

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Table of Contents

Seminar Program 2

Directory of Trainers 7

Directory of Participants 10

Participant Projects..... 13

Dr. Sara Ababneh’s Interview 15

Data Collection Assignments 53

Video Interviews 56

Reimbursement Form 57

Funding Agencies and Foundations 58

Bibliography 60

Qualitative Data Analysis Bibliography 75

Video Links 76

Workshop Evaluation Form 77

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Seminar Program

Training Leader: Dr. Suad Joseph, University of California Davis

Trainers: Dr. Zeina Zaatari, University of California, Davis;
Dr. Lena Meari, Birzeit University

Overview:

In advance of the seminar, participants will be required to read key documents of Dr. Suad Joseph's website on **Qualitative Data Analysis**. The seminar will begin with a lecture by Training Leader, Dr. Suad Joseph, who will address the issues of **content analysis and news media analysis**. Her lecture will be followed by those of trainers Dr. Lena Meari, Dr. Zeina Zaatari, who will lecture on topics including: discourse analysis, oral history analysis, focus groups, and film and visual media. The second day will begin by addressing **writing for publication**. Trainers will provide detailed guidance pertaining to publishing in traditional and new media. Topics will include: writing for publication in books, writing articles in peer reviewed journals, writing abstracts, writing reports for public dissemination, and more.

The second half of the second and the third day of the seminar will be devoted to **participant presentations**. Participants will present their research for their mentors and their peers. They will then receive detailed feedback.

This is the third of four seminars. The fourth and final seminar will be held in the winter of 2016. Those who have successfully completed their proposals have been funded for a pilot project to carry out their research under the mentorship of one of the trainers. Having now completed their research they will seek to complete a written piece for publication.

Over the course of two years, the researchers will complete a research proposal, and carry out a research project, which will include emphasis in data gathering, data analysis, writing analysis, and presenting their completed work in a final public conference.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

April 1, 2016: Data Analysis

8:30–9:00 Registration

9:00–9:30 Brief individual reports

9:30-10:00 Content analysis Dr. Suad Joseph

10:00-10:30 Discourse analysis Dr. Lena Meari

10:30-11:00 Break for coffee

11:00-11:30 Oral history analysis Dr. Zeina Zaatari

11:30-12:00 Event narrative analysis Dr. Lena Meari

12:00-1:00 Break for hunch

1:00-1:30 News media analysis Dr. Suad Joseph

1:30-2:00 Archives analysis Dr. Zeina Zaatari

2:00-2:30 Focus groups..... Dr. Lena Meari

2:30-3:00 Film and visual media Dr. Zeina Zaatari

3:00-3:30 Break for coffee

3:30-4:00 Household survey Dr. Suad Joseph

4:00-4:30 Government and legal documents Dr. Suad Joseph

4:30-5:00 In-depth Interviews Dr. Lena Meari

7:00 Dinner together at the hotel

April 2, 2016: Writing for Publication

9:30-10:00 For books Dr. Suad Joseph

10:00-10:30 For articles, peer reviewed journals Dr. Lena Meari

10:30-11:00 Break for coffee

11:00-11:30 For online Dr. Zeina Zaatari

11:30-12:00 For government reports, NGO reports..... Dr. Zeina Zaatari

12:00-1:00 Break for lunch

1:30-2:00 media/journalism/public dissemination . Dr. Suad Joseph

2:00-2:30 Abstracts Dr. Lena Meari

2:30-3:00 For conference Dr. Lena Meari

3:00-3:30 Break for coffee

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

3:30-4:00 Policy brief..... Dr. Zeina Zaatari

4:00-4:30 Executive summaries, consultant reports Dr. Zeina Zaatari

4:30-5:00 Funding agency reports..... Dr. Suad Joseph

7:00 Dinner together at the hotel

April 3, 2016: Writing and Presentations

9:30-10:00 Dr. Ilham Makki Hammodi, St. Joseph's University

Islamic Feminism-in Iraqi Society: Women between Hawza and Religious Parties.

10:00-10:30 Iman M.M. Salah, Head of Gender Unit: Ministry of Labor OPT Export

Agriculture in the Palestinian Jordan Valley and its Impact on Women Paid Informal Workers.

10:30-11:00 Break for coffee

11:00-11:30 Kholoud Ahmed Alajarma, University of Groningen

Women in Palestine: Resistance, Identity, and Solidarity through Food Production.

11:30-12:00 Manal Mahmoud Qaisi, Al-Quds Open University

The Effects of Care Programs for Battered Women in East Jerusalem from their Perspective.

12:00-1:00 Break for lunch

1:30-2:00 Dr. Mona Yehia Zaied Al-Mahakeri, Sana'a University

Modern Arab Woman Narrative: Question of Identity and Challenge of Difference.

2:00-2:30 Dr. Rania Jawad, Birzeit University

Performing Gender Inequalities Onstage: The Politics of Western Funding and Cultural Production in the Colonized West Bank.

2:30-3:00 Dr. Rawan Wadie Ibrahim, Columbia University

How Do Unwed Adolescent Mothers Navigate Reintegrating in the Jordanian and Patriarchal Society.

3:00-3:30 Break for coffee

3:30-4:00 Dr. Saja Taha Al Zoubi. Syrian General Commission of Scientific Agricultural Research (GCSAR)

Assessing the Impact of Training and Microfinance on Agricultural Productivity, Women Income and Decision Making.

4:00-4:30 Samar Antoine Yaser. Birzeit University

Freedom doubts: Palestinian Female Ex-political Prisoners in the state under occupation Palestine.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

4:30-5:00 Dr. Sara Ababneh, University of Jordan

The Jordanian Popular Protest Movement: A Challenge to Commonly Held Truths about Identity, Gender, and Economics in Jordan.

5:00-5:30 Sarah Raouf Shaer. Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government

Nationalist Discourse and Negotiating Patriarchy in the UAE.

5:30-6:00 Sawsan Adnan Samara

Are Educated Jordanian Women Really Interested in Seeking Political and Leadership Positions in the Jordanian Public Sector.

6:00-6:30 Dr. Souad Eddaouda. Ibnen Tofail University in Kentira

Women, the State and Grassroot Change in Morocco: Constraints, Opportunities, and Prospects: The Case of Soulaliyat Women in the Kenitra Region.

7:00 Dinner together at the hotel

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Participants are to have read the following documents *before* the seminar

"User Friendly Handbook for Mixed Method." *Mixed-Method Evaluations: Start*. Accessed March 07, 2016. <http://www.nsf.gov/pubs/1997/nsf97153/start.htm>.

Mortari, L. "Reflectivity in Research Practice: An Overview of Different Perspectives." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 14, no. 5 (2015).

Polkinghorne, Donald E. "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 8, no. 1 (1995): 5-23.

Srivastava, Prachi, and Nick Hopwood. "A Practical Iterative Framework for Qualitative Data Analysis." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 1 (2009): 76-84.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Directory of Trainers



Dr. Suad Joseph

Dr. Suad Joseph completed her PhD in Anthropology at Columbia University. She is General Editor of the Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures (Brill 2003-2007) and EWIC Online (2009 -present). She is editor and co-editor of 8 books, and author of over 100 articles. She founded the Middle East Research Group in Anthropology (the Middle East Section of the American Anthropological Association); the Association for Middle East Women's Studies; the Arab Families Working Group; and a Consortium of 5 universities in Egypt, Lebanon, and Palestine, with UC Davis where she is Distinguished Research Professor and is the founding Director of the Middle East/South Asia Studies Program at University of California, Davis. She co-founded the Association for Arab American Studies and the Association for Middle East Anthropology. She was recognized at UC Davis for service by receiving the Graduate Mentor; the Distinguished Scholarly Public Service Award; Chancellor's Award for Diversity and Community; and the UC Davis Prize for Undergraduate Teaching and Research. She was President of the Middle East Studies Association of North American. She has received grants from the Ford Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, the International Development Research Center, the Population Council, UNICEF, the Swedish Institute of Alexandria, the National Science Foundation, the US Department of Education, the Open Society Institute and other funders. She has taught proposal writing and research design for over 30 years. (<http://sjoseph.ucdavis.edu>)

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan



Lina Abou Habib

Lina Abou-Habib is the Director of the Collective for Research and Training on Development – Action (CRTD-A), a regional organization working in research, programme interventions, campaigning and lobbying on gender equality and social justice in the MENA region. Ms. Abou-Habib has been involved in the design and management of research and development programmes in the Middle East and North Africa region on issues related to gender and citizenship, economy, trade and gender and leadership. Ms. Abou-Habib has collaborated with a number of regional and international research and development agencies, including The Royal Tropical Institute, IDRC, UNIFEM, ILO, ESCWA, UNDP, UNRWA, EMHRN, WB, as well as public institutions, in mainstreaming gender in development policies and practices and in building capacities for gender mainstreaming and for initiating research initiatives on gender equality. Prior to that, she was the Programme Coordinator for Oxfam GB in Lebanon. Ms. Abou-Habib is a programme advisor for the Women’s Learning Partnership and the Global Fund for Women and is on the editorial board of Oxfam’s journal, Gender and Development. Currently, she is coordinating CRTDA’s Arab Women’s Right to Nationality Campaign as well as the Regional Equality without Reservation Coalition. Lina has served as both Secretary and President of the Board of Directors of the Association of Women’s Rights in Development (2008-2012). She is currently a doctoral candidate at the Auckland University of Technology.



Dr. Islah Jad

Dr. Islah Jad is an Associate Professor focusing on gender issues and politics at the Women’s Studies Institute and Cultural Studies Department of Birzeit University in the West Bank. She joined Birzeit in 1983, and is a founding member of its women’s studies program. She has written books and papers on the role of women in politics, Palestinian women and the relationships among them, Islam, and NGOs. Dr. Jad is also a consultant on gender issues to the United Nations Development Programme and is co-author of the UN’s Arab Development Report on Women’s Empowerment. Dr. Jad received her Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 2004.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan



Dr. Zeina Zaatari

Dr. Zeina Zaatari is a lecturer and research associate at the University of California, Davis and is an independent consultant focusing on gender and sexuality in the Middle East and North Africa. Previously, she worked as the Regional Director for the MENA Program at Global Fund for Women, (2004-2012). She earned her PhD in Cultural Anthropology with an emphasis in Feminist Theory from the University of California, Davis. Her publications include "Desirable Masculinity/Femininity and Nostalgia of the "Anti-Modernity": Bab el-Hara Television Series as a Site of Production" in *Sexuality and Culture* (2014), "Re-Imagining Family, Gender, and Sexuality: Feminist and LGBT Activism in the context of the 2006 Invasion of Lebanon" co-written with Nadine Naber in *Cultural Dynamics* (2014), "Arab Feminist Awakening: Possibilities and Necessities" in *Arab Feminisms: A Critical Perspective* (2014 & 2012). She currently serves as Secretary of the Board of the Association for Women's Rights in Development, the Associate Editor for the Middle East and Europe FOR THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WOMEN AND ISLAMIC CULTURES (<http://sjoseph.ucdavis.edu/ewic>) and is a core group member of the Arab Families Working Group.



