

Executive Summary

The following review provides an overview and synthesis of much of the literature on participatory methods in the three domains of International Development, Community Development, and Community Health, as well as the World Bank’s Free, Prior, and Informed Consent process. Key points of these approaches are summarized, and comparisons are drawn among them to highlight both the strengths and weaknesses of each on various dimensions.

Finally, the Radical Listening approach, as developed by Health in Harmony is described in detail and compared / contrasted with the aforementioned literatures on participatory methods. These reveal that the Radical Listening approach compares favorably with the prevailing best practices in participatory methods on many dimensions. In general, best practices place an emphasis on Attitudes/Beliefs/Mindsets of practitioners, on Reflexivity (personal, group, and epistemological; applicable to every participant), Inclusivity (age, gender, marginalized social groups, etc.), Consensus Building, and a clear and deliberate focus on the Process of creating and defining action plans.

Favorable comparisons with HIH practices:

1. Attitudes and Beliefs: This continues to be a central challenge and one of the most frequent stumbling blocks to effective implementation of participatory methods. These ‘attitudes and beliefs’ refer to the mindset of practitioners in the process of a research project or aid project, and signal the key shift to ‘working with’ rather than ‘working on’ or ‘researching on’.
2. Extended engagement / timeline – the process of problem delineation should not be rushed, and practitioners should focus on defining the problem fully before jumping to solutions. This is seen as key to successful projects.
3. To fully switch from ‘experts’ with expert knowledge to impart, to ‘facilitators’ of local knowledge.
4. Related to point #3 – It is important to avoid a ‘technical method of project work’ and use instead a ‘political methodology of empowerment’.
5. There is a ‘democracy of the ground’ in terms of conducting meetings while seated on the ground, and which is recognized in the literature.
6. Importance of gender balance in the facilitation process is widely recognized, with additional recognition that single gender meetings are often necessary to enable open discussion.
7. The importance of ‘safe space’ is also recognized, because participatory research requires a great willingness on the part of participants to disclose their personal views of the situation.
8. Flexibility in the approach – and willingness to adapt and change – rather than following a rote script in these processes is the general advice offered.
9. Local context will shape a society’s understanding of democracy, and will influence how the research is carried out (consensus vs majority, etc.).
10. Additional comparisons are given in the concluding table of Section 4, on page xx.

Possible Divergences with HIH practices:

1. Public fora: Researchers have raised concerns about the ability of marginalized groups and individuals to both raise concerns and have their concerns heard in public fora. Suggestions and remedies have included utilizing smaller groups and/or training of the whole group to enable and encourage the ability of the underrepresented to speak and be heard.

2. A related concern revolves around issues of politics and power – both within the community and within the broader society in which the community is located. This concern arises from the assertion that NGOs often fail to consider or adequately address broader topics of politics and power because of their frequent focus on fragmented issues and penchant for project-based solutions over systemic foci and structural changes. One proposed solution, a reframing of “participation as citizenship,” has been proposed as an effective way to counter this.
3. Fostering consensus and Prioritizing Community Issues: ‘Pairwise Ranking’ is a structured process that is often used to facilitate a community’s process of prioritizing issues when they are not clear, or consensus cannot be easily reached. This process works by setting up a table of pairings of all possible options, then allows for systematic and simplified one-to-one comparisons across the extant possibilities. Following that step, the totals can be tallied to create a priorities list that reflects the community’s wishes. (Contrast to the ‘summarize and read back method’ currently employed)

Open Questions relative to HIH practices:

1. Who represents a community? How, and by whom, is this determined? Within the literature, it is claimed that these questions are too often unasked and/or unanswered, thus overlooking or obscuring internal power relationships. Too often, homogeneity is assumed, with detrimental effects.
2. Going beyond the positivist notion of ‘objective truth’ – noting how this traditional (positivist) method discounts experiential knowledge, reinforces subjects’ passivity, and obscures other voices (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008). In recent years, a confluence of changes have altered the terrain on this question, including: i) the erosion of confidence in ‘expert’ knowledge to solve pressing problems; ii) the failures of science to predict or control risk (Beck, 1992); iii) a growing acceptance of different ways of knowing, against the monopoly of ‘Science’ over knowledge; and iv) the rising recognition of ‘experiential expertise’ relative to ‘scholastic expertise’, particularly in terms of environmental issues. In sum, the result has been a (welcome) pluralization of knowledge. This seems to reflect HIH practice.

Regarding FPIC:

1. While improvements have occurred with the current Environmental and Social Framework (ESS 7), the process of requiring FPIC remains circumscribed to specific conditions (direct impacts to Indigenous Peoples’ land and natural resources, relocation, or cultural heritage). This requirement of gaining FPIC also stops short of allowing Indigenous Peoples to veto a project submitted for funding, because it blurs the line between consent and consultation.
2. The consultation process has been strengthened in this ESS. However, it is still initialized after the project conception by a potential Borrower and their application for funding. Participation is thus framed as a second step, rather than a first step in project conception.
3. In this sense, true and genuine participation seems likely to be foreclosed in this process. This is a substantial divergence from the best practices of Participatory Methods, and the Radical Listening approach.

