and still is, key to the CARPP ethos.

Steve Taylor (now at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, USA), reflecting on the CARPP he had known, noted, 'I hear myself speaking of CARPP more as a centre of a spiritual life practice than as an academic centre, and that seems somehow right, and I suspect that that is central to the CARPP magic'.

Any story of CARPP is thus also that of the people who brought themselves to it, with their interests and energies. All contributed to CARPP's unfolding identity and heritage. This effect was especially strong as most of the participants on the two programmes were in midlife, pursuing their inquiries part-time and wanting to develop their learning, practice and impact in the world, working with issues of social change, for example, those of race, gender, social justice and environmental sustainability. People applied action research across a wide range of organizational sectors—public, private and voluntary—and territories of inquiry, and this diversity enriched the community of learning.

It is impossible here to do justice to all the people of CARPP and their multiple traces of connection. A brief review of 'staff' only would be as follows:

- CARPP was created in 1993 by Judi Marshall, Reason (as director), David Sims (who left in 1995) from the School of Management and Whitehead from the School of Education, to bring together work they were already doing through action research and to initiate the joint postgraduate research programme.
- Other faculty of the School of Management involved at different times were Patricia Gayá, Kate McArdle and Steve Taylor.
- Visiting fellows associated with the M.Sc. in RBP, the postgraduate research programme, action research projects and group facilitation training are Gill Coleman (co-creator of the M.Sc. in RBP with Marshall and Reason), David Ballard, Margaret Gearty, Donna Ladkin, Jenny MacKewn, Tim Malnick, Geoff Mead, David Murphy, Sue Porter, Chris Seeley and Michelle Williams.

CARPP was not a neatly bounded entity. Many key members were visiting fellows with other lives too.

evidence that challenges their beliefs. A case study, itself complex and embedded in a complex context, provides more opportunity for surprising results to emerge and to challenge expectations.

Fifth, case studies are said to be difficult to summarize. To capture some of the complexity of live situations, case studies are often presented in narrative form. Some see this as a problem. If the aim of a study is to develop a simple and broadly true principle, a case study may not be the best choice of approach. More often, however, the verisimilitude of the case study can be seen as complementing, usefully, the approaches that can be more easily abbreviated.

Bob Dick

See also complexity theory; ethnography; generalizability; narrative; rigour; systems thinking

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Centre for Action Research in Professional Practice

The Centre for Action Research in Professional Practice, known as CARPP, was located in the School of Management at the University of Bath. It was created to develop the theory and practice of action research, and it explicitly sought to reform the academy by enabling postgraduate research that would meet the established quality criteria and go beyond these into radical developments of ideas and practice. A core purpose was to bring an attitude of inquiry and learning to key issues of our time—justice and sustainability.

Its activities included the following:

- A learning community-based postgraduate programme in action research, based on radical notions of adult learning, through which people worked to a diploma, M.Phil. or Ph.D. (1994 onwards)—including a pre-CARPP phase, there were 55 Ph.D., 9 M.Phil. and 25 diploma graduates.
- The master's degree in responsibility and business practice (M.Sc. in RBP), with its action research–based educational approach, which addressed environmental, social and ethical issues in business (1997 onwards)—it was developed in an educational partnership with the New Academy of Business (established by Anita Roddick, founder of The Body Shop International). There were 254 graduates from 12 year groups.
- Action research projects—for example, a sequence of projects with the Welsh Assembly Government and Lowcarbonworks, an Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council/Economic and Social Research Council–funded inquiry into the human dimensions of low-carbon technology, called 'Insider Voices'
- Biennial research conferences titled *Emerging Approaches to Inquiry* (initiated in 1984)—working conferences of 50–60 people, incorporating practicum groups, activities, inquiries and distinguished guests
- An annual seminar series working with ideas and practices—including international speakers and writing workshops
- Publications and conference attendances—scholarly and practice oriented

CARPP was part of an international network of people and institutions developing and legitimizing action research in its many forms. Members saw this as political work about which knowledges count, especially countering the privileging of intellectual knowledge.

The CARPP community shared interests: talking about *inquiry* as a more inclusive term than research; making a commitment to values-aware researching; indicating a liking for the work of Gregory Bateson; working with multiple ways of knowing, including affective, embodied, practical, experiential, spiritual and representational knowing; developing rigorous, diverse practices of quality in inquiry; experimenting in action; developing subtle crafts of facilitation in action research and experimenting with writing and form, including for master's and Ph.D. theses (which,

two or more different times. Yin does not claim that the list is exhaustive or the categories completely distinct. Other authors proffer similar categories.

Acting across this taxonomy, a study may consist of a single case, or several cases may be researched within a single study. In either instance, cases may be studied holistically or as several subunits. Cases may be further categorized by their purpose. An exploratory case study explores a research area not previously researched. A descriptive case seeks to describe a unit or phenomenon without explanation.

For action researchers, Yin's emphasis on rigour, and attention to methodology as a way of achieving it, may be useful. They may also appreciate his work on the development or testing of theory. However, he believes that the best research follows a scientific model, drawing on prior theory and with predetermined research questions. His work may be less relevant when research questions, if any, emerge gradually. For such action research, Stake's writing may be more relevant.

Though Stake shares Yin's background in psychology, his writing on case study contrasts with Yin's work in some significant ways. He encourages systemic thinking and the iterative and emergent nature of questions and interpretations. He focuses more strongly on the interpretive aspects of case studies. His twofold categorization of cases distinguishes instrumental and intrinsic studies. Instrumental cases are a vehicle for addressing wider issues, in particular a contribution to theory. In intrinsic cases, the researcher is interested in the study situation itself.

Theory in Case Study

Among other purposes, case studies can be used to test or to develop theory. Those two purposes can be regarded as end points on a continuum. Near the centre of the continuum are designs, where theory guides the case study while being refined by the data collected.

Kathleen Eisenhardt's influential 1989 article on theory building lists a detailed procedure. The first step of getting started is followed in turn by selecting cases, crafting instruments and protocols, entering the field, analyzing data, shaping hypotheses, enfolding literature and, finally, reaching closure. She elaborates on each of these steps. For theory development, she favours multiple cases or single cases with multiple subunits.

Challenges and Responses

Case study research carries the undeserved burden of a poor reputation in some quarters. So does qualitative research generally, and action research too. Positivist and neopositivist approaches are often accorded higher status. In evidence-based medicine, for example, meta-analyses and randomized control trials are regarded as providing higher quality evidence, while case studies may be regarded as unscientific. In such critiques, too little account is often taken of the actual research questions or research situation. Further, although the complexity of social phenomena is often poorly captured by reductionist methods, qualitative researchers may be at a disadvantage in funding and publishing their work.

Some authors, such as Norman Denzin, challenge the conventional views directly. Some, such as Janice Morse, adopt mixed methods as a response. Flyvbjerg's approach is to attribute much of the problem to five misunderstandings, to which he offers five reasoned rebuttals. The misunderstandings, and the responses based on Flyvbjerg's well-documented arguments, are summarized below.

The first misunderstanding depends on the assumption that concrete and practical knowledge deserves a lower status than knowledge that is general and theoretical. In response, Flyvbjerg points out that it is the concrete and practical knowledge as produced by case studies that is more easily learned and applied. In fact, it comprises the context-dependent (and sometimes tacit) knowledge that true experts acquire only after extensive experience. Further, each complex social situation is unique and varies depending on the context. It is poorly described by context-free theory.

Second, it is often held that case studies do not permit generalization and cannot generate scientific understanding. While multiple cases may allow easier generalization, important breakthroughs in physical science by scientists such as Albert Einstein have often been achieved from single cases. In social research, a case study that at first appears not to favour a hypothesis may instead provide support for the hypothesis. In any event, a research finding generalizes only to situations containing the same, and only the same, variables. Other than in simple physical situations, this is seldom so.

Third, case study is often seen as useful only for pilot studies, for example, to generate hypotheses to be tested by other methods. In practice, carefully chosen case studies allow an in-depth exploration of matters such as the effect of context, the applicability of historical explanations and the operation of theorized causal mechanisms.

Fourth, it is often argued that case studies are more likely than positivist studies to confirm the preconceived notions of the researcher. In actuality, such a bias is common to most human endeavours—humans notice and give credence to information that supports their preconceptions. Psychologists call it 'confirmation bias'. All researchers can beneficially be open to

of a small number of such units. Other case studies research phenomena, for example, entrepreneurship in a particular market or poverty. The studied phenomenon is researched in its normal setting and (in most definitions) is in some way bounded or limited.

Such definitions fit all or almost all action research studies. Action research might therefore be regarded as a subset of case study. Both case study and action research favour (or at least espouse) the integration of theory and practice. Both take place in the field rather than in the laboratory. Both can be qualitative, quantitative or mixed, though qualitative approaches predominate. With a few exceptions, both are responsive to the researched situation rather than being an exploration of a precise research question derived from theory, though examples of theory testing can be found in each. Both are likely to be holistic rather than reductionist, seeking to understand the whole unit or phenomenon as it is.

As Stake has pointed out, there are many studies that fit the definition of case study without being labelled as such. With wide variation in methods, case study is not so much a methodology as a research genre. On these grounds, some authors have proposed abandoning 'case study' as a research description, recommending instead a label more explanatory of the actual methodology used.

The case study researcher or action researcher can choose from any methodology that allows in-depth study of the social unit or phenomenon. Research situations also show some similarity: Both action research and case study are increasingly common in fields that retain an interest in practical applications, like nursing or information technology.

While remaining consistent with definitions of case study, typical action research approaches exhibit features that case studies may lack. Action research is almost always interventionist—it seeks to engage with the studied situation and to change it. Most other case studies prefer to leave the studied situation untouched as far as possible. Action research is almost always (most would say always) participatory, involving those in the research situation as partners and not just as informants. Conventional case study research seldom does so, though this may be slowly changing. In some action research studies, the participants become full partners in the research. Action research reports may be co-authored by the researcher and the participants, while fewer case studies are.

Such differences are not trivial. However, provided they are kept in mind, action researchers can with benefit supplement the action research literature by accessing the more substantial case study literature. Because of the similarities, the two research traditions have often been confronted with the same, often unwarranted criticisms—discussed later.

Brief History of Case Study

Many authors identify the origins of current case study in the anthropological field studies of the early 1900s. The University of Chicago was central in this work, and it remained influential into the 1930s and beyond. However, even before this, in the mid nineteenth century in France, the part-time sociologist Frédéric Le Play wrote case studies of families with whom he lived during a study.

There have been earlier studies like this—note the parallels between case studies and the thoroughly documented medical case histories of classical Greece. Even earlier, we can surmise that case studies have existed in the form of story for a very long time. Hunter-gatherer societies made much use of narratives and still do. Often grounded in observation, such narratives achieved the dual purpose of preserving knowledge and educating the young.

By the mid-1930s, the rise of logical positivism had relegated case study to the sidelines. Despite some continued use, case study (and qualitative research generally) remained marginalized for some decades. The research world came to favour approaches regarded as more scientific—in particular, quantitative and reductionist, even though such approaches dealt relatively poorly with complex natural situations. The marginalization of case study (and qualitative research and action research) still continues, though with more vigorous defences now offered.

Varieties and Traditions

The author most cited on case study methodology is Yin. Reflecting his background in experimental psychology, Yin argues that each case should be preceded by an extensive literature review. A careful, theory-based design then follows, though Yin acknowledges that the design may change as the study unfolds. He also recommends working within a particular theoretical literature. His is a narrower definition than many writers would support.

Within this narrow conception, Yin proposes a five-fold categorization of case studies, especially those that are of a single case. A critical case study may confirm, disconfirm or extend existing understandings of a phenomenon by drawing upon critical theoretical frameworks. A representative case study is one chosen because it is typical of a particular situation and therefore represents a general view of the phenomenon under examination. Conversely, an extreme or unique case is one that occurs rarely and may therefore provide new insights. A revelatory case is one not usually accessible to study, and therefore worth studying when available. A longitudinal case is conducted over time at

Individual to Institutional Orientation

Throughout the seventies to the nineties, the focus of capacity building was on individuals. It was assumed that if the capacities of individuals were developed, it would automatically translate into improved organizational effectiveness. However, it became evident that unless the institutional norms, culture, beliefs and systems are made conducive, even individuals with improved capacity cannot bring about effective change in organizations. This realization led to a shift in focus to organization-wide interventions including its strategy, structure, system and procedures.

Techno-Managerial to Political Orientation

Another approach which dominated the practice of capacity building was its techno-managerial orientation. However, it was realized that in the majority of the contexts there have been historical differences in the distribution of power between the poor and the non-poor and between the marginalized and the power holders. It made the practitioners revisit the purpose and approach of capacity building from technical interventions to an 'empowering' experience. The end result of capacity building, therefore, is to be assessed in its contribution towards changing the power relationships in a society.

Single-Actor to Multiple-Actor Orientation

In the post–World War II era, it was thought that the government is the main actor in development. As development became more complex and unpredictable, the need for engaging multiple actors also became evident. As a result, capacity-building practices also needed to embrace this understanding and involve multiple actors like civil society, citizens, business, the media, academia and so on.

Exogenous to Endogenous Orientation

At the height of capacity-building practice, the dominant belief was that poor people needed to be developed. Such belief led to practices built upon the notion of the external expert developing the capacities of poor and marginalized people. In the nineties, this belief was challenged by numerous successful practices of people's participation, where the poor and marginalized people owned the responsibility of developing their own capacities with external facilitation. Such positive experiences have changed the belief and practice of capacity building as an endogenous process.

Training-Dominated Learning Method to Use of Multiple Learning Methods

For a considerable time, capacity building was synonymous with classroom-based training as the target was primarily an individual. As the concept of experiential learning gained momentum and the scope of capacity building was enhanced to include the organization and society, a variety of learning and intervention methods, including organization development, exposure, apprenticeship, mentoring, coaching, process consultation, campaigns and so on, were also used to develop capacities for a variety of actors.

Kaustuv Kanti Bandyopadhyay

See also experiential learning; organization development

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Case Study

As usually defined, a case study is an in-depth examination of a single social unit (individual, group or beyond) or phenomenon, although in some instances this could include a small number of exemplars. The unit or phenomenon is studied within its normal context. All or most action research fits this definition. Action researchers can therefore use the case study literature to complement the less extensive action research literature.

This entry begins with a comparison of action research and case study. A brief history of case study then follows. The most common varieties of case study are then addressed, drawing particularly on the writing of Robert Yin and Robert Stake. The place of theory in case study is briefly considered. A final section, drawing most heavily on the work of Bent Flyvbjerg, presents some of the common criticisms of case study and responds to those criticisms.

Case Study and Action Research

As mentioned, a case study may be an in-depth study of an individual, a group or team or a larger unit such as a community or organization. Medical case studies, for example, are often studies of a person with a condition that is theoretically or practically interesting. Several of the early anthropological case studies were of whole communities. Case studies may also be studies

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Capacity Building

Capacity building refers to an approach to make development interventions more effective. The term *capacity* refers to the ability of an entity—an individual or a collective—to pursue and achieve its development objectives. The term *building* refers to enhancing or strengthening such abilities. The new capacities are added to the existing capacities of the entity.

Types of Capacity

Rajesh Tandon (founder of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia) suggested three kinds of capacities that are critical for an entity to effectively pursue its objectives: (1) intellectual, (2) institutional and (3) material capacities. *Intellectual* capacity refers to perspectives through which the entity views, analyzes and reflects on its identity and existing social realities to determine the course of action. *Institutional* capacity refers to the ability of an entity, particularly an organization, to develop and manage its systems, procedures, structures, human resources, decision-making, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It involves the ability of an entity to relate to the external environment, including other actors that may influence or get influenced by the entity. A crucial aspect is how effectively the entity responds to the changes in the external environment by renewing its purpose or by influencing the external changes in its favour. *Material* capacity primarily refers to the ability of an entity to mobilize and utilize resources to optimize its performance. A sound material resource base of an entity significantly enhances its autonomy, its self-determination and its ability to respond to the demands from the external environment. A synergy between intellectual, institutional and material capacities is crucial. An entity needs to develop all three kinds of capacities; however, an appropriate balance must be established for optimizing the effectiveness.

Levels of Capacity

Tandon and Kaustuv Kanti Bandyopadhyay (current director of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia) further suggested that capacity building needs to be pursued simultaneously at three levels: (1) individual, (2) organizational and (3) societal. This view was supported by many others like Carlos Lopes and Thomas Theisohn. Capacity building at the *individual* level refers to the development of human resources with ethical values. It includes developing technical, managerial and administrative skills along with perspectives on broader societal issues. Capacity building at the *organizational* level refers to building capacities of collectives to act coherently. Such collectives could be a group of concerned citizens, an organization or a large enterprise. Capacity building at the *societal* level refers to a systemic view of capacity building to be inclusive of all actors and stakeholders. Given the complexity and interrelated nature of the development problems faced by a society, capacity building of all the actors is crucial. In all societies, particularly the developing societies, different forms of inequalities and injustices are pervasive. The marginalized group, therefore, will require priority attention in capacity building; however, other actors, particularly the power holders, need to be sensitized as well, to mitigate resistance to changes and to remove institutional constraints.

How Action Research Has Contributed to Transforming the Discourse and Practice of Capacity Building

A range of practitioners have transformed the methods, approach and discourse of capacity building over the decades using action research approaches. The practitioners have learnt that certain earlier predispositions were not helpful to obtain the desired results. Consequently, the discourses and practices of capacity building have undergone five critical transitions, as follows.

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The approach of the bricoleur can be questioned since the process is less clear, non-formulaic and, to a certain extent, unknowable. The bricoleur in France is associated with do-it-yourself stores and with the nuance that bricolage involves 'fiddling about' and even the idea of 'muddling through'—a somewhat negative image.

The use of the term in the social sciences has been attributed to Claude Levi-Strauss. He used the term to explain mythical thought and legend, which come from the person's imagination. Hence, they are derived spontaneously from an amalgam of personal experience and pre-existing images in the mind. Levi-Strauss was making a case that understanding myth and legend is a legitimate scientific approach to understanding the world—just different from traditional scientific method. He was arguing that understanding reality involves more than observation, which an engineer might use, for example. Instead, the observer is interacting with the world and is affected by cultural factors and experience in complex ways.

This intellectual, as opposed to practical, conception of bricolage has been used widely by social scientists concerned with the more complex nature of the interrelationship between knowledge and reality. Thus, the way in which self and perception are intimately bound up in the way we understand and interpret reality has been a common theme in bricolage. Jacques Derrida, the French philosopher, noted that all discourse is bricolage, an infinite process of deconstruction. The bricoleur is more concerned with our relationship to nature, rather than simply understanding it. In short, we are not passive observers of the world but actively involved in its interpretation, bringing our experience and intuition to it. The bricoleur recognizes that the world and the experience of the observer are ever changing, fluid and open to new interpretations with the passage of time.

Bricolage and Research

The complex relationship between knowledge and reality, and that they do not remain static but are subject to continuous change, has become a common theme in social science research. Because of the complexity of the world, a single ontological view came to be seen, particularly by postmodernists, as limiting. The researcher, then, needs to use whatever methodology best addresses the research problem rather than try to manipulate the problem to fit a predetermined epistemology.

Hence, the bricoleur is prepared to use, and is comfortable in using, the full range of social research methodologies in an empirical eclecticism. For the bricoleur, there is no 'one way'; rather, his or her world is multidisciplinary and multi-methodological. Consistent with the roots of bricolage, the bricoleur 'tinkers' with research methods and brings his or her previous experience to bear in deciding how best to understand whatever phenomenon is being investigated. Recent descriptions of bricolage in relation to research, however, eschew modernist methods and, in effect, use bricolage as an argument against reductionism.

Action Research and Bricolage

Action research as the essential pragmatic research approach is well suited to the bricoleur. In the same way as bricolage has sometimes been seen as something to be distrusted, action research has for many years been looked at sceptically by the more modernist inclined. Like bricoleurs, action researchers use their immediate observations, whatever data they have at hand, to determine their next step. To some extent, action research involves trial and error. Not only is theory emergent in action research, but so too is the methodology to be used at each turn.

An action research project may involve a number of techniques or methodologies drawn from different disciplines. While most action research involves qualitative methods, there are situations when the data calls for a quantitative approach. The action researcher is a bricoleur in having to be adept at using a variety of methods in response to circumstances—playing, mixing and matching, tinkering.

Like bricolage, action research recognizes the complexity of social phenomena. Similarly, the role of the action researcher and how she or he interacts with stakeholders and the data are seen as critical concerns. The participatory nature of action research sees stakeholders as co-researchers who bring their varied experiences to data collection, reflection, planning and action. In acknowledgement of the complexity and emergent nature of the research approach itself, it is not unusual for action researchers to reflect and report on the research process itself, as well as the object of the study. The bricoleur and the action researcher are constantly seeking to learn from their experience so that they can add new techniques and understanding to their quiver of arrows.

Stewart Hase

See also Action Learning; Kincheloe, Joe; practical knowing; praxis; tacit knowledge

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pass 13 municipal laws over 3 years. Even after leaving politics, he continued encouraging experimentation using theatre to make law in Munich and Paris, an experiment that spread to Vancouver, Canada, through the work of Boal's colleague David Diamond of Headlines Theatre. In addition to generating legislation and promoting democratic dialogue, Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed has been used as a research method in multiple settings, as well as in family therapy, indigenous community health and community-based environmental science, among others.

Later Years

Boal received a lifetime of accolades for his work, reportedly including a nomination for a Nobel Prize in 2008. After a long battle against leukemia, Boal died of respiratory failure on 2 May 2009 in Rio de Janeiro at the age of 78. His work lives on through theatre practitioners, activists, educators and researchers around the globe, as well as through his son Julian Boal, founding member of Groupe du Theatre de l'Opprime, Paris, and the author of *Imagens de um Teatro Popular*, published in 2000.

Artist, political activist, politician, baker's son, Boal worked throughout his lifetime to eradicate oppression and to transform misery into hope through the theatre. In so doing, he left an inspiring mark on the global stage and generated new possibilities for creative approaches to action research.

Catherine Etmanski

See also arts-based action research; Freire, Paulo; participatory theatre; Theatre of the Oppressed

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Bricolage Process

Bricolage is derived from the French verb *bricoleur* and was originally used to describe extraneous movements in sport. These movements might involve the sudden swerving of a horse, a ball bouncing in an odd direction or a sudden gust of wind. All these movements are unexpected and require the sportsperson to make an unplanned change to circumstances using his or her experience and skill. Thus, bricolage takes into account uncertainty and complexity, experience and, perhaps, a certain intuitive sense.

The idea was quickly extended to the arts and general projects in which, instead of prescribed tools and methods, the person uses whatever materials are at hand in a creative and resourceful way. Bricolage is also seen as involving trial and error, learning as you learn more about the situation at hand. Adaptable and able to use existing resources together in new ways, the bricoleur is ultimately a pragmatist, unbound by specific dogma or ideology and adept across a range of domains. The bricoleur is no well-meaning amateur but an expert, often in many areas, from which he or she can draw on his or her experience and use it in novel ways.

Some have suggested that there is an implication of mystery, deviousness and even trickery in bricolage. Normally, expert practitioners usually stick to accepted ways of doing things that deliver predictable outcomes.

out studying chemical engineering, then travelled to the United States in 1953. Though originally intending to continue his studies in engineering, he began observing classes at the Actors' Studio in New York and ended up studying theatre with John Gassner. Soon after he returned to Brazil in 1955, he joined the Arena Theatre of São Paulo, where he became co-director with José Renato from 1956 to 1962 and then director until 1971.

Boal is credited with reviving Rio's Arena Theatre by promoting national playwrights and creating a venue for national appreciation of classic works. Following the 1964 military coup in Brazil, he directed *Opinião* (Opinion), a successful musical that drew attention to the possibility of political resistance through the arts. Its success set into motion a series of musical plays, including *Zumbi* in 1965, which was Boal's first attempt to facilitate interaction using a character called the joker. His performances were popular in both Brazil and the USA, and his success continued until his unexpected arrest in São Paulo on 10 February 1971 as he was walking home from a rehearsal.

Boal 'disappeared' for 10 days, during which time he was tortured, while his wife, Cecilia Thumim, and colleagues did not know his whereabouts. He was then placed in solitary confinement for a month, before being transferred to a state prison, where he shared a cell with about 25 other political prisoners. It is said that when the prisoners in the cellblock next to his learned that he was there, they would sing to him—at night, after lights out—popular songs from his musicals.