Dr. Lena Meari

Dr. Lena Meari is an Assistant Professor at the Social and Behavioral Science and the Institute of Women's Studies at Birzeit University, Palestine. She received her PhD in Cultural Anthropology with a Designated Emphasis in Feminist Theory and Research from the University of California, Davis. Her dissertation, titled "Sumud: A Philosophy of Confronting Interrogation," investigates transforming colonial relations in colonized Palestine from the perspective of the interrogation encounter. She taught several courses, including Anthropology of the Middle East at the University of California, Davis, as well as Critical Theories in Gender and Development and Qualitative Research Methods for graduate students at Birzeit University. She was the first recipient of the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Post-Doctoral Fellowship at Columbia University

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Directory of Participants



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Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan



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Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan



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AMIDEAST Jordan Study Abroad
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Participant Projects

Iman M.M. Salah

مظنم ريغ لكشش ب رجأب تالماعلا ىلع امرثأو ةينيطسل فلأ راوغألأ يف ةيري دصتلا ةعارزلا

Export Agriculture in the Palestinian Jordan Valley and its Impact on Women Paid Informal Workers

Ilham Makki Hammodi

Islamic Feminism – in Iraqi Society: Women between Hawza and Religious Parties

Kholoud Ahmed Alajarma

Women of Palestine: Resistance, Identity and Solidarity through Food Production

Manal Mahmoud Qaisi

The Effects of Care Programs for Battered Women in East Jerusalem from their Perspective

Mona Yahya Zaid

فالتخالأ يدحتو ةيصوصخالأ لؤس ةيبرعلا ةيوسنلا ةياورلا

Modern Arab Woman Narrative: Question of Identity and Challenge of Difference

Rania Jawad

The Production of Gender Onstage: The Institutionalization of Cultural Production in the Colonized West Bank

Raouda Toufic El Guedri

La théorie féministe, le corps et l'identité des femmes

Rawan Wadi Ibrahim

How do Unwed Adolescent Mothers Navigate Reintegrating in the Jordanian and Patriarchal Society?

Dr. Saja Taha Al Zoubi

Assessing The Impact Of Training And Microfinance On Agricultural Productivity, Women Income And Decision Making

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Samar Antoine Yaser

تاررحمل تايين يطس لفل تاييس ايسل تاريخي ال ايدل قمو اقل افاق موهفم يل ع ولس و اةيقافتا رثا

Freedom Doubts: Palestinian Female Ex-political Prisoners in the State under Occupation Palestine.

Dr. Sara Ababneh

The Jordanian Popular Protest Movement: A Challenge to Commonly Held Truths about Identity, Gender and Economics in Jordan

Sarah Raouf Shaer

Nationalist Discourse and Negotiating Patriarchy in the UAE

Shaden Abu Harb

ةي وه ل يكشت اداعا يل ع ولس و ادعب ام يل ارب يل ال ايم ال عال باطخل رثا

ةي كال هتس ال اعزل ال اةب ط اخبم ةي ن ي طس ل فل اة ارم ل ا

Sawsan Adnan Samara

Are Educated Jordanian Women really interested in Seeking Political and Leadership Positions in the Jordanian Public Sector?

Souad Eddaouda

Women, The State and Grassroot Change in Morocco: Constraints, Opportunities and Prospects The Case of Soulaliyat Women in Kenitra Region

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Dr. Sara Ababneh's Interview

The Jordanian Popular Protest Movement: A Challenge to Commonly Held Truths about Identity, Gender and Economics in Jordan

Sara Ababneh

Assistant Professor

CSS Internship Program Coordinator, AMIDEAST Jordan Study Abroad Academic Coordinator

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Date of Submission: 24 January 2016

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

4. Submit Data II: Due January 24, 2016: 5 Pages Minimum

Submit data sample – For example: an interviews, a survey, an oral history, an event description – whatever it is.

Include the questions asked, include the setting, include description of subject or event or situation – where was the event/interview/situation/ how long was the engagement.

Document how this data constitutes evidence to answer the question you posed.

Huwwara interviews, 28 Dec 2015

Interview Description

Naji (a Hirak activist and friend of mine who organized these three interviews) and I leave Amman at 10:30 and reach the village of Huwwara around 11:30 am. [See reflection notes before on Naji's influence during the interviews]. We drive directly to Aiman's house which Naji knows well from staying there during the time that Naji stayed with Aiman while helping him protest in Huwwara. Aiman has a beard and is wearing a woolen cap. He yells at Naji for coming late (apparently Naji told him that we would arrive at 10am. We go inside the house which is build around a yard with a huge tree in the middle to say hello to Aiman's mother. However, Aiman urges us not to stay long because last time he was interviewed, the interviewer talked to his mother for over two hours and the article ended up being on Aiman's mother and did not mention him at all. He tells us this story as a joke, in fact Naji had told me about this while we were in the car. As to not repeat this scenario again, Aiman urges us to leave after aprox. 10 minutes.

Aiman's mother Hind is dressed in the traditional dress of the city of Irbid and both the way she looks, speaks and the way she immediately holds my hand make me think and miss my late grandmother a lot [which makes me more sentimental during these interviews that I usually am. I also feel more connected to the three men, mostly Aiman because they remind me of my own relatives who only live ten minutes away, speak the same way and in many ways face the same living conditions]. Hind immediately launches into telling us about her bad knees, her visit to Paris (to see her daughter), how Aiman should start praying and how she would like to see Aiman married soon. She tells Aiman to get up and get us tea, however, Aiman insists that we leave, and that he will get us tea and all we want once we reach the coffee shop that he is planning to have us sit in.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

I promise Aiman's mother that I will pass by her house with my father (who is an orthopedic surgeon) so he can have a look at her knees when we next come to Irbid.

Then we drive to a coffee shop. I drive and Aiman sits next to me, while Naji sits in the back. Aiman comments on my car (a BMW) and how German cars and Germany in general are the best. The coffee shop turns out to be all the way in Irbid. We sit upstairs (in the family section) and Aiman immediately tells the waiter to lower the music. A young man and woman are sitting on the table next to us, but they move as soon as we sit down [they are a couple and seem to prefer to be on their own, their conversation not overheard by us]. There is a sofa with a group of three girls and a guy (also in their early twenties) and a table with two young women. The coffee shop is new. The floor is tiled with ceramic tiles and there are pictures of French cafes and interiors on the wall.

We order tea and coffee and I start asking Aiman questions. Aiman has brought his laptop with him and after a while shows me videos of the work of the Huwwara group that he has prepared for me. It becomes clear that Aiman has prepared himself for this interview with me, not just in terms of the videos that he wants to show me but also in terms of what he wants to talk to me about. [See notes on this below]

Half way through the interview we leave the coffee shop to have lunch at a place that Naji picks. Naji insists on inviting us for lunch. We continue the interview during lunch (I did not take notes then, but they are part of Arabic transcription of the interview)

After lunch we leave Irbid and drive back to Mustafa al X's house in Huwwra. In the car Aiman and I start discussing the issue of Jordanian mother's ability to give their citizenship to their children. The first half an hour that we spend at Mustafa's house we continue this conversation and then I move to interviewing Mustafa. I am almost out of battery at Mustafa's house and am quite tired by that time, so my notes are not as thorough as the earlier notes. Mustafa's parents are not at home and we sit in the living room. The living room is big and has high ceilings. The furniture is minimalist from the early 1980s [but very classy in my opinion, very different from the usually overdone golden and dark wood furniture that newer houses have. It seems that Mustafa's parents are more affluent than Aiman's mother. The house has three stories]. The curtains are dark red and there are some frames of old coins. Half way through the interview Mustafa's sister arrives. She works for the UN and does not wear a headscarf which surprises me. All my cousins from Sal (which is less than 7km away) have been wearing

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

headscarves since the age of 12]. She sits with us for a while joking with Aiman and then makes us some tea. There is no central heating in the house so Mustafa brings in their gas oven and puts it next to me. Naji moves next to sit next to me whenever he gets cold.

Around 6:30pm we move to Jad al X's house. He is the youngest of the three men I interview on that day. We sit in a small living room which is furnished with heavy wooden furniture and green and golden upholstery. The curtains are elaborate. Jad brings in a small gas oven and places it next to me. During the first hour of the interview Naji and Aiman take my car to drive to Irbid where Naji needs to see a relative of his. Mustafa arrives about an hour and a half into my interview with Ahmad. At one point his mother comes in and sits with us. Jad does not tone his statements down and the mother does not seem to mind her son's oppositional politics. We stay at Jad's house until approx. 9:45. On the way back Naji drives my car because my eyesight is bad at night. During the journey I interview him partially.

The following notes the notes I took during the interviews. The interviews were all conducted in Arabic but I took the notes in English translating everything in my head. The notes vary in their thoroughness. I am quite tired, especially towards the end so I take less detailed notes then.

Interview Key

I highlight parts of the interview that speak to my key concepts. I also add my comments and highlight them in blue.

The interview questions are all highlighted in grey.

I did this with the first interview only as it is the one for which I have the most detailed notes.

Interview Schedule

I have a loose schedule in terms of main themes that I ask about. I usually start by asking participants to speak when they became politically active first and then take it from there, asking about their own life,

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

their experience in the group that they were active in, the Hirak in general and their relationship and experiences with other Hirak groups. I also ask participants to elaborate on their main demands.

Aiman al X Interview

My Question: When did you start your political activity?

Aiman: A long time ago. I am from a family, that is naturally in opposition, that is something that I found in my blood [this family identity as an oppositional one is something that all three Xs I interview mention/ a different type of tribal identity: one that takes pride in not being loyal to the monarchy]. In the 80s I was in the 6th grade. King Hussein visited Huwwara, they took us out at 8am, I was a scout, at 11am he had not arrived yet, so I just left. I might have been quiet for a while, but things were there. My father's salary was 14JD but he build a house and was able to provide for us, the economic situation was good, it was not that big of a deal when a corrupt minister would steal 1 million Dinars. The problem that happened is the change in economic policy, they destroyed the country [Key Concept: Economic need/ dignified life]. It became hard to live. They needed someone to hang up [ring] the bell [meaning be the whistle blower]. Everyone was complaining, they were waiting. Bou Azizi was the one who hung up the bell. Everyone was happy. In Jordan, it all started in Thiban, through Mohammad Sneid, I heard this directly from him [proof of liason between the different actors in this case a governorate group (Huwwara) and Sneid the labour activist], and the disease went around, the left is the one which took on this, they started making cells, they started demonstrations, they might have been very humble, but I am sure, that despite the small numbers, they were much more impacting than what the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) did [Why is he saying they and not we?]. In Amman we [switch to we/ indicates that he sees himself as part of Jayeen and not the Hirak in Irbid which he seems to say is mostly MB controlled] started a movement called Jayeen [Aiman's connection to Jayeen], I was one of the people involved in it. Jayeen was behind the resignation of Samir al Rifai, even though we were only 20 people.

We had very simple demands,

My Question: What were your demands?