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1) Introduction

Participatory methods fall under a broad umbrella of terms, including Participatory Action Research, Action Research¹, Participatory Rural Appraisal, Participatory Learning and Action, Policy Analysis for Participatory Poverty Alleviation, among others. These methods are widely used, spanning the fields of international and community development (Chambers, 1997; 2008; Ford 19xx; Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991; Fals Borda, 1998; Hall, 1992), public and community health (Corburn, 2005; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008), education (Freire, 1970; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000), organizational studies (Torbert & Taylor, 2008), management (Heron & Reason, 2006), and psychology /psychiatry (Bergold & Thomas, 2012), among others. In general, these are linked together by their common view of the research process: one marked by a shift from ‘research on’ to ‘research with’ participants; where everyone involved is considered a knowledge producer and co-researcher; and where “the community determines the research agenda and shares in the planning, data collection, analysis, and dissemination of the research process” (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008: 26; see also Chambers, 2008; Dick & Greenwood, 2015). There is also a widely shared grounding in social justice and equity concerns, coupled with a desire to produce practical and applicable knowledge as a result of the research process (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). For the purposes of this literature review, and according the interests of Health in Harmony, the focus will be restricted to the fields of international and community development, as well as community health.

Historically, the roots of action research and participatory methods are found in the pragmatist philosophies of John Dewey (1933), Kurt Lewin (1948), and Richard Rorty (1980), as well as in the radical education and community development philosophies of Paulo Freire (1970) and Orland Fals Borda (1988), respectively. While the former focus on the necessity of linkages between theory and practice, in pursuit of accurate and useful knowledge, the latter focused on mobilizing a similar philosophy to underpin adult literacy campaigns, consciousness-raising, and community development – each politically engaged projects seeking the structural transformation of specific societies.

These roots have also been linked to the emergence of two historical traditions and approaches, framed as two ends of a continuum by Wallerstein and Duran (2008: 27): a *Northern tradition*, focused on collaborative utilization-focused research with practical goals of system improvement; and a *Southern tradition* of openly emancipatory research that focuses on the historically colonizing practices of research and elite domination of scientific knowledge and knowledge production. This ‘Northern tradition’ has heavily influenced the development of participatory methods within the community health field, while the ‘Southern tradition’ substantially influenced the development of these methods in the fields of international and community development. While these perspectives have shaped and continue to shape the respective fields, in recent years there has also been an increase in cross-pollination and sharing of approaches among the various fields, lessening the distance between them in both theory and practice.

In the following pages the focus shifts to reviewing participatory approaches in the fields most closely related to the work of HHH: international development, community development, and community health. These are followed by a brief section reviewing the World Bank’s related approach to participation, ‘Free, Prior, and Informed Consent’ (FPIC), as requested by HHH. Finally, the Radical Listening approach, as developed by HHH, is compared and contrasted with the theory and practice of those approaches summarized in the preceding sections.

¹ Note that not all ‘Action Research’ is participatory.

2) International Development

The emergence of participatory methods within international development can be traced to the 1970s, with the emergence of rapid rural appraisal (RRA). This approach was developed to be more accurate than the then-standard usage of large questionnaires, as well as more time efficient than the in-depth social anthropology approaches also in use (Chambers, 2008). RRA was structured around the use of semi-structured interviews in combination with sketch-mapping and diagramming, conducted by outside professionals (KKU, 1987).

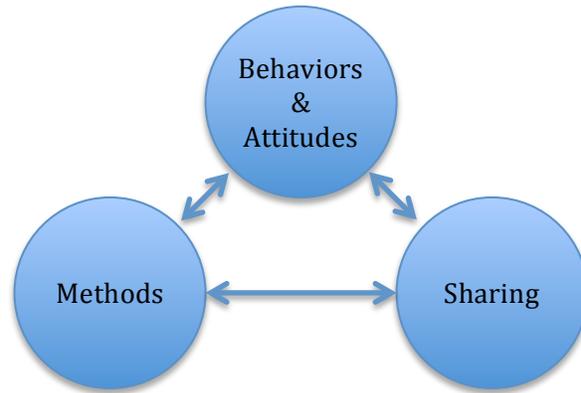
These changes were occurring, however, in a broader and geographically diverse context, from which they borrowed and shared ideas. The widening gap between ‘scientific’ knowledge production in the universities and the perceived inability of this knowledge to improve societal well-being was widely noted, and provoked calls for a “non-violent social science” (Galtung, 1975). Concurrently, the spread of university-based social sciences from the global north to the global south in this era carried these seeds and influences. Paulo Freire and Orlando Fals Borda, both from Latin America, were reshaping both popular/adult education to be more liberatory and politicized, and reimagining community development as a participation-driven process, respectively. These also spread to new and existing universities across Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as South Asia and South-East Asia. Key centers in the Global South fostering participatory development emerged in Tanzania and India, contributing to and influencing participatory methods developments in other parts of the world since.