Eventually, through his wife and with help from a guard, Boal got word of his situation out to contacts in the USA—people in the theatre, people in Congress, academics, the World Council of Churches and Amnesty International—who began organizing on his behalf. Several individuals wrote letters directly to the Arena Theatre, which distributed them to the appropriate authorities. On 24 April 1971, *The New York Times* published a letter written by the American playwright Arthur Miller, which was endorsed by several well-known people in the theatre world. An abridged version of the letter was subsequently published in Rio's newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil* on the day before Boal's hearing. He was conditionally released, eventually acquitted and ultimately went into exile due to the dangerous political climate in Brazil.

Life in Exile

During his 15 years of exile, Boal lived in various parts of Latin America, including Peru and Argentina. In 1973, he began working on a Peruvian literacy campaign, where he applied his theatre methods to generate active engagement with learning. Inspired by Paulo Freire's work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, during this time, he helped found ALFIN (Operación Alfabetización Integral, or Integral Literacy Operation), which had the goals of teaching both language literacy and artistic literacy, especially in theatre methods and photography. He simultaneously promoted literacy in Spanish and in people's native tongues. These experiments in literacy education led to a pivotal moment in the history of Forum Theatre when an angry woman broke the audience/actor divide and came on stage to demonstrate how the actors had it all wrong and what they should do. His critical book *O Teatro do Oprimido* was published in 1974 and was translated into English as *Theatre of the Oppressed* in 1979.

Still in exile, he later moved to Portugal and then France, where he established the first Theatre of the Oppressed Centre in Paris in 1978 and organized the first international festival of the Theatre of the Oppressed in 1981. Throughout the 1980s, his methodology spread around the world through training workshops and Boal-authorized Centres for Theatre of the Oppressed.

While working in Europe, Boal discovered forms of oppression he had not previously encountered—for example, loneliness, isolation or fear of emptiness—which could not be so easily expressed using Forum Theatre. In realizing that people had internalized the voices of their oppressors, he devised a series of exercises to bring awareness to, and dislodge, what he called 'cops in the head'. This work resulted in the publication of his book *Rainbow of Desire.*

When the political climate changed, Boal finally returned to Rio in 1986. He was invited by the vice governor of Rio, Darci Ribeiro, to establish the Centre for the Theatre of the Oppressed at Rio. The centre proved to be another success until Ribeiro lost an election and support for the project waned.

Legislative Theatre

In an attempt to exit the stage with style, Boal and colleagues lent their support to the Workers' Party in the 1992 civic election. His desire was to promote democracy, and citizens responded to his claim that he did not care so much for whom people voted so long as they voted. Without any thought of winning, Boal allowed his name to stand for the election and, surprisingly, won a seat as one of Rio's 42 *vereadors* ('city councillors'). In this position of relative power, Boal began using a process called legislative theatre in poor neighbourhoods in Rio. Since he was a theatre practitioner first and foremost, he attempted to use interactive theatre methods as an action-oriented process to explore people's concerns and to transform the outcomes of these processes into law. He managed to

Bildung and Action Research

First Person Inquiry

Bildung provides a lens for practitioners engaged in action research with particular reference to first person inquiry. This draws attention to and seeks engagement with the everyday tensions between the practitioner and the world of practice, including the often competing voices from one's profession, other disciplines, policy and institutions. Such an engagement is characterized by openness and receptivity or an animated interplay. Since Bildung is the goal of Bildung, its relationship with action research is that of developing a conscious inquiry into practice that becomes a modus operandi.

Positionality

The term *positionality* is used to describe and delineate one's position in relation to others, including research participants. In action research, positionality offers a way of gauging the strength of participation and reciprocity within a project. This is not fixed, and nor does it move in linear fashion in the sense of incremental increases in the level of participation. Instead, positionality can reveal multiple perspectives and experiences, new collaborations and alliances and juxtaposing of different viewpoints. Through a Bildung lens, positionality might be examined on the means by which one moves towards reciprocal collaboration while also seeking out differences in perspectives. In this sense, the aim towards collaboration is not one of homeostasis or some kind of merging of views but rather of continually seeking out difference or the other.

Special Considerations for Bildung

Bildung

The promise of an animated interplay or dialogical way of life places Bildung at the core of debates about the conversation between the university and the labour market. An education that seeks a reflective attitude in both student and teacher—a capacity to self-distance—is resonant with the idea of 'being cultured' and counters a purely competency-focused preparation for the labour market. The development of an expert culture supported by a skills- and competency-based education has challenged the relevance of Bildung and is a focus for debate among philosophers of education. However, Bildung may have particular relevance where a skills- and competency-based education, professional development and one's developing practice intersect.

Geralyn Hynes

See also first person action research; Frankfurt School; Gadamer, Hans-Georg; positionality; praxis

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Boal, Augusto

Augusto Boal's work links directly to creative approaches to action research through the underlying value that the very people who are experiencing challenges have the capacity not only to name them but also to creatively address them through the theatre. A visionary Brazilian playwright and director, Augusto Boal lived between 1931 and 2009. He touched the hearts and minds of people around the globe. Best known for his work in *Theatre of the Oppressed*, Boal operated from two basic principles: (1) that professionals should not be the sole owners of theatre and (2) that the verb 'to act' implies both taking action in the world and performing on stage. Following these principles, throughout his career in the theatre, he maintained that it is possible for anyone to act, in either sense of the word. Furthermore, he believed that the theatre was a venue for rehearsing the revolution in that people could practise new responses to oppressive situations. Boal's approach to theatre has been taken up all over the world as one way to do action research. Knowing more about his life, values and principles provides an important element for all those who might use theatre as a research method.

As was the influential German playwright Bertold Brecht before him, Boal was concerned with the divide between the passive audience and active actors. In his attempts to merge the two, he invented the concept of 'spect-actor', whereby audience members become actors through interventions in the performance. While interactive theatre methods are not unique to Augusto Boal, his particular approach to interventionist theatre has inspired many popular theatre practitioners around the globe.

Early Career as an Artist

Born in Rio de Janeiro in 1931 to poor Portuguese immigrants (his father operated a bakery), Boal started

Rendering conscious the assumptions upon which the individual understands the world is integral to self-formation or self-cultivation that is Bildung. Through the process of Bildung, the individual learns to move out from and to bring back to the self differing views of the world through conversations with, for example, other professional groups, patients, discourses and cultures. Thus, one's sense of citizenship in the world develops in the context of relationship with the other.

Characterizing Bildung Today

The essence of Bildung is recognizing different ways of viewing the world and bringing these back to one's own self, with the self always developing as a consequence. Ultimately, Bildung is associated with subjectivity, self-determination and self-consciousness. The philosophers Lars Løvlie and Paul Standish give a modern meaning to Bildung as a process of self-cultivation linking the self to the world in an animated interplay. Though contemporary Bildung may be understood differently, it continues to be about engagement and self-criticism. It is a dialectic between the possible and what appears as the limits of the possible in a given professional or social culture. In growing out of an inner process of formation and cultivation, Bildung is not about gaining competencies, though these may stem as a consequence. As such, Bildung constantly remains in a state of Bildung; there is no endpoint but rather a constant process of self-formation and cultivation. Bildung is the goal of Bildung. Thus, it reflects a historical spirit; all that we receive is absorbed and preserved in an ongoing interaction with the other or difference.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with reconciling the views of culture and self in eighteenth and nineteenth century Germany with those of today, Bildung still promises a dialogical way of life of seeking out and engaging with difference in a constant process of formation. The very fact that culture and self today may be understood differently and in many diverse ways is simply part of Bildung's historical consciousness. Contemporary Bildung centres on the self's engagement with education, culture and society and reflects a *téchnê*-cultural shift from previously.

Critical Theory

Critical theorists raise the idea of counter-education as one of many different themes that seek out a self-cultivation that is in a constant dialogical relation with others. This means not seeking power in order to bring about a worthy alternative, be it multicultural education or education in the feminist critical tradition, among other critical education traditions. In other words, there is a counter to any possible dominance or alternative dominance in education. So in this sense, where Bildung seeks the alien or other, it is with the promise of a dialogical way of life and expansion of perceptual horizons.

For critical theorists, Bildung implied something more inward and reflecting the autonomy of the individual. Bildung implied a process of engagement that moved away from dominant normalization processes and hegemony. The process of self-cultivation as an animated interplay between the self and the world offers a counterpoint to the skills- and competency-focused nature of education today. With self-education or cultivation as its central idea, there is autonomy of learning and one's own experiences. Bildung's demands for a continual conversation into our world ensure an interrogation of it.

Edification

Richard Rorty replaces the word *Bildung* with the notion of edification to describe finding new and more fruitful ways of speaking. The process of edification consists in the hermeneutic activity of making connections between self and other, whether that other be a different culture, discipline or historical period or simply different ways of describing ourselves. Through this, we develop new ways of thinking and what Rorty describes as the inverse of hermeneutics—that is to say, *re*-interpreting familiar surroundings with new and unfamiliar terms. In essence, edification is working towards communicative clarity and keeping the conversation going. Edifying philosophers are those on the edge of their field countering accepted ways of thinking and argument. Edifying discourse is meant to seem abnormal, to use Rorty's term, in that it is meant to take us out of the comfort zone of our old selves.

Practitioner, Autonomy and Accountability

The distinctions between Bildung, on the one hand, and education and professional development, on the other, include the interplay between the practitioner and professional discourse or institutional reason. How the self responds to different calls from normative cultural values, institutional and professional demands and moral and ethical principles is integral to this interplay between the self and the world. The idea of Bildung calls for both seeking out and engaging with multiple and often competing discourses and world views. Bildung is, in this sense, an expression of not only individual autonomy but also moral accountability. This characterizes Bildung as an ongoing conversation on the tension between the forces of self-formation that stem from norms and values and the exteriorization of self from these.

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BILDUNG

Bildung refers to self-cultivation and is a way of being in the world. It is self-education that is reflected in an openness to the world, to the unexpected and all the difficulties and risks that this might entail. The idea of Bildung reaches back into Ancient Greece but is viewed today as a predominantly German concept for which there is no English translation. However, it is sometimes loosely associated with liberal arts education. Though Bildung is linked with education, the concept goes well beyond that to the unending process of education as a human being and always looking beyond the self.

In the past, this self-education was strongly linked with culture, expressed in terms of education in the classics and arts in the nineteenth century in particular. It reflected an ideological coming together of culture and education. This has, in part at least, led to debates about its relevance today. However, contemporary Bildung is understood to be relevant to praxis and providing a counter to the commodification of education and professional development. Though a German concept, it is also familiar across different Scandinavian countries, each with their own respective variation of understanding.

Bildung extends well beyond the notion of cultivating talents and reflects a historical spirit holding that all that we receive is absorbed and preserved. The individual's understanding of the world is built on that which went before. Rendering conscious the assumptions on which the individual understands the world is integral to the self-formation or self-cultivation that is Bildung. Through the process of Bildung, the individual learns to move out from and to bring back to the self differing views of the world through conversations with other professional groups, discourses, cultures and perspectives. Thus, one's sense of citizenship in the world develops in the context of relationship with the other.

This entry discusses the historical understanding of Bildung, how it is characterized today and special considerations with particular reference to its resurgence and link to action research.

Historical Understanding

Bildung is linked with the Greek word *paideia* and the idea of education as both a product and a process or formation. In his historical overview of Bildung, Sven Erik Nordenbo traces the concept from ancient Greece through to Wilhelm von Humboldt and the German Enlightenment and onto educational utilitarianism. In the Greek sense, Bildung is about the individual in society; specifically, it is the following:

a. Bildung stands for the cultivation of human beings according to their own definition.
b. Society shapes men and women in line with its needs.
c. Bildung emerges from upbringing, but traditional upbringing is also shaped by social considerations.

This idea of the cultivation of humankind is positioned within a bigger structure where the individual and the flow of society or general interest work in harmony. In the Middle Ages, Bildung became more associated with the notion of humans carrying in their souls the image of God and seeking to cultivate that image. From that, there evolved a humanistic concept of a sense of human beings seeking to move beyond their naturalness towards an ideal. Bildung in eighteenth century Germany was linked with education in the Enlightenment and neo-Humanism periods by figures including von Humboldt, Johann Gottfried von Herder and Friedrich Schiller. Hans-Georg Gadamer devotes some time to this theme in his work *Truth and Method*. Bildung as it became embedded in the Enlightenment tradition came to reflect the idea of movement from childhood to maturity into a cultural tradition in the sense of becoming properly human or rational. However, Bildung was also the project of the bourgeois Germany that delineated the middle class from the working class and aristocracy. In Scandinavia, by contrast, Bildung was linked with the development of democracy and citizenship. Here, the classics were still esteemed but in the context of education for all citizens.

In his work *Truth and Method*, Gadamer's study of Bildung stresses openness or receptivity and alienation. Through Bildung, learning takes place through cultivating the inner life that forms through conversations with others, drawing on past history, re-creating the self and seeing the world differently. Seeking out and engaging with the other or bringing other back to self is a process of continually developing self. Alienation is inevitable when in the presence of receptivity to other. For individuals to learn about the world into which theyare born, they must begin to make sense of the pre-given body of knowledge that is around them. The returning to self is that which reflects the exteriorization of self within the world, and this constant movement of alienation and returning to self is the spirit of Bildung.

Bateson's anthropological experience had given him perspectives enabling him to question (in the context of the mid-1930s fear of war between Britain and Germany) the innate savagery of humans. He urged then that we should take his anthropological experience of working with native societies that are almost entirely non-aggressive (and with other societies that have successfully incorporated any aggressive tendencies into ritual) as evidence for the possibility of finding creative agreement rather than conflict.

A further aspect of Bateson's own life experience (and of his rich but very varied transition through American academia) was that it produced a thinker and writer who had incorporated in his creative self many of the varied characteristics that are valued in any group or team of individuals who engage in an action research exercise.

Bateson's youthful experience of early contact with the work of Samuel Butler, William Blake, the male line of the Bateson family and (filtered through the sieve of controversy) Lamarck and Darwin; his subsequent studies and practical experience in biology and anthropology; his participation in the birth of cybernetics, social and clinical human psychology and then animal communication; and his view of the wider implications for environmental survival of the network of life on earth made him become a one-man version of the working process of action research.

The central concept, originated through Bateson's own life process, is the understanding he achieved that all the systems of the living world are 'mind-like'. Of whatever size the system may be—from the submicroscopic to the vast total process of the ecology of earth—they are all nested within larger minds, and the totality of these living minds is the interconnected whole which is 'the sacred'.

These minds, in Bateson's thought, are not required to have consciousness or self-consciousness. For him, consciousness was only a small part of mental activity—even in humans. For systems to respond to information, consciousness or knowledge is not necessarily required. Most of the mental (in Bateson's terms) transactions in the world ('world' meaning existence at every scale from the subatomic to the universal) take place without the need for consciousness or awareness.

This is the core link between systems theory (and hence action research) and the survival of the ecosystems of the living world. Bateson's work suggests that there is ultimately no real division to be made between mental processes at any scale within the world or within the universe. Perhaps some of the successes of action research initiatives are due to the fact that the interchange of ideas between the group members (and the respect with which each member of the research project can expect to be listened to by the others) is enabled and creatively advanced by the receptive ambience which the research methods provide. In a seminar at the Esalen Institute during the last months of his life, Bateson raised the notion of interfaces, or boundaries, which connect rather than divide. For example, our skin is part of our connection with the outside world. It absorbs and exudes material and thermal energy. Bateson suggests that there are many other places where we can see and understand change. One of these would be at the edge of an ecosystem—perhaps a forest or a swamp where one finds many interacting species. This is the sort of environment that action research can provide for its practitioners. Bringing together researchers who have varying backgrounds and interests but share mutual respect and the wish to learn from others opens up new ways of co-operating and finding creative solutions to difficulties.

Bateson knowingly spent the last months of his life working on his final book, *Angels Fear*. We humans have lost, says Bateson, even that 'grace' which the other animals still have: the more than conscious sense of total dependence on the ecological systems within which we have, so far, been sustained. One of Bateson's most penetrating insights is that when we are actively engaged with any element of beauty we are able to re-access much of the systemic wisdom that we need for survival. Grace requires active, engaged participation in 'the aesthetic'—the beautiful—in nature and in human art. We all need to rediscover a real reverence for all the beings and systems which form the living world.

Bateson's work has provided a real and effective foundation for the further development of action research.

Noel G. Charlton

See also action anthropology; information systems; systems thinking

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who is still widely seen as a key founder of the discipline of genetics. Gregory was named after Gregor Mendel, the Austrian monk who initiated the study of evolution. When Mendel's theory of dominant and recessive genetic factors was rediscovered and became of real academic and scientific interest, William Bateson was the first to translate his papers into English.

Gregory Bateson (following the family tradition) became a student of St. John's College, studying the natural sciences for his first degree and then (stepping away from William Bateson's own scientific emphases and encouraged by a family friend) moving towards anthropology. He went to New Guinea and studied native tribal communities and their interactions. His master's degree thesis based on these studies later became his first book, *Naven*, published in 1936.

Bateson was also influenced by Samuel Butler's theories of evolution as being a process of learning (and transmission of knowledge) through generations. Butler claimed that the process of evolution is like that of a mind, offering 'a modest pantheism' suggesting that we could see God as being immanent in all beings, that the designer is the design. This provided the core thoughts for Bateson's later understanding of 'the sacred'.

It is relevant to his later anthropological and cybernetic studies and writing to note that when the second edition of *Naven* was published in 1958, his preface emphasized many new angles to his own thought. He observes that cybernetics and communications theory are now offering partial solutions to questions that were left unanswered in his earlier text. There are new ways of thinking about organization and disorganization and about data on the New Guinea tribes. Western psychology can now be approached by a single body of questions, offering the beginnings of a general theory of process and change, adaptation and pathology which calls for a revision of our understanding of organisms, relationships and the larger systems of which they are a part.

The above work gave Bateson a first class master's degree, a fellowship at St. John's College and the possibility of more fieldwork in New Guinea, where he studied conflict (and the limitations of conflict) between tribes. During these years, he also met the anthropologist Margaret Mead, and their collaboration on some tribal process research led eventually to their marriage in 1935. They went on to share joint research in Bali, particularly concerned with artistic and aesthetic practices. They then returned to New Guinea, and after further studies of tribal processes, the increasing imminence of World War II and the fact that Margaret was pregnant with the baby who was to become Mary Catherine Bateson sent them homeward to Britain and the USA.

Having tried unsuccessfully to find a useful place in the war effort in Britain, Gregory followed Margaret to the USA. Mary Catherine was born in 1939, and both Gregory and Margaret found ways of working for the US war effort in areas including biology, psychiatric work and practice. Double-bind theory emerged from Gregory's psychological work. He also helped with training troops and became secretary of the Committee for National Morale and a member of the Institute for Intercultural Studies. Towards the end of the war, he was stationed in several Pacific countries working on propaganda for the organization that would later become the Central Intelligence Agency.

The ending of World War II (and particularly the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki) left Gregory with a strong anti-nuclear stance and also with the beginnings of his concern for ecological survival. Cybernetics was an integral and very important development in these areas.

Bateson's Work in Cybernetics

Cybernetics, particularly the study of self-regulating systems in airborne missiles, had suggested purposiveness in machines and the significance of the communication of error between desired patterns and whatever else might be happening. From this emerged a whole group of cyberneticists, including Bateson. Their first gathering was the Macy Conference in 1944. The second conference in 1946 focused on feedback effects and circular causal systems and extended their fields of interest to biological and social systems. Starting from feedback processes in nervous systems, their interests widened to biological and ecological systems, engineering, information theory and learning processes.

Bateson's thought was deeply influenced by all this. Cybernetics widened to embrace ideas about information flow and about control within systems—not least in those systems that can be understood as circular or recursive. In these systems, causes and effects circle back around and provide control within the systems, which can be seen as feedback or self-correction by the system itself. This revolutionized Bateson's thinking, enabling the emergence of his theory of minds as existing in organisms and living systems throughout the biological world.

Links to Action Research

One of the key links between action research and Bateson's developed thought is that his emphases have always been psychological. In both cases, the focus is on reaching widely acceptable or workable conclusions while considering the wishes, needs and hopes of a variety of potential members or users of the system.

is contingent on a host of contextual markers, including the nature of the speaker and audience, the language used and the capacity of the audience to participate. There is an unevenness to and inequity between utterances in the public square. In contrast, in written forms, policy reports, news programmes and bureaucracy, an official language dominates and marginalizes the languages of the public square.

Since the official language holds power through political and cultural domains, this sets boundaries around other languages and contains and sets attitudes towards them. These other languages must engage with and participate in the official language. Though there is always a tension with such engagement, the bubbling discourses of the public square can never escape from the power of the official language. The languages of the public square pressurize one another in a state of continual becoming representing socio-ideological struggles. However, since these languages and their struggles cannot escape from the official language, it follows that utterances made in the public square are also laced with official speak and its underlying values and assumptions.

Bakhtin's dialogism challenges action research to examine the degree to which an inquiry is bound to the official discourse and gives voice to language stratifications imbued with historical and cultural meanings. How disparate and unequal voices are represented in the action research process and reporting while also speaking to officialdom has particular relevance to the idea of the public square. Dialogism brings a focus on the nature of voice. It is not sufficient to judge participation on the basis of people exercising their voice. Rather, voice must be considered in the context of how it is influenced by a host of factors that are contextual, spatial and temporal. Participation implies a tapestry of interactions, and inquiry can be positioned within the concept of the public square. In this way, participation, knowledge generation and the emergent nature of action research are rendered more complex and multidimensional.

Special Considerations

Bakhtin lived through the twentieth-century upheavals in Russia and was himself exiled. Some of his writings disappeared forever, others are written with an eye to the censors of the day. As a result, there is much debate about and reinterpretation of his work. Hirschkop makes the point that post-glasnost, much of the previous beliefs about Bakhtin were found to be unfounded to the point that less is known now.

Bakhtin's dialogism moves in a different direction from the language of compromise or give and take or seeking to understand different points of view. Dialogism is more about the intersubjective quality of meaning but not necessarily between two people. Since utterances of the inner and articulated are imbued with socio-historical and ideological meanings in a given time and spatial context, this invites 'standing back' from a narrative event even while speaking to it. Dialogism is epistemologically placing attention firmly on the context-bound co-generation of meaning. Questions arise as to how this is captured through research and discourse analysis.

Geralyn Hynes

See also dialogue; heteroglossia; narrative; positionality

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Banking Education

See Conscientization

Bateson, Gregory

Gregory Bateson (1904–80) was (and remains) one of the most important of the cyberneticists and systems theory thinkers who have made the development of action research possible. This entry presents a brief review of Bateson's early history and educational background, followed by a discussion of his work in the area of cybernetics and the connections between his work and action research.

Bateson's Early History

Bateson was born into an academic family who were already prominent in the Cambridge University setting. His father, William Bateson, was a famous biologist

Utterance

An utterance or unit of speech, as in word, phrase or sentence, is directed towards another, and this shapes the intended meaning. Meanings stem from the past and are acquired from different contexts. Thus, the past, the present moment and the addressee's potential response all shape an utterance. It is future oriented in being directed towards the addressee. An utterance is a link in a communication chain of utterances, all connected by preceding and follow-on links. Utterances carry assumptions and meanings that extend well beyond a string of words, each with its 'acontextual' or abstract definition.

These assumptions may be political and social, and reflect cultural norms and values. Utterances have moral and propositional undertones while also being coloured by contextual ambience, such as the weather. A statement made in a room that is darkened by low cloud and heavy rain may appear different from one using the same words but in a room brightened by sunshine and clear skies outside. The point here is that utterances don't repeat the past; they are multi-voiced and imbued with power, colour and mood.

From this, we understand that words are themselves shaped by history, culture and context, with their meanings shifting in the moment. Utterances and their meanings are unique to the moment they are made in and the tapestry of interactions and potential meanings of that moment. Dictionaries ensure that words have common features that are understood by all. However, the use of these words in living speech always carries additional nuanced and contextual meanings. Bakhtin coined the word *chronotope* to reflect the temporal and spatial aspects of utterances. These aspects are wholly interdependent and play a key role in the production of meaning. An utterance cannot be fully grasped outside the narrative chain, its chronotope, in which it is constituted.

Since we hear and select words in this way, our speech is always a continual interaction with the utterances of others. One's utterances are those evaluated, affirmed and reworked in a responsive light from those of others. One's speech is the speech of others; it is double-voiced. One's utterances are always constructed in ways that acknowledge the reactions one anticipates in this chain of interaction directed towards an addressee. It is this chain of communication that forms a genre, and a string of utterances forms a discourse. Since utterances are directed towards another's conceptual horizon, our horizons interact. For Bakhtin, it is in this way that various points of view, conceptual horizons, expressive accents and social languages come to interact with one another. Utterances and responses are always made from the unique positions of the respective speakers; their worlds are never one but always relational and with a surplus of seeing.