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

- to establish a teacher's union
- To nationalize national institutions
- To establish a ministry of tamween [Aiman answers very quickly, he does not have to think about these demands the way other participants do, this shows how central these demands were. Double check with Jayeen demands]
-

My Question: Who were you? [Whose demands are these?]

Nahed [Hattar], Ala al Faza3, Ahmad Ababneh, Ameen al Rabee3 [All Jayeen activists]

The first i3tisam [demonstration/vigil] with mabeet [a sleep over] was organized by Jayeen. We made a tent,.

My Question: Where there women with you who slept outside as well?

No

My Question: But there were women there?

Yes, like for example

Muna Batran (she is Ala'a al Faza3's wife) but they now both live abroad.

Wala (married Hamzeh al Budeiri)

Amani al Ghul [Important female Jayeen activists that I need to follow up with]

My Question: How was Jayeen founded?

Nahed [Hattar] wanted to found a party, but he did not want to include the party, we discussed this, he was convinced that change would come from the governorates and not from the capital. Hirak 36 send two young people. I was not able to attend at that time.

We wanted reform, but we did not want the fall of the regime or its institutions. But we did not want to destroy the institutions, we want the GID, but without corruption. It is important to maintain the state,

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

we saw what happened in Iraq and Libya. We don't want that. [Key Concept: Demands and the form of protest]

When we were in Hirak Huwwara and Irbid... you would be surprised some people asked us if we want to be armed [He raises his eyebrows]

My Question: armed by whom?

We found out that there is a secret discourse [He is hesitant here, does not seem to want to tell me. He quickly changes the topic]

This is why I say that freedom of expression: should only be respected to a certain point, I will not be respectful to those who want to eliminate, to destroy.

We are an oppositional family [the X/ again pride in oppositional tribalism/ redefining and reclaiming tribalism], have martyrs who fought for Palestine,... [fighting for Palestine legitimates activism. This is also a way to reclaim East Bank Jordanian identity as a patriotic (watani) one which fights for Palestine/ Concept: Identity Politics, Patriotism (wataniah)]

We created a council of the youth of the X, we wanted to use tribal language, we could have picked another name. They asked us why? We were criticized for that. We wanted to draw a new picture of patriotism and ... [Concept: Identity Politics, Tribalism, Patriotism (wataniah)/ reclaiming tribalism]

27 March 2010, that is when it started, in the X *Mathafa* [the family building where official functions are preformed such as asking for hands in marriage, and funerals], and a lot of people supported us. [Aiman is one of the few activists who knows the exact dates of events]

My Question: Of course all of them were men?

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

No, I will come to this in a bit. There were women.

I will show you a video. [This is the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uBOMvndFosU>]

[Aiman has prepared his laptop in advance to show me the video. The video shows the different activists of the family group. They painted public schools, did workshops for female students, gathered clothes in the winter for the poor, gave all school children books and school bags at the beginning of the year, did lecture series, did a cleaning up campaign of the village and distributed yellow garbage bags to cars so that they would not through garbage on the ground/ Aiman comments on the you tube video while we watch it].

When Irheil al X established Zamzam [off spring of the MB established during the Hirak to focus on internal Jordanian matters, for which he got dismissed from the MB later on], we invited him, we invited Mohammad al Hamouri, We have a community college in Huwwara, which was the first in all of Jordan, we started with our self, we did a lot of community work,

We want to show the people a good image of tribalism [Concept: tribalism/ reclaiming tribalism/ identity politics], how to belong to a country, its earth and not a person [concept: patriotism/ redefining patriotism as to not only mean loyalty to the king and ruling family]. Hirak Huwara came out of this

26 May 2012 was the first demonstration in Huwwara. We were a hirak matlabi bil kamel (demands based Hirak) [reclaiming demands based activism/ basic economic needs]. [Timeline]

The bureaucrat in the state [explanation: these are symbols of the state usually from East Bank Jordanian-Jordanian decent who the king has accused of holding modernization back and who have been scapegoated for wanting to stop reform/ this discourse is taken up by younger ex-ministers like Marwan Muasher see Carnegie papers] : they are not all corrupt. You cannot generalize, who told us about Rania's birthday party [not even say Queen to indicate lack of respect]? The clean bureaucrate. These are icons [reclaiming certain state actors/ connected to Jayeen and Nahed Hattar's work]

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

The martyrs of Jordan for Palestine, because a lot of people said you [East Bank Jordanians] sold us, that is not true. When Jazi Hadith al Hreisha was the one who turned off the radio. [Concept: Identity Politics/ redefining patriotism]

Or see the Jordanian Democratic Youth Movement. We did an activity on 31/ 3/ 2013: we wanted to bring the earth day and the Karameh together to bring together the racist Palestinian and the backward Jordanian together. [Concept: Identity Politics/ redefining patriotism]

We worked with Jamal Bal3awi: the Jordanian soldier said that if it had not been for the fidayeen they would have killed us, the fidayeen said that if it had not been for the Jordanian army we would not have been able to win. Al Karameh is a very important part of our history, it would have led to the people uniting. That is why the events of 70s were so important through Israeli and American help [referring to black September]. [reclaiming certain symbols]

That is when people started working against each other. They [the state] made a resistance club: al Wihdat football club, all the Palestinians would stand behind it [the state allows sports according to identity lines to distract people and allow them to fight against each other/ divide and conquer]. Then they created al Faisali football club for the East Bank Jordanians. These groups they disagree on everything but the king. [Concept: divide and conquer strategies by the state/ disagree on sports but see the king as what is keeping Palestinian-Jordanians and Jordanian-Jordanians from attacking each other and killing each other]

Question: Can you tell me about the 24th March 2011?

We participated with Jayeen.

Naji asks : was there any backlash against you? In Amman they started saying look what the Palestinians did, they want to take over the country.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

My Palestinian friend said, what have the Palestinians fooled you to go. Even she bought the story of that the state sold the people.

We were able to see who was with us and who was against us.

Question: What about Hirak Irbid? How did you participate in that?

We participated in the Hirak as Huwwara.

On 14th January we demonstrated

The main actors were Hashem al X, Muntada al Fikr al Ishtiraki, the old guard in the left which was active in Palestine issues. [Hirak actors]

When the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) entered that is where the problem started. They did not start until after 24th March. [negative role of the MB]

We wanted services in Huwwara, we brought the mayor of Irbid three times to Huwwara, I never saw such inaptness in my life. [basic economic needs]

We wanted free medication for all old ladies in Huwwara, they paved our roads, they sprayed the garbage bags with anti-mosquito repellent, I don't even think that they would do this in Germany. They did exemplary work. [The state responds when it is forced to]

Some of our slogans were: "The took the water to Abdoun, in Huwwara the olive trees are dying"
[economic injustice/ natural resources are being used to benefit the rich]

The police would read our slogans and laugh and say you are right. [Sympathy of the police/ class solidarity?]

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We also wrote a statement that we called Bayan 1111: so many names signed the bayan, all from the X family. We were the only tribe in Jordan to do something like this.

Question: A lot of people have written that those actors which demanded services only are not real political actors, that they are more naïve. What do you say to that?

Why? Look at what we were able to achieve:

Better roads

Cleanliness

A health center

Schools: the make schools better and more services, all our schools need better schools

Some people would say, what if the government gave us these things, what would we do then? Would we stop? I would say don't worry. The first thing is that they would get what they would ask for, and other people did as we did.

The core of political reform will come from the matlabi (serive) calls. You will see. Think of what we are:

- tabi3a country (a country that follows others, does not have sovereignty).
- a country that has victimized two people. (identity politics)

In this country there are animals which can plow it and we want to plow our own country. We want to break the hands of the octopus that we have that no one can say no to. How can you say no to... 20 million Euros for the water of the North. [Concepts: Corruption/ imperialism/ lack of sovereignty/ divide and conquer]

The hirak al matlabi (the movement to call for services): we tire the regime out with our demands, then we say that if the regime cannot give this, then what can you give, what can you give us afterwards, so go and go... [Concept: tactics and strategies]

It is also about being smart. People get scared when you say you have a political aim, the Hashemites have been destroying our educational and tribal system for the last 80 years [reclaiming tribalism/

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

separating tribalism from loyalty the monarchy]. Not everything that is right should be declared. We have to think [Concept: tactics and strategies]

The mayor of Irbid was the head of the GID he was able to destroy...

Khaled Abu Zaid:

Kharja/ kufr Asad [Here Aiman goes into how certain people were coopted and the role of the GID, I cannot type this fast]

My question: How were they able to destroy the Hirak? [Aiman mentions that the MB is destroying the Hirak]

- The MB, when Mursi won they thought they were winning. That is where the 5 October 2012: before the parliamentary elections. I participated. It was the biggest MB demonstration in Jordan. They were given the choice to participate, they decided against it and were told that the street is there for you, they choose the street, and wanted to go to the US. The king said we have elections, they were against the elections. I am happy that the regime was able to break the MB and the Hamman Said current that would lead to the nationalization of Palestinians [in Jordan/ that is to say that Jordan would become the homeland for Palestinians and Palestine that of Jews] . And the US was supporting this, they were for the Islamist option, it was much better than the leftist

Whenever we went out for something for Jordan, we would go to the US embassy they would go to the Syrian embassy, they would go to Rab3a.

- GID entrance to the Hirak.
- The left was sowing and others harvested.

Radio al Balad made a talk show in Irbid, I went. There were two Islamists, Nabil al Kofahi, and Khawawneh, Alaweh (GID), Ibrhiam al Rawashdeh (who was an informant). I interfered a lot because they were giving a lot of false facts. He tried to ...

Abd al Hadi al Majali had a nadweh and we made it fail.

Who joins ISIS? Those who are desperate.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

The MB considers Wasfi al Tall a traitor, even though he brought Ishaq al Farhan as minister of education. The East bankers of the MB say that they are with the institutions of the state, they want to do as they did in Morocco where no corrupt person was persecuted and the MB got part of the pie. And I know what Irheil says, I said to him, how will you nationalize? How will you deal with corruption? He says that he will start a new page. [Concepts: Reclaiming national symbols/ HIRAK symbols]

Wasfi al Tell is a person around which there is a lot of debate, those who consider him black and others who consider him white. The MB would stop the demonstration 30 meters before the Wasfi al Tell roundabout. Then they changed the whole way that the demonstration would go. When they would through tear gas the women would through us onions. They changed it to the University road which is full of foreigners and Ammanis who would take cell phone pictures. [Concepts: Reclaiming national symbols/ HIRAK symbols]

The MB is the spoilt kid of the regime, they want more than the piece of the cake. [Critique of the MB]

The Jordanian national movement had Jordanians and Palestinians, they were both together, the Palestinian patriot realized that a strong Jordan can give to Palestine, even if only a rose. Jordan has the longest border with Palestine. [identity politics]

Q: Other than the MB what led to the fall of HIRAK?

That 'the fall of the regime' was called for during Tashreen call [November riots]. After that there were a lot of people who were prosecuted, and then we worked on releasing them, and the demonstrations got less and less. And there were no changes that happened during the HIRAK. The opposite happened in Huwwara, people saw changes, we started with a few but more and more people joined us.