By the late 1980s, these approaches were shifting to better incorporate local knowledge. The key recognition in this period, according to Chambers (2008), was that ‘they can do it’ (better) – meaning that the local population can create these maps and diagrams, as well as collect, sort, and analyze the data, to develop new and novel solutions with more detail, complexity, and understanding than those approaches previously utilized by outside professionals. This new approach was labeled Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), and the role of outsiders shifted to that of convening and facilitating.

A third shift occurred with the spread of these and related approaches in the 1990s, as insights from action research and related fields were incorporated and became intertwined with the ongoing development of PRA (also known as Participatory Learning and Action (PLA)). Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s there was a substantial degree of sharing and learning about participatory methods occurring both within international and rural development, and across disciplinary boundaries to action science (Argyris et al., 1985), education (Freire, 1970), participatory action research (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991), and to popular education organizations like the Highlander Research and Education Centre (Gaventa 1981). In general, the Participatory Methods literature notes the importance of avoiding the ‘technical method of project work’ and instead employs a ‘political methodology of empowerment’ (Carmen 1996; Cleaver 1999).

The three key principal components of PRA emerged and were solidified during this period, and were conceptualized as three interconnected circles: Methods, Behavior & Attitudes, and Sharing (see Figure 1, below). These three components are seen as central to the PRA approach, but the first (Behaviors & Attitudes) is considered as the most important (Kumar, 1996). Behaviors and Attitudes (to which Mindsets has also been added) refers to a broadly shared epistemological and/or ideological perspective “that expert and professional knowledge and ways of knowing need to be humble and to appreciate peoples’ own knowledge and ways of knowing” and that people who are dominant in specific contexts and relationships habitually underestimate the capabilities and the value of the knowledge of those who are subordinate in these contexts and relationships (Quoted and paraphrased from Chambers, 2007: 19). Methods here are normally visual and tangible, and are often organized as small group activities. These are perhaps the most distinctive aspect of PRA, as they feature centrally in most examples in the form of maps and diagrams. These symbols, objects, and diagrams can help to represent realities that are difficult or impossible to represent verbally (Chambers, 2008). Finally, Sharing initially referred to exchange of knowledge between communities and development professionals, as well as among development professionals. This was later expanded and reframed as “sharing without boundaries” to include relationships and to reinforce the openness and sharing of methodologies, and to forestall claims of branding and exclusive ownership as deployed with some methodologies (Absalom et al., 1995).

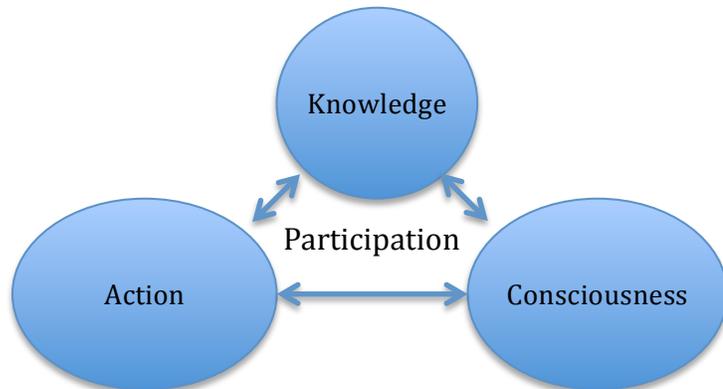
Figure 1: Principle Components of PRA



(Adapted from Chambers 2008)

Gaventa and Cornwall (2008) offer a slightly different visualization of the participatory research process (see Figure 2). They put the question of power, in its various forms, at the center of the analysis. They begin by asserting that those who are directly affected must be participants in the research process, ‘recovering’ the power of experts in the process. They also recognize the socially constructed nature of knowledge, and challenge this by explicitly recognizing and valorizing “social, group, or collective analysis of life experiences” (Hall, 1992; quoted in Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008: 179). In their diagram, knowledge is viewed as a resource that affects decisions; action as that which looks at who is involved in the production of such knowledge; and consciousness as that which look at how the production of knowledge changes the worldview of those involved. They argue that incorporation of each of these aspects on power and its relationship to knowledge is key to consider in the process of challenging

Figure 2: Dimensions of Participatory Research



(Adapted from Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008)

it, and ultimately changing it. Participatory research thus becomes a means of producing an alternate form of knowledge, tied directly to experience rather than formally recognized ‘expertise’. It also becomes a means for popular action, and popular involvement in this rarified sphere of ‘knowledge production’. Finally, it means that participatory research is a process of awareness building, and a pluralization of both the knowledge production processes and knowledges in the policy process (with clear echoes of Freire, 1970, here).