Language and Dialogism

Language therefore is never neutral; it is filled with the intentions of others and is always half someone else's. Bakhtin conceptualizes language as a battle between centrifugal forces pulling things apart and centripetal forces gravitating towards the centre. This battle is not an either/or a winner-takes-all one but rather a constant ebb and flow in which meanings form and reform. Language is stratified along a host of lines from dialect to socio-ideological. *Socio-ideological* in this sense refers to a socially determined system of ideas, such as those of a particular cohort, generation and so on. Each stratification represents a particular position and set of values. These stratifications do not exist in isolation since dialogism demands that they interact. Authentic dialogue requires an exchange of views and positions or conceptual horizons.

These stratifications and the centrifugal/centripetal battle are closely intertwined. Rippling through these stratifications or heteroglossia is authoritative discourse. Authoritative discourse demands assimilation and is linked to power and institution, reflecting monologism—when words require no answer; words are simply statements of dogma. Monologism may reflect a specific historical point in which, for example, an authoritative discourse of the state infiltrates everyday speech.

Monologism may also reflect a decontextualized analysis of an event or situation. The Bakhtinian scholar Ken Hirschkop makes the point that the problem with authority is not that it imposes its own truth upon others but rather that it presents meaning without voices. This might be a 'big-picture' view of an organization's work that sanitizes a web of different internal groups, professions or strata positions.

Stratifications and the idea of authoritative discourse give import to how languages intersect the tensions between official and 'unofficial' languages and the place of official language in our everyday speech. This is captured in the idea of the public square.

Public Square and Action Research

Hirschkop draws attention to the importance of the public square in Bakhtin's work. Utterances that are developed and organized around mutually agreed ideas form discourses. Bakhtin used the idea of the public square to illustrate the everyday world of discourses interacting with one another, and intersubjectivity. In the public square, people's utterances are characterized by traces of different but interacting discourses. The weighting given to these utterances in a given moment

B

Bakhtinian Dialogism

Bakhtinian dialogism refers to a philosophy of language and a social theory that was developed by Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895–1975). Life is dialogic and a shared event; living is participating in dialogue. Meaning comes about through dialogue at whatever level that dialogue takes place. Nothing can exist without meaning; everything has meaning.

Dialogue comes from the relation between self and other, where 'other' implies person, plant, animal, object or idea. Dialogism's a priori is that all existence is a web of interconnections from which meanings are being continually generated. These are linked and in constant dialogue through different means, language being just one.

The relation between self and other is shaped by position. Our respective positions include that which cannot be accessed by others since our minds cannot be read. The term *surplus/excess of seeing* refers to that which we see and shape from our respective positions but which cannot be accessed by others. From otherness and this surplus/excess of seeing in relation to the other comes consciousness.

Since life is shared as an event and we participate through dialogue, it follows that life demands a response from us. This response is always relational since it comes from the uniqueness of the position or space and time occupied by each of us. All that is said is in response to something and demands a response. Dialogue, thus, requires an utterance, a response and a relation from which flow the moral implications of the judging 'I' in response to the other.

Our speech and thoughts always incorporate the words of others; our words carry traces and hues from a host of influences, including sociolect, profession, gender, generation, education, context, year, date, time and so forth. Our words anticipate previous usage and the response of another. The words we choose in any given moment have a specific spatial, temporal and social context.

This entry addresses key elements of dialogism in relation to a Bakhtinian view of dialogue as a social process of meaning, language and dialogism and the idea of the public square with implications for action research.

Mikhail Bakhtin

Bakhtin was a Russian philosopher whose ideas on dialogism are presented in four essays on literary theory and specifically on language and the novel. Public and social discourses of the day are found in the novel and are framed in a narrative and context. In examining language and the novel, Bakhtin shifted the focus on the study of language away from its structure to how it is used in everyday life. His fundamental premise is that all language is saturated with the discourse of the other. His ideas of dialogism have been taken up by different fields, including cultural studies, psychology, medicine and organization studies.

Dialogue as a Social Process of Meaning

The self is dialogic and always in relation to the other. We can only perceive things from the perspective of something else, through contrast that is always set against a time and space. Meanings are always generated through interaction between self and other, whether or not the other is real or imaginary. Since meanings are shaped by the anticipated audience (real or imaginary), they are imbued with meanings of the other. Meanings are generated from the relation between self and other rather than by self alone. Life is thus expressed as a continuum of networks of statements and responses. Statements are always informed by earlier statements and anticipate future responses in an unfinalizable flow.

testimonio was intended as a literature of the times rather than a truthful account of actual events.

This debate over truthful telling in memoirs continues as one where the possibility of absolutely faithful recollection can be weighed against the risk of silencing the writer of difficult circumstances that could be usefully exposed. While memory is considered unreliable and subjective, the philosopher P. Ricœur insists that the importance of maintaining the distinction between fact and fiction is precisely due to a debt to all those who have suffered, suggesting that the past must be presented as it actually happened.

Alongside debates of truthfulness and reliability, a hybrid literature genre of creative non-fiction has developed that juxtaposes autobiographical truths against the literary license to include aspects of that which might have been possible. W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz* is written in the first person, including self-references and photographs in the manner of a family album or documentary production, but is not the story of his own personal experience. It is, however, marketed as fiction, suggesting that some issues of unreliability in self memory and storying are matters both of classification and of ethics.

Future Outlook

The nature of autobiographical writing has changed dramatically with the advent of electronic media. Online personal spaces are available through blogs (online diaries), in which individuals can enter information around themes of personal interest at periodic intervals. Blogs allow for inclusion of photographic material and are interactive, offering other interested parties the opportunity to 'follow' the individual's developments, comment upon them and receive notifications when the blog is updated.

Twitter is a microblogging site, offering a similar space but a limited number of characters per entry, so that its nature is commentary rather than an unfolding life story.

Social networking services such as Facebook enable individuals and groups to create profiles with timelines, whereby the individuals' activities and personal developments can be tracked alongside messages and comments posted by others on their profile.

In addition to the huge audiences it commands, the 'real-time' communication of electronic media allows for an immediate awareness of the individual experiences of those involved in history as it is made, such as the 2011 Arab Spring, while simultaneously creating a collective autobiographical archive of rich and diverse testimony.

Jane Reece

See also first person action research; journaling; narrative; narrative inquiry

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accounts can provide alternatives to dominant-culture values and assumptions, as well as providing the connection between the self and experience of the lived life for the writer. The French psychologist Jerome Bruner describes the process involved here both as narrative, through the telling of the story, and as transformative, as the self becomes the story.

Testimonio is a first person narrative of an eye witness or a protagonist of a significant event, usually by the disenfranchised, giving witness to oppression and as such offering an alternative to the dominant-power discourse. Paul John Eakin, a leading autobiography scholar, suggests the writing of testimonio to be a political act, seeking to elicit solidarity, and as such, it should be read differently than an autobiography. Eakin uses Marie Louise Pratt's categorization of testimonio as the telling of an individual experience that is representative of a wider experience or struggle.

Autoethnography is a form of reflective writing whereby the subjective self is situated against cultural, political and social events. It is unique in research practices in that it foregrounds the experience and feelings of the individual as a means of further exploring the focus of study. Deborah Reed-Danahay defines autoethnography as autobiographical writing situated in an ethnographic context or within the ethnography of the group to which one belongs. The reflexive nature of autoethnography acknowledges and emphasizes the dual effect of the researcher upon the research and vice versa rather than attempting scientific objectivity.

Issues of Truth and Reliability

The nature of autobiography—and specifically its subgenre memoir—is to write a life story that may be of value for others, and it therefore provides insights into unusual situations, such as traumatizing experiences. Central to Lejeune's autobiographical pact is the assumption that the autobiography is a truthful and reliable account of the individual's life. However, the changing nature of the self as demonstrated in Rousseau's work, and described by Bruner as the self-in-process, highlights a problem in autobiography regarding both validity and temporality. There emerges a clear contradiction between establishing a set identity of the self, fixed on the written page at a specific point in history, and the eternally developing self.

The concept of false memory syndrome (FMS) was introduced by Peter Freyd as an idea which a person strongly believes but that is objectively untrue. It includes an understanding that traumatic experiences can result in individuals changing their behaviour and personality in response to the falsely remembered event as a means of distraction. FMS is accepted by a number of eminent sociologists and psychologists but not as a clinical disorder and as such remains controversial.

In 1995, Binjamin Wilkomirski's memoir *Fragments*—detailing the horrors of his Latvian Jewish childhood, his separation from his parents during the Holocaust and his survival of the horrors of the Mdjanek and Auschwitz concentration camps—won a number of prestigious and religious prizes, including the US National Jewish Book Award, the French Prix Mémoire de la Shoah and the Jewish Quarterly Literary Prize, Britain. In 1998, a Swiss journalist claimed that Wilkomirski's account was false and that he was Jean Grosjean, the adopted son of wealthy Swiss parents. Following investigations by a prominent German historian, Stefan Mächler, it was concluded that the account was indeed false; a DNA test confirmed Wilkomirski and Grosjean to be the same person. It has not been determined whether Wilkomirski, who maintains his story, actually believes it or has deliberately lied. The effect of the Wilkomirski affair was not only that his literary prizes were rescinded but that issues of truth and ethics in autobiography became the subject of debate and scrutiny.

A similar furore broke out over James Frey's *A Million Little Pieces* (2003), published as a memoir of drug and alcohol abuse and rehabilitation. The book was at the top of the New York Times Best Seller list for 15 weeks and was the top-selling Amazon non-fiction paperback after receiving huge publicity following its selection in Oprah Winfrey's Book Club. It became a worldwide bestseller and was widely translated.

As in Wilkomirski's case, the credibility of Frey's story was questioned by the talk show host Winfrey, who was unable to verify much of Frey's account. Originally, Winfrey stated that the importance of the book lay in its therapeutic value for those in addiction and those close to them, but concerned that this implied that the truth was not important, she later claimed to have been misled and stated that Frey had betrayed his readers. Frey defended his action of fictionalizing events as a means of dealing with emotionally painful issues and, at a pragmatic level, to pursue publication, since the manuscript had received no interest as a work of fiction. Frey's publishers have since reclassified the book as fiction.

It is the representative aspect of autobiography that brought controversy to Rigoberta Menchú's version of events in Guatemala as a political activist when *I, Rigoberta Menchú* was published as a testimonio in autobiographical form, detailing political and military activity against activists in the country. Details of Menchú's story were disputed but her defence and support came from the fact that the story, though autobiographical in nature, was representative of the nature of military activity against Guatemalan activists. The

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Autobiography is the practice of an individual writing her or his own life story. By nature, it is subjective, offering an individual's unique and felt experience as written by that person. This entry outlines the historical trajectory of autobiographical writing, including present trends and future outlook. It identifies various subgenres of autobiographical work and points to ethical and validity issues raised by the same. It points to the ways in which autobiographical writing and narrating are relevant to action research practice, at the first, second and third person levels.

While many autobiographies are written by public figures—statesmen, politicians, writers, artists and, latterly, celebrities—this is not exclusively so. The genre has developed into a writing approach that encompasses memoir, *testimonio* and historical and eye witness accounts and is more valued for the specificity of the account than the public importance of its subject or writer. Many autobiographies are now written by those present at particular historical and political events of note, such as the Tiananmen Square protests and the 9/11 attacks on New York City, or during natural disasters, such as the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami. Others write their life stories from a position of notoriety, such as the criminal and maverick lifestyles of Ronnie Biggs, convicted felon, prison escapee and fugitive, and Howard Marks, international drug smuggler.

The genre has developed from being one of self-written accounts by those in positions of power and control to include those neglected or subjugated by social structures. The latter include Jung Chan, a Red Guard youth in Maoist China; Primo Levi's account of living through the Holocaust and Rigoberta Menchú, the populist Guatemalan civil rights activist.

The key requirements for an autobiography as established by Philippe Lejeune, a leading autobiographical critic, are that an autobiography should have an author, subject and narrator who are one and the same person and that an autobiography should be self-written and narrated. Lejeune introduced the concept of the 'autobiographical pact' as a contract that contains a self-written story by a verifiable person: one who has 'a proper name' that appears on the book cover. The triple identification of the autobiographer in this way, states Lejeune, establishes an intention of sincerity and truthfulness in the narrative.

The relevance of autobiography to the field of action research lies in the valuing of the individual experiences. It lends itself to the practice of self-reflection, marking how an individual has developed and changed through various life influences. The validity of action research processes is strengthened through acknowledging the multiple identities and experiences of its players, along with their potential effect on the construction and participation of the research act and its outcomes. At the same time, sharing autobiographical accounts allows for the identification of similarities and differences in experiences, which can provide the understanding and synergy for taking forward action research processes.

History and Development of Autobiography

Autobiography as a form is considered to have originated in 397 AD with St Augustine of Hippo's *Confessions*, in which he holds a dialogue with God. In this way, Augustine reveals his innermost thoughts, recalling actions that he regards as sinful and requiring confession, together with reflections upon his own Christian beliefs. The work's development from confession to autobiography lies in its secularity of approach and in its reflexivity.

According to Lejeune, it was the French philosopher Rousseau's autobiography, *Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, published in 1782, that established the current genre of autobiography known as memoir. Although Rousseau included details of contemporary historic events, the importance of his work lies in the writing of his personal development, through memories, from childhood to adult life. It is this recall and emotional reflection that took life writing to the deeper, personal level which Lejeune considers to be an anticipation of psychoanalysis.

Autobiographical Subgenres

As autobiography has developed, historical events have provided a contextual background for more intimate and personal accounts that are generally termed 'memoir'. This can be viewed as an opportunity for writers to promote themselves as representative subjects within such a situation, as a means of demonstrating their personhood or to make sense of a chaotic life through organizing random experiences. Memoir offers episodic accounts rather than the grand narrative covering a life span that is associated with autobiography.

Memoir is one of the most popular genres of literature; it can be linked to the confessional nature of literature that, coinciding with the growth of therapy and social and civil rights movements, has given rise to 'coming out' stories. Its value is that individual

is fairness, which refers to how different constructions are presented, checked and clarified in a balanced way so that the multiple perspectives that exist in any research project are achieved. The second criterion is ontological authenticity, by which is meant that individual participants' own experiences are enhanced in that they now have more information and can use it in a more sophisticated manner. The third criterion is educative authenticity, whereby participants' understanding and appreciation of others' constructions are enhanced. The fourth criterion is catalytic authenticity, whereby action is stimulated and facilitated by the evaluation process. Finally, tactical authenticity refers to the extent to which participants are empowered to take action. These criteria are grounded in constructivism and mark ways of assessing the quality of Fourth Generation Evaluation research.

Authenticity as First Person Practice

An alternative approach is to understand authenticity as first person practice within action research. Here the invariant processes of human knowing and acting—experience, understanding, judging, deciding and taking action—form a method that is grounded in

- being attentive to data of sense and of consciousness (experience);
- exploring intelligently to envisage possible explanations of that data (understanding);
- judging soundly, preferring as probable or certain the explanations which provide the best account for the data (judgement); and
- taking responsibility for one's actions.

From this method four imperatives emerge that frame the notion of authenticity and provide a process of how action researchers can seek to be authentic. The four imperatives are (1) be attentive to the data, (2) be intelligent in inquiry, (3) be reasonable in making judgements and (4) be responsible in making decisions and in taking action.

As is true of anyone, action researchers may fail in their efforts to be to be authentic. While they ask themselves what they are to do and want to make it intelligible and reasonable, they may be selective in their attentiveness. They may avoid difficult evidence and limit their questioning. They may fail to be responsible. There is no guarantee that they always attend to experience and the search for understanding. They can be inattentive and miss or ignore data. They can distort data. They can turn a blind eye by refusing to ask certain questions, by ignoring awkward or disconfirming questions and by not facing unresolved feelings. While the desire to know manifests itself in attentive questioning, so also there are fears which block and divert this questioning: censoring, repressing, controlling symbols of feeling and imagining, selecting what they choose to question. They can make unreasonable judgements, settling for what is comfortable rather than for what the questions evoke. They can resist the evidence and try to escape responsibility.

Authenticity is not something that can be taken for granted, and therefore, framing authenticity in terms of four imperatives makes sense. The imperative *be attentive* is based on openness to data. Human authenticity is diminished by avoiding issues, turning a blind eye, refusing to inquire into some matter and so on. The imperative *be intelligent* is grounded in asking questions and seeking answers. Censoring questions, being uncritical and suppressing curiosity and so on destroy authenticity. The imperative *be reasonable* is grounded in judging if ideas are correct or if they fit the evidence. Suppressing discussion or dissent, lying about facts, obscuring evidence and so on destroy authenticity. The imperative *be responsible* focuses on deciding how to act and being sensitive to value. Cheating, destroying resources, being unjust and so on destroy authenticity.

The four imperatives of the notion of authenticity provide another way of engaging with the knowing and inquiry processes of Action Science and Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry. Both of these approaches challenge action researchers to engage in self-reflection and to attend to the inquiry process on which they base their actions. They place considerable emphasis on the process of inquiry which involves testing inferences and attributions that guide theory-in-use.

Philosophically, first person practice means that, rather than observing themselves as objects from the outside, action researchers attend to how their own beliefs, values, assumptions, and ways of thinking shape how they experience, understand, judge, make decisions and take action. Understanding authenticity in terms of the imperative or pulls to be attentive, intelligent, reasonable and responsible provides a framework for such first person practice.

David Coghlan

See also Action Science; Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry; constructivism; first person action research; living life as inquiry

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Implementation and Evaluation

This stage focuses on the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the specific improvement projects contained in each of the plan's major programmatic areas. This phase requires local professionals to identify public and private funding sources to cover the costs of the plan's major elements. Once these sources have been identified, detailed proposals must be crafted to meet each donor's funding criteria. Upon notice of funding, the lead agency responsible for implementing the programme needs to evaluate its existing staff to determine if the programme's success requires additional staff and/or technical assistance. With the funding and staff in place, a comprehensive outreach and media campaign, using traditional outlets as well as emerging social media networks, is carried out to inform local residents of the new services and resources available through the programme. As local residents and stakeholders begin to participate in the programme, steps are taken to document and evaluate these new initiatives so that the needed modifications can be made to continually improve these initiatives. Finally, a research design needs to be created to measure the programme's overall impact in the light of its original community development objectives.

Lessons Learned

Asset-Based Community Development has prompted many to place a new value on the knowledge, skills, resources and networks that local residents and their organizations bring to the neighbourhood revitalization process. The documentation of these contributions has caused many to question their unconscious acceptance of various top-down anti-poverty strategies that attribute neighbourhood decline to the self-defeating values, attitudes and behaviours of the poor. This shift has, in turn, prompted many community development, city planning, urban education and social work professionals to adopt a more collaborative approach to community change in which residents cease being the 'objects' of their studies in order to become co-investigators, along with university-trained professionals, of the causes and consequences of persistent urban problems. As a result of this shift in thinking and practice, Participatory Action Research, as described by William Foote Whyte, Davydd Greenwood and Kurt Lewin, has emerged as one of the most often used approaches of those committed to Asset-Based Community Development.

While few would dispute the impact asset-based thinking has had on mainstream community development practice, there are few examples of this approach transforming existing conditions within severely distressed communities. There has also been some criticism of this approach based upon the responsibility it places on local residents and stakeholders for improving conditions within severely distressed communities while not sufficiently challenging powerful public and private institutions inside and outside these areas whose decisions have such a powerful impact on such communities to do more to restore them to health.

Kenneth M. Reardon

See also asset mapping; capacity building; Community-Based Participatory Research; Participatory Action Research; strengths-based approach; Whyte, William Foote

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Association of Maya Ixil Women

See Maya Women of Chajul

Authenticity

Authenticity is typically used as a term that connotes qualities like being genuine and true to values. It is presented in different ways in different approaches to research. This entry describes it in Fourth Generation Evaluation research and focuses primarily on its role in first person inquiry.

Fourth Generation Evaluation Research

In the approach, known as Fourth Generation Evaluation, five authenticity criteria are listed. The first one

- A *place-based* approach to community problem-solving, planning and development, in which a specific geographic area, usually a small town or residential neighbourhood, is the focus of attention
- Long-term efforts to enhance the overall *quality of community life* by mobilizing local knowledge, skills, resources, organizations and networks to address critical community challenges
- A *multi-scalar* approach to community transformation that seeks to engage local residents, neighbourhood associations and community institutions in co-operative problem-solving and community building
- A process that builds upon a local community's *existing assets and history of co-operative problem-solving* to develop and implement 'social inventions' designed to promote a more vibrant, sustainable and just community
- A social change approach that uses a local community's success in mobilizing local assets to address critical environmental, economic and social problems in order to *leverage increasing levels of outside funding* from public and private sources
- A community development theory that views the ongoing development of the *organizing, planning and development capacity of local residents and their organizations* to be as important as the successful completion of specific neighbourhood improvement projects

The Asset-Based Community Development Process

Asset-Based Community Development has been described by Anna Haines and others as a four-step process that includes community organizing, visioning, neighbourhood planning and implementation and evaluation. A brief description of these four phases of the process follows.

Community Organizing

Once community development professionals have determined the geographic area in which they are going to work, they must identify and map the various stakeholders that have an interest in the community and its future. Through one-on-one meetings, highly regarded leaders of each of these stakeholder groups are identified and interviewed to determine their interest in participating in a new community-based planning and development effort. Those who appear most interested in seeing such an undertaking launched are typically invited to participate in a steering committee for the project. This interim policymaking body works with those staffing the effort to design the project's planning or research process, establish its initial set of planning and development goals, recruit other local leaders to the effort and serve as spokespersons and advocates for the project and as defenders of the initiative from the occasional and expected external challenge.

Visioning

Following a serious effort to determine the community's history, especially its past record of overcoming important internal divisions to successfully resolve critical community challenges, a systematic effort is made to inventory the current assets that residents, neighbourhood associations and community institutions (including local non-profits, small businesses and faith-based organizations) possess that could be mobilized to resolve existing and emerging community problems. Once the community's social history and current asset base have been established, residents and leaders are invited to reimagine their community 15–20 years into the future following a period of inspired community organizing, planning and development. Using a highly participatory process in which all local stakeholders are encouraged to focus upon their vision for a new and improved 'Downtown' or 'West End', residents are asked to review these statements, which are often illustrated with photos, drawings and maps, to isolate commonly held concepts for an improved neighbourhood that could be integrated into a collective mission statement. This 70- to 100-word statement that residents create through a collaborative, iterative process describes the qualities of the kind of community they are committed to working together to build.

Community Planning

Community planning is the process residents and leaders follow to produce a 5- to 10-year action plan containing specific development objectives, policies, programmes and projects to enable the neighbourhood to make measurable progress towards achieving their overall mission statement. Among the issues commonly featured in such plans are crime prevention, educational quality, public health, municipal service delivery, job generation, affordable housing, transportation alternatives, arts and culture, parks and recreation and urban design. Building upon the momentum generated by local programmes that work and 'best practices' research at home and abroad, local stakeholders identify immediate, short-term and long-range projects that build upon each other to significantly improve local residents' experience in each of the aforementioned areas of community life.

to as CDCs. In many severely distressed neighbourhoods, these community-based development organizations eclipsed private developers and municipal governments as the primary agents for neighbourhood stabilization and community renewal.

These organizations played a central role in establishing neighbourhood crime watches and community policing programmes; constructing hundreds of thousands of affordable housing units; creating millions of square feet of new retail and commercial space; providing job readiness, training and placement for long-time unemployed and underemployed workers and offering entrepreneurial individuals committed to establishing local businesses financial planning assistance. In the early days of the community development movement, the executive directors and board chairs of these organizations used detailed needs assessments, highlighting their communities' many individual, organizational and institutional shortcomings to make a compelling case for outside funding and technical assistance.

Over time, this deficit-based approach to community development came to be viewed as having a number of rather serious drawbacks. First, this externally oriented approach to neighbourhood revitalization tended to minimize the many extraordinary assets local residents, their informal associations and their institutional networks possessed in terms of knowledge, skills and social capital that could be mobilized to address critical community needs. Second, the bleak picture of the community that needs-based plans and proposals tended to project often reinforced the negative stereotypes held by outsiders, reducing the likelihood that they would invest in the community. Third, the emphasis that need-based plans and proposals placed on the self-defeating attitudes and behaviours of poor and working-class individuals tended to obscure the role that structural factors such as local and state economic and community development policies play in generating and maintaining income, wealth and power disparities. Fourth, the privileged position outside leadership, funding and technical assistance are afforded within the typical needs-based plan reinforces the psychological, organizational and financial dependency residents of low-income communities have on external organizations. Finally, the effort needs-based planners devote to securing outside investment and technical assistance often leaves little time to enhance the organizing, planning, development and management capacity of community-based development organizations, thereby undermining their long-term sustainability. This entry will discuss the history of Asset-Based Community Development, review some of the key characteristics of this approach and the key steps in the process and finally consider some of the lessons learned from using this approach.