Hay al Tafaileh: HIRAK al Safarat: Jamal Tahat, the US embassy

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

A woman lawyer (Leen al Khayat) wanted people to meet with the embassies, the US embassies, we cannot be against US involvement in Libya and then [American involvement in the Hirak]

Question: How did Hirak Huwwara start?

Through the X group. Some made mistakes and started speaking about politics, we focused on demands, and people responded and we demonstrated. A lot of people started fear mongering, but we broke the fear barrier. The GID would not have been able to do anything to us in Huwwara. [Concept: what protects people from the state/ tribal groups can project its members against the state]

Q: Why not?

Tribal support, my brother is against me, but he said if anyone came in he said he would have blown himself up in the GID. The mayor had a meeting with the Makhateer and told them you need to tell them to stop.

Another thing is that none of us wanted anything for himself, we did not work to become famous. Only once a younger guy said why does the Mayor call you and not us? But I did not do it to become famous. [activism vs NGO work, work for salaries/ fame]

Q: Tell me a bit about yourself and your work history?

I was born in 18 Jan 1973, I studied Sina3i (Tawjihi) [it later becomes clear that he did not pass the tawjihi exam], went to.... / I went to the army 1990- and stayed until 1996. My father had died when I was young, I was the oldest boy and felt that I needed to support the family. The moment my siblings were older, I left. But then I left with a problem. So I did not get a retirement fund, so I went and did tawjihi and get my life in order. My presence in army opened my eyes to a lot of things. First in Azraq, then in Syria. I really benefited from a lot, the army helped developed my personality, the army is beautiful.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Every village in Jordan, there was someone from there.

Then I worked as a *Khatat* in University of Technologica [Personal information about participant]

I was a day-wage labourer and they were supposed to hire me permanently, but they did not. My boss told me I want a *wasta*, I said I will not get you a *wasta*. My boss wanted me to bring someone important to ask for me to be hired so that one day he could ask him for a favour. I refused to do this. [meritocracy/ working against a system of *wasta* (East Bank Jordanians are often accused of unjustly harvesting the benefits of *wasta*)]

2009 Military Retired Personelle invitation in Diwan al X

Q: Tell me about the women that mentioned before, who worked with you?

They would demonstrate alone so that the GID could not hold it against us. So they would fight on one side of the road and we on the other. [the way the state uses gendered stereotypes to fight HIRAK activists] First it was hard to coordinate with women but then it became easier.

Q: Could you ask any of them if they are willing to speak to me?

[At first he is hesitant but then says yes and he gives me a name and says he will organize an interview]

Basima X

Question: How would you want to redefine tribalism?

The king in his last speech said that he got the support of the tribal leaders, of course he bought this [support]. This is the same that happened with King Abadallah I, that is how the sheikhs were bought, and it was the weakest ones that were bought. We want the tribe to have a political, social and economic role, a role in everything. [Redefining tribalism]

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Adham X

Question: Who did you work with? How?

[At this point my battery runs out and we move to a restaurant to have lunch. I continue the interview and tape it, but I did not take any notes]

Mustafa X

Brief interview description:

We sit in his living room, a sofa is lit. His sister comes in later, she is in jeans and does not wear a headscarf. We are all wearing our coats. The sister sits with us after she makes us tea. We initially discuss the issue of Jordanian women and their children's citizenship. The ceilings are high. There are framed big coins.

Q: Tell me a bit about yourself and how you first became politically active?

My father was in the PFLP,

I saw something on the facebook calling for the first demonstration on 7 Jan 2011, then on 14th of Jan in Irbid, then Hirak Huwwara, which was a demands based Hirak.

Q: When were you born?

1979

I had a stone factory. I was engaged during that time, I study since 2013, ... There was an economic backturn, I had not saved enough money, she did

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Q: What made you go to the street?

As Jordanians we felt that the regime has not given us our rights. There are a lot of issues on the street. We should be giving at the time of youth. If we don't try to change nothing will happen.

I went as someone who was not organized, and I stayed that way. I was working 'taqreeban' with Huwwara, you have to start step by step to reach the point of no return, the reality was shocking. We were not moving, now that I look back, I feel that a lot of the things were guided from outside, that we did not move things, there was a lot of interference, people from the outside that had demands

We wanted water, the streets needed to be saved. I used to say that if these things were solved, we needed an infrastructure, there was no infrastructure. No sewage system. [basic economic needs] We also wanted to make changes, have a say in these things. And the normal

No social security, no job security, no food security, these are not there. [basic economic needs]

I went to Irbid, first and waited at the Hashimi mosque and waited outside: Bread, Freedom and Social security.

26 May 2012 Huwara

There were invitations for Hiraks, on facebook, we met a lot of these people. Like Aiman, and Naji,

My question: That was before 2011?

No after. There were pages, and I felt that they were right, there were a lot of things that were missing.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Naji: Did Tunisia influence you?

Yes, of course, we had hope that we could change, that without political parties, we as youth we could change things. I did not go to university because my father's situation was not good. We are all Jordanian but none of us got a seat. [a discussion mainly with Naji who seems to think that all Jordanian-Jordanians have immediate access to a seat at university through the army makruma][Extremely important to analyse Naji's (Palestinian-Jordanian) assumption that all Jordanian-Jordanians can go to University if they want to/ identity politics/ stereotypes]

Aiman:

My question: You said social justice. What is social justice?

To have rights, to have the minimum law, have the same rights, to be able to reach the social level that you want without wasta, to study in a university, regardless of what your father does. [defining social justice]

What is job security.

Taker was the liason person, he would go to Amman like his house and then

24th of March

We were there since noon. The first demonstration I cried, I felt that it was something really beautiful. Things have been going from bad to worse. I realized that there was a lot of outside the framework. Firas Mahadeen and Khawaldeh, there were meetings that I did not go to. Because I was working and it was also expensive, a meeting that takes 6 hours, that is a lot of time, and takes a lot. [cost of activism]

Hose: they wanted to show something but it was not possible.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

I did not know where I was standing, sometimes I was doubting myself. Am I on the right track? There were not that many people, there were a lot of slogans that were raised too early, like the fall of the regime [did not call for the fall of the regime].

[Nadia the sister sat down with us]

and there was fear, fear of the unknown.

Naji: Did you ever face pressure from the parents?

My mother was crying, she was saying that I thought your brothers would do this, yes, but that you would go.

My mother went through this with my borther Khaldoon, he was always ...

On the 24th March there was this discourse that I did not like, like this person came from Karak, or this one is Christian, if we are all Jordanian, why are we saying this. The MB portrayed al Khawaldeh as an East Banker

I met some X from Ajloun, Sayed X the son of Irheil, we were fighting for constitutional monarchy. All 5-6 there was

Ibrahim al Rawashdeh: hirak Daira, he made his own slogan. [Tahker: he said that he would arm us]. Not to arm us but to pay us.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Aiman: we treated the state with soft power (security), it is not the state that treated us like that. We are more keen on keeping the state more than they us.

Where should we go?

Next Friday we have a meeting saying we are still oppressed. Sareeh has asphalt, we don't they have Abd al Raouf al Rawabdeh

What did you do?

We raised your salary for JD 20, we made a government fall.

Aiman: there will be a day, in which you will say where should we stop?

Mustafa: you have responsibility as well.

We worked really well, the way we dealt with the police, even though there were GID people between us.

Naji: You say that there was a question mark around Naji [because Naji is Palestinian-Jordanian]. Did you feel that the Jordanian is closer to you than a Palestinian? In Amman, I grew up in a camp like situation, we were brought up that every Jordanian is a traitor, someone who works for the secret service. [identity politics/ stereotypes]

Mustafa: I felt that all the Palestinians hate Jordanians for unknown feelings, despite the events of the 70s. If you say that there are east bankers then there are west bankers. [identity politics]

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Regardless of what I could do the Palestinian would never be convinced that I am a patriot. Even if I cursed the king. I have to tell him my history. I am afraid for Jordan and my Jordanianess [identity politics], at one point I have to think of myself. I don't have wheat. We are selling our land and are not growing wheat, now there is no wheat, we are waiting for our wheat. [basic economic needs/ economic sovereignty]

Wasfi al Tall: a person who had a plan. Even Abd al Nasser did not have a plan. But Tall had a plan [reclaiming national symbols]

Abd al Karim al X.

There was a question that was always asked? Do you want Palestinians to rule us? I always answered that they have already ruled us, look at Taher al Masri, [identity politics]

At the beginning of the Hirak we noticed this: Iran is coming. I am in Jordan, why are you talking about Iran? Why are you speaking about Shitite influence? It is because there were people in the Hirak that were pushed. So that people get scared.

I remember our teachers, they used to be poor (masakeen), JD 200, and the police would get JD 300. We went to demonstrate with the teachers on the 4th circle. [solidarity with other Hirak factions/ basic economic needs]

A lot of money was paid to make the people ignorant.

Who rules us in Jordan?

People say yes, to people if they have a plan, they already have ruled us. The first 50 years of the history of Jordan no Jordanian has ruled us. [identity politics]

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We have two girls who study with us, one girl whose grandfather lived in Palestine and was called Horani there. Now her father works in Nazareth, she should be a Jordanian because her grandfather was a Jordanian. She says that is a Palestinian, and why do you hate Jordanians? She says I don't know. There is a nother woman, who is her friend, she is Palestinian and has been brought up in the US and she considered herself Jordanian.

Naji: We had difficulty in how to speak ourselves. Should we say we are Palestinian, sometimes we felt that in a Jordanian environment to say you are Palestinians in something that is bad. [identity politics/ redefining Palestinian-Jordanian identity]

Habet tashreen

I was not that active. I did not hold the microphone, I wanted to see how people reacted. It was positive, the people felt the pain at that point. After a week of the Habeh and

Friday 30 November

Al Jabha al Urdunia lil Islah

Ahmad Obeidat: said go back to your homes [in my interviews participants have attributed this statement to various leaders, as to say that by saying this the leaders were conspiring with the regime and undermined the Hirak].

Jad al X

We sit in his living room. Naji and Aiman leave to buy cigattes and Ahmad and I stay behind and talk for 45 minutes, when Naji and Aiman come back. The three of them go out to smoke. After an hour and a half Mustafa comes in. Ahmad's mother comes in after two hours and sits with us. She brings us fruits.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

The men leave the room about three times to smoke.

A small sitting room with the picture of a boy in graduation clothes on the wall. There are beige olive green furniture with dark wood.

Born in 1988 in Kuwait, lived in Fuhais for 20 years and just finished studying MIS. We sit in his living room with a small solar soba.

[... missing notes]

A clean bureaucrat, real elections.