Contemporary Practices & Critiques

Two key critiques arose from this period (1990s through early 2000s) of the rapid spread and uptake of participatory methods in international development. First, the Behaviors, Attitudes, and Mindsets sphere was frequently missing or overlooked as states, organizations, and NGOs sought to adjust their practices to be more participatory – sharing was widespread and methodologies and methodological combinations flourished, but frequently without affecting change in the underlying mindsets of the aid and development professionals. As a result, the accompanying implementations of these so-called participatory methods were, in practice, little different from earlier extractivist and top-down research projects. This meant that peoples’ time was taken up, expectations were raised, and yet very little actual or practical results followed (Chambers 2008).

A second key critique also emerged in this era, reflective of broader concerns that had been surfacing in international development in general, alleging that these ‘thin’ participatory methods approaches were so focused on the small scale and community participation that they were missing key issues around power and politics (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Absent reflective discussions and consideration of these issues, it was argued that any interventions were destined to be limited and partial solutions to localized problems, rather than structural and long-lasting remedies for ongoing problems (Mohan 2001; Mohan & Stokke 2000). One influential solution to emerge from these debates seeks to reframe participation as citizenship – that it, conceptualizing participation “in terms of an expanded and radicalized understanding of citizenship ... rooted in a normative and theoretical approach to development” (Hickey & Mohan, 2005). This is important in order to both prevent participation simply for participation’s sake and avert cooptation of these ostensibly empowering methods by broader disempowering agendas backed by the state and/or other organizations.

Skills & Tools

Numerous methodological tools have been developed to facilitate participation and to empower. A few examples are offered below in Tables 1, 2, 3, & 4. Chambers favors visual and tangible methods, utilizing objects at hand to create representations of reality in many forms (2008). He offers five reasons for doing so: i) it fosters group-visual synergy, supporting collective analysis and learning; ii) it enforces “the democracy of the ground” – making space for equal involvement; iii) it allows for complex representations of realities and relationships, and for group analyses of these; iv) using visuals as instruments of empowerment, because they enable participation; and v) participatory numbers – meaning the generation of numbers and statistics via participatory means, locating ownership with the producers, and the production and collection of actually useful numbers (Chambers, 2008: 284-286).

Table 1: Rules for ‘Real’ Participation

Rule	Indicating...
Introduce yourself ...	Be honest, transparent, relate as a person
They can do it ...	Have confidence in people’s abilities
Unlearn ...	Critically reflect on how you see things
Ask them ...	Ask people their realities, priorities, advice
Don’t rush ...	Be patient, take time
Sit down, listen, learn ...	Don’t dominate
Facilitate ...	Don’t lecture, criticize, or teach
Embrace error ...	Learn from what goes wrong or does not work
Hand over the stick ...	Or chalk, or pen ... anything that empowers
Shut up!	Keep quiet. Welcome and tolerate silence.
Use your own best judgment at all times ...	Take responsibility for what you do

(Source: from Chambers 2008)

Table 2: “Whose Reality Counts?”

Chambers (2008) suggests that responding to each prompt below with ‘theirs’ is one way to continually refocus efforts and avoid imposing outsider or professional views / realities / biases.

Step One: Planning

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who participates? • Who decides on who should participate? • Who participates in whose mapping? • ... and who is left out? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who identifies the problem? • Whose problems? • Whose questions? • Whose perspective? • ... and whose perspectives and problems are left out? |
|--|--|

Step Two: The Mapping Process

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whose voice counts? • Who controls the process? • Who decides on what is important? • Who decides, and who should decide, on what to visualize and make public? • Who has visual and tactical access? • Who controls the use of information? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And who is marginalized? • Whose reality? And who understands? • Whose reality is expressed? • Whose knowledge, categories, perceptions, and questions? • Whose truth and logic? • Whose sense of space and boundary conception (if any)? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whose (visual) spatial language? • Whose map legend? • Who is informed about what is on the map? (Transparency) • Who understands the physical output? • And who does not? • And whose reality is left out? |
|---|--|--|

Step Three: Resulting information control, disclosure, and disposal

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who owns the output? • Who owns the map(s)? • Who owns the resulting data? • What is left with those who generated the information and shared their knowledge? • Who keeps the physical output and organizes its regular updating? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whose analysis and use? • Who analyzes the spatial information collated? • Who has access to the information and why? • Who will use it and for what? • And who cannot access it and use it? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ultimately... • What has changed? • Who benefits from the changes? • At whose cost? • Who gains and who loses? • Who is empowered? • Who is disempowered? |
|--|--|--|

(Adapted from Chambers 2008)

Table 3: Sample Roadmaps for the Planning Process

UNDP (2009)	Higgins & Toness (2010)
1) Identifying the Main Problems	1) Preparing the Participants
2) Organizing and Prioritizing the main problems	2) Sharing Information
3) Problem Analysis – the cause/effect analysis	3) Identifying Resources
4) Creating a Vision of the Future	4) Envisioning a Future
5) Creating the Draft Results Map	5) Analyzing Needs
6) Finalizing the Results Framework	6) Building Consensus
	7) Creating an Action Plan
	8) Implementing the Plan