The Emergence of Asset-Based Community Development

These shortcomings of the needs-based approach to community development, in combination with the deep cuts in domestic social spending carried out by the Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations between 1978 and 1992, prompted leaders of the nation's community development movement to refocus their efforts on mobilizing the assets of local residents, neighbourhood associations and community institutions to address their own problems. In demonstrating the transformative power of local self-reliance efforts, a growing number of the nation's ever-expanding number of community development organizations came to believe that an asset-based approach to community development would, over time, enhance the organizational capacity of these organizations while simultaneously strengthening their ability to use these efforts to leverage the needed outside resources in an increasingly competitive funding environment.

The asset-based approach to community development received a considerable boost with the publication of John Kretzmann and John McKnight's classic, *Building Communities From the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*, in 1993. The establishment of Northwestern University's Asset-Based Community Development Institute, dedicated to the training of local leaders in the art and science of this alternative approach to community development, in 1996 made a significant contribution to its further institutionalization. Over the past 25 years, the asset-based approach to community development has come to dominate the field of local and economic development.

According to Kretzmann and McKnight (1993), the primary goal of Asset-Based Community Development is to identify and assemble local assets to address the immediate community needs and to attract external public and private investment in order to successfully undertake more challenging economic and community development projects. Among the assets available for mobilization within local communities, according to Green and Haines, are those that are physical, human, social, financial, environmental, cultural and political in nature.

The Key Characteristics of Asset-Based Community Development

While local practitioners differ in the way in which they pursue Asset-Based Community Development, the following have been identified by Kretzmann, McKnight, Rhonda Philips and others as the defining characteristics of this model of community change:

asset mapping into a search for what they already know exists.

Results Achieved Through Asset Mapping

It is worth reiterating that no results are produced through asset mapping alone, except possibly some descriptive knowledge about the community in question. Asset mapping is only productive when paired with some kind of action. When it is, the findings from the mapping effort become the data that drives, supports or undergirds the action. When asset mapping is used as a central component in action research, both tangible and intangible results are generated. Tangible results often take the form of specific community-building or economic development activities that emerge out of the increased awareness of residents and organizations about their own capacity to act effectively. These results may include things such as organizing residents for campaigns on local issues, making employers aware of the skills of residents as potential employees, registering voters and helping people participate in the voting process, establishing a resident group to envision the renovation of a primary business corridor, establishing new public transportation routes to facilitate safe and accessible transit through the neighbourhood or organizing a neighbourhood skills centre where residents decide what will be taught. Intangible results are more difficult to quantify, and they occur in the process of engaging people and creating connections and linkages among them. As people engage with their neighbours in productive activities, trust and social capital are expanded, and some of the barriers to participation are removed. In addition, as different attitudes about the community emerge and are acted upon, an entirely new foundation is developed for the support of more tangible results. Examples of intangible results include the expansion of community spirit and pride, residents' empowerment in terms of their confidence and ability to initiate and carry out the changes they desire, the elimination of distinguishing labels (too old, too young, too poor) in favour of a common label (contributor) and increased optimism and hope.

Asset mapping, then, has many purposes, applications, and permutations in design and implementation; it is the underlying assumptions associated with it that make it unique. Communities attempting to create a context that supports health and well-being for residents must often struggle against a development perspective that assumes that the right approach is to focus only on their needs, deficiencies and problems. Asset mapping as a component of action research turns this assumption on its head and provides evidence that development can indeed be grounded in the positive elements existing in every community. It also defines the raw materials from which action can be generated and helps ensure that the core components of the community remain at the centre of the community-building activities that emerge.

Deborah Puntenney

See also Appreciative Inquiry; Asset-Based Community Development; citizen participation; community development; Community-Based Participatory Research

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Asset-Based Community Development

The failure of the Urban Renewal, Community Action, Model Cities and Planned Variations Programs to revitalize economically distressed communities in post–World War II America prompted many grassroots activists, institutional leaders and municipal officials to question the efficacy of centrally planned and administered anti-poverty programmes. Inspired by the subsequent success of the Bed-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in New York City and Hough Avenue Development Corporation in Cleveland in the mid-1960s, residents living in communities struggling with the effects of deindustrialization, outmigration and disinvestment undertook a variety of 'bottom-up' planning and development initiatives.

By 2010, neighbourhood leaders seeking to revitalize ailing urban communities, often with the support of local faith-based organizations, philanthropic foundations, municipal agencies and national intermediaries, such as the LISC (Local Initiatives Support Corporation), Enterprise Community Partners, National Reinvestment Corporation (NeighborWorks), and SeedCo, had succeeded in establishing nearly 4,000 community-based development organizations, commonly referred

the elderly can be translated into formal employment opportunities for local people.

The sixth type of asset is local *culture.* Every community has people of different backgrounds, places of birth, traditions and, sometimes, races or ethnic origins. When these types of diversity are viewed as assets, rather than as a threat to uniformity, a whole array of possibilities opens up in terms of sharing ways of being, knowing, doing and understanding the world. An example of viewing culture through an assets lens would be sharing the traditional foods eaten by different local cultures, which can be used as a social activity that supports learning, breaking down barriers and finding commonalities in the traditions of different groups.

Asset-Mapping Tools

The original asset mapping tool described in *Building Communities From the Inside Out* (1993) was a *capacity inventory*, a type of asset-mapping tool focused on individual assets. Because individuals are at the centre of a community, and because individuals have sometimes been treated as benefiting from community development but not contributing to it, this form of asset is the probably the most important. Using the capacity inventory exposes the weaknesses in the assumptions that drive deficit-oriented development by revealing the rich array of individual capacities available in every community. Since 1993, communities have used the original tool and designed their own tools to identify the assets within their own boundaries. These have ranged from very simple, face-to-face conversation guides (e.g. 'Tell me about your gifts: of the head, hands, and heart'), which are used to break down relationship barriers and encourage people to get to know one another better, to lengthy and complex lists of skills, abilities and aspirations for use in economic development endeavours. Similarly, tools for mapping the other five types of assets have been developed for purposes from the simple to the complex and in forms that range from conversation guides to formal data-gathering instruments. Because each community is different, and because each community's purpose is somewhat different, the tools used to explore assets in a given context need to be flexible and tailored to the specific place. Within the Asset-Based Community Development world, much sharing of ideas, stories and tools has taken place, so communities will often borrow some aspect of the tools or methods used by another community. But there is no one way to do this work, a fact that makes it more difficult but also more potentially effective.

Asset Mapping in Other Contexts

Asset mapping can be used in contexts other than communities, for example, in an organization, and the process works the same way. Though the categories of assets may be somewhat different, the logic of looking first at core assets and then working outward to related groups, surrounding institutions and context remains the same. An organization will first map the assets of its individual staff members, looking beyond the curriculum vitae items for which the employee was hired. Assets can also be mapped among the connections an employee may have, in a sort of *six degrees of separation* review and with the assumption that people in the employee's life may have an interest in the organization where the employee works. Organizations work in ways that bring them into contact with other organizations and institutions doing the same or related work and with organizations and institutions in the same geography. Like communities, organizations are surrounded by physical space and infrastructure, and they encounter cultural assets both in the place they are located and among the people with whom they work. In some cases, organizations are able to consider the people they serve as assets, though there are often rules of confidentiality or other considerations governing the extent to which they can ask people questions about themselves. When organizations do asset mapping, they are often trying to broaden their view of who they are, how they function and how they might recognize and deploy their hidden assets toward increased sustainability.

Asset Mapping for Specific Purposes

Over time, asset mapping has been applied to communities and contexts around a specific purpose, for example, health improvement, aging, youth or economic development. In this sort of targeted approach, asset-mapping efforts tend to focus on specific kinds of assets, casting a narrower net rather than a broad one. In the case of youth, for example, asset mappers will look specifically for assets that will benefit youth and that can be deployed by youth or for youth and the enhancement of their well-being along some dimension. In any targeted effort, a tension emerges that reflects the very root of the asset-based approach. For example, in an effort to refine the search for assets to those that seem most relevant for youth, mappers will inevitably leave out unknown assets that may be perfectly suited for youth development. In other words, the very act of refining becomes a way of limiting the possibilities, through advance knowledge of what works for youth. But the very purpose of asset mapping is to discover unlikely or unknown assets and deploy them for creative purposes. Pointing out the tension is not intended as a directive to always map every possible asset; rather, it is intended as a cautionary note to help asset mappers avoid turning their

many ways to categorize them, communities generally identify five or six types: (1) individuals, (2) local groups or associations, (3) organizations and institutions, (4) physical space and infrastructure, (5) economic characteristics and (6) culture. Breaking down these types further and giving a more in-depth interpretation of each will make it clearer what people look for when they undertake asset mapping.

At the centre of most asset-mapping efforts is *individual people.* The very act of mapping assets suggests the expectation of finding something positive; in fact, what all mappers discover in the process is that every person possesses an extensive array of positive qualities and characteristics. This is just as true in low-income or disadvantaged communities as it is in wealthier communities. The difference is that most of us have been subtly trained to look at poorer contexts through the lens of deficiencies, and just as subtly trained to automatically assume that wealthier communities are filled with positive things. Asset mapping brings out individual capacities, such as skills, abilities and talents; characteristics like honesty, kindness and generosity; and core qualities such as experience, interests and dreams. The tool associated with mapping individual assets is sometimes called a capacity inventory, particularly if it is designed to focus on those assets that can be applied to some kind of activity related to employment or voluntary action in the community. Examples of viewing individuals through an assets lens would be seeing a disabled person not as someone needing special services but as someone who has a skill or capacity to contribute, or recognizing the value in the years of experience brought to the table by older residents of a community.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) also identified local citizens' *associations* as a potential community asset—perhaps the most important one. An association is a group of people who come together on a mostly informal basis for the purpose of pursuing a common interest or goal. Associations come in hundreds of types and range from block clubs, to sports groups, to sororities and fraternities, to adopt-a-highway groups, to fitness clubs, and beyond. These groups are seen as powerful in that they represent the energies of people who have already gathered together for a common purpose, and almost always for a positive reason (e.g. fun, fitness, service). An example of viewing associations through an assets lens would be seeing a motorcycle riding club not as a potential threat but as a group that could participate in an adopt-a-highway programme or other service activity.

A third type of community asset is local *institutions* such as libraries, hospitals, businesses, non-profits or government agencies. These assets represent all sorts of things beyond what we normally associate with them—for example, professional expertise, authority and helping capacity—including space, resources and potential volunteers. As a community asset, institutions have been interpreted in ways that sometimes seem contradictory. Because of their characteristics (i.e. hierarchical, justified by professionalism and credentials), institutions can be part of the reason why other community assets have tended to be ignored. Indeed, the USA has developed systems that so strongly rely on distinguishing themselves from one another and the rest of the community that they have contributed to the sense that ordinary people have no natural function other than to receive the advice and expertise institutions have to offer. However, institutions do in fact represent potentially important community assets, provided they do not overshadow the broader array of positive attributes in a place and provided they support the engagement of those attributes as resources for the community. An example of viewing organizations and institutions through an assets lens would be seeing a hospital as a place to go to not only for medical care but also for sponsorship and support for a community health and wellness activity.

The fourth type of asset comprises the *physical space and infrastructure.* For many communities, especially those where disinvestment has occurred, the space that surrounds them can be viewed as problematic. Abandoned buildings, vacant lots, and other unsightly conditions are a visual cue to everyone that something is wrong. On the other hand, through an assets lens, these same conditions represent the possibility of something better. And when the community itself sees these possibilities, it is more likely that the community members can assume an integral role in defining new purposes for their community infrastructure, rather than being further victimized by outside developers interested only in profit. An example of viewing troubled physical space and infrastructure through an assets lens: A vacant lot can become a garden; an abandoned building can be developed into a new business or housing.

A fifth type of asset is the *economy*, and the potential for a vibrant local economy that exists in a community. Again, for some communities it is the apparent lack of economic assets that people use to characterize the place, but an assets-based approach always uncovers more than expected. There are at least three variations of local economic activity: formal, informal and illicit. Communities may be legitimately concerned about illicit economic activity (e.g. drug markets), but existing formal and informal economic activity can represent important assets to build on. An example of viewing imperfect economic conditions through an assets lens would be that the skills associated with informal economic activities such as caregiving for

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Asset Mapping

Asset mapping is most closely associated with John Kretzmann and John McKnight, and it was first delineated in their 1993 volume *Building Communities From the Inside Out.* After conducting more than a decade of research into community-building efforts around the USA, they coined the term *Asset-Based Community Development* to describe a specific and unusual approach they observed. These efforts were unique along several dimensions, but their most distinctive feature was their focus on what Kretzmann and McKnight called community *assets.* Rather than a more traditional approach to community development which begins with a needs assessment to identify the most pressing problems, or an organizing effort focused on addressing a defined issue, they encountered communities that started at an entirely different place: by looking around to see what good things they had going for them and trying to come up with a plan to build on those. Probing what these communities were doing, they discovered that most of them had already experienced what happened when they focused solely on what was missing in their community, and had realized that approach had not produced the results they were looking for. In thinking about their assets as a first step, these communities were engaged in a form of action research, though they certainly would not have called it that. They just knew that they were trying to first understand, then do something positive with, the good things they found in their community. These efforts had in common the fact that they were launched at the grass roots, possibly with support from organizations or institutions but typically driven by ordinary people.

When Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) shared this approach in their book, it resonated with many communities, whose subsequent experiments and experiences in its deliberate application helped further define the approach, its uses and abuses and the lessons that other communities could apply in their own attempts at community improvement. These attempts often included scholars and activists, who helped refine the approach and incorporated it into the growing field of action research. Since the early 1990s, while asset mapping rapidly expanded as both a term and a process used in the community-building domain, it also generated questions such as 'Who governs the use of this approach?' and 'Who provides training in this approach?' From the perspective of the scholars who coined the term, asset mapping was always an early form of non-digital freeware. Anyone could use it; anyone could interpret it for their own setting and purposes; anyone could build upon it. And people did just that, sometimes in ways that advanced the method as a true bottom-up community-building approach and also sometimes in frustrating ways that rendered it merely a reinterpretation of top-down community development practices. Asset mapping as a method has survived some rough periods, for example, in the late 1990s, when it became popularized as a regular component of many grant-making programmes. By requiring asset mapping in isolation, these opportunities set up many communities for confusion and disappointment. Mapping assets was inadvertently presented as a sort of community panacea, and innumerable groups carefully mapped their assets and then wondered why nothing had changed. Others understood the necessary connection with the mobilization of the assets identified, and contributed to the advancement of the work.

Asset Mapping as a Process

In order to make mapping assets useful beyond pure description, it is necessary to consider the use intended for the resulting information. In the late 1990s, Deborah Puntenney, an Asset-Based Community Development practitioner and scholar, identified two approaches used by communities. *Visionary asset mapping* describes a situation in which assets are mapped with no specific purpose in mind other than to generate the raw materials for community creativity and activity. This type of mapping presents community members with rich information they may not otherwise have considered and tends to provoke more out-of-the-box, creative thinking about possibilities. *Targeted asset mapping* is more common and occurs when assets are mapped with a specific purpose in mind; that is, the community has an idea and wants to identify the assets it can deploy toward implementing the idea. The common characteristic in both of these types is the intent for action; that is, both move definitively beyond description and into the realm of purpose.

Community Assets

Asset mapping describes a kind of systematic examination of positive elements in a community or other context. Engaging in this endeavour produces a list of things that tend to fall into certain categories, including people, organizations, physical elements and social elements. While there is an enormous array of types of assets that can be discovered in a given context, and

these researchers, the process is more important than the product. Furthermore, the artistic creations made have intrinsic value as rich research data (whether or not it is aesthetically interesting).

Others raise the concern that many arts-based approaches (e.g. Digital Storytelling) often involve an editing stage. Editing can be done by the participants themselves, a professional artist, a facilitator and/or the researcher (or someone who wears many of these hats simultaneously). During the editing stage, it is important to think through the purpose of these alterations (is it about coherence? aesthetics? cataloguing?) because the editing process can often affect content, meaning and, thus, data. Care should be taken to think through whether the primary goal is to understand (i.e. generate data) or create compelling pieces that share information, educate and inform civic engagement, critical discourse and policy. It can sometimes be challenging to achieve both ends in one project.

Lastly, although broadly used in health promotion and education interventions, very little research exists on the rigorous evaluation of the effectiveness of arts-based interventions. This is problematic given the popularity of these approaches.

Arts-Based Methods and Ethics

There are specific ethical concerns associated with arts-based methods. Such approaches challenge conventional research norms around participant anonymity and confidentiality. Many participant artists will eschew anonymity and want to be credited by name when their work is shared or displayed. In other cases, it may be hard to mask identity. For instance, the personal account of experience contained in a digital story can provide the audience a revealing glimpse into the identity, thoughts and life of the participant.

Problems arise around the ownership of the art produced in these processes as participants, research teams and/or partnering institutions and organizations all have a stake in the negotiation of the ownership agreement. This is especially relevant in the unlikely event that the research and/or arts-based products become profitable, as the owners are entitled to the profit. Further, where participants have full ownership of their art, they may consent to sharing their art from the project through one medium but not another (e.g. permission may be given to include their art in a journal article but not in a public display or online). Participants may decide at a later date to revoke their consent to sharing their work. Care needs to be taken to think through whether this is even possible (e.g. if dissemination has been widespread in print or online media).

A 'gold standard' in arts-based research is to think of consent in multiple steps. First there is consent to participate in the research, then there is consent around whether and how to disseminate products. Finally, appropriate attribution (e.g. whether or not to be anonymous) needs to be negotiated. Furthermore, if participants use images of their community members in their representations (or other copyrighted material), consent is also required on the part of these individuals to include their likeness/work in the art.

Research teams need to be attuned to the nuances of the ethical concerns that exist and prepared for those that may arise when employing arts-based methods. Additionally, participants in these studies must be appropriately informed and prepared for the demands of the process.

Future Outlook

As demonstrated by the growing body of literature, there has been widespread acceptance and popularity of arts-based methods as viable approaches for critical scholarship, action research and community intervention. With the availability of communication tools such as the Internet, video and production software, researchers and advocates are finding innovative ways to incorporate different art forms into their work to promote insightful discussion, knowledge production, civic engagement, community development and social change.

Ciann Wilson and Sarah Flicker

See also Digital Storytelling; ethnography; Photovoice

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credited with being able to elicit strong emotion and enhance recall of content.

Integral to many arts-based research approaches is the utilization of the arts-based media produced from such studies for the purpose of intervention, information sharing and civic engagement. For instance, arts-based methods such as performance, theatre and song have proven to be powerful tools for education on topics ranging from colonialism and identity formation to spirituality and environmentalism. Sharing the products has also been used to create connections and community. Participants can engage in larger advocacy efforts by contributing their work to public installations, showcases, screenings, photo exhibits and websites as a means to spark critical discussion. In this way, they are encouraged to explore the relationship between their art and broader social issues such as inequality, structural violence and discrimination. This public engagement serves to mobilize a wider audience of community members, researchers and policymakers.

Through information sharing and civic engagement, arts-based methods are consistent with the goals of action research, which stress participatory engagement and collaborative partnerships in the research process, empowerment, co-learning, capacity building, and community-based action towards social transformation. As such, resistance is inherent in arts-based processes as they often encourage alternative ways of knowing and doing, critical thinking and discourse. These attributes also make arts-based approaches ideal for explorative work in various disciplines.

Challenges Associated With Arts-Based Methods

While arts-based methods offer many advantages for action researchers, there remain many challenges specific to arts-based methods, some of which are related to the particular technological modalities they employ. The paragraphs below outline some of these challenges.

Arts-based methods are often thought to be the flagship approach for work with marginalized communities because of their accessibility and ties to histocultural traditions. However, these assertions may be seen as homogenizing and disempowering, as they insinuate blanket assumptions about the competence (cultural, artistic or otherwise) of communities. For instance, there are problematic insinuations about the cultures and educational level of marginalized communities, which are assumed to gravitate more readily to song, dance and image rather than to written or numerical methods, such as surveys. These assumptions can be understood as congruent with the infantilizing and pathologizing representations of specific communities as 'culturally backward' or otherwise incompetent.

Rather than transform power inequities and challenge dominant discourse, the process and products of arts-based approaches can sometimes reinforce them. For instance, participants may create work that perpetuates dominant racist or sexist stereotypes. They may resist efforts to challenge their main messages and may want their work promoted alongside others in a project.

In addition, multi-modal arts-based approaches create specific challenges for research analysis. For instance, researchers employing approaches such as Photovoice or Digital Storytelling may feel the need to become versed in how to analyze different kinds of information (e.g. visual, auditory, textual, etc.) or risk losing valuable content and research insight. Alternatively, some researchers argue for the value of insight provided by a novice.

Depending on the artistic modality, arts-based approaches to research can be quite costly, require advanced technical expertise and be demanding of time and human resources. This requires special consideration and strategizing on the part of those interested in employing these approaches. Related to the nature of funding systems and the costs associated with arts-based approaches, in many cases these projects are short-lived interventions and are unable to influence policy in any measurable way. This is in part due to the fact that policy change strategies are often tagged on at the end of a project proposal rather than being a strategically planned component of the research process. Furthermore, the policy change cycle is a long process that often extends beyond the life of these projects. This raises questions on the purpose of arts-based action research approaches. Is the ability to reach a broad audience and ignite discussion 'action' enough? Or do these projects need to go further in their mandate to commit to policy intervention and other kinds of action interventions?

Other debates in the field centre on the role and purpose of 'art' in these research projects. Some argue that art is about making aesthetically beautiful, powerful and interesting pieces. Proponents of this elite approach argue that art should remain the exclusive domain of professional artists because they have the appropriate skills and training to execute a vision. Professionals are more likely to produce polished, slick pieces that may resonate with wider audiences. Some action researchers employ performers, musicians, technicians and other specialists to assist with the dissemination of their research findings. Others argue that arts-based processes are intended to harness the creative ability of everyone, a natural capacity that is not exclusive to trained professionals. These action researchers believe that engaging community members in art making is integral to their method. For

narrative. With its popularized origins in low-income Black and Hispanic communities in post-industrial America, hip hop has garnered widespread appeal as a result of fusing musical genres from around the world, such as reggae, jazz and mambo. Hip hop was initially utilized as an avenue for creativity and entertainment and as an outlet to vent frustrations with state violence and poverty. This genre has since been adopted, renegotiated and re-created by groups around the world. Hip hop has been coupled with spoken word poetry and theatre and incorporated in activism, education and health research. One example of the ways it has been used in research settings can be illustrated by the *Taking Action! Building Aboriginal Youth Leadership in HIV* project (www.Takingaction4youth.org). Aboriginal youth worked with local hip hop artists to explore the issues of colonialism, institutional racism, violence, drug abuse, intergenerational trauma, Aboriginal identity and resistance. The tracks recorded were then used as both 'data' to understand youth perspectives and dissemination products.

Photography (Photovoice, Photo Elicitation)

This method was pioneered by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris' research with village women in rural China. Photovoice is an approach that gives participants the opportunity to produce knowledge and represent their perspectives on the strengths and concerns of their community through photographs and accompanying reflective writing. Photographs are then used to 'speak' to policymakers as a strategy for making change. Due to the ready availability and familiarity of cameras (whether on mobile phones or disposable, digital or more professionally used devices), this approach has been taken up in various education, community development and health promotion projects focused on topics as varied as youth sexual health, homelessness and community well-being.

Collage

Collage is a methodological tool where participants are provided an opportunity to intuitively select, sort, connect, relocate and arrange found materials, images and text in representation of their opinions, experiences and/or concerns. The end product or collage is a creation with seemingly fragmented, non-linear, unfinished and/or metaphorical meaning, making this an excellent medium for textual and visual inquiry and analysis of the unexplained, contradictory and incoherent aspects of identity. Collage has been used in women and gender studies, queer studies, health and education as an approach for curriculum development. For example, Lynn Butler-Kisber writes about how collage making can be helpful in memoing/reflecting, conceptualizing, eliciting and articulating challenges.

Digital Storytelling or Participatory Movie Making

These short first person visual narratives combine recorded voice, images, videos, music, sound and text to create accounts of experience and/or discuss larger social and political issues. This approach has been employed in many projects dealing with issues such as violence against women, male role modelling, disability and queer identity. Claudia Mitchell writes about how both the process and products of these endeavours become powerful sites of empowerment for South African youth engaged as HIV film-makers.