The whole capitalist system is problematic. The capitalist system in the US is one type, capitalism in Jordan takes and does not give anything. It takes land, power, politics and whole country and it does not give it anything. If we had the same capitalism that takes a lot and ... it was mostly through discussions. Books you can't have discussion with. Videos, the realities, the experiences we have lived... everything we live in, when I pay 45 JD an hour at the University, when I pay more and don't get a proper education. I love al Yarmouk University. It used to be a nationalist patriotic university, it was used and destroyed through corruption, I am with free education. But how can you have free education when the university cannot fix its infrastructure. This is connected to the other institutions of the state. The university should get money from the diwan. It is not just a problem of capitalism, it is more than that.

My father used to work in the Cement factory which used to be public and now has been privatized. The rest of my family works in the private sector (apart from my sister), I see myself in the private sector, it is the only solution to unemployment [interesting after what he said about the problems with capitalism]. Jordanians who have money should invest in their country. Al Manaseer (a local private gas station chain) is really good, he has invested in his country. Bourgeois capital should contribute to building this country.

This does not mean I am with communism. I should not just copy and paste something. I should think of an economic system that fits with me as Jordan. We have imported everything, even political parties, give me something that is not imported.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We always take something from abroad and mostly the negative things.

My question: Who has influenced your thoughts the most? What conversations? What books?

Most of the people who sat with us, are youth. Some of our conversations have affected me a lot. To talk about certain ideas. Young people, we read, and then we discuss these books.

[he has difficulty telling me who influenced him].

Shabab al yasar (leftist comrades), who I consider myself one of.

Marx 'Das Kapital', a lot of things felt very real to me, I don't know if this is influence.

I already had problems with capitalism

When I first read Darwin I had a very different understanding, Darwin influenced me a lot.

People who have influenced me?

The environment that I have grown up with, our family, we have always been known as oppositional,[oppositional family/ self-image of the X] they are mostly communist, they read a lot, and they practice what they preach, the first one is Hashim X. I also met his comrades, who have been there.

Majles Shabab al X, I might have influenced more than influencing them. Our friends in Amman, Mahdi, his friend Muhanad, Aiman, Naji, all of us influence each other, we all influence each other. None of us think about influencing, we all impact each other. We all influence and are influenced.

A lot of history is repeating itself, they helped us a lot, we were

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We were about 160 people, we have no problem with the participation of women, but we had to think about ourselves first. We want women to participate, we often ask why they don't come, we say lets make the women's X network, how can I do this for you. There have been initiatives, but they have not worked out. There has not been

It might be that we cannot all meet all together, maybe they can meet on one day, and us on another day. We want them to initiate it, we are against imposing things. We want strong personalities, women not men.

What activities did you organize?

Different things, we used to volunteer. Why always volunteer? It helps me work more with others and get to know them. The first act of volunteering was to make the entrance of the village beautiful, when I start working like a 3amel watan (politically correct way of saying garbage man) without expecting thank you. I felt something beautiful, I was holding a stick and I was cleaning a place that was not mine, I don't even clean my own house, how can I clean a place that does not belong to me. But doing it made me care about it more than I care about my own house. [civic engagement]

People always say: look at these people, they don't care. I used to hear this all the time, but I never cared. I noticed that it was real through my experience. It upset me because I participated. This was the first thing we did. The question of who we should feel alliance to? A person? Or the nation? The nation, that is how we created this nationalist place?

It is not a volunteer organization, it is not an NGO, it is a national movement.

We gave garbage bags in Irbid and Huwwara, the Mc Donalds traffic lights

We cleaned the cemetery, we did not want people to see our work just for our family.

We also helped poor people in the village, the thalassemia campaign, cultural workshops. We discussed books, like when I read the Alchemist and discussed it. Dr. Basem Burgan came to discuss the nuclear

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

reactor. It was great, we tried to bring some of those who were pro-nuclear reactor, but they refused to come and debate with him.

Dr. Mohammad al Hamouri spoke on the electoral law and the

Changing the Mathafa for a place not just for funerals to have it be a space for

Shoman

Why did we have goals that are not declared? So that we are not judged by them.

- to increase cultural awareness

Goal of the Hirak?

I first participated on the 4th circle with Jayeen, it was cold. Nahed Hattar was there, he had ...

We want a ministry of Tamweel, we want free education, we want to bring back the phosphate, we want a union for teachers. [demands]

We were mostly young people, Mahdi, Mohammad, Ala al Faza3, Ma'moun al Harasees, and some of the majles al X people, a lot of people, khouri, not Tamer Khorma, Abu Leila, Mao Tzedung, a group of leftists, I read the Retired Military Personel. Adhad told me to give the military personal statement. It was very nice, Mohammad Sneid was there and the DWLM, Amal al Ghoul was there. After we did this, I wanted to participated, and we started to go there. We would go to the meetings in al Webdeh, the Retired Military Personel were there. It was really nice. Then we started organizing events, in the name of Jayeen, in Irbid, at the Yarmouk circle, it was a vigil for the soul of Bou Azizi, and then the Amman youth came and it became a demonstration, first it was silent and then it changed. [Hirak]

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

The main gate of the University of Jordan. We slept over in Sahat al Nakheel. We demonstrated in al Hussein mosque. The MB was not there at all. It was great, we had great demands. Initially there were the thugs who were against anything, regardless of what they wanted. They were great demands.

I went to Karak, Tafieleh, Irbid, Ramtha, there were a lot of anti nuclear reactor movements.

Tafieleh we went, that was later, after the ceiling was much higher... in Irbid there was not much, it was not much. Every Friday Amman and Tafieleh was happening. I was also going with Aiman. We went to Madaba, to Thiban, three times. Mostly we went to Amman. Then once things started in Irbid. [networking between different HIRAK activists]

Discussions with leftists was around how to develop our thought, there were other currents where we could not reach a conclusion, with the Islamists, around the electoral law.

My problem is not with electoral law reform, my problem is with those who only want to change the electoral law, not the demands that we had. That happened with Jayeen. My problem is that they want the Qur'an to be a constitution, there was no secular discussion. I also have a problem that he does not want to separate politics from religion. But they were not consistent.

The emotional ones, the ones who want demands only, the liberal ones, who don't have problems with NGOs, those who don't have a problem with American aid. They are mostly in Amman. They live only in Amman [laughing], they are mostly there. Some of them were also in Irbid.

Once we were sitting in the Jayeen headquarters: we were thinking about whether we should participate in 24th March. We agreed on some things and then they did other things. We told them that we don't want this and that and they did all that. Jayeen influenced me... I stopped working for two years to just look from far away.

Q: tell me more

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We clashed with the state. We saw how they brought buses from Yarmouk (Ha'yat Shabab Kuluna al Urdun), they brought them to Hadaeq al Hussein and told them that these are all Palestinians who want to through over the system. A lot of them left. My cousin called me to ask me if this is true, if it is true that there are Palestinians who have no passports and who have Palestinian flags... [state manipulation of identity politics]

Abu Hamzeh al Rawabdeh

The way the GID has worked, through *Hayzat kuluna al Urdun*, and then through NGOs because there was a lot of money this way. [Secret Service/ GID]

Then there were problems and we knew that there would be problems. Because they wanted to change the electoral law, and they wanted the fall of the GID. They had changed all the things that we had agreed on.

We ask for nationalization, for giving back the property of the people, how will they buy back the national resources. It is not easy. The state was against the teachers, the DWLM,

Aiman: when they celebrated from

I saw that the regime was very intelligent. I saw that it is not weak at all. I saw its security and its police service and its intelligence (secret service). The regime treated us, how it was able to get civilians to move, my cousin was not part of the secret service and the regime was able to make it move it. They were able to move them [Aiman: a sandwich and cigarettes] no, not just that, they spoke to them, they were able to influence them. I took a break for a year.

Q: Yarmouk activism.

After the 24th of March for a year I took time off for about a year. Then there was Hirak Huwara,

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

2012 Sept I registered in al Yarmouk university tanafus, I paid JD 45 per hour, I was unhappy about that. Then Hiraq Huwwara was founded, by people with different ideological leanings, the communist, independent opposition (not as part of the regime, not ideological), Islamists, and Salafis.

27 March 2010

26 May 2012 Hiraq Huwwar started (from Majles Shabab Huwwara): we wanted to close the traffic lights, Huwwara wants services, he wrote great slogans, [Aiman: he is a poet].

We spoke about the water, we used to come up with different

In the context of Disi water, we talked about how all the water is going to Amman, and not to all the places

'Huwwara is speaking because it is hurting [Huwwara tatakalam la'anaha tatalam' that was our first slogan. In Tafieleh they had called for the fall of the regime, but we did not want to do this, we wanted to get somewhere. We were able to control the situation, the MB was not able to take over, or those who wanted to raise the ceiling of the demands.

There are those who ...

I registered in al Yarmouk, first I studied for a year, looking at the different student years. I entered in 2012. We started working after Habet Tashreen. We worked then, but we tried to really change students after the Habet.

I was itihad al shabab al dimocrati.

Yazan Khazar (Hashemite)

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Huda al Rimawi (Techno)

Ahamd Masamreh (Tafieleh)

I looked at what was there. The groups that were there at al Yarmouk University were:

1. Tadamun
2. Al Aqsa: Fateh. How were they founded? The Islamists started them, they were not able to enter the economic faculty. They were extreme, not extreme, extreme, they were Islamists, they cannot go and speak with women, they wanted to create a modern Islamists group, without clear Islamists guidelines, it went out of hand and then Fateh took over. Those of Palestinian origin took over, they were really good at the beginning. They had a Fateh mentality. Now they are different, they are no longer Islamist in any way, they just speak about themselves. They are mostly fateh. At the same time, they work on elections. They have one club, they get money for more than 3000 JD, most of their work is for Palestine.
3. Watan wa Saheejeh (not like the Techno)
4. I'tilaf al Isalmi: they work for Palestine, they work differently for al Aqsa mosque (not for Jerusalem, not for Ramallah), you can participate, but let the rafiqat should stand over there. But we don't listen to them too much, but we don't start fights so that they don't say we are not changing
5. Harakeh al tulabieh lil tagheer (later Ahmad al X)

Do any of them go out because of high prices? No, because of increasing fees.

Mataleb TAlieb: independent and the tadamum people, they were kicked out of the university with investigation. This was before I entered the university. That was the last time there were student demands. Other than that there was nothing. And I understand that.

Then there was Habet Tashreen. Here people asked me to work in my university. [it is not people, I demanded it of myself]. I wanted to work on this, on things that are happening here in Jordan, not just for Palestine. How can I become strong in the University without me being at harm of being arrested.

My question: What were our goals?

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We wanted to be strong. During habet Tashreen we organized something, all of us did not [we were speaking about the bad infrastructures we connected it to the high prices and how Jordan was dependent, we had good slogans with a ceiling that we had agreed on, outside there is the fall of the regime, we did not even call for the fall of the government]. This was during the Habeh, I was at the university in the morning, then eat at home, and then go to the Wasfi al Tall roundabout. On the third day, the night when everyone was arrested, thugs were there inside the university. They were ten times as many of us. We decided to stop, and all leave. We agreed with them, I was also speaking to students from other universities. I was speaking to Yazan about what was happening in the Hashemite university. In the Hashemite university they are called Watan. We were unable to do anything in the University. What allowed us to start in the university was that we were strong outside the university, but when we became weak outside the university we stopped for a while.