Table 4: Key Challenges to Participatory Action Research

Grant, Nelson, & Mitchell (2008)	Eversole (2003)	Bergold & Thomas (2012)
1) Building Relationships	1) Power	1) Participatory research requires a democratic social and political context
2) Acknowledging and Sharing Power	2) Motivation	2) There is a need for ‘safe space’
3) Encouraging Participation	3) Legitimacy	3) Questions about ‘who participates’ and ‘how the community is defined’ need to be carefully considered
4) Making Change	4) Trust	4) Considering to what degree people will participate in what parts or portions of the research process
5) Establishing Credible Accounts		

3) Community Development & Community Health

Community Development

Within Community Development, a trajectory similar to that of International Development marked the shift from framings of ‘charity’ (the transfer of funds and technical expertise from affluent communities to poorer communities) to ‘capacity building’ and related processes of empowerment of local leaders and residents to enable their own analysis, diagnosis, and solutions to guide project planning and implementation (Higgins & Toness, 2010). Wallerstein and Duran (2008) locate the roots of these changes in the sociopolitical tumult of the 1960s, resulting in a push to better understand the relationships between universities and society – raising questions about what kind of knowledge is being created, and for what kind of society. However, others locate the roots of community development in the late 19th and early 20th century settlement houses in both the UK and US (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014).

The emergent challenge of the 1960s was to create and use knowledge for the promotion of a more just and equitable society. One result was intense politicization of community development initiatives, but this was intentionally tempered in the US context with the introduction of Community Development Corporations (CDCs), thus transforming political activity into technocratic vehicles focused on physical infrastructure and localized issues. These concerns about the relation of knowledge production to societal improvement also overlapped to a significant degree with similar concerns about lay versus expert knowledge then emerging in International Development around the same time, with the result that approaches, practices, and skills were soon being exchanged between the two fields (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). Community development, like international development, is thus not a single practice, but rather a toolbox of practices and perspectives that have developed over time (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014).

Capacity building came to replace CDCs by the 2000s, but remained apolitical and focused on issues of self-governance of limited resources. Participation was thus present, but restricted to considering small-scale questions and not to challenging the broader, structural forms linked to local problems. Within this field, the aims of community development (“cooperation-oriented” or ‘status-quo’ reinforcing, more focused on economic growth) have often been posed as counter to those of community organizing (conflict-oriented, more politically-focused), resulting in a difficult relationship (Callahan et al., 1999). As such, the field finds itself at something of a crossroads (at least in the US context – community development in the Global South context tends to fall under the umbrella of international development) on the question of participation, although some approaches like ‘community dialogue’ continue to foreground the issues of participation over those of economic development or growth.

Community Health

The lineage of participatory methods in community health likewise reaches back to at least the 1970s, and includes international conferences on the topic by the late 1970s (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). In this context of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR), health is viewed “as a resource originating from people within their social contexts rather than from the health care system ... [and] participation is seen as critical to reducing dependency on health professionals, ensuring cultural sensitivity of programs, facilitating sustainability of change efforts, and enhancing health in its own right” (ibid.: 30).

Within the community health field, the approach to community participation tends to focus on the pragmatic and efficiency gains that might be achieved, rather than focusing on the ‘genuine participation’ dominant in the international development and community development literature. As

such, the implementation is prone to reproducing existing knowledge hierarchies and results in a limited form of participation. One source of this is the ‘Levels of Participation’ hierarchy as developed by Arnstein (1969) in the field of planning. It has historically shaped the development of participatory approaches in community health, though it has been more widely critiqued in recent years for its simplistic conceptualization of uni-dimensional power and positioning of policy problems as static (Kenny et al., 2014).

These issues around expert knowledge continue to shape participatory practices and approached in the community health field. In the cases reviewed by Kenny et al. (2014), even with these changes there “is little evidence of widespread policy change” resulting from citizen or community participation. In general, “implementation has superseded robust research evidence” and the field lacks sufficient studies, both in-depth and longitudinal, to back claims of improved and sustainable results (Kenny et al., 2014). On one hand, effective and genuine participation is specifically lacking in this field. On the other, studies showing its validity are also lacking (studies here refer to traditionally structured studies based on scientific validity and knowledge standards). Citizen science research and activism over the past four decades around the nexus of gender, environment, and health has repeatedly revealed the effectiveness of participation in uncovering previously unexamined links – however, these are very seldom incorporated in the community health research field.