Benefits of Arts-Based Methods

Arts-based methods offer many potential benefits. First and foremost, many participants find the process to be extremely engaging. Using the arts to mobilize and involve communities in documenting and representing their world can be a lot of fun. By definition, most arts-based methods are participatory. Using arts-based methods can challenge community deficit models and show respect for local expertise and talent. They can also be empowering. Moreover, the storytelling and narrative components of various multi-modal arts-based approaches resonate with many communities, cultures and traditions. Storytelling, singing, theatre and painting can be integral to the sharing of the values, traditions and lived experiences of many cultures. These powerful tools for self and social inquiry can link the personal and private to the public, political, historical, environmental and socially transformative.

Second, arts-based methods often yield different kinds of data that can complement and enrich more 'conventional' research strategies (e.g. interviews and focus groups). For instance, the evocative, personal and expressive elements of storytelling and narrative inquiry are coupled with the visual appeal of photography and image in Photovoice and collage. These layers of auditory, sensory and visual texture create new possibilities for researchers to see, hear and feel. As a result, new researchers are able to ask different kinds of questions of their data, including ones that engage with the consonance and dissonance between these representations.

Third, arts-based methods can reach and touch different audiences. The potential blending of new media (e.g. Internet audiences) with ancient art forms (e.g. painting) creates new possibilities for unprecedented reach, scope and influence. Furthermore, the products created are often more compelling to general audiences than academic reports. Arts-based products have been

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Arts-Based Action Research

Arts-based action research is a blanket term that refers to the use of the arts, in various forms, as the basis for inquiry, intervention, knowledge production and/or information sharing. As a research method, arts-based approaches consist of the merging of the conventions of 'traditional' qualitative methodologies with those of the arts to allow for deeper research insight, interpretation, meaning making and creative expression, and alternative knowledges and ways of knowing. The use of the arts in research has been taken up in several disciplines including visual anthropology, visual studies in the social sciences, education, community development, medicine and health studies. These methods are becoming increasingly popular as innovative, accessible and exciting approaches for inquiry into the social world. In addition, they are being widely recognized for their ability to engage communities in action research processes that transcend age, education, language and cultural barriers.

Arts-based methods can be used at various stages of the research process. Often merged with more traditional qualitative approaches to data collection such as interviews and focus groups, arts-based methods can be an approach for data collection as they capture the reflexive, insightful and creative capacities of participants. The art produced from arts-based approaches can be visually and interpretively analyzed by itself or in congruence with other textual data to add layers of meaning. Arts-based methods can also be employed in the dissemination of research findings as these approaches produce excellent media with which to share information in an accessible way that evokes an emotional response, connection and conversation. Art can sometimes convey multiple messages and provide a deeper level of connection than other forms of representation. Art can help people interrogate questions and further abstract or concretize complex ideas. Arts-based methods can be employed on a continuum as a tool to engage people in highly participatory and community-oriented, solitary or professional settings, making these approaches dynamic research tools.

Importantly, arts-based methods are not exclusive to research and have been more widely used in organizational and advocacy settings to represent and express opinions on pressing social and political issues, communicate information and inform more direct forms of intervention. For example, using the streets, sidewalks and virtually any public space as their setting or stage, actors and/or advocates utilize costumes, props and creative posters and imagery to engage the larger public in performance or popular theatre. In other initiatives, murals, paintings and photographs are used to engage the public in acts of resistance against police violence and the commemoration of loved ones lost to atrocious crimes of the state. Such creative, expressive and arts-based engagement has been employed around the world to disseminate information about and bring attention to political causes and mobilize communities.

This entry further describes specific examples of arts-based methods as approaches to action research. It then explores some of the benefits, challenges and ethical considerations associated with arts-based methods and concludes with the future outlook of work with these approaches.

Examples of Arts-Based Methods

Popular arts-based strategies include painting and drawing, mural making, drama and performance, collage, poetry or other creative writing, fashion design and music creation. Each arts-based method has different strengths and challenges. Below are some brief examples of arts-based methods (many of which have their own encyclopedia entries in this volume). This list is not meant to be exhaustive but, rather, is illustrative of the range of ways in which the arts are being used in action research for further engagement and deeper understanding of social issues.

Hip Hop Songwriting

Through songwriting, participants can pair lyrics, sound and music to create rich and complex forms of expression. Songwriting incorporates language, oral history, identity formation, culture, geography and

unite the context of knowledge production (theory building) with the context of knowledge use (theory testing). The idea of an Action Science, which was first suggested by William Torbert, took Argyris back to Lewin, whose field theory and action research challenged the very foundations of social science. For the next 15 years, Argyris formulated the philosophical foundations and methodological framework which would lead to the publication of *Action Science: Concepts, Methods, and Skills for Research and Intervention* (1985) together with Robert W. Putnam and Diana McClain Smith. This book also showed how to create a community of inquiry in which the skills needed to conduct Action Science could be taught to and learned by others.

Argyris now had a fully formulated method that enabled him to systematically and rigorously combine intervention with research, and knowledge production with knowledge use. Action Science and organizational learning would be the focus of his work until the end of his life. During this period, he took a particular interest in the field of strategy and consulting practice. He not only consulted to strategic consulting firms but also became a director of two firms, with which he worked after retiring from academia. Argyris was a gifted teacher who used the case studies produced by his students to confront them with their Model 1 theories-in-use and challenge them to change, though some people found his style aggressive. A fascinating account of Argyris' legendary classroom performances can be found in Art Kleiner's *The Age of Heretics: A History of the Radical Thinkers Who Reinvented Corporate Management* (2008). Each intervention or classroom became an opportunity to test and develop the theory as well as to develop new concepts, which were regularly published in numerous papers and books.

Argyris and Action Research

Argyris' work had an important influence on the reawakening of action research in the 1990s after a long period of relative stagnation. His deep and systematic critique of normal science research provided one of the first and most powerful challenges to the positivist hegemony in the social sciences. He provided the action research field with a systematic alternative approach to conducting scientific inquiry. The ideas of Action Science began to disseminate, and many of its concepts have become central to action research discourse and practice.

If Argyris was critical of normal science for its emphasis on theory and methodological rigour at the expense of practice, he was critical of much of action research for its lack of attention to theory and to methodological rigour. Although Action Science was based on the idea of research 'with' rather than research 'on', Argyris did not lionize popular knowledge or practice wisdom. His approach was also a far cry from the participative action research based on the work of Paulo Freire and Orlando Fals Borda that emerged at roughly the same time as Action Science. Argyris did not believe in participation for the sake of participation. Rather, he held a clear standard for knowledge production and advocated a particular kind of expertise in producing actionable knowledge. From an Action Science perspective, meaningful participation begins with a process of learning how to move from Model I to Model II theories-in-use.

As a consultant, Argyris worked with the top executives of large corporations and with other consultants, people for whom he had enormous respect. In his work with these people, he was a revolutionary, but a revolutionary of reason who challenged their theories-in-use on the basis of data and logic—never ideology. Furthermore, based on the 'data' he collected over years of working with people, Argyris held to the claim that Model I is universal regardless of race, culture or gender—a position for which he was heavily criticized.

As an action researcher, it was this determination to question assumptions while remaining deeply committed to both methodological rigour and the real world that most distinguished Argryis. As a teacher and consultant, he had, in the words of Diana McClain Smith, 'a unique ability to empathize with people's experiences and circumstances while still holding them accountable for changing them'. As a person, he was best described by his family, shortly after his death, as someone who 'lived a very simple life, free from pretence. He valued the same qualities in anyone whether they were a cabinet member of the US government, a first grade teacher or a janitor. If you could look honestly at yourself and others, if you were engaged with life, if you were ready for a good debate, he was on your side'.

Victor J. Friedman

See also Action Science; advocacy and inquiry; double-loop learning; ladder of inference; learning pathways grid; Lewin, Kurt; organization development; theories of action; two-column technique; Whyte, William Foote

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deeply impressed by the way in which both men linked theory building and research with action for generating change. Thus, from the very beginning, Argyris believed that the best test of theory was whether it could produce a desired change in the real world.

Argyris' first major work, *Personality and Organization* (1957), was pioneering empirical research that illustrated the inherent conflict between the demands of the formal organization and the normal development of human beings towards greater independence and self-control. The unintended consequences of this conflict are that most organization members revert to an infantile state in order to conform to the organization's demands. Argyris was well aware of the detrimental effect of organizations on people, but he admitted, at that time, that he could envision no solution to the problem. It was the search for a solution, however, that guided Argyris throughout his career.

Argyris was deeply committed to research-based knowledge, but there was not enough empirically based evidence to support clear alternatives to the formal organization. In *Integrating the Individual and the Organization* (1964), he set forth ideas for a 'New System' of organization but frankly admitted that such ideas were speculative and would require years of research to be confirmed. A major turning point was his association with the National Training Laboratories, where he became a leader of the 'T-Group' approach to organization development, as described in *Management and Organizational Development* (1971). During this same period, Argyris began to develop his unique approach of using intervention as a method for conducting rigorous research, which he formalized in *Intervention Theory and Method: A Behavioral Science View* (1970).

Just about the time these books were being published, Argyris experienced serious doubts about the long-term effectiveness of T-groups for changing organizations. He observed that executives who underwent significant behavioural change during a workshop would revert to their previous patterns once back on the job, while covering up their gameplaying with T-group language. What puzzled him most was why these negative patterns seemed to push out the healthier ones.

In 1971, Argyris met Donald Schön, who was a philosopher by training as well as a consultant and faculty member of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT. Schön, who studied technological and social change, was also puzzling over what made it so difficult for individuals and institutions to 'learn'. The two men began a collaboration that led to the development of the 'theory of action' approach. Their fundamental claim was that human behaviour is guided by mental theories of action that consist of three simple components: In Situation X, do Y, in order to achieve Goal Z. Because theories of action function almost automatically, people are able react quickly and without conscious thought in most situations, while being unaware of the theories that drive them. They also made a distinction between 'espoused theories' (what people say they do) and 'theories-in-use' (the theories inferred from actual behaviour).

Argryis and Schön studied theories of action and discovered a remarkable similarity among the theories people used when dealing with others under conditions of uncertainty, conflict and psychological threat. This discovery led them to hypothesize that people are driven by a deeper, universal theory rooted in the 'governing values' of unilateral control, protection of self and others and rationality (Model I). Model I theories-in-use explain what drives people to produce behaviours that create defensiveness, entrenchment, polarization and escalation precisely when learning is critical. Argyris and Schön hypothesized that sustainable change would require learning an entirely new theory-in-use including both governing values and behavioural change. Therefore, they formulated an alternative theory-in-use (Model II) based on the governing values of valid information, free and informed choice and internal commitment, all of which had been evident in Argyris' previous work. Argyris and Schön acknowledged that Model II theories-in-use were not natural but demonstrated that they could be learned and put into practice, with the desired effect.

The collaboration between Argyris and Schön led to two highly influential books. The first, *Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness* (1974), applied the theory to the reasoning and action of professionals in management, education and social services. The second book, *Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective* (1978), argued that an organization, like individuals, is driven by theories of action and that it 'learns' when organizational members engage in inquiry that alters its theory-in-use. As a result of these works, Argyris became recognized as the founder of the field of organizational learning.

Argyris' research on theories of action led him to question the epistemological foundations of social science research, including his own. In *Inner Contradictions of Rigorous Research* (1980), he critiqued what he called 'normal science', illustrating that the rigorous methods developed to ensure valid knowledge detract not only from its applicability to real-life conditions but even from its internal validity. Furthermore, Argyris argued that a social science that simply describes the world as it exists is likely to reinforce the status quo rather than produce alternatives. In this book, he first advocated the development of 'Action Science', an alternative to normal science that would

disequilibria and possibly reframing to see new positive possibilities. Entrepreneurially alert individuals will thus be more able to 'think outside the box' than persons lower in alertness. This line of thinking is consistent with the characteristics of people with high appreciative intelligence, who have narrated stories regarding how they reframed problem situations, recognized opportunities and overcame challenges, all by recognizing the generative potential in them and engaging in actions in the present moment to help unfold the future.

Appreciative Intelligence® is linked to leadership, entrepreneurship and innovation. It is needed to engage in action research embedded in affirmative ideals. Because of their ability to bring out the best in others, their capacity for innovation and their resilience against stressful situations, people with high appreciative intelligence become valued members of organizations. They are often at the forefront of engaging in productive action research, creating innovation and new products and services.

Tojo Thatchenkery

See also Appreciative Inquiry; capacity building; ladder of inference; strengths-based approach

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Argyris, Chris

Chris Argyris was one of the founders of the fields of organization development, organizational learning and Action Science. He was a radical, creative thinker and acclaimed academic who used organizational consulting as a means of conducting research that produced over 30 books and 150 articles. His legacy is embodied in concepts such as espoused theories, defensive routines, the ladder of inference, reframing, advocacy and inquiry, double-loop learning, and actionable knowledge—all of which have had an impact on the field of action research. This entry begins with a brief sketch of Argyris' career, then surveys his work, and finally addresses his relationship to action research.

His Career

Argyris was born in Newark, New Jersey, on July 16, 1923, to Greek immigrant parents. He grew up in Irvington, New Jersey, and served in the Signal Corps of the US Army during the Second World War, rising to the rank of Second Lieutenant. He received his B.A. in psychology (1947) at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. As an undergraduate, he met Kurt Lewin, whose work would have a strong influence on Argyris throughout his life. He went on to receive an M.A. in psychology and economics from Kansas University (1949), and a Ph.D. in organizational behaviour from Cornell University (1951), where he studied with William Foote Whyte.

Argyris served as the Beach Professor of Administrative Science and chairperson of the Department of Organization Behavior at Yale University from 1951 to 1971. He then moved to Harvard University, where he held a joint appointment at the Graduate School of Education and the Business School as the James Bryant Conant Professor of Education and Organizational Behavior. He also served on the board of directors of two strategic consulting firms, the Monitor Group and Greenwich Research Associates. He was a devoted husband and father. He and his wife, Renee, were married 63 years and had two children. He died on 16 November 2013.

His Work

Argryis was one of the members of the post–World War II generation of management scholars who did pioneering research on the human side of organization. Both Lewin and Whyte had impressed upon him the importance of observation as the basis for research, which meant, first and foremost, understanding the world through the eyes of other people. He was also

(4) musical, (5) logical-mathematical, (6) intra-personal and (7) interpersonal. Appreciative intelligence may be seen as another type of intelligence within the multiple-intelligence framework. It is the ability to perceive the positive potential in a given situation and to act purposively to transform the potential to outcomes. Put in a simple way, Appreciative Intelligence® is the ability to see the mighty oak in the acorn.

The organizational science researcher Tojo Thatchenkery coined the term *appreciative intelligence* in 1996 after studying the phenomenal growth of entrepreneurship in the Silicon Valley in the USA. Talents of all sorts congregated around a small region in northern California beginning in the mid-1980s. Venture capitalists and immigrant entrepreneurs (primarily from Asia) took significant risks that led to the rise of the Internet, social media and the networked world. Thatchenkery hypothesized that Appreciative Intelligence® is the individual ability that partly contributed to the success of the Silicon Valley. His research about Indian American entrepreneurs in the early 1990s suggested that the various ethnic groups felt valued and experienced the freedom to experiment in the Silicon Valley. An environment of opportunity recognition, persistence, resilience and anticipation of positive outcomes existed in the region that defined the area as a fertile ground for entrepreneurship.

Appreciative Intelligence® has three components: (1) *reframing*, (2) *appreciating the positive* and (3) *seeing how the future unfolds from the present.* Reframing is seeing problems in a new light and creating alternatives that have not occurred within the old frame. It involves shifting a frame so that new relationships and dependencies become apparent. For example, Muhammad Yunus, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for 2006, felt the need to reframe the concept of collateral in providing credit to the poor in Bangladesh and founded the Grameen Bank. His use of 'microcredit', or small loans to entrepreneurs too poor to qualify for traditional bank loans, was an instance of reframing.

Appreciating the positive, the second component of Appreciative Intelligence®, is based on social constructionist philosophy and leverages the stance that language creates reality. As participants in organizations, we are embedded in an all-pervasive deficit discourse with a vocabulary consisting of thousands of negative words. Appreciating the positive is about intentionally seeking the generative vocabulary that looks at what works in a system as opposed to what does not. Appreciating the positives must become a habit if it is to have a lasting impact. Due to the learned helplessness generated by past experiences, individuals may not notice the positive possibilities already embedded in scenarios similar to the ones that Yunus had faced. They have to observe with an open mind and truly believe that positive possibilities can be brought to the surface with intentional reframing.

The third component of Appreciative Intelligence®, seeing how the future unfolds from the present, is the critical last step for generating successful outcomes. It is not enough to reframe or recognize positive possibilities. We must know what to do in the present moment, akin to a stage of being mindful.

In addition to the three components mentioned above, Appreciative Intelligence® leads to four qualities in individuals: (1) persistence, (2) conviction that one's actions matter, (3) tolerance for uncertainty and (4) irrepressible resilience—the ability to bounce back from a difficult situation. Persistence is the ability to stick with a project or problem to its fruitful completion. There are two types of persistence. The first one, behavioural persistence, is the external manifestation of visible actions that are sustained over a period of time to accomplish a goal. The second one is cognitive persistence, where an individual continues to think about a goal that may continue long after the behaviour to accomplish it has stopped.

Conviction that one's actions matter creates the confidence in our abilities to mobilize the mental resources and plan of action needed to accomplish a task. Overall, people with high self-esteem have a greater tendency to persist in the face of failures and challenges. They are also more likely to reframe and see the presence of alternatives for reaching a goal. The creative ideas and actions that individuals pursue may generate uncertainty or ambiguity. People with high Appreciative Intelligence® showed evidence of high tolerance for uncertainty, ambiguity and cognitive dissonance. Beyond tolerating their own uncertainty, they helped other people deal with uncertainty, often by reframing situations to help them see what was positive. Individuals possessing high appreciative intelligence exhibit an irrepressible resilience and bounce back from challenges with renewed energy.

Appreciative Intelligence® is also related to entrepreneurial cognition and opportunity recognition. Researchers have examined entrepreneurship from the macrolevel using the knowledge spillover theory and the regional advantage strategy. Appreciative intelligence provides the micro-, individual-level foundation for understanding entrepreneurship. Thatchenkery has shown that the Silicon Valley entrepreneurs thought differently (with respect to the content of their thoughts and the processes that they employed) by intentionally reframing market signs and opportunities. Successful entrepreneurs possess a cognitive schema called *entrepreneurial alertness* which helps them to stay in a mental state of being alert to opportunities. Entrepreneurs possessing such a schema are predisposed to searching for and noticing market

aesthetics and nature immersion, W-Holistic AI creates additional opportunities for people to experience such wholeness and to feel a deep sense of connection to others and to the world around them, helping to generate system alignment that encourages individual and collective purpose to become more unified.

The reflective practices used in the W-Holistic AI process open the mind and heart to new ways to approach work, collaboration and life. The process described in the following section increases the probability that action outcomes are based on what is important for the individual, the organization and the larger systems of which they are a part.

The W-Holistic AI Process

The W-Holistic AI process begins with *connection* that prepares participants to experience a greater sense of wholeness. Thus, before the discovery phase, when participants interview each other, they conduct a meditation (e.g. a compassion meditation), read a poem or conduct centring exercises as a way to connect to the emotions that are present for them. The purpose at this first stage of the process is to increase individuals' capacity to let go of judgement and tap into deeper levels of listening.

The next phase is *discovery.* The process adds reflection on *calling*, during which individuals get in touch with the meaning of their life's work. One of the questions posed at this phase might be 'What do I live for?' This leads to the dream phase, during which the collective vision for the organization is generated.

Following the *dream* phase, individuals are encouraged to get in touch with their source of deep creativity. This prepares them for the design phase, during which they create the unified architecture organizing the key elements of their collective vision.

Immediately following the design phase, participants are asked to reflect on their values in action, to consider these thoughtful behaviours that reflect their inner states of connection, calling and creativity. The question at this phase is 'Who do I need to be, and what do I need to let go of to realize this dream?' or 'Who am I when I do what I do?'.

W-Holistic AI cultivates such a deeper awareness, fostering greater wisdom and creativity. It provides space for deep reflection within the flow of the AI movement. Ultimately, W-Holistic AI promotes a sense of wholeness in today's fragmented world, helping people to demonstrate empathy towards one another and fostering a sense of connection with a larger whole. As such, it supports the goal of creating sustainable value in service of flourishing at every scale.

Chris Laszlo and Ilma Barros-Pose

See also Appreciative Inquiry; environment and climate change; organization development; sustainability

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Appreciative Intelligence

As David Cooperrider and Suresh Srivastva have pointed out, there are two kinds of action research. The first is based on a problem-solving paradigm, and the second focuses on what works or gives life to organizations and is known as Appreciative Inquiry. To engage in affirmatively oriented action research, an individual ability called Appreciative Intelligence® is needed. The construct of Appreciative Intelligence® is embedded in the theory of multiple intelligences proposed by Howard Gardner. He demonstrated that intelligence was not a single ability but a number of capacities. Based on findings from the fields of anthropology, psychology, brain research and cognitive science and the biographies of exceptional individuals, Gardner concluded that there were at least seven types of intelligences: (1) linguistic, (2) bodily kinesthetic, (3) spatial,

Many scholars have therefore attempted to reframe sustainability in terms of value creation for shareholders and stakeholders.

Sustainable value is about *creating* value for shareholders and stakeholders rather than merely transferring it from one to the other. By 'doing good' for the society and for the environment, a company that creates sustainable value does even better for its customers and shareholders than it otherwise would. Stuart Hart and Mark Milstein suggest that pursuing a strategy that puts a premium on sustainable value creates opportunities to overcome global challenges that pose environmental threats. That is, firms can create sustainable value by putting organizational practices into place that contribute to sustainability while also generating shareholder value.

Furthermore, trends in both management practice and academic research suggest that the concept of sustainable value is shifting from mitigating harm or reducing the footprint of business on society to providing solutions to global challenges. In the past, corporate sustainability initiatives such as reducing greenhouse gases focused implicitly on being 'less unsustainable'. Few initiatives were designed with 'more sustainability' in mind, and fewer still aspired to fulfil the systemic conditions needed for a healthy world over the long term. This distinction is evident in the idea of a contrast between an organization's (negative) footprint and its (positive) handprint. To the extent that sustainable value is aimed at business as a force for good, it requires an approach to managing change that can support flourishing at every scale. AI is uniquely adapted to such a task.

AI and Sustainable Value

AI is an organization analysis and change methodology that focuses on the positive dimensions of an organization's life, providing a process for accessing the strengths of the larger system of which it is a part and broadening its members' capacity to engage in system change. By emphasizing whole systems and strengths-based thinking, AI encourages the inclusion of every stakeholder in transforming the current reality of a system into the desired future state. When sharing positive stories, people reconnect to the strengths, competencies and positive emotions that characterized their past successes, guiding the collective vision.

Scholars in positive psychology consistently emphasize that positive emotion is a fundamental human strength and is central to the study of human flourishing. They argue that positive emotions build intellectual, personal and social resources. Participants in the AI 4-D cycle, that is, discovery, dream, design and destiny/deliver, feel ready to act in the world because 'positive emotions broaden an individual's momentary thought–action repertoire, which in turn can build that individual's enduring personal resources'.

As an approach to change and a method for guiding conversations, AI allows people within organizations and systems to connect to such positive emotions and share positive experiences that bring out their best. Its optimistic assumptions about people, organizations and relationships distinguish it from traditional organization development methodologies.

As our understanding of sustainability and sustainable value shifts from *continuity* and *doing less harm* to *flourishing* and *business as a force for good*, AI's emphasis on bringing out the best in individuals, organizations and whole systems becomes increasingly relevant to the purpose of change. AI provides a blueprint for promoting the necessary shift in how business people think about sustainability, even as it creates an ideal space for creativity and inspired innovation.

Productive dialogues among colleagues from distinct areas within an organization or system generate useful insights into an organization's or system's optimal functioning in the past and facilitate the formation of an image of the future that encompasses everyone's hopes. Frank Barrett suggests that in order to understand the complexity of a large organization, we should cultivate an appreciative way of knowing, an aesthetic that values surrender and wonderment over certainty, affirmative sense making over problem-solving, and listening and attunement over individual isolation.

Barrett mentioned jazz improvisation as an example of a self-organizing system built on appreciative knowing, exemplifying characteristics of being, thought and action that generate novel solutions to complex global issues and disruptive innovations that embody positive visions of the future. For example, energy and food security are likely to require entirely new technologies based on renewables and entirely new business models based on local production and distribution, and organizations that know how to improvise will be better prepared to bring about such changes.