The problem of al Yarmouk university is that the economic faculty is now no longer inside the university, historically that faculty is where all the activism happened. this impacted the student movement. Even during the Yarmouk events (1986) it all came out of the economic faculty.

Now we don't even know what we study. We then organized another protest movement against the gas treaty, we worked together with the Hashemite university. It was in the new economic faculty. Because those who were active were there. When we organized it, I tried to coordinate with the Islamsits, I said no Allahu Akbar, only the Jordanian flag, now names of organization, and the slogans will come from us, they all agreed. We organized it and it was good. But whenever we did anything, we did it in al Amadeh, that was wrong because they were able to get all the thugs. For us the moving of the economic faculty was a disaster. In 2011 when they bombed Gaza, we moved through the whole university.

Who were the people? How did you organize?

First the guys started, Najji, the ones who had the idea where the change and revolution current, Najji and Yazan. Then we wanted to act again under the same name, but we had to start all over again, in al Yarmouk, Techno, Balqa, University of Jordan, Philadelphia our start was in Ramadan 2013 we met and we wanted to organize with all the other

Film a cartoon: the ... of an economic assassin.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

A film about student activism in Jordan (Yazan made this film, it is on you tube).

[On the 30th of December Ahmad sent me this email with all the links to the films he mentioned in the interview:

تحية طيبة د.سارة عباينة
وتحتوي على بعض (جزء من الملف التنظيمي) هذه مجموعة من المستندات التي تخص الحركة الطلابية للتغير في الجامعات الاردنية
المقترحات للاعمال وتشمل شعار الحركة
عمل عليها مجموعة من رفاق الحركة من سنة 2012 لسنة 2015

فيديوهات عن نشاطات الحركة

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jv1AgkgW1nM> برومو الحركة الطلابية للتغير

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R_p8qI27U2M [extremely important video about al Hashemieh University student protests against tuition fee increase in which the speaker situates the protests in the context of the Hirak]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hBvbThBjvpk> هبة تشرين جامعة اليرموك اليوم الاخير

للمزيد من المعلومات حول الحركة الطلابية يمكن التواصل مع رفاقنا في عمان : ملاحظة

يزن خازر ملحم

علي ابو فرحة

عدي عربيات

نتمنى لكم التوفيق

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Some people made speeches. Our mistake was to make it in Huwwara and at night, we should have done it in Amman, then the women would have come.

The communists did not come either, there administration did not allow them.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

We had good news coverage, Ru'ya came, but they did not air it. They were our friends. At JUST, Manaf X, the son of Hashem X.

We met in this ifar to meet, and then we started thinking about a new movement, we wanted to do more than just for Palestine all the time, Palestine is good, but not as the only thing, there are issues to do with our university [redefining patriotic work to include focusing on international Jordanian matters]

Leith Alwaneh, a medical student at the university of Jordan, he was really smart, he was able to solve a problem. He was able to solve a problem: the medical students were expelled because they had not attended

Leith started a student group, they pay a lot, but they had no corpses to work on, they were not able to record the lectures, initially they were allowed to and then they were permitted, Leith organized this. He was kicked out because he was active. The dean cursed Leith personally. At this time all of Jordan was asleep, it was very hard. There was no revolutionary work. When you don't get any feedback, they don't even send any thugs. I don't know, did we get anything.

We say we want to run for elections. Did we win?

Main demands?

- I want to maintain the institution that I am in, the educational institution on Jordan. These universities are national institutions, I want them to be places of excellent, the infrastructure need betterment, the way teaching happens, corruption, when you bring an EU representative and then she does nothing, and she costs the university JD 5000 made proper toilets for the students. Tuition fees, the problems of teachings, tasjeel, cafeteria prices that al Balqa ('my mother's sandwich is better' campaign), the sandwich in the University is much more expensive inside the university. At our university we did not have any problems like that. Al Hashemite university had the same problem.

Q: Thabahtuna (did you work with them)? They are not in al Yarmouk university, or in any of the north universities. They are in the University of Jordan. But they are mostly outside the university. In theory they are there, but in practice they are there. Fakher Daas understand the universities

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Mahdi al Saafeen and Hashem al Tall were approached by Fakher Daas. They have a plan, but where are the people on the street? If you have people tell me who they are let me work with them. I worked with the Islamists but according to our rules, no takbeer and no electoral law.

This is it.

Aiman: next year I will do Tawjihi and go to university.

Mohammad Tayseer X: Teacher's/ Ramtha

Ibrahim Afnan Sawalha (so that not all of them are X).

Ammar

Mohammad Faisal is in Amman and can talk about Hashemite University.

Hiba Abu Taha

Huda al Rimawi

Rania al Shalabi (Amira Sumaya University)

In Hiraq Irbid, to tell you how the Hiraq would look: a Pickup that was moving, the men with the beards, the vests, then the nation (, then the last part where the wives of the first line. We were part of them, but we had fights with them.

Tanseqiet Irbid: we wanted to work together like the Syrians work together, the MB was controlling this [Hiraq networking]. Habet Tishreen in Irbid, the first who said that the regime would fall was the MB, I called for this but I made a mistake. There were a lot of question marks surrounding the Hiak in Irbid. We had 25 Ghadab demonstrations, Rafed (tens demonstrations), it was boring, the mayor of Irbid very easily dealt with them, he just send two police cars

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Constitutional changes concerning electoral law that was all that they talked about, even though they started with social justice issues, the moment people came to the streets they would change their slogans towards electoral laws. They also changes their mind all the time. [political vs. economic reform]

Hani Bani Mustafa

Question: Who would you suggest that I talk to?

Nahed is one of the most important parts of the HIRAK, he has a book out. Maysaloun newspaper is very important. Dr. Hisham al Ghaseeb. He is very important. We were calling for having theoreticians. They were not there, Irheil al X considers himself a nationalist.

Mustafa: The MB can never be a nationalist movement [in Jordan]

An interesting discussion about what is nationalism in Jordan.

Reflection

General

I am more emotional during these interviews than usual. I am often in awe of participants and get very excited. This is happening here as well, but I think the encounter with Aiman's mother and the extent to which she reminds me of my late grandmother make everything more real for me. I also strongly identify with the accent and life style of the three participants. My father comes from a small village about 7 km away from Huwwara. We used to go to my father's village every weekend when I was young. Now we go about once a month. I still feel very strongly about the abysmal living conditions in the village, and the lack of jobs and opportunities for young people there.

I am really impressed with the X youth committee and the type of civil initiative the youth have been able to start. Again, I think about my father's village and how much the Ababnehs would benefit from a similar initiative in which the family and others in Saal and Birshra could try to counter some of the many problems they face on a daily basis. I am excited about the model that the Huwwara group

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

created and think that it might act as a new way in which East Bankers who are far away from Amman and its economic opportunities could empower themselves.

Aiman tries to reclaim tribalism and redefine it as a way to start from the family as a platform for change, not as a form of chauvinism but a way for civic action (taking responsibility for solving problems in the village, schools, cleaning streets, etc.) and engaging in political actions that are seen as patriotic (not in the sense drawn by the regime as meaning loyalty to the ruling family, but loyalty to Palestine, and working on better living conditions (as Aiman mentions mostly demand based, basic economic services).

There are very interesting comments about identity politics. The idea of reclaiming tribalism as a foundation for work for example. This tribalism is based on loyalty to the place (village, region, country, Arab world) and not to the royal family. In fact, the X tribalism as imagined by Aiman and co, is perceived as patriotic precisely because it is not loyal to the royal family.

The conversation with Naji around Makruma (a quota for children of military personnel was very interesting) [not in the notes but in the recording]. Despite Naji's awareness of false stereotypes surrounding Jordanian-Jordanians he too seemed to believe that as a Jordanian Jordanian one just has automatic acceptance at university.

There is tension between Jad's initial critique of capitalism and his later confirmation that he sees himself in the private sector.

All three participants are deeply affected by Jayeen and Nahed Hattar. Aiman states that he is part of the Huwwara HIRAK and Jayeen. He does not seem to identify with the Irbid HIRAK which is portrayed as being dominated by the MB. Jad has a more positive affiliation to HIRAK Irbid.

Jad and Aiman have both participated in a lot of demonstrations across Jordan. Jad in particular seems to have had the most connections across the board. Mustafa seems to take more of a back seat, and portrays himself more as an observer rather than a leader. He also mentioned how difficult it was to go to the meetings in Amman due to financial restraints.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Mustafa is the one who seems to be the most focused on economic justice and the importance of every day services. At the age of 36 he is finally doing his BA now because he is finally able to finance his studies now. Aiman too keeps insisting that HIRAK Huwwara is a demand HIRAK (something that had a negative connotation among many political activists in Jordan during the time of the HIRAK). When I ask him about that, Aiman stands by his assertions and maintains that basic demands (economic needs in my terminology) are the foundation to everything else.

Aiman

Aiman was prepared for our interview. He had prepared YouTube videos to show me, and had decided where we should conduct the interview to ensure that he can get his message across. Doing so he was very aware of what type of message he wanted to get across. Naji told me in advance that usually Aiman is all over the place, meaning that he is often not very focused and as a result his message gets lost. It seems that Aiman was interested that this does not happen during our interview and that he is more in charge of what happens and what type of story comes across.

Despite not going to University and not even having a high school degree Aiman seems respected. He certainly is in the café that he chose to take us to which is owned by a distant cousin of his. Of course, this can also indicate the power of family ties (which Aiman through the X group has worked to revive even more).

This is the third interview in which I discuss the issue of Jordanian women giving their citizenship to their children with participants. The other two interviews Mohammad Sneid's and Dirgham Halasaeh. I do so deliberately, I guess it is part of my own activism in doing this research because I want to speak about these activists about their stance regarding the issue which is that giving citizenship to children of Jordanian women would shift the demographic balance and would empty Palestine of Palestinians. As an activist myself it is important for me that this topic is seen as a rights issue where Jordanian women have equal rights to Jordanian men. Interestingly on that all participants agreed (they believe that women should have the same rights but that this topic should be seen for its demographic dimension).

The parts of the interview in which I am describing the interview are mostly the parts where I got tired and could no longer type as fast. Since I taped the interviews and am getting them transcribed this won't be an issue in the actual interviews that I will analyze. These notes act more as 1) backup, 2) my

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

thoughts while interviewing, 3) the closest 'transcripts' in English I can provide apart from actually getting the interviews translated. This is why at times they are a bit patchy and closer to reflections/untidy notes than proper transcriptions.

Naji

This is the second round of interviews that Naji organized for me and accompanied me for. Naji was extremely active during the Hirak and personally was present at a lot of the events that we discuss. The fact that Naji organized the interviews for me and comes with me signals to the participants that I can be trusted. Naji and I have also discussed my work at length. And he knows the main research questions that I am interested in addressing (economic demands, identity politics and gender). While I ask most of the questions, he sometimes asks me if he can add a question. He often asks a question about a specific event that both he and the participant were present at and asks the participant to tell me about that event. Naji helped me a lot doing this. For example through his intervention events were described and discussed that participants had initially forgotten about. However, Naji's presence also brings in identity politics. He often spoke consciously as a Palestinian-Jordanian, but as one who has had deep conversations with the participants around identity politics.