As in the international and community development fields, the chasm between theory and practice exists in the community health field. If anything, it appears that there has been less reflexivity on the practice and conduct of ‘participation’ in this community health field than in the other two, at least until quite recently. Historically, research practices have been characterized as “helicopter research” in Indian Country (or “drive-by” research in urban settings) wherein researchers fly in to collect information without leaving anything in return (Deloria, 1992). As a result, communities have become more and more demanding of genuine partnerships, rather than extractive relationships (De Bruyn, et al., 2001). These pressures have resulted in an increased focus on reflexivity in the field, though still incipient.

4) World Bank: Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC)

“Behind the apparent consensus that participation is desirable, there is a wide range of reasons for supporting participatory approaches, with often unacknowledged contradictions” (Eversole, 2003: 782). These include the very basic division between those who view participation as an end in itself, and those who view it as a means to achieve, manage, or facilitate the implementation of a chosen project. The latter description tends to apply to states and many donors, while the former is more typical of NGOs (World Bank, 2002). While the World Bank has made substantial changes to its own policies and ‘safeguards’ over the years, including its use of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent, it remains closer to the latter position described above (viewing it as necessary step in the implementation, and to some degree design, of a chosen project) than the former.

The Bank has recognized the FPIC process as “an important tool to guarantee the participation of Indigenous Peoples² in aspects that can affect their lives, cultures, and assets,” but has continued to face an internal debate in recent years about precisely how mandatory this process should be (World Bank, 2015; quoted in Greenspan, 2016). In the Bank’s most recent Environmental and Social Framework (ESS) (World Bank, 2016), which will enter into effect in October 2018, the general and FPIC-specific provisions have been strengthened compared to the Bank’s previous positions, but remain restricted to specific situations and circumstances (projects involving distinct social and cultural groups, generally referred to as ‘indigenous groups’, although the terminology will vary with context) (Complete details and definitions can be found on pp. 76-82, *ibid.*).

These Indigenous Peoples are seen as “particularly vulnerable to the loss of, alienation from, or exploitation of their land and access to natural and cultural resources,” and “in recognition of this vulnerability, the Bank will require the Borrower to obtain the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent of the affected indigenous peoples” under specific circumstances, as detailed on the following page (*ibid.*, 10).

In general, this ESS seeks to strengthen the protections of affected Indigenous Peoples through the following measures (see pp. 77-78, *ibid.*):

1. Communities present in, or with attachment to, the project area [be] fully consulted about, and have opportunities to actively participate in, project design and the determination of project implementation arrangements. The scale and scope of consultation, as well as subsequent project planning and documentation processes, will be proportionate to the scope and scale of potential project risks and impacts as they may affect said communities.
2. The Borrower will assess the nature and degree of the expected direct and indirect impacts, broadly understood. The Borrower will prepare a consultation strategy and identify the means through which the impacted community(s) will participate in project design and implementation.

² I have used ‘Indigenous Peoples’ in this section on World Bank FPIC processes as shorthand for the fuller definition and categorization offered by the Bank in this ESS document (2016). The Bank has, in response to specific input concerning the contexts of Sub-Saharan Africa, broadened this category to incorporate both “Indigenous Peoples” and “Sub-Saharan African historically underserved traditional local communities”. This is meant to avoid more favorable treatment of indigenous communities than other equally poor or poorer communities in this context. The intent is to find a proper balance between indigenous communities and other communities that may also be poor and vulnerable, and to create equity in the level of interventions in each context (Petersmann, 2017).

3. The Borrower’s proposed measures and actions will be developed in consultation with the affected community(s).
4. For projects whose sole beneficiary is the affected community, the Borrower will proactively engage the community(s) to ensure their ownership and participation in project design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation.
5. When they are not the sole beneficiaries, the planning requirements will vary with the circumstances. The Borrower will design and implement the project in a manner that provides equitable access to project benefits. The community’s concerns will be addressed through meaningful consultation and project design.
6. Adverse impacts to the community(s) will be avoided where possible. When unavoidable, the Borrower will minimize and/or compensate for these impacts in a culturally appropriate manner.
7. When the community is one with limited external contact (in voluntary isolation), the Borrower will take appropriate measures to recognize, respect, and protect their land and territories. The aspects of the project that would result in undesired contact will not be processed further.

The aforementioned points are general guidelines that have been adopted to strengthen the protections surrounding Indigenous Peoples. FPIC, however, is not required in these cases. The requirement to gain FPIC will be required by the Bank only under the following specific circumstances, in which the project will:

1. have adverse impacts on land and natural resources subject to traditional ownership or under customary use or occupation;
2. cause relocation of Indigenous Peoples from land and natural resources subject to traditional ownership or under customary use or occupation;
3. have significant impacts on Indigenous Peoples cultural heritage that is material to the identity and/or cultural, ceremonial, or spiritual aspects of the affected groups’ lives.

In these circumstances, the Borrower will engage independent specialists to assist in the identification of the project risks and impacts (ibid., 80).