W-Holistic AI: Flourishing at Every Scale

AI has already made significant contributions to organizational success because it enables change in a way that effectively compresses time and resources. This entry introduces the concept of W-Holistic AI, which purposefully adds to the AI experience of connection and wholeness. The 'W' represents wholeness, directing our attention to the eminent need stakeholders feel to experience a sense of connection at work, and it is holistic because it perceives the individual as an autopoietic system, one that depends on its interaction with the larger system of which it is a part. Through reflective practices such as mindfulness, art and

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Appreciative Inquiry and Sustainable Value Creation

Asking the question 'Strategy for what purpose?' suggests that managers need more than clear objectives and good execution to accomplish organizational goals and identify those whom they benefit. In a similar fashion, this entry asks, 'Appreciative Inquiry (AI) for what purpose?' It argues that having well-crafted objectives and great execution are no longer enough for AI practitioners concerned with global systems dynamics. Typical AI objectives such as increased employee engagement and organizational effectiveness benefit from having an overarching purpose that ranges beyond a company's strategic vision and mission. Purpose is particularly important in a world that has become simultaneously more crisis-prone and dependent on business to resolve rising challenges, from climate stability to energy and food security, to peace and social justice.

Sustainable value, defined here as a measure of those strategies and practices that enable business to act as a force for good, represents such a governing purpose for AI practitioners. AI is a uniquely well-adapted change methodology for creating sustainable value by virtue of the abductive (or design) logic it applies to goal setting, its grounding in positive action theory and emphasis on whole systems and its use of processes that engage key stakeholders in the effort to realize the desired change. A unique relationship exists therefore between sustainable value and AI: The former provides AI with a governing purpose, while the latter provides sustainable value with a powerful methodology for planning and execution.

While it is not necessary for every organization to become an agent of world benefit, this entry assumes fundamentally that any change practitioner who is intent on creating a thriving organization must address global issues such as dwindling natural resources, radical transparency and rising societal expectations. Recent evidence suggests that sustainability is now entering the business mainstream and that creating sustainable value (or 'shared value', as Michael Porter and Mark Kramer recently termed the concept) is becoming a factor for organizational success in every sector of the economy.

Sustainable Value and Sustainability

The word *sustainability* refers to both sustainable resource use and flourishing at the systems level. Sustainable resource use connotes permanence in the sense of minimizing the permanent depletion of natural resources. Flourishing suggests more than mere system survival. A flourishing system is dynamically healthy and able to grow vigorously and prosper.

In one sense, sustainability is simply the ability to endure, given its root, *sustain*, which can mean prolonging or lengthening in time, extent, scope or range. Thus, sustainability traditionally centres on creating a sense of permanence or continuity. The composite term *environmental and social sustainability* has taken on a similar meaning that aligns closely with the concept of *sustainable development*, which, according to the World Commission on Economic Development, denotes development that meets present needs without compromising the ability to meet future needs. A more recent meaning of sustainability is that of *flourishing*, such as in John Ehrenfeld's reframing of sustainability as 'the possibility that human and other forms of life will flourish on the Earth forever'. Adam Werbach similarly characterized flourishing as 'thriving in perpetuity'. Thus, flourishing infuses sustainability with human values. When human and natural systems flourish and are resilient, they can be said to be sustainable.

This backdrop of meanings has confused many business managers, some of whom continue to reject sustainability as a strategic goal. Executives who do not understand what it could mean for their companies fail to see it as a source of strategic advantage; they do not understand why eliminating societal constraints or creating a healthier planet belongs on a CEO's agenda.

generative theorizing. The focus of such theory development is knowledge that can help transform social reality. Rather than establishing and verifying conventional truths about what currently exists in human systems, the researcher wants to interrupt common assumptions by exploring and inspiring what is emergent and possible. How does Appreciative Inquiry lead to theoretical knowledge with such a generative capacity?

From an engagement with Appreciative Inquiry as change methodology, questions and topics may emerge that can lead to the development of transferable knowledge. Over time and across situations, certain themes may catch the attention and curiosity of the researcher. How is it, for instance, that moments of crisis are appreciated as high-point experiences in some organizations? Such questions may lead to a secondary analysis of the material that was collected during the appreciative interviews. They may also result in a conceptual framing that allows the researcher to join timely theoretical conversations. Next to knowledge development around substantive themes, Appreciative Inquiry facilitation may spark theorizing around process questions of organizational change. The sharing of stories about an organization's positive core, for instance, can be studied to understand the dynamics of organizational identity work.

Both content and process questions that arise from Appreciative Inquiry initiatives can guide studies in which the researcher uses a more or less traditional methodology. Indeed, more conventional studies can explore positive topics such as organizational flourishing or use an appreciative perspective during interviews or for purposes of evaluation. In such research, however, a concern for diagnostic rigour and predictable patterns may clash with the relational, constructionist and provocative nature of Appreciative Inquiry as generative theorizing.

Appreciative Inquiry is based on the premise that knowledge creation is a relational endeavour. The researcher needs to engage with others and otherness to develop novel insights. Such relational engagement can take a variety of forms. Where topics emerge from the facilitation of a change initiative, one can continue to work with a group of co-researchers that represents the whole system. But to understand the intricate qualities and dynamics of organizational settings, it may be more conducive to engage a small group of professionals who have an immediate interest in the research topic and can explore it with practice-based finesse. Once the researcher starts to zoom in on such micro practices, relationality can also be translated in how one personally engages with the research material. A choice to participate directly in what one studies may then guide a phenomenological exploration of the experience of generativity in organizational and social life.

Its underlying constructionist principle not only makes Appreciative Inquiry a dialogic approach to change, it also invites research that uses discourse analysis as its methodology. The focus of such analysis is on language and on meaning-making processes that influence the scope of possible actions. A researcher who studies organizational settings through an appreciative discursive lens may look at the qualities of life-giving conversations, the stories that can change perspectives on what is currently feasible, the occurrence and expansion of positive communication in a specific organization or the role of the media in articulating the nascent narratives that inspire repertoires for innovative practice. To be generative, such studies ideally also stay true to Appreciative Inquiry's relational quality. The researcher will, for instance, safeguard the holistic nature of stories and the interactive character of the production and use of organizational texts.

Appreciative Inquiry invites a scholarship of dislodgement and transformation and encourages research that leads to provocative outcomes. What can the researcher do to create knowledge that provokes novel action? One approach may be to look for positive deviance in both practice and research data. In practice, it means studying exemplar cases of unusual yet wanted innovation. In data analysis, it asks for an openness to value the outliers that may inform surprising insights. To translate such deviant observations into plausible conceptualizations, the researcher needs theoretical imagination to propose what might be possible and replicable in other situations. Theories that evoke action are not only plausible but do also have emotional appeal. A researcher who wants to have a generative impact will, therefore, strive to write about inquiry outcomes in artful ways that resonate and inspire. Such writing may awaken a spirit of inquiry and a sense of possibility in those who read them.

To summarize, Appreciative Inquiry was introduced as a life-centric approach to action research. When it lives up to its full generative potential, it connects inquiry at the three interrelated levels of a personal appreciative stance, a collaborative search for constructive change and the creation of theoretical knowledge that transfers to other situations because it provokes and enables organizational and social transformation.

Danielle P. Zandee

See also Appreciative Inquiry; organization development; social constructionism; strengths-based theory and practice; transferability

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important than research in this practice-driven application, it remains clearly grounded in inquiry.

This entry discusses Appreciative Inquiry from a research perspective. It describes how researchers can take an appreciative stance, how collaborative inquiry enables organizational change and how Appreciative Inquiry becomes research for generative theory building.

The Spirit of Inquiry

To take an appreciative stance in inquiry means to see, illuminate and create what is extraordinary in ordinary life and practice. When this spirit of inquiry—a sense of wonder, curiosity and surprise—is awakened, fresh perceptions of reality may result in knowledge that interrupts and transforms the status quo.

The researcher in Appreciative Inquiry is not an objective outsider but someone who actively participates in the organizational setting that is being studied. When such relational engagement is undertaken with what Albert Schweitzer called a reverence for life, it may enable the open-minded sensitivity to appreciate also the more subtle richness in organizational dynamics. Inquiry itself can create a sense of wonder and surprise when the questions asked open new terrains for study and a different way of seeing leads to unexpected insights. When research is conducted with an appreciative eye, it connects an intricate understanding of the best there is with a bold imagination of what might become. The power of the imaginative mind is needed to create the generative knowledge that Appreciative Inquiry promotes. Imagination brings vigour to the study of organizational reality, and together with appreciation, it gives permission to be daring and truly alive in inquiry.

Appreciative Inquiry asks for both reflexivity and finesse. The researcher needs to be upfront about the life-centric bias of the approach, to be aware of personal assumptions and images of the good and to be a skilled facilitator of this collaborative change methodology.

In sum, Appreciative Inquiry is a way of knowing and being that illuminates the possible in human systems. Its spirit of inquiry invites both action researchers and organizational members to study and shape the life-giving potential of the wondrous organizational settings in which they participate.

Inquiry as Intervention

Appreciative Inquiry is based on the constructionist notion that social reality is maintained and transformed through processes of shared meaning making. Simply put, what one talks about and pays attention to will grow. From this perspective, inquiry is an intervention rather than a diagnostic step to prepare plans for change implementation. When inquiry itself is seen to induce the wanted change, it really matters what topics are studied and how, who is included and listened to and how insights are developed and shared.

An appreciative change initiative will commonly start with an interview process in which participants inquire into topics that are of high interest to them. Such topics are framed in language that affirms what one wants to see more of. Affirmative topics inform the questions that participants ask each other to bring out life-giving qualities and future potentials. Inclusive engagement—of ideally the whole system—in this process is important to illuminate the full spectrum of experiences and viewpoints and to create the sense of relatedness that will nurture change. Questions are carefully crafted to invite storytelling and conversation that explores, connects and energizes. Stories give rich insights into lived experience, and their sharing builds the relationship between teller and listener. Rather than establishing factual truth, the aim of appreciative interviewing is to join the other in creating shared understandings of the possibility for novel action.

What does the organization say? After the interviews are conducted, participants share and study the stories, remarks, wishes and future images that they have taken note of. This sharing is part of the discovery phase, the purpose of which is to illuminate the organization's positive core, the factors that are considered to be special qualities and strengths. New insights, exemplar stories and quotes are assembled and communicated in ways that resonate and evoke a sense of possibility. During the dream phase, participants use discoveries and their imagination to picture bold future aspirations. Will it work? In the design phase, inquiry is focused on shaping actionable ideas from articulated dreams into concrete designs for action. Appreciative Inquiry as a strengths-based approach to change ideal results in workable knowledge that guides experiments with innovative ideas in daily practice. In the destiny phase, cycles of experimentation and reflection may lead to transformative action, collective learning and new topics for inquiry.

Appreciative Inquiry as intervention enhances the collective capacity for change by using and strengthening the existing cognitive and relational capabilities of a group or organization. Through appreciation, imagination and exploration, participants can develop fresh knowledge about their practice that enables them to co-create something clearly different and better.

Generative Theorizing

With their introduction of Appreciative Inquiry, Cooperrider and Srivastva answered Kenneth Gergen's call for

generating and position themselves in the conversation in ways that respect the complexity of the situation and keep conversations generative. This implies exploring vulnerabilities, fears, distress and criticism, as well as moments of excellence. This suggests a possible need for redirection in AI training such that the original focus on 'inquiry' from a valuing stance is reinforced. The end or goal of an AI is not to feel positive emotions or to only celebrate what is going well. Rather, the objective is to experience the power of strengths-based inquiry to heighten the imagination and to do so in a way that fosters generative connections among stakeholders such that they desire to act together to achieve some future state. This collaborative, self-directed action to co-create a future reality is the essence of the co-operative capacity that exists, often untapped, in every human system.

Future Trajectory for AI

The worldwide application and adaptation of AI, the growing body of empirical research and thoughtful critiques of AI and the emergence of the fields of positive psychology, strengths-based leadership and positive organization studies all suggest that AI is positioned well to become a widely applied method for change and innovation management. The field of positive psychology has developed the theory and tools to help discover and apply individual strengths to attain higher engagement at work and more balanced wellness in life. AI has demonstrated how to magnify and amplify these strengths at a collective level for greater organizational success and resilience. AI is now positioned to achieve a synergy of strengths at an even larger level through fostering 'affirming institutions' that do good for society and the environment in order to do well for owners and shareholders. AI is now being applied to address community, regional and industry-wide issues that no single institutional or government entity can address alone. AI is demonstrating the potential to help create enduring human systems and societies wherein everyone can flourish—truly change at the scale of the 'whole' system.

Ronald Fry

See also Appreciative Inquiry and research methodology; Appreciative Inquiry and sustainable value creation; appreciative intelligence; organization development; social constructionism

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Appreciative Inquiry and Research Methodology

In 1987, David Cooperrider and Suresh Srivastva introduced Appreciative Inquiry as a form of action research with the generative capacity to create a sense of possibility and to develop energizing ideas for novel action. They saw Appreciative Inquiry as a process of discovery and theorizing that truly brings out the life-generating essentials and potentials of organizational and social existence. They argued that the collective study of what gives life to a human system, rather than the more common diagnosis of its problems, will result in shared knowledge that enables social innovation. The appreciative approach to action research starts with an appreciation of current reality, is collaborative in nature and aspires to create knowledge that is provocative yet applicable. It embraces the social constructionist premise that words create worlds, and thus the belief that theory can be a catalyst for transformative action. This makes Appreciative Inquiry activist in its orientation. It encourages those who participate in research to work in the service of their vision of world betterment. Such visions may be inspired by the root metaphor that underlies the appreciative way of knowing, namely, that of social and organizational life as a miracle and mystery with endless possibility for discovery and change.

Appreciative Inquiry is commonly known as a strengths-based approach to organizational change, in which participants engage in conversations to explore the positive, life-giving core of their organization, to create images of future aspirations and to design new alternatives for action. Because of its focus on shared meaning making, Appreciative Inquiry as a change methodology is a form of dialogic organization development. Though positive change may seem more

a smaller decision group. On the contrary, if the right people (stakeholders) are in the room doing the AI and the expected connections build through the discovery, dream and design phases, the generative results are that the stakeholders will feel compelled to volunteer their time and energy to make the change image that they coauthored become a reality.

Change by Changing the Conversation

AI changes the way something is being discussed or viewed in an organization. Inviting these inputs and then seeking new ideas for improvement or development can create behaviour change in and of itself. A published case has documented that engaging an entire workforce in AI conversations (in pairs) about safety led to record-breaking drops in incident reports, without formalizing any new projects, training, policy changes or any other group-level actions.

Applications

Currently, AI is a proven, researched and widely applied process for managing complex change at the individual, group, organizational, community and societal levels. A community of practice exists throughout the world, and practitioners attending the most recent global AI conference came from nearly 50 countries. Numerous articles and case studies exist to document the positive impact of the AI process on OD, innovation and success.

Early adopters included GTE/Verizon (union-management relations, share price increase and quality improvement), US Navy (retention), Avon Mexico (mixed-gender working relationships), Roadway Express (share price, union-management relations), British Airways (exceptional arrivals), Hunter Douglas (production yields), American Red Cross (high engagement), United Nations Global Compact (organizing charter), Fairmount Minerals (sustainable value creation, EBITDA growth) and the City of Denver (efficiency and cost savings). These cases demonstrated AI's relevance to improving team, business unit and organization-wide effectiveness. Subsequent cases documenting AI application to individual coaching and networked systems like Walmart's supply chain for clothing or a learning network of 60 companies in Belgium for talent development suggest AI as a viable change tool for all levels of human organizing.

While it is used at multiple levels of human systems, the most common application is known as the AI Summit. This is a multi-stakeholder gathering representing the entire system related to the chosen topic. Participants gather for 1–4 days to complete the AI cycle and launch self-managed change initiatives. The summit process is easily scalable and has been applied with tens to hundreds to thousands of participants (World Vision International, American Dairy Association, BBC, etc.) in face-to-face and virtual formats.

Research studies have demonstrated that AI is effective in fostering greater transformative changes in teams (vs. incremental changes from task-oriented OD interventions) and creating less negative emotional arousal in coworker dialogues than problem-solving approaches. Participation in AI has been shown empirically to create deeper forgiveness in union-management relations and to relate to seven times more cost savings in sites that use AI (for other topics) versus those that do not.

Critiques of AI

The early wave of critiques on AI came from OD scholars who questioned the exclusive focus on the 'positive', generally asserting that a balanced focus on what's working and what's dysfunctional was more likely to generate a valid diagnosis than just one or the other. Originators of AI responded that taken in a larger context of an already dominant focus on what is dysfunctional, AI interventions were attempts to move towards the overall balance that the critics sought.

The most useful critiques have come from scholar practitioners who seem to be sympathetic to AI but are more aware of its limitations. A common concern is with the possibility that a focus on positive stories and experiences during the discovery phase will invalidate the negative organizational experiences of participants and repress potentially important and meaningful conversations that need to take place, or that if AI is used to stifle valid expressions of hurt, injustice and ill treatment, the opposite of what AI purports to do will in fact occur: distrust, disengagement and devaluation. There is little doubt that some managers and consultants have used the veneer of AI to enforce a conversation that only allows discussion of 'the positive' to avoid surfacing anxiety, incompetence or unethical issues, but this would also be true of many OD approaches that have been (mis)used to promote short-term positive emotions and motivation to increase effort under the guise of employee involvement or participatory management.

A strong and useful critique is that some AI advocates paint a picture of appreciation as manifested by managers expressing positive feedback and praise, focusing solely on moments of excellence, success stories and the like. Showing appreciation is thus construed as either expressing or eliciting positive moments in one's organizational life. These critiques argue for a different image of appreciation in which managers make judgements about what will be life

cued by asking positive questions (the best past stories related to the topic), they paint a compelling picture of what the human system could or should become. By positioning this dreaming after the discovery of shared strengths, participants gain a greater sense of collective efficacy, and so their future images of possibility expand. They imagine bolder possibilities because of an enhanced sense of the capabilities of the total collective of participants, based upon the common strengths and success factors in the initial stories that were shared. Once the inquiry space is full of future images or possibilities, the stakeholders engage to brainstorm lists of actionable ideas to achieve those future images that they find the most attractive.

Design

The *design* phase translates future images into intentional action. By using tools such as mind mapping, the ideas for change from the dreaming can be depicted and voted upon to determine a subset that most energizes the participants and around which new change teams can form. The same group of stakeholders that did the *discovery* now vote with their feet and go to the particular change idea that they most want to make happen. Each new multi-stakeholder change team now engages in design work, including crafting an aspiration statement, brainstorming, prototyping, action planning, process mapping, role and decision charting and other techniques, to agree on a specific action path forward. The *design* phase is the most open to creativity and innovation in terms of other tools and processes, the use of which is not limited to AI. Recent lessons from actual designers have suggested that the emphasis in the design phase be even more on 'doing and making something together' versus just planning through good dialogue—design doing rather than design thinking.

Destiny

Destiny is a call to co-create the preferred future through action and innovation. The term *destiny* is meant to imply more of an open-ended quest or journey of continual learning. It is expected that the initial change team that was formed in the *design* phase will take on new members, drop others, alter its direction and continue to improvise as it enacts its change journey. In some organization settings this will still look like a set of new projects that are monitored and tracked for progress and contribution, while in other contexts this phase will look like several autonomous and creative new ventures being nurtured and supported in less visible ways.

In sum, this '4-D' process juxtaposes grounded examples of the extraordinary (discovery stories related to the topic) with visionary images of positive possibilities (*dream* and *design* phases) to mobilize generative connections among stakeholders such that they want to work together to transform their shared future.

Distinguishing Features

AI was intended as an alternative approach to managing change processes. As such, it is distinctly different from most other approaches. Key differences include the following.

Strengths Focus

Beginning with the assumption that every human system already has features of health and well-being, AI is a deliberate, systematic search for the antecedents, catalysts and supporting factors that embolden and promote the enduring spirit and central competencies that contribute to vitality of the system in its best moments.

Discovery Before Dream

AI asserts that if one can first reconnect one's stakeholders with their individual and shared strengths, they will naturally be able to conceive of more bold and innovative possibilities for the future. The discovery of the system's positive core can result in expanded images of the future that transcend current problems, breakdowns or gaps.

Use Stories to Connect

AI begins with choreographed, one-on-one conversations where parties are asked to share stories of best past experiences related to the topic of the AI. Only after sharing their stories are they invited to become more analytic in uncovering the underlying success factors in their stories. This narrative approach invites an analogic dialogue where parties are listening for, and building upon, connections between perspectives, thoughts and ideas.

Simultaneous Attention to Future Search and Continuity Search

The outcome of AI is new change initiatives to co-create a preferred future. At the same time, the beginning emphasis on surfacing the already existing positive core establishes continuity—that which we can rely upon not to change. AI is thus unique in that it attends to stability-in-change, which has been established in the change literature as a key success factor.

Self-Managed Change Initiatives

When the AI is experienced in full, there is no point where co-created recommendations are submitted to

that was more likely to create new ideas, images and theories that would lead to social innovations.

The Case Western Reserve University faculty and student group focused early on the philosophy behind AI. In acknowledging the limitations of their own research and practice in OD, they observed the inherent diagnostic, problem-focused language and tools being applied in OD work. This, combined with the emerging meta-analyses of the effectiveness of planned change methods estimated at only 25–30 per cent, shaped a call for rethinking how and why human systems change.

They viewed *inquiry* as the central driver of change. Following social constructionist thinking, organizing is the consequence of shared meaning about future possibilities in the minds of a critical mass of actors. This implies that the questions we ask are fateful, that social systems move in the direction of what they most talk and ask questions about. Since we discover about what we study, our questions need to be directed towards where we wish to be. For instance, if one chooses to ask about low morale, one will definitely learn more about how to prevent it. However, if one actually desired to have more high engagement, then the questions need to be about that, as opposed to assuming that by lessening low morale, the result will be high engagement. Management research and practice are heavily informed by this notion that if you study bad, you will get good. In fact, when we study bad, at best we get 'not bad'. This reasoning encompasses three of the key principles informing AI: (1) words create worlds—human systems move in the direction of what they most converse about, (2) questions are fateful—change begins with the first question we ask and (3) you can ask any question in any setting—no matter how troubled, challenged, or depressed an organization setting might appear, there is something giving life, keeping it going, and you can inquire into that if you wish.

Expanding on the Heideggarian notion of anticipatory reality, human systems are forever projecting ahead of themselves a horizon of expectation (in their everyday talk) that brings the future powerfully into the present as a mobilizing agent. To inquire in ways that serve to refashion anticipatory reality—especially the artful creation of positive imagery on a collective basis—may be the most prolific thing any inquiry can do. The idea of anticipatory reality as a change lever can be found in a variety of change processes that endorse a 'possibility-centric versus a problem-centric' approach to organizational change. It was further argued that elevation of positive emotions is a first and vital step in the change process. Studies increasingly show that positive feelings lead people to be more flexible, creative, integrative, open to information and efficient in their thinking. People experiencing positive affect are more resilient and able to cope with occasional adversity, have an increased preference for variety and accept a broader array of behavioural options. This reasoning led to two more foundational principles in AI: (4) fundamental change results from changing anticipatory images of the future and (5) positive images will compel or attract positive actions.

The AI Method

AI involves the co-operative search for the best in people, their organizations and the world around them. The key steps include the following: (1) *discovery* of the best of what is, (2) *dream* to imagine what could be, (3) *design* of what will be and (4) *destiny*—to enact change and improvisational learning to become what is most hoped for. This is most often depicted as the 'AI 4-D' cycle. These steps are all premised on the definition (sometimes referred to as the '5th D') of an affirmative topic, the strategically relevant issue or opportunity that will be the focus of the inquiry. This topic bounds the inquiry questions, determines who should be involved in the inquiry and signals the importance and aspirational intent behind the AI effort.

Discovery

The purpose of the *discovery* phase is to uncover, articulate and illuminate those factors that give life to when the human system is at its best in relation to the topic. Organization learning is fostered by sharing 'best past' stories related to the topic and initial dreams about how the topic could be better, enhanced or improved in the future. Stakeholders involved in the inquiry pair off for initial story and future image sharing and then typically combine into subgroups of three or four pairs to collectively make sense of the underlying success factors in the stories that were shared. This is the most fundamental departure from typical change methods and what most distinguished AI in practice. Participants are not asked what they think about the topic or what change ideas they have or what they would like to do next. The emphasis is on stories first—before any of the typical diagnostic or expertise-based questions that provoke a predetermined list of opinions or facts. The outcome of the discovery phase is an articulation of those strengths or success factors that connect across the most stakeholder stories. This is often referred to as the presentation of the positive core related to the specific topic under inquiry.