Naji is also one of the people that I will interview at length himself. I have already done mini-interviews with him on the way to Hay al Tafaileh and on the way back from Huwwara. In the Arabic interview transcripts I will highlight his interventions and add them to his interviews later on.

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Data Collection Assignments

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

1. Assignment 1: Due October 18: 1 Page

Revise your question/hypothesis/ first paragraph in light of the September workshop, in light of feminist epistemologies, and in light of discussions on data gathering. Identify all key concepts and assert the relationship between the concepts.

2. Methods I: Due November 8: 3-4 Pages

Revise the data gathering methods which you developed in your full proposal.

Operationalizing all key concepts. Operational definitions give the criteria (metrics, quantitative or qualitative) by which you will recognize the concept, or variable when it presents itself.

Identify instruments, tools for data gathering.

Identify what constitutes data – what does your data look like, how will you recognize it as data.

Take account of Human Subjects Protocol guidelines to protect confidentiality and identity of subjects wherever needed. Take account of discussion on fieldwork ethics.

3. Methods II: Due November 29 Pages: 3-4

We purposefully ask you to do this twice as we expect we will have comments for revision:

Revise the data gathering methods which you developed in your full proposal.

Operationalizing all key concepts. Operational definitions give the criteria (metrics, quantitative or qualitative) by which you will recognize the concept, or variable when it presents itself.

Identify instruments, tools for data gathering.

Identify what constitutes data – what does your data look like, how will you recognize it as data.

Take account of Human Subjects Protocol guidelines to protect confidentiality and identity of subjects wherever needed. Take account of discussion on fieldwork ethics.

4. Submit Data I: Due December 23: Pages: 5 Minimum

Submit data sample – For example: an interviews, a survey, an oral history, an event description – whatever it is.

Include the questions asked, include the setting, include description of subject or event or situation – where was the event/interview/situation/ how long was the engagement.

Document how this data constitutes evidence to answer the question you posed.

5. Submit Data II: Due January 24: Pages: 5 Minimum

We purposefully ask you to do this twice as we expect we will have comments for revision.

Submit data sample – For example: an interviews, a survey, an oral history, an event description – whatever it is.

Include the questions asked, include the setting, include description of subject or event or situation – where was the event/interview/situation/ how long was the engagement.

Document how this data constitutes evidence to answer the question you posed.

6. Data Analysis I: Due February 28: Pages: 5-8 Minimum

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Submit data analysis of ONE data set.

Choose several interviews, or event descriptions or focus groups or a combination thereof.

Submit a preliminary analysis of this particular data set.

Explain how the data set addresses your specific concepts and the relationship between your concepts.

Does the data set support your hypothesis? If yes, in what way? If not, how?

How will you revise your methodology to gather the data that will be a more rigorous test of your hypothesis?

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Video Interviews

Name:

Title:

Affiliation:

Where have you conducted research?

On which topics has your research focused?

Have you found research methods that have worked particularly well for engaging your community around gender research? Conversely, have you found any research methods to be problematic?

Are there any specific obstacles that you have encountered carrying out transformative engaged gender research? What would you recommend to avoid them? How did you overcome them?

Do you have a preferred method for engaging community members during the course of your research?

How have you disseminated your research?

What impact do you believe your research has had?

Reimbursement Form

الرجاء تعبئة هذا النموذج وتسليمه مع كافة الأوراق المطلوبة عند الساعة... صباحاً من يوم.... الواقع في 201... في
باحة الفندق للمنسقة الإدارية السيدة هدى الياسي والأنسة نبيهة الجمل .

طلب تسديد مصاريف

الأسم:

الفعالية:

التاريخ: من _____ الى _____

رقم الإيصال أو الفاتورة المرفقة	المبلغ بالعملة المحلية	المصدر	شرح المصاريف	التاريخ

التوقيع: _____

المرفقات:

- طلب التسديد مكتملاً (نموذج مرفق)
- الفواتير والإيصالات الأصلية اللازمة

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Funding Agencies and Foundations

Egypt

The Arab Network for NGOs

<http://www.shabakaegypt.org/english.php>

Arab Organization for Human Rights

<http://www.aohr.net/?p=1288>

The Association for the Development and Enhancement of Women (ADEW)

<http://www.adew.org/en/?action=&sub=1>

CARE International in Egypt

<http://www.care.org.eg/>

Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (CEWLA)

<http://www.cewla.org/index.php?lang=en>

Egyptian Centre for Women's Rights (ECWR)

<http://ecwronline.org/>

The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR)

<http://eipr.org/en>

The New Woman Foundation (NWF)

<http://nwrcegypt.org/en/>

The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR)

<http://en.eohr.org/about/>

El Nadeem Center for Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence

<https://alnadeem.org/ar/node/23>

Plan Egypt

<http://plan-international.org/where-we-work/africa/egypt>

Unicef Egypt

<http://www.unicef.org/egypt/>

Women and Memory Forum

<http://www.wmf.org.eg/>

Lebanon

Bahithat- The Lebanese Association of Women Researchers

<http://www.bahithat.org/>

Collective for Research & Training on Development-Action (CRTD.A)

<http://crtda.org.lb/>

Foundation for Human and Humanitarian Rights (FHHRL)

<http://www.fhhrl.org/>

NGO Working Group (NGOWG)

<http://womenpeacesecurity.org/>

Lebanese Center for Human Rights (CLDH)

<http://www.cldh-lebanon.org/>

North America

Association for Middle East Women's Studies (AMEWS)

<http://www.amews.org/site/>

Palestine

Adalah

<http://www.adalah.org/eng/index.php>

ASALA -The Palestinian Businesswomen's Association

<http://www.asala-pal.com/>

Assiwar- The Feminist Arab Movement In Support Victims Of Sexual Abuse

[http://www.assiwar.org/Association of Women Committees for Social Work \(AWCSW\)](http://www.assiwar.org/Association_of_Women_Committees_for_Social_Work_(AWCSW))

Center for Women's Legal Research and Consulting (CWLRC)

<http://www.cwlrc.ps/en/>

Defense for Children International- Palestine Section (DCI- Palestine)

<http://www.dci-palestine.org/>

Filastiniyat

<http://www.filastiniyat.org/>

General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General_Union_of_Palestinian_Women

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Kayan

<http://www.kayan.org.il/>

Muntada - The Arab Forum for Sexuality, Education and Health

<http://www.jensaneya.org/>

Palestinian Developmental Women's Studies Association (PDWSA)

<http://www.pdwsa.ps/ar/index.php>

Palestinian Family Planning and Protection Association (PFPPA)

<http://www.pfppa.org/>

Palestine International Institute (PII)

<http://www.pii-diaspora.org/>

Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations' Network

<http://www.pngo.net/>

Palestinian Women's Research and Documentation Centre (PWRDC)

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/gender-equality/gender-peace-and-conflict/pwrdc/>

Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development (PWWSD)

<http://www.pwwsd.org/>

Palestinian Youth Association for Leadership and Rights Activation (PYALARA)

http://www.pyalara.org/about_us.php?lang=1

Sawa

<http://www.sawa.ps/en/>

Shashat

<http://www.shashat.org/>

Stars of Hope Society

<http://www.starsofhope.org/>

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

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April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

WORKSHOP IN PROPOSAL WRITING AND RESEARCH DESIGN

SUAD JOSEPH, WORKSHOP LEADER

April 1, 2, 3, 2016 OSF SEMINAR, AMMAN, JORDAN

Workshop Evaluation Form

[NOTE: The highest score is "5" and the lowest score is "1". Equivalencies: 5=Excellent; 4=Very Good; 3=Good; 2=Inadequate; 1=Poor]

DIRECTIONS: Circle the most appropriate score that answers the question

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Is the Workshop Leader well informed in the subject of the workshop? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. Are the Workshop leader's lectures and explanations clear? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 3. Are the Workshop handouts useful? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 4. Is the Workshop Leader clear in her answers to participants questions: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 5. Is the subject of proposal writing relevant to your education? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 6. Can you see a use for these skills after you complete your degree? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7. Over all evaluation of the usefulness of the proposal writing workshop? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 8. Over all evaluation of the effectiveness of the Workshop Leader? | 1 2 3 4 5 |

OTHER COMMENTS:

Your name (Optional) _____

Your Institutional Affiliation _____

Training to Engaged Transformative Gender Research

April 1, 2, 3, 2016

Amman, Jordan

Your Discipline/Department _____

Have you written research proposals before? Y__N__ Have you won grants before? Y__ N__

Reflectivity in Research Practice: An Overview of Different Perspectives

Luigina Mortari¹

Abstract

The article grounds on the assumption that researchers, in order to be not mere technicians but competent practitioners of research, should be able to reflect in a deep way. That means they should reflect not only on the practical acts of research but also on the mental experience which constructs the meaning about practice. Reflection is a very important mental activity, both in private and professional life. Learning the practice of reflection is fundamental because it allows people to engage into a thoughtful relationship with the world-life and thus gain an awake stance about one's lived experience. Reflection is a crucial cognitive practice in the research field. Reflexivity is largely practiced in qualitative research, where it is used to legitimate and validate research procedures. This study introduces different perspectives of analysis by focusing the discourse on the main philosophical approaches to reflection: pragmatistic, critical, hermeneutic, and finally phenomenological. The thesis of this study is that the phenomenological theory makes possible to analyze in depth the reflective activity and just by that to support an adequate process of training of the researcher.

Keywords

reflectivity, research practice, phenomenological perspective

The Value of Reflection

Reflection is a very important mental activity, both in private and professional life. This study assumes that reflection is “a turning back onto a self” where the inquirer is at once an observed and an active observer (Steier, 1995, p. 163). Reflection aims at understanding the forms of intelligibility by which the world is made meaningful; in the heuristic context of the research work, reflecting means to elucidate the epistemic acts developed in the midst of inquiry process. When the mind thinks on itself, the subject engaged in the reflective practice plays at the same time the role of subject who reflects and object who is reflected, that is, he or she becomes the object of the analysis, and it is precisely through making oneself the object of self-inquiry that a person really becomes the subject of his or her experience.

Learning the practice of reflection is fundamental because it allows people to engage into a thoughtful relationship with the world-life and thus gain an awake stance about one's lived experience. A person can live in an unauthentic or in an authentic way: the unauthentic experience happens when the person adopts an unreflective stance that consists in staying passively enmeshed in one's thoughts and the authentic condition happens when the person develops a mindful stance on his or her

mental life. Socrates (Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, 38a) affirms that a life devoid of reflective thinking is not a fully human life, and on this basis he conceives education as a process aimed at cultivating the habit of reflection, in order to be capable of an in-depth interrogation into the webs of thoughts wherein life is immersed.