‘Consent’ here refers to the collective support of affected Indigenous Peoples for the project activities that affect them, reached through a culturally appropriate process. It may exist even if some individuals or groups object to such project activities – that is, FPIC does not require unanimity and it may be achieved even when individuals or groups within the affected community explicitly disagree.

FPIC³ is herein defined as including the following process: i) the scope of FPIC applies to project design, implementation agreements, and expected outcomes related to risks and impacts; ii) FPIC builds on and expands the process of meaningful consultation⁴ and will be established through

³ The World Bank notes here (in this ESS) that “there is no universally accepted definition of FPIC” (2016: 80), then goes on to define it for this context as outlined above.

⁴ Meaningful Consultation is a less stringent requirement, as defined by the World Bank (2016). It incorporates an engagement process including: i) stakeholder analysis and engagement planning; ii) disclosure of information; iii) involvement of Indigenous Peoples’ representative bodies and organizations, and, where appropriate, other

good faith negotiation between the Borrower and affected parties; and iii) the Borrower will document both the mutually accepted process to carry out these negotiations, and the outcome of said negotiations, including all agreements reached as well as dissenting views.

Review & Comparison with Participatory Methods / Radical Listening

While the World Bank has made substantial changes to the FPIC requirements and has sought to clarify their meaning in the stated contexts, these still differ significantly from the Radical Listening approach, as well as Participatory Methodologies more broadly. First, they are designed to apply only in limited circumstances, when meeting certain specified conditions, and are not a universal requirement. Second, as described these practices and requirements become active on funding requests from the Borrower, suggesting that a project has been at least outlined, if not fully planned, prior to consultations with the affected communities. In this sense, the participatory methodologies are at best a second step in the overall definition of the project. Third, the Bank's own ESS document blurs the line between consultation and consent, specifically in the section defining FPIC (2016: 80) wherein consent is described as 'not requiring unanimity' and allowing for cases containing 'explicit disagreement' to be considered as 'consent' (Petersmann, 2017). Furthermore, following Petersmann (2017), it is clear that Indigenous Peoples do not have absolute veto power in these processes, as they "are deprived of the absolute right to refuse a project even when it has been established that the project will lead to adverse impacts on their land and natural resources, will cause their relocation, or significantly impact their cultural heritage". In sum, these changes have moved the bar beyond mere consultation but have stopped short of requiring the permission of Indigenous Peoples (this has been viewed favorably in comparison with other cases of international human rights jurisprudence (Petersmann, 2017)).

Throughout this World Bank ESS there is precious little direct guidance on the practical processes of the participation requirement. The focus remains on the conducting the 'procedures of participation' (however undefined), rather than on the specific outcomes or decisions of these procedures. No specific details or best practices concerning how these procedures of 'meaningful consultation' or FPIC are to implemented are included. In each sense, the Radical Listening approach and participatory methods in general are more advanced.

community members; iv) providing sufficient time for their decision-making process; and v) allowing for their effective participation in the project activities or mitigation measures that could potentially impact them, positively or negatively (ibid., 79).

5) Comparing with Radical Listening

Table 5 (below) contains direct comparisons of the Radical Listening approach, as described in an interview with Kinari Webb, and additional documentation provided by Ashley Emerson, with the Participatory Methods literature. In general, the Radical Listening approach compares very favorably with what are seen to be the best practices in the literature. Some aspects discussed in the literature but not discussed in interviews with Kinari Webb or communications with Ashley Emerson are listed in the latter portion of the table, and also in the list of topics following table five.

Table 5: Comparing Radical Listening Methods with the Literature

Radical Listening (RL)	“What the Literature Says”
Group over Individuals – group may have required knowledge / skills / etc, whereas individuals will not (pragmatic reasons given by Kinari, rather than philosophical)	General agreement in the literature, and it focuses on how to facilitate the collectivization and sharing of this knowledge (Higgins & Toness, 2010) / Yes, all people are “knowers” (Lykes & Crosby, 2014)
One level – ground (forcing equality)	Agreement here on the ‘leveling’ effect (e.g., Chambers, (2004), Bessette (2004))
Involvement = investment (even if ‘better’ solutions might exist, those chosen by the group are more likely to succeed)	This theme is central, and runs throughout much of the international development literature (e.g., Chambers (2008), Bessette (2004))
Communities can see the problems in their complexity, in ways that often elude outsiders	This is also central, and finds roots in the early practitioners, which have carried through to later iterations (e.g., Freire (1970), Fals Borda (1988), Gaventa (1981), Chambers (2008))
Facilitation is (the) key skill	Yes, very central to the leading research – and viewed as far more important than ‘teaching’ or importing ‘answers’ (as had traditionally been done by aid agencies) (e.g., Hickey & Mohan (2005), Chambers (2008), Rahman (2008), Higgins & Toness (2010))
Attentive listening – really hearing people – key to encouraging genuine participation, building relationships	Widespread agreement here as well (e.g., Reason & Bradbury (2008, various selections), Borg et al. (2012), Eversole (2003) conceptualizes this around four key topics: power, motivation, legitimacy, & trust)
“Listeners” are female (RL)	Agreement in the sense that it is important to pay attention to gender balance (e.g., Cornwall (2003), Higgins & Toness (2010), Shah et al. (1999) explicitly recognize the need for all-female teams at times)
Co-Leadership of HIH with local facilitator – to both build trust and to make explicit the taken-for-granted nature of key issues in the community / problem	Yes, these points are also reinforced by many authors in the literature (e.g., Higgins & Toness (2010), Shah et al. (1999))
Allowing sufficient time for the group to discuss	Yes, allowing the time to really discuss and talk through issues is key, including allowing time for silence (e.g., UNDP (2009), Bessette (2004))
Take note of the sensitive issues and topics that emerge along the way, as well as points of strong dis/agreement (a focus on the emotional, along with the verbal)	Agreement on this issue too (e.g., Higgins & Toness (2010), Chambers (2004))