Dream

The *dream* phase is about generating new possibilities for the future that capture the heightened aspirations and positive affect generated during the discovery. Because these future images have been

- Am I willing to do research where the funding is routed through the community agency, not my university?
- Do I know the community in which I plan to work? Do I understand the politicized power and politicized identity of the individual and the community?
- In what ways may my research contribute to the oppression of the community?
- Are there resistance strategies that I can employ or committees that I can join to challenge policies, procedures and systems that seem oppressive?

In conclusion, anti-oppression researchers are reflective and reflexive and recognize and shed light on power and privilege. Their research ensures action, resistance and/or reciprocity. Anti-oppression researchers walk away from research that might contribute to the further oppression of a community. Anti-oppression researchers do not just focus on research; they focus on making systemic change within the institution so that research can be done in a truly anti-oppressive way.

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See also Community-Campus Partnerships for Health; critical race theory; critical reflection; feminism; indigenous research ethics and practice; indigenous research methods; LGBT

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Appreciative Inquiry

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is an organization development (OD) process and approach to change management that grows out of social constructionist thought. Through its deliberately positive assumptions about people, organizations and relationships, AI is distinctive in that it leaves behind more modernist, deficit-oriented approaches to management and vitally transforms ways to approach questions of organizational innovation, improvement or effectiveness.

Practically, AI is a form of organizational study that selectively seeks to locate, understand and illuminate what are referred to as the life-giving forces of any human system's existence, its positive core. This realization of shared strengths then becomes a new platform for imagining possibilities for the preferred future. The new possibilities with the most attraction to the stakeholders engaged in the AI process then become opportunities for co-constructing future scenarios and launching self-managed change initiatives.

AI turns the practice of change management inside out. It bluntly proposes that organizations are not problems to be solved. Rather, AI assumes that organizations are centres of vital connections and life-giving potentials: relationships, partnerships, alliances and ever-expanding webs of ideas, knowledge and action that are capable of harnessing the power of combinations of strengths. Founded upon this life-centric view of organizations, AI offers a positive, strengths-based approach to OD and change management.

Historical and Theoretical Roots of AI

Originating in the Department of Organizational Behavior at Case Western Reserve University in the early 1980s, AI was first conceived as a radical departure from mainstream OD theory and practice. At that time, OD thought and techniques were dominated by the Lewinian paradigm of unfreezing-change-refreezing and the action research process which focused on diagnosing the 'felt need' of the client or client system. In questioning if 'diagnosis' was a necessary or even useful step in organizational change and if unfreezing people through guilt induction, threat or disconfirmation was effective, Suresh Srivastva, David Cooperrider and their colleagues incorporated social constructionist perspectives in framing an alternative idea—AI. Srivastva and Cooperrider argued that organizations were best viewed as socially constructed realities and that forms of organization were constrained only by human imagination and the shared beliefs of organizational members. As socially constructed realities, forms of inquiry were potent in constructing the systems they inquired into, and thus, problem-solving approaches were just as likely to create more of the very problems they were intended to solve. Finally, they asserted that the most important drivers for change were new ideas. They decried the lack of new ideas generated by conventional action research and proposed AI as a method

Partnerships for Health (see http://depts.washington.edu/ccph/index.html). While this organization focuses on community-based research, many of the principles of anti-oppression research and the challenges for researchers committed to this approach overlap.

In order to be political within research, you need to understand intimately the community in which you intend to work. An example of this is a researcher who has approached an indigenous community without fully understanding the needs of the community or the community's identity. In Canada, the Indian Act (originally written in 1876) still defines legal indigenous identity. Only those who are recognized by the federal government are 'status' Indians. Métis, Inuit and non-status Indians are not acknowledged under this act; however, Inuit became a federal responsibility in the 1930s. Identity for indigenous peoples is complex, and in many countries, this identity is politically defined. Anti-oppression researchers need to understand this colonial identity to achieve any action associated with the research. Researchers wanting to do research within a specific indigenous group must understand both its political and its social identity and the many challenges facing that group to form meaningful relationships and make sense of complex research contexts.

What Anti-Oppression Research Is Not

Being anti-oppressive is not simply resisting process and authority, or what may be viewed as 'authority'. The process of research can be seen as quite linear; after all, by definition research is a systematic process. Sometimes, students new to research have a hard time operating in what may seem to be rigid structures. For instance, in most instances, students are asked to conduct a literature review (to familiarize themselves with what has been written on a given topic) and submit their research proposals to an ethics review committee prior to engaging in research with people. While some students may feel that these 'rules' are oppressive, they should be reminded that they have been put in place to ensure that research is conducted in a safe and respectful way (precisely, to minimize the likelihood of oppressive research taking place).

Research Ethics Boards (REBs), while holding power, first and foremost are concerned with the welfare of the research participant. In Canada, REBs are not able to have representatives of high-level university administration on their boards to ensure that the university is not in the 'business' of approving or disapproving research. The boards are composed of members of the university and the community. Anti-oppression researchers might consider sitting on their REBs as a way of effecting change if they feel that their REBs do not understand anti-oppression approaches to research.

Building Capacity Within Oppressed Communities

Borrowing from an indigenous or decolonizing approach to research, anti-oppression researchers are concerned with building capacity within the community they are researching. In Canada, the Tri-Council Policy Statement 2, Chapter 9—'Conducting Research With First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples'—provides an excellent principle related to building capacity within the community. Anti-oppression researchers can apply this principle to research with any oppressed community, ensuring that training opportunities are available for students, giving priority to those students who represent the specific community involved in the research. However, there may be a point of contention within this principle of building capacity. One could also argue that we need to build capacity in the dominant group about specific subordinate groups.

Disrespectful research has been conducted by dominant groups on oppressed groups for far too long. In order to change the paradigm, there are some steps that anti-oppressive researchers can take to reverse these trends. First, whenever possible, it is a good idea to include students and other researchers at the university who might represent a particular group in projects related to their communities. Second, it is important to take the time to build capacity within the community itself, employing community researchers and providing the tools for research. Successful anti-oppression research recognizes the community as the expert. Community is involved (and employed) at all levels—in the research design to ensure that we are asking the right questions in an appropriate way, in the recruitment to ensure that we are speaking to the right people and in the data collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination to ensure that we do not do research for the sake of just doing research but to have a real impact within a community. And we need to be prepared to walk away as an ally when the community has sufficiently developed its own skill set to conduct research.

Statements to Guide an Anti-Oppression Researcher

Finally, here are some questions that might guide an anti-oppression researcher:

- What systems and structures might compromise an anti-oppression approach to research?
- How are my good intentions perceived by the community?
- Am I willing to do research with the community (even though I may be unable to publish in high-ranking journals)?

been done to them in society. Emphasizing that privilege and oppression are not binary notions is critical. Oppression is interlocking; one oppression does not occur in isolation from another. Rather, oppressions (e.g. racism, colonization, imperialism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, sanism, classism) occur as a system(s) of oppression. The term *oppression Olympics* has emerged to describe the notion of people competing to prove who is more oppressed, but in fact, within the systems of oppression, there is no hierarchy or competition.

Privilege and oppression are experienced in ebbs and flows; they are dynamic and intersect within ourselves, with others and in society. As a researcher, one needs to be cognizant of the power one holds. If the researcher becomes myopic, focusing on his or her oppressions, the research then becomes more about the researcher and less about the participants. In this exercise of reflection, the reflexive positioning of the researcher must be supportive of the overall research focus, with the anti-oppression spirit working to mitigate the oppression experienced by the research participants.

An example of a reflective exercise is one that comes from someone who is an insider to a particular group. A researcher, whether a student, academic or even a community member helping out with research, comes with a certain amount of privilege. While researchers may be able to relate to a particular group because of their insider status, being reflexive about their power is critical. They may come to a project with a particular bias because it was their experience, and as an insider, it may be difficult to hear that their perspective is not how everyone else feels.

Being reflexive within research is not static. It is an exercise that continues throughout the research process. Building in this reflective exercise throughout the research process is critical to becoming a reflexive researcher.

Power, Privilege and Politics

Anti-oppression research recognizes and sheds light on power and privilege. The exercise of reflection and reflexivity assists in shedding this light, but it is not merely an exercise. In anti-oppression research, there must be action within the realm of power and privilege. Some authors refer to this as resistance in research, and within an indigenous or decolonizing approach, this might be seen as reciprocity. Anti-oppression research involves critical forms of inquiry, entering into research that may be controversial and political.

Action, resistance, reciprocity and critical inquiry set the stage for the work to be done by an anti-oppression researcher rather than catering the programme of research towards what is attractive in the eyes of funders or what will help researchers make name for themselves. Responding solely to the funding bodies' calls for specific research can reproduce neo-liberal ideologies. For instance, there is a growing focus on social entrepreneurship research and the partnership of social research with business. Partnership research is extremely challenging and more so when partners come with competing interests. It may be challenging for an anti-oppression researcher to shed light on power and privilege and ensure critical inquiry when partnered with business while working from a business model.

As noted by the social work scholar Carniol, anti-oppression practice is political. Anti-oppression research is also political. Stemming from feminist scholarship in the early 1970s, the phrase *the personal is political* referred to the politicization of power. Power is tied to politics, and if an anti-oppression researcher is shedding light on power and privilege, it stands to reason that anti-oppression research must also be political.

How does this notion of being political translate into the research process? This is the opportunity to resist at the micro- and macrolevels. Being political in research may be deciding not to do research. Rather, being an anti-oppression researcher might mean taking action against the systems of research. On a macrolevel, this might include becoming involved in the funding decision process—from attempting to contribute to how funders decide on topics of research in calls for proposals to being involved in the peer review process so that an anti-oppression perspective is included in research that is funded.

Being political in research might be ensuring that the dissemination of the research findings is far-reaching and the products have a real impact. For instance, publishing solely in academic journals, which only privilege academics and students, might have little political impact. If the findings of the research provide critical insight to certain oppressions, then translating this for public consumption is critical. Making the research attractive to the media can help achieve this goal. Developing a political plan is critical in anti-oppression research.

Another stance an anti-oppression researcher might take is to change the systems within the academy that are contentious with an anti-oppression approach to research. An example of this is the earlier mention of publications. 'Publish or perish' is an old but continuing adage in the academy. This translates into publication in high-ranking journals, which typically are only available for consumption by other academics and not the communities in which many of the social researchers work. Resisting publishing as an untenured academic can spell the end to a career. Anti-oppression researchers can attempt to make real change related to tenure and promotion policies so that alternative forms of dissemination are given the credit they deserve. Much work has been conducted in this area of tenure and promotion guidelines by organizations such as Community-Campus

all these paradigms warrant their own specific focus. Anti-oppression research could very well operate with and within other approaches (i.e. the anti-oppression feminist lens). For instance, a research project may be focused on recognizing and mitigating the oppressive structures for women in the academy. In this sense, the theoretical framework for this research would be both anti-oppressive and feminist.

Definitions

Oppression can be defined as dominance over a subordinate group. This dominance can be social, economic, political and/or cultural. When using the term *oppression*, there is an implication of negative consequences or impacts as a result of this dominance.

Anti-oppression is concerned with recognizing, acknowledging and taking action against oppression. The term *anti-oppression* originated in the 1970s and is rooted in the field of social work. Anti-oppression is a stance that guides practice, particularly when working with oppressed individuals and communities. Anti-oppression is concerned with all forms of oppression and recognizes the intersectionality and interlocking nature of multiple systems of oppression—such as gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, age, ability, madness and colonization. Intersectionality recognizes that one form of oppression does not exist in isolation. For instance, a Black female living in poverty experiences multiple kinds of oppression that cannot be examined in isolation. Interlocking oppression recognizes the *systems of oppression* and how various forms of oppressions are locked together, unable to be viewed in isolation.

Social work as a profession is concerned with promoting positive change and social justice—as such anti-oppression social work practice is concerned with social justice. Anti-oppression social work recognizes and sheds light on power and privilege, is social and political, ensures reflection and reflexivity and is resistive at the micro- and macrolevels. From a social work perspective, microlevel resistance would occur at the individual level with participants of research. This might mean trying to effect change within the individual, such as empowering participants through a participatory action method. For instance, an indigenous participatory method, Anishnaabe Symbol-Based Reflection, allows research participants to create symbols. The process of creating a symbol is a spiritual experience that opens the door to expression and healing (see www.ryerson.ca/asbr/index.html). Macrolevel resistance occurs at a broader societal level. Through research, this might mean trying to affect change within policy and programmes or contributing towards societal education and community development. Anti-oppression social workers bring in a critical discourse on neo-liberalism because of the detrimental impact of this ideology on the ability to resist or mitigate oppression and promote social justice. Neo-liberalism is a political and economic approach that privileges competitive markets and creates insecurity for working and poor people. Authors such as Lena Dominelli, Ben Carniol, Donna Baines, Bob Mullaly, Jan Fook and Peter Leonard have written about anti-oppression practice in social work, albeit from various perspectives (e.g. new structural, critical, systems).

Anti-oppression research incorporates the principles noted within anti-oppression social work practice—being reflective and reflexive; recognizing power, privilege and the neo-liberal state and being political, resistive and effecting change at the micro- and macrolevels. These concepts will be discussed within a research framework.

Reflective and Reflexive Research

Reflectivity and reflexivity are two notions discussed within anti-oppression practice that are important constructs to carry over into anti-oppression research. Fook frames reflectivity as a process and reflexivity as a position. Reflectivity is the process of recognizing how your own assumptions and actions contribute to a situation. Within social work, this is something to be considered for both the practitioner and the client; however, for the purpose of discussing anti-oppression research, this entry will focus on the reflectivity of the researcher. Reflexivity is described as one's positioning complemented by the act of being reflective. This positioning and process of critical self-gazing are critical for the anti-oppressive researcher to undertake.

Being reflective and reflexive is much more than simply locating oneself. In this critical reflection, researchers must be honest about their own assumptions about the research they are undertaking. Some questions to aid in being reflective are as follows:

- What brought me to be interested in this research topic?
- What assumptions do I have about the topic and/or the people involved (participants) in this research?
- How can I challenge my assumptions? Will I allow my assumptions to be challenged?
- What privileges do I hold as a researcher? What oppressions do I carry? How do these privileges and oppressions intersect and affect the research and participants?

Often when people attempt to answer the last question, they tend to focus on how they are oppressed and sometimes become subsumed with the wrongs that have

this too would happen with library service. She shared Coady's belief that community ownership was key. People had to come together, decide what was best for their community and work to achieve their goals.

Democracy and Group Action

Throughout the work of the movement, great emphasis was placed on democratic principles that valued grass-roots participation and leadership in all spheres. Co-operative organizing principles were seen to work hand in hand with the overall goals of a democratic society. As Coady challenged, economic control leads to political control; as the economy is controlled by the privileged few, so too will they control government. The conditions facing the masses could only be overcome when power shifted from those privileged few to all citizens, and people themselves would have to lead that shift. The alternative co-operative model that places control in the hands of many people, whose participation is defined by membership not by numbers of shares, provides people with not only improved economic status but also a model for more democratic political engagement. The community mobilization and leadership skills nurtured in the study clubs provided the necessary grounding for such broader engagement. A continued process of adult education would be essential for sustaining such a movement.

Envisioning a People's Research Institute

Lewin observed that democracy must be 'learned anew' in each generation. Coady, in outlining his goals for economic democracy, turned his attention to more formalized processes of research and democratic knowledge creation for long-term growth. By 1939, Coady was advocating for a people's research institute that would provide a centre for research and knowledge created by and for the people themselves. Such an institute would provide an ongoing forum for the study of economic and social issues that would be necessary for ensuring future peace and prosperity.

Coady's vision was ultimately realized in 1959 with the creation of the Coady International Institute in response to international demand for the Antigonish programme to be adapted to the countries of what was then called the Third World. From the outset, the programmes of the Coady Institute have been informed through collaborative training and research with organizations and communities throughout South Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Much like the rural and industrial conferences decades before, regional consultations and workshops have brought practitioners together to share experiences and innovations to address issues and challenges of mutual concern. Recent multi-year projects with community partners have utilized action research methods in development initiatives. While the methods and forms of community engagement have evolved over the decades, the core philosophy of the centrality of people's own experiences and knowledge in social development remains through the work of the StFX Extension Department and the Coady International Institute today.

Catherine Irving

See also adult education; Highlander Research and Education Center

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Anti-Oppression Research

The foundation of anti-oppression research is the concern with and focus on recognizing and mitigating oppression in society. Rather than being prescriptive, as a theoretical construct anti-oppression research is a perspective that guides research from the formation of the research idea to the design and execution of the project, to the dissemination activities.

While the definition of anti-oppression is relatively simple—recognizing and mitigating oppression—the operation of anti-oppression research can be much more challenging. It is important to note that anti-oppression research is often discussed within and/or alongside other approaches to research such as critical, critical race, feminist, decolonizing, indigenous, participatory action and community-based research. Many of the principles of anti-oppression research overlap and intersect with these other approaches; however,

the small-group study club model declined in use and was largely replaced by more formalized training—a process that led to some criticism that this weakened ties to the grass roots.

The Antigonish Way

Extension fieldworkers fanned out across the region to help communities initiate a process that began with awareness raising of the conditions and causes of regional disparity. This was followed by a programme enabling participants to determine the causes and alternatives, try out new models and reflect on and share the results. In the fields of both adult education and action research, this praxis cycle of learning, action and reflection is now well recognized. In 1944, Harry Johnson articulated the philosophy and practice of the Antigonish Movement in the following six principles that guided this adult education programme:

1. The primacy of the individual should be emphasized.
2. Social reform must come through education.
3. Education must begin with the economic.
4. Education must be through group action.
5. Effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic institutions.
6. The ultimate goal is a full and abundant life for everyone.

Two key principles here are described in more detail: (1) education through group action and (2) the achievement of social reform through democracy and group action.

Education Through Group Action

The heart of the Antigonish Movement was the study club, a gathering of six to eight people working to understand a shared issue and implement a plan for mobilization. Coady would initiate mass meetings to bring to light the situations faced by each community as topics for the study clubs. Coady was well known for his straightforward way of shaking people from the perceived malaise gripping the downtrodden. Lewin would later describe the psychological underpinnings of how people were habituated in ways of thinking that had to be broken to engage in democratic renewal—conditioning that was most effectively overcome through group processes. Extension Department fieldworkers Srs MacKinnon and Doyle later reflected that it is hard to overestimate the importance of small-group study, as any manner of unresolved issues or disputes could be hashed out in those clubs.

A key strength of the movement lay in the organizing and leadership nurtured at the study club level, which would then expand through the networking of communities at regional group meetings, provincial conferences and beyond. The Extension Department would act as facilitator to support local research, knowledge development and group action.

Information: Access, Adaptation and New Knowledge Creation

The study clubs would identify what they needed to learn about to develop new initiatives and seek the information they needed to support their learning. Providing information to these energetic groups was a daunting task. Extension Department staff scoured the continent for free materials produced by agricultural extension offices and other agencies, readily adapting material for local purposes. Srs MacKinnon and Doyle later noted that if they didn't have it, they wrote it, referring to the countless booklets produced by the Extension Department, as well as the periodical *The Extension Bulletin*, later called *The Maritime Co-operator.* This newsletter highlighted the strategies and lessons of group activities throughout the Maritimes. Hundreds of books circulated among the study clubs—this was a library system in microcosm supporting a research institute in every kitchen.

Coady asserted that groups needed to fail twice before he was confident of their long-term sustainability—reflecting the action research process of developing and testing ideas, learning from the results and redesigning. The knowledge generated at the study club level was then brought to the regional monthly meetings and annually to the Rural and Industrial Conferences. These conferences had evolved from the earlier Antigonish diocesan conferences begun in 1918 to address the conditions of poverty and rural decline that had gripped the region. These conferences dovetailed with the education and research activities of the Antigonish Movement, providing an annual gathering space to explore emerging issues and ideas from far and wide. Notable leaders from other social and economic movements of the day were invited to these conferences, including Dorothy Day, a founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, the adult educator Ned Corbett and the leader of the credit union movement Roy Bergengren.

At that time, Fr Tompkins promoted libraries in the region as the people's universities. Sr MacKinnon believed that exposure to library services through her programme would whet the appetite for public libraries. Many programmes initiated by the Extension Department were intended to be taken over by the organizations created by the people themselves. She hoped that

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Antigonish Movement

The Antigonish Movement began in the early decades of the twentieth century to respond to the widespread poverty and oppressive working conditions faced by people in northeastern Nova Scotia, Canada. St Francis Xavier University's (StFX) Extension Department supported a community development process mobilized through hundreds of study clubs formed around concerns relevant to their lives. The legacy of the movement's philosophy and methods continues today through the work of the university's Extension Department and Adult Education Department and the Coady International Institute. This social movement has been widely studied for its lessons in adult education methods and community-controlled economic development practices. The movement also embodies the philosophy and methods we now recognize as action research. Nearly two decades before the social psychologist Kurt Lewin articulated his action research paradigm in 1946, the Antigonish Movement experimented with and refined methods of group learning and community action that enabled people to examine their conditions and develop locally appropriate strategies to improve them. Two key elements that would also later be promoted by Lewin stand out: (1) group process and (2) democracy.

Historical Context

StFX originated as a small rural college in 1853 and was largely staffed by Roman Catholic clergy in its early years. Parish priests regularly witnessed and documented the effects of poverty, unfair labour practices and rural out-migration that were widespread in Nova Scotia's farming and fishing communities at the time. A number of leaders at the college and in the parishes emerged to advocate for greater efforts to address the desperate conditions faced by the communities. These conditions, often described as feudal, led to calls for improved education and opportunities for people to control their own lives. Fr Michael Gillis, a parish priest in Cape Breton, actively promoted education in rural areas and agricultural modernization to improve farm sustainability. He championed the idea of creating a university Extension Department to support rural development. He was also a strong advocate of the Church's role in active participation for social justice, a belief promoted elsewhere at the time through the social gospel influence of adult education programmes such as Chautauqua in New York and Grundtvig's folk school model, which also inspired the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

Dr James T. 'Father Jimmy' Tompkins, a professor at StFX, believed that democratic renewal through education was paramount as societies emerged from the carnage of the First World War and as women were gaining the right to direct democratic participation. He was greatly inspired by the methods of people's education by the Workers Education Associations in England and the Danish folk schools and by the success of the University of Wisconsin's Extension programme. Tompkins' treatise, *Knowledge for the People* (1921), highlighted these models and called upon StFX to promote the university as an institution for all people, not just the privileged classes. The ideas of co-operative economic development from Rochdale, England, and the *caisse populaires* ('credit unions') led by Alphonse Desjardins in Quebec were also gaining attention, particularly the central role education played in these movements for economic democracy. In 1928, StFX responded by creating the Extension Department and naming Rev. Dr Moses Coady as its first director. Coady put these ideas of adult education and economic co-operation into action.

The work was enacted by a core staff of Extension Department workers and countless community organizers and activists. In response to a call to increase women's roles in community revitalization, Sr Marie Michael MacKinnon joined the staff, creating over 300 women's study clubs in her first year as well as co-ordinating library services. While the women's study clubs were initially formed to address aspects of domestic life including nutrition and handicrafts, the goal was broader roles of leadership in the community. Sr Irene Doyle was soon recruited to develop more women's programmes. While much of the initial work of the department was taken on by religious leaders, many lay people played key roles, including A. B. MacDonald, Kay Desjardins, Zita O'Hearn Cameron and Mary Arnold, to name a few. Dr Coady emphasized that the work was not to be seen as denominational, famously noting that there is no Catholic or Protestant way to catch fish. By the 1940s, with the social changes resulting from the Second World War,

1972, Ed Chambers took over the IAF and wrote a now famous paper called 'Organizing for Family and Congregation', which put Chambers' stamp on the IAF and shifted it from a model that used congregations to organize neighbourhoods to a model that organized congregations. And that model has now expanded throughout four of the major community-organizing networks in the USA today: IAF, the Gamaliel Foundation, DART and the PICO National Network. The other model is that of National People's Action, which remains more focused on neighbourhoods or other kinds of networked communities existing outside the faith networks.

The final model arising from Alinsky's broad influence is the unaffiliated group. Thousands of small community-organizing groups across the country owe their existence, in an extended-family way, to Alinsky's work. The organizers behind these groups are often two or even three generations removed from Alinsky, yet they illustrate adaptations of his model from the time the organizers step foot in the community to the time the group they organize finally wins on an issue. Some of these groups are connected through the National Organizers Alliance, but many of them simply exist as small neighbourhood or rural community-organizing efforts across the country.