Reflection is a crucial cognitive practice in the research field (Dahlberg, Drew, & Nyström, 2002; Steier, 1995). Starting from the “interpretive turn,” reflexivity is largely practiced in qualitative research, where it is used to legitimate and validate research procedures. Today, the authoritativeness of reflexivity is practiced in a wide range of research schools: critical, feminist, race-based, and poststructural approaches (Pillow, 2003, p. 176). Reflexivity, invoked in almost every qualitative research work, is conceived of as a practice that a

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researcher should carry out to make the politics of research transparent. Hertz (1997, viii) notes that the reflective researcher does not merely report the findings of the research but at the same time questions and explains how those findings are constructed.

In the frame of the postmodern paradigm, reflective analysis of one's heuristic experience is assumed, whatever the subject matter of inquiry, as essential for the validity of the research. The most recent gnoseological analyses that develop in a constructivist banister maintain that no impartial observer can enter the research field without an interpretive frame of reference; on the contrary, what a researcher sees and hears depends upon his or her preunderstandings, which condition the reasoning process. From both a constructivist and a constructionist gnoseology,¹ there is no possibility of an objective science, since it is impossible to gain a knowledge that agrees exactly to the world: the process of inquiry always creates worlds through the questions posed by the researcher, indeed there is no knowledge apart from the researchers' tools, methods, and languages wherewith the research process is accomplished (Steier, 1995, p. 4). Research is always permeated by the cultural world of the research community; consequently, the inquiry process is inevitably a constructing and organizing process (Steier, 1995, p. 1).

Thus, if the researcher's ways of reasoning condition the whole process of inquiry, then in order to make the heuristic process accountable and valid, the researcher has the ethical task of making transparent the ways of reasoning that are carried out through the research act. Since the observer does not merely reflect the phenomenon, but he or she shapes it, then he or she is responsible of each inquiry act; consequently, "ethics must become a part of research" (Steier, 1995, p. 3). In order to face this ethical request, it is necessary for the researcher to practice reflection on the whole inquiry work. In other words, if the mental experience of the researcher conditions the research, since it brings into the heuristic process the subjective gaze, then he or she should assume a self-reflective stance through which gaining awareness of how his or her personal framework tacitly condition the research process. The reflective practice is essential in research, since it aims at raising a thoughtful eye on oneself, which allows the subject to gain self-awareness (Dahlberg et al., 2002, p. 139). To be reflective researchers means to become conscious of what already structures the mental life and to analyze how these underlying cognitive artifacts mold the process of inquiry.

Reflexivity is conceived important also at the aim of improving an ethical stance toward research, because only the disposition to radically reflect on experience, while it flows, allows the researcher to identify unexpected critical situations and to deal with these in an appropriate ethical way (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). McGraw, Zvnkovic, and Walker (2000), in order to pinpoint the connection between reflectivity and ethics, affirm that reflectivity is "a process whereby researchers place themselves and their practices under scrutiny, acknowledging the ethical dilemmas that permeate the research process" (p. 68). If guarantying the ethic of research is not a merely regulatory activity, which implies only to apply rules and codes, but it requires the researcher shapes oneself as an ethical instrument, then the reflective practice is the first and main ethical imperative, because an ethical self-forming activity implies reflexivity (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007).

However, some scholars consider the "reflexivity talk" as a self-indulgent and narcissistic process, a kind of "vanity methodology," wherein academic people consume energies and time. Daphne Patai questions the value of reflexivity by raising doubts about its capacity to produce better research (1994, p. 69). But what is a "better research"? In postmodern times, it is a research wherein the researcher interrogates himself or herself in order to understand how he or she thinks and how he or she affects the data collection and the data analysis. From the Socratic point of view (Plato, *First Alcibiades*) to become aware of what we do and of what we think to do is always a value; on this assumption, I think that a more aware research, which provides insight into the way knowledge is produced, is a better research. To become mindful on one's own practice gives value to any kind of inquiry.

The problem is that the natural tendency of the mind is unreflective. Most of cognitive life happens without us being aware of it, and this condition is problematic, because from the constructivist viewpoint the products of the mind (opinions, beliefs, theories, . . .) have a performative power on the life-world, in the sense that they imply the basic criteria by which we decide what to do and what not to do. Thus, remaining in an unreflective condition as regard the life of the mind means to put oneself into the condition of being possessed by one's own thoughts. If reflection plays a crucial role in the field of research and if reflection is not a natural ability which sprouts spontaneously but has instead to be enhanced by education, then it is significant to investigate what conception of reflection can frame the formative training of the researcher so that he or she gains an aware and ethical stance on the inquiry practice.

To deal with this question, the text is structured in two parts. The first introduces the findings of a literature review which, without pretension to be exhaustive as regard the main traditions of thought on reflection, focuses on some fundamental theories. This review shows that, although reflexivity has been given different interpretations, it still lacks a conception that is not limited to a definition of "what reflexivity is" and "what aims it can pursue," but analyzes in depth what cognitive acts reveal a rigorous reflective activity. Only a detailed conception can be useful to work out a valid heuristic training for the

¹ Generally, constructivism and constructionism are defined as epistemologies, but from an etymological perspective it is correct to speak of "gnoseologies." Indeed, the word "gnoseology, which comes from the Greek γινωσκω and λογος, indicates a discourse that tells "what knowledge is"; and while realism claims that it corresponds exactly to the world, constructivism maintains that knowledge is a construction of the world. On the other hand, epistemology, from the Greek επιστημη and λογος, states "how knowledge should happen" in order to be valid and rigorous; indeed, επιστημη means science, a discourse "placed (στημη) above (επι)", in the sense that it is well grounded.

researcher. Starting from this result, the second part devotes attention to the phenomenological conception of reflexivity, since, even if it is scarcely analyzed in the technical literature, it could constitute a valid framework for the implementation of a significant reflective training. The thesis is that the phenomenological approach can be a valid theory of reflection, capable of improving the researcher's work, since the phenomenological theory allows the researcher to understand what cognitive stances should be cultivated in order to become reflexive.

Perspectives on Reflection

Ever since the 1980s, the term "reflection" has increasingly appeared in the pedagogical debate and has been considered a central tool in experience-based learning (Boud, Keogh, & Walker, 2000). Reflection is fostered both in school learning and in adult education (Mezirow, 1990).

A relevant part of the educational literature portrays reflection as a wholly beneficial practice for practitioners (Gould & Taylor, 1996; Johns & Freshwater, 1998; Mayes, 2001; Smith, 1992) and also for researchers (Dahlberg et al., 2002). In the nursing field, in particular, reflection is largely practiced and deeply examined (Benner, 1984). Moreover, reflection is encouraged in teacher education. Specifically, in teacher education there are "how-to" manuals that explain strategies for turning young researchers into reflective practitioners (Black, 2001; Loughran, 1996), and in some case a specific kind of reflective training is proposed, such as critical reflection (Brookfield, 1995).

We can find also studies that present and discuss the tools and strategies that can be carried out to increase reflection. After defining what it means to become critically reflective, Brookfield (1995) introduces some techniques for improving reflective learning, in particular, he examines the value of writing autobiography, inquiring into critical incidents, and conversing with others to analyze problems collaboratively. Mezirow (1990), after explaining the use of techniques such as composing education biographies, journal writing, and performing the action/reason-thematic procedure, takes into account some reflective strategies such as the feminist "consciousness raising" and the "therapeutic learning program," in the perspective of an emancipatory concept of training. Pallaschio and Lafourture (2000) debate the relation between reflection and critical-creative thinking; moreover they investigate what kinds of experience can be developed in order to promote reflexivity in teacher education. Zeichner and Liston (1996), by noticing how little has been done in order to make the reflection an effective strategy for teacher development and by criticizing the restrictive ways in which reflection is often implemented in teacher education (1996, 74), describe distinct orientations about reflection, which they call "traditions of reflective teaching": "generic tradition," which simply emphasizes thinking about what we are doing without attention to the quality of thinking; "academic tradition," which stresses reflection on subject matter with a view to promoting student understanding; "social efficiency tradition," which encourages

young researchers to apply teaching strategies suggested by educational research; "developmentalist tradition," which considers reflecting on students to determine what they should be taught and, lastly, "socialreconstructionist tradition," which stresses reflection about the social and political context of schooling (1996, pp. 51–62).

Reflection is a complex concept subject to many interpretations with subtle variations (Dahlberg et al., 2002, 139). From the analysis of this literature, it results that the term reflection is an umbrella that has been used to embrace a wide range of concepts and strategies. When we encounter this term, we find different meanings, and the arguments for supporting reflection are "so widespread and divergent that they often contradict each other" (Fender, 2003, 17). There are many ways of dealing with the task of clarifying the reflection issue. For example, Fender (2003) chooses to historicize the term, by tracing the construction of reflection from Descartes to Dewey and Schön. Her assumption is that "historicizing the term helps untangle the confusing morass of meanings" (2003, 17). Moreover, she assumes the Foucaultian lens of genealogical analysis. Thus, rather than trying to clarify the meaning of reflection, Fender emphasizes the historical and discursive complexity of the concept.

Hatton and Smith (1995) analyze the reflection topic starting from some questions. The first is whether reflection is inextricably bound up in action, the second is concerned with the time frames within which reflection develops and asks whether it is an immediate and brief process or a more extended and systematic one, the third deals with whether reflection is a problem-oriented process or not, while the fourth is concerned with a critical interpretation.

This study introduces another perspective of analysis by focusing the discourse on the main philosophical approaches to reflection: pragmatistic (Dewey), critical (Foucault), hermeneutic (Van Manen), and finally phenomenological (Husserl). The thesis of this study is that the phenomenological theory makes possible to analyze in depth the reflective activity and just by that to support an adequate process of training of the researcher.

The Pragmatist Perspective

The pragmatist approach to reflection conceives it as an experience for increasing the action's effectiveness. In *How to Think*, Dewey defines reflective thought as an:

Active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and further conclusions to which it leads . . . it includes a conscious and voluntary effort to establish belief upon a firm basis of evidence and rationality (1933, p. 9).

Thus, reflection is conceived as having as its object the thoughts, which weave the cognitive life.

In Dewey, the conception of reflection is action oriented. Indeed, in his view, reflective thinking is useful because it "converts merely appetitive, blind, and impulsive action into

intelligent action” (1933, p. 17). In other words, reflective thinking gives increased power of control over experience. Having a method of thinking extends our practical control on experience, and it is through reflection that we can carry out an intelligent method of inquiry.

In *Democracy and Education*, he establishes a relationship between “learning from experience” and reflection: if learning from experience means being capable of making “a backward and forward connection between what we do to things and what we enjoy or suffer from things as a consequence” (Dewey, 1916, p. 140), then reflective thinking is the mental activity that makes these connections. It is not possible to gain meaning from experience “without some element of thought” (Dewey, 1916, p. 145). Starting from this assumption, Dewey compares two kinds of experience on the basis of the level of reflection they imply: when we act according to a “trial and error” criterion, we have an “unreflective experience,” while when we deliberately cultivate a kind of thinking aimed at discovering the