<p>Initial consultation and ‘expectations’ – without promises, but with a commitment to work together if feasible</p>	<p>This is widely regarded as a difficult issue, but one which much be addressed (e.g., Eversole (2003) notes how important it is to engage with the community first, even when no funds have been secured, to ensure that genuine decision-making /agenda-setting power is shared with the community; Higgins & Toness (2010) make clear that they are not bringing “money” or funding, but rather a ‘process’ that results in something more powerful)</p>
<p>Solution is often things that they cannot do on their own</p>	<p>Yes, generally. Community Development literature tends to assume that the community has many of the required skills and resources, at least in part – and that a key stumbling block is <u>organizing</u> community knowledge and mobilizing assets (Higgins & Toness, 2010)</p>
<p>Attendance of women and of community leaders is important – Question: how is this achieved and facilitated? Scheduling issues? Blocks of time? Nights? Other solutions?</p>	<p>Widespread agreement, with a caveat that scheduling these so that women can attend is difficult (e.g., Chambers (2008), Higgins & Toness (2010); Bessette (2004)). One method of addressing this is creating weekly ‘activity schedules’ for various groups, to reveal how their days are spent, and what openings might allow for meeting times.</p>
<p>Summarizing back of key issues, and formation of priorities in this process (seems to require a deft hand)</p>	<p>Partial agreement in the literature – Other, more formal processes are often used to help the community reach consensus (e.g., using some type of structured tool, such as ‘pairwise ranking’ (Higgins & Toness, 2008: 32-37) or ‘matrices’ (Chambers, 2004). These tools can also function to resolve situations where consensus cannot be reached by allowing comparisons to be carried out one by one, creating a list of priorities.</p>
<p>Agenda setting – First point of contact is with village chief</p>	<p>Partial agreement in the literature – Various authors focus on local politics and tensions, and their importance to the participatory process (they focus especially on the voices of the marginalized in any community, and how to increase their voice in these processes)(e.g., Lykes & Crosby (2014), Cornwall (2003),</p>

Open/Unexplored questions and issues for consideration (from the literature):

- Who participates? In what ways? For what reasons? When do they participate? Where do they participate?
- Who represents the community? How is the community defined? → These remain key questions. Nearly all of the literature reviewed (international development, community development, community health, and FCIP) noted that these too often go unasked or unchallenged. Far too often, in both past and current projects, assumptions about community homogeneity persist, leading to unforeseen problems and unheard voices and divisions. Assuming community homogeneity does not alter power relations within the community, but may reinforce them.
- What is the shared understanding (among the project leaders, agency staff, and community members) of the purpose and rationale of/for participation? Transparency and communication are key on this point, as are acknowledging the diversity of the community, and marginalization within it.
- Training on participation in these processes is seen as key. What will the participation process be? What will be the aim? Ground rules and expectations need to be clearly communicated.
- Various visual methods have been repeatedly incorporated as a key mode of increasing the inclusivity of the participation process (over and above strictly verbal or written processes) (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008; Chambers, 2008).
- Regarding Community Expectations and Community Relations – The UNHCR (2008) focuses on the importance of building trust, being transparent, speaking to all, and understanding that who they speak with (or do not speak with) in the community will alter community dynamics. They also encourage gathering knowledge of the community’s experiences with previous aid agencies and NGOs, to reflect on how these might influence the current relationship. Simplicity and humility are essential for communication and participation.

“To be a good [participatory researcher] means above all to have faith in people; to believe in the possibility that they can create and change things. You need to love . . . to be convinced that the fundamental effort of community . . . education is the liberation of people, never their “domestication.” This liberation begins to the extent that men [and women] reflect on themselves and their condition in the world—the world in which and with which they find themselves. To the extent that they are more conscientized, they insert themselves as subjects into their own history”

Quote from Wallerstein & Duran, 2008; adapted from Freire, 1971, p. 61

References

(Key references are in bold below)

(Key sources on Applied Methodologies are in bold and marked with a '*' below)

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