The Alinsky Model and Action Research

One of the misplaced characterizations of the Alinsky model is how much it relied on confrontational action to win victories for its members. Myles Horton helped found the Highlander Folk School (now called the Highlander Research and Education Center) and its method of popular education in the USA at roughly the same time when Alinsky was coining the term *community organizing*. Horton used to compare his method with Alinsky's by saying that popular education helped people educate themselves about issues so that they could then go on to organize around them. The implication was that Alinsky did not engage his people in such participatory education strategies. Whether the charge can be levelled against Alinsky himself is uncertain. But certainly since Alinsky's time, the role of popular education and its associated action research strategies in Alinsky-influenced organizing has continued to grow. Action research makes its mark in Alinsky organizing from the beginning to the end of the process now.

At the very beginning of the process, the organizer tries to understand the community. Whether it is hanging out at the bar or the beauty salon, the organizer's first days in a community are spent trying to understand that community—who wields power and influence, who is angry with whom, who is in which community faction, what skeletons lurk in what closets and who knows everybody's business. This is basic action ethnography, and every organizer would do well to know something about ethnographic methods.

Once the organizer has the lay of the land, she or he then does a bit more sophisticated issue analysis. Often that involves door knocking, and a good door-knocking strategy is also a good survey of what people like, dislike, fear and hope about their neighbourhood. That data becomes the basis for organizing block meetings and, then, the larger community meetings that follow. Another method that is particularly popular among the Alinsky-influenced faith-based community-organizing networks is the 'one-to-one'. In a one-to-one (sometimes also called a 'one-on-one'), the organizer meets with a prospective community organization member and interviews him or her to better understand the person's motivations as a community member, and the things that may motivate that person to become involved in the organizing effort. As an organization evolves, the organizer may train the organization leadership to do one-to-ones themselves as a way of building the organization. This method is not simply a way to get information about people, but in the best circumstances, it also builds relationships, which is why it is called relational organizing.

Once organizers have a group working on issues, they have to do a lot of research on the issue itself. If they want to get rid of a problem bar in the neighbourhood, they need to do research on liquor licenses, crime reports, zoning and perhaps even parking regulations. They also have to do research on who makes decisions about these things and find out how those decision-makers make such decisions. Some of the post-Alinsky groups, such as those affiliated with the PICO Network, have evolved a method called a research action. In a research action, a group requests a meeting with a decision-maker and then interviews that person to find out more about what he or she thinks about the issue. They then take that information back with them to develop a more sophisticated strategy to try and get that decision-maker on their side. Many Alinsky-influenced community-organizing groups also engage in power structure research. They study who the main target is for their issue and then look at who is allied either with or against that target to understand how to build coalitions or perhaps break down a coalition supporting the target.

Ultimately, then, good community organizing is not just about organizing individuals but also about mobilizing knowledge.

Randy Stoecker

See also Asset-Based Community Development; capacity building; community development; ethnography; Highlander Research and Education Center; Horton, Myles

Yards neighbourhood of Chicago, so named because it was located next to the infamous Chicago Stockyards. He had gotten connected with union organizers, who were organizing the stockyard workers living in the neighbourhood, and became enthused about the possibilities of adapting union organizing to a neighbourhood setting. The combination of union organizing and community organizing proved powerful, winning a union for the stockyard workers and significant influence in city politics for the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council.

That started Alinsky off on a long history of community organizing from coast to coast. From the famous organizing campaign against Kodak Company in Rochester, New York, to the creation of multiple neighbourhood organizations in Chicago, to many lesser known efforts across the county, Alinsky became larger than life. He built community organizing into an institution, founding the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) to train and support a nationwide network of community organizers. His organizing strategy was equally effective in extreme and varied times, such as the Great Depression or the 1960s.

Organizers whom Alinsky trained or otherwise influenced went on to found other community-organizing networks and training centres, such as the Pacific Institute for Community Organization (PICO, now People Improving Communities Through Organizing), the Direct Action Research and Training (DART) Center, the Gamaliel Foundation, National People's Action, the Midwest Academy and even the United Farm Workers.

The Alinsky Model of Community Organizing

Even though Alinsky's most famous book implied that there were 'rules' for community organizing, most of those rules actually reinforced his adamant philosophical pragmatism. In the Alinsky model, the community organizer's job was to organize the 'have-nots'—people who were not getting their fair share of the fruits of American society—to refine their resentment at their plight into organized action. The organizer then built a community organization around those resentments, using whatever existing organizational networks were available—churches, civic clubs, unions and so on. The goal was to build an enduring organization that would not just win on a few issues but could wield power and influence just like the 'haves' were already able to.

For Alinsky, the community-organizing process started with an organizer entering a community to find out what people were angry about. As Alinsky refined the model, he required some network of local resource providers to invite the organizer in and provide financial support. These networks were often composed of clergy and other community leaders and came to be called sponsoring committees. Their job was to raise the money to support the organizer, legitimize the organizer in the community and connect the organizer to grass-roots people. The sponsoring committee, then, was to sponsor the effort, not lead it. The organizer's job was to build a people's organization using the sponsoring committee's resources.

Once invited, the community organizer then began talking to people in the neighbourhood, finding out what issues they could be motivated to act on and helping build their motivation. Sometimes this involved the practice of door knocking, whereby the organizer would literally go door to door and strike up conversations with whoever answered and then attempt to get them to meetings to talk about issues with their neighbours. In other cases, the organizer would get a resident to recruit his or her neighbours for a house meeting to discuss issues. It was at one of these house meetings that Cesar Chavez—who would go on to help found the United Farm Workers—got turned on to community organizing.

From these smaller meetings, the organizer would build larger networks, culminating in a community congress bringing hundreds or even thousands of people across the entire neighbourhood together. The organization built from this process would then choose what issues it wanted to work on over the coming year.

Important to the Alinsky model, if not necessarily its actual practice, was a culture of confrontation. Alinsky's rhetoric of 'haves and have-nots' and his strategy of picking 'targets' to organize against provided an aura of conflict and confrontation around his method. But it is not clear that the Alinsky-style community organizing groups were all that confrontational. Such groups were composed not of the dispossessed but of the aggrieved. In fact, many Alinsky groups were probably composed more of the 'have a little want mores' (to use Alinsky's phrase) than the 'have-nots'. That means they had something to lose, and unconstructive confrontation often felt too risky to such groups. So behind the rhetoric of confrontation and conflict was a much milder, and smarter, set of strategies to win victories through the threat of confrontation.

Adaptations of the Model

The Alinsky model has influenced three main branches of community organizing. The most prominent version of the model is called faith-based or congregation-based organizing. In fact, perhaps Alinsky's most profound legacy has been the number of community-organizing groups built on Christian faiths. This is striking given Alinsky's Jewish background and agnostic approach to community organizing. After Alinsky's death in

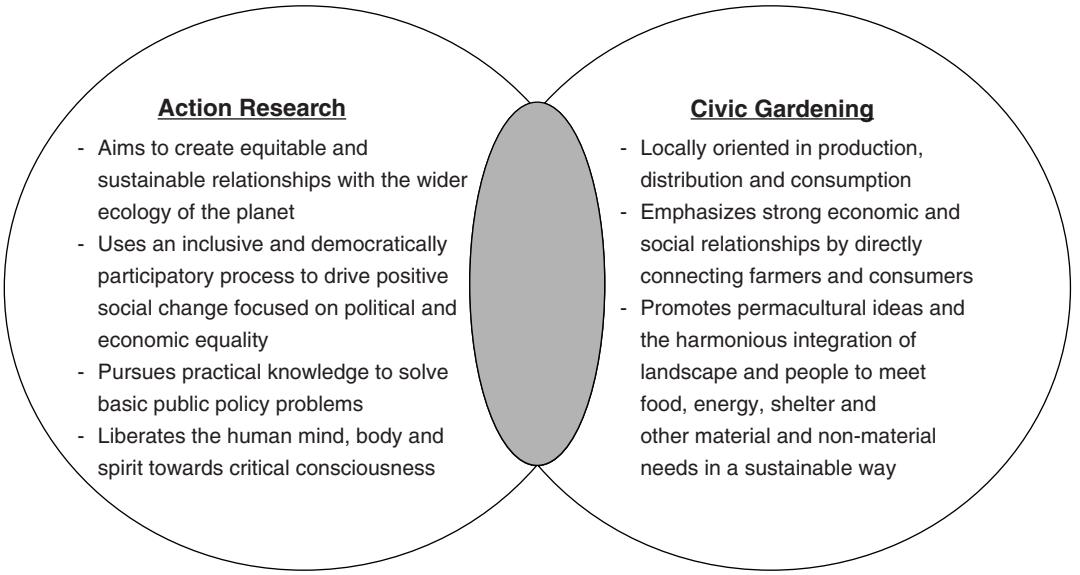

Figure 3 *Social and Ecological Justice Goals*

a more equitable and sustainable relationship with the wider ecology of the planet. Action research strives to achieve this by remedying power imbalances, not just between human actors but also between our species and the rest of the biosphere. As a paradigm, action research is clear about its political message of positive social change and practical knowledge creation. This focus on equality and democracy requires inclusion, and collaboration and participative decision-making amongst actors. Also, action research strives to liberate the human mind, body and spirit towards a critical consciousness (see Figure 3).

The social and ecologically just goals of both civic agriculture and action research are interwoven with their cyclical methods and relational foundations. These characteristics and processes are inseparable from their desired products. Although distinct in many ways, with civic agriculture focused on food production and action research on generating functional knowledge, these two approaches to the world inform one another and can be used together to create a healthier human-earth relationship.

R. Alan Wight

See also environmental justice; social justice; sustainability

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Alinsky, Saul

The name Saul Alinsky (1909–72) is synonymous with the craft of community organizing. Alinsky certainly wasn't the only practitioner of methods that brought together local people to build power and take back control over their own lives. Important players in the Civil Rights Movement, especially Ella Baker, were every bit as good as Alinsky at the craft of organizing local people to reclaim power. But Alinsky was the person who built community organizing into a conscious form that was easily named and methodized. He wrote *Reveille for Radicals* (1969) and *Rules for Radicals* (1971) on community organizing.

Alinsky's Biography and Legacy

Alinsky grew up in Chicago's rough-and-tumble neighbourhoods of the early 1900s, earning a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago. He started graduate school as the Great Depression took hold across the country, but then decided to take a paying job. He eventually ended up working in the Back of the

agriculture is interested in providing food for humans, while enhancing the integrity of local ecosystems. This model is about creating healthy relationships between humans and the rest of the (non-human) natural world. Clean water, clean air, clean soil and clean food are at the heart of this relationship.

For action researchers, relationships are also a fundamental piece of our philosophy. Action researchers are committed to building trusting, dialogical connections between participants, with an emphasis on equal-power dynamics throughout the process. When working with others, we recognize that we must meet them where they are. Action researchers understand that relationships take time, energy, patience and love. They are dedicated to working with people and building communities by focusing on the one-on-one relationships that compose the greater whole. Creating successful relational foundations for projects can take multiple cycles of praxis. These kinds of relationship are evident in civic agriculture and action research, especially when considering the dimension of time. For example, an ecologically sustainable food production system which can support a diverse population of species takes years to create. Unlike monocultures, perennial polycultures do not grow in a single season. Similarly, fruitful action research projects do not occur overnight but require many conversations, meetings and co-operation with project partners to achieve mutual goals. In both civic agriculture and action research, there can be setbacks, disappointments and obstacles to overcome. Plants die, erosion takes place and unpredictable and extreme weather can prevent bountiful harvests. Likewise, project partners can change their minds, co-ordinators must balance conflicting demands and institutional policies take time to change. Establishing quality relationships with all parts of the larger system serves to help ensure success in the face of adversity (see Figure 2).

The last connection to be considered here between civic agriculture and action research are their social justice goals. As stated, both paradigms seek to better our quality of life by providing healthy, nutritious food and creating applicable, everyday knowledge, respectively. Digging deeper into the goals of civic agriculture, we find an emphasis on equitable and sustainable relationships with the wider ecology of the planet. This form of agronomics begins with ecology but extends to include economics and communal and personal well-being. In connecting people with farmers and their food, local economies are strengthened by keeping money within the community. Healthy local economics also go hand in hand with strong participatory democracies by strengthening individual, organizational and municipal capacities. Furthermore, eating quality nutritious food affects our personal health. Thus, positive social change and equal relationships stem from a diverse local ecology, strong communal economics, vibrant democracies and healthy individuals and families. These goals are the 'civic' aspect of this agricultural system.

As a philosophy and approach to the world, action research strives to achieve very similar goals. Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury outlined several environmental aims of action research, including creating

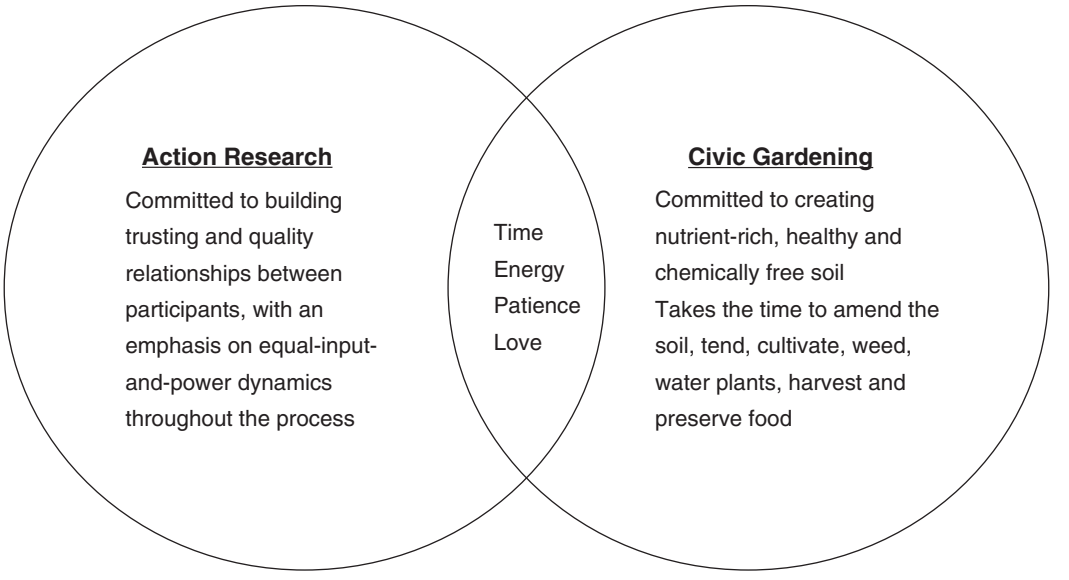

Figure 2 *Relational Foundations*

the ecological implications of our food production systems. Civic agriculture and action research can be seen as two sides of the same coin, informing one another in their cyclical methods, relational foundations and social justice goals. This entry explains these similarities, explores these connections and offers examples.

First, it is necessary to bear in mind that agriculture is one of humanity's earliest sciences and has permitted our species to diversify our division of labour and build complex civilizations. While action research as a philosophy is a more recent development, it draws on the very same processes and methods that humans used to invent soil cultivation: trial and error with repeated iterations.

Agriculture requires intimate knowledge of local climates and seasons, along with an encyclopedic understanding of numerous plants and animals, and important details of their uses for humans. Also, information about seeds, germination, planting depth, planting time, water, sunlight, soil requirements, harvest and storage is crucial to ensure successful successions of crops. This knowledge about how the natural world works and how it can be used for human purposes took hundreds of thousands of years to acquire and be passed down between generations before our ancestors began applying it in new ways. These methods of cultivation demanded cyclical processes that were informed by their pervious iterations.

Two examples of these cyclical applications include seed selection and the use of organic material as fertilizer. In selecting the next set of seeds to be planted, humans typically choose those that are the most hardy (that have lasted the longest), biggest and tastiest. Also, the organic 'waste' from plants and animals is used to create nutrient-rich soil for the next generation of crops. There is a symbiotic relationship between the livestock eating the stubble from our harvest and their waste fertilizing the soil.

In considering action research, these cyclic methods are at the heart of a praxis approach to projects and working with others. It is through repeated iterations that action researchers strive for continuous improvement in their methods and products. The outputs from previous rounds are evaluated and used to inform our next action steps. Similar to the process of civic agriculture, action research tends to be locally oriented in its endeavours. Action research is also flexible and responsive to the idiosyncrasies of communities and specific projects. Furthermore, action research is open to diverse epistemologies and ways of knowing. This adaptability and openness are mirrored in civic agriculture's emphasis on best bioregional practices. The cyclical methods of civic agriculture and action research can be understood as one and the same (see Figure 1).

The second aspect of agriculture's connection to action research and ecological sustainability is centred on its relational foundations. Civic agriculture is committed to creating fertile, healthy and chemically free soil to grow crops. Importantly, civic agriculture also focuses on biological diversity and is similar to Bill Mollison and David Holmgren's concept of permaculture, or permanent agriculture, a term they coined in the mid-1970s. Relationally speaking, civic

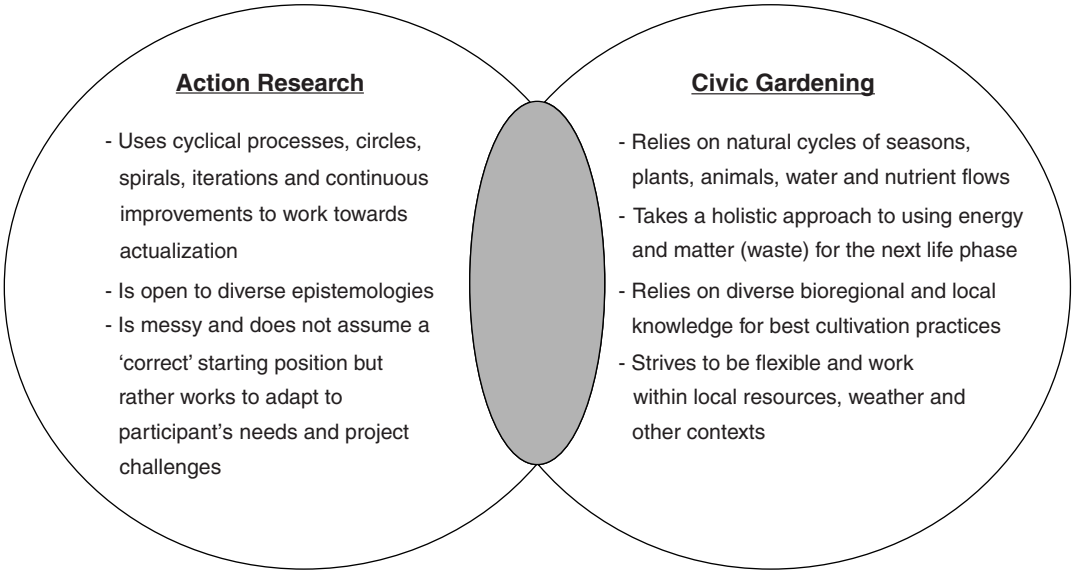

Figure 1 *Cyclical Processes and Methods*

to take stock of the conditions one encounters, and then to think imaginatively about possibilities in order to plan going forward.

Psychologists have looked at agency in terms of people's self-perceptions and self-understandings of their own self-efficacy, feeling themselves as able to make choices rather than being carried along by circumstances. In this regard, psychological agency is needed when habitual or automatic behaviour is disrupted or no longer suffices. Albert Bandura specifies four components of agency: (1) intentionality, (2) exercise of forethought, (3) self-reactiveness (as in self-regulation) and (4) self-reflectiveness (about one's sense of efficacy).

Some scholars treat agency as a characteristic of the individual. An alternative is to consider agency as emerging or achieved under particular circumstances. In this regard, the qualities of the context or the social ecology that enables agency take on central importance.

Some unresolved questions surrounding agency: Does agency exist even if the act results in no changes in the world? Does agency exist if there are discrepancies between the intended and actual results?

All in all, discerning agency is analogous to looking at sailors in boats on the water. To understand where people end up, we want to know the sailor's hoped for destination. But to make sense of the sailor's moves, we also need to know something about the water's currents and flows, the way the wind blows, the boat's features and the sailor's prior experience and ability to act in changing and unforeseen circumstances. This may eventually give us insight if the sailor ends up changing tack or shifting destinations altogether. Here, agency is seen in the actor's deliberate action—her motive and intention as well as her ability to handle the boat effectively. Her actions are intelligible within the context that can both enable and constrain her efforts. Agency then is the ability to function effectively in the environment at hand, to exercise judgement and to make choices in the face of alternatives.

Empirical Investigations of Agency

Agency is a central concept in life course studies where people face alternatives and make choices in planning and navigating their lives over time. Similarly, agency figures in studies of youth in transition, insofar as the lock-step of schooling (here a form of structure) comes to an end and individuals find themselves facing subsequent opportunities that aren't mandated or scripted to the same degree, and often with much less social support.

Likewise, agency has figured centrally in studies that attend to the narratives that people construct about their lives, as in the work of Elliot Mishler, Carol Gilligan and others, sometimes framed as 'voice' or empowerment, sometimes as navigation. One example of a life history study where exploring agency is a central concern is Ronald Berger's study of a person who becomes disabled, and how he subsequently adapts.

Given that action research generally involves research on practice in various kinds of settings (e.g. education, organizations, community or more broadly in society) undertaken by people in the midst of practice, the issue of agency is central. It is an important topic for investigation, and the process of engaging in the research can itself promote a sense of agency amongst the researchers and their partners in the field.

Bethamie Horowitz

See also adult education; cycles of action and reflection; identity; practitioner inquiry; voice

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Agriculture and Ecological Integrity

Agriculture and action research are closely related. There are many different styles of agriculture; however, in this context, civic agriculture will be discussed. A civic agricultural system, as defined by Thomas Lyson and Amy Guptill in 2004, is locally oriented in production, distribution and consumption; it does not use pesticides or synthetic fertilizers and aims to work with nature in producing food. This agricultural paradigm speaks directly to action research's tenet of pursuing practical knowledge to solve everyday problems. Access to nutritious and healthy food is a major issue for a billion people around the globe. Also, given the environmental impacts that humans are having on the earth, it important for action researchers to understand

range from making individual sketches and models to group-generated conceptual art, collages or murals. Writing activities may include journaling, poetry and life writing, as well as reading excerpts from novels, scripts and anthologies of poetry. Music making may range from improvization to engagement with professional musicians as they rehearse and perform. In fact, most genres and variants of art form can now find a place within the practice of groups. It is vital that their relevance to action inquiry is appreciated by participants.

Groups may be energized or moved by this different way of working. However, the intrinsic aesthetic of action research is always the framework within which arts-based approaches operate. Not all participants may be persuaded of their relevance. Bouncing people into something that leaves them self-conscious and exposed does not constitute good group practice. Also too much interpretative comment from a facilitator can trivialize the aesthetic knowing generated in the process of making and responding directly to the artwork. Time needs to be allowed for the 'thing itself' to speak; its worst fate could be that it becomes the subject of quasi-psychological decoding. The 'maker' should be allowed to choose how to share reflections on her or his own creative experience. He or she may then invite feedback from others on how the artwork affects them. If handled sensitively, arts-based activities may deepen the group's intrinsic aesthetic and further the beneficial purposes of the action research. Sometimes an image may speak a thousand words, but it is mainly in the image's making and in subsequent reflective dialogue that the value of arts-based activities lies.

Alan George

See also arts-based action research; first person action research; reflective practice

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Agency

Agency is a term with multiple and contested meanings and colorations that has been used to mean choice, action, autonomy, freedom and empowerment, among other things. For all of the themes and variations, it is fair to say that across a number of different fields—including sociology, psychology, anthropology, economic development and philosophy—scholars have used the term *agency* to account for what leads people to act in the face of larger shaping forces such as nature (neurobiology and DNA), nurture (socialization and upbringing), one's social location and the constraints of social structure, whether proximal or distal. This entry will sketch out how agency has been viewed in sociology and psychology.

Generally, sociologists consider individual 'agency' in relation to social 'structure' insofar as a person's ability to act is affected by his or her location in the social context, with its attendant rules, norms, expectations, roles or framing. Theorists have taken different stances on how they see the interplay of agency and structure. Apart from the extremes of complete determinism, on the one hand, and overstated free will (as in rational actor approaches where individual action is unencumbered by any positioning or social relationships), on the other, there are two more possibilities. First is a more macro-sociological tradition of viewing structure as predominant, constraining behaviour and then defining agency as people acting despite or independently of these constraints. A second perspective views agency and structure as highly intertwined, so that agency is the ability of the individual to act and even to transform the context rather than only reacting to it.

In a seminal article, the sociologists Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische have described individual agency as a dynamic, unfolding, socially situated process informed by three elements: (1) past-oriented habit or routine, (2) present-oriented reflection and judgement and (3) future-oriented purpose or imagination. To exercise agency, one needs to be sufficiently immersed in the context to become habituated to or operate fluently in it. In addition, one needs to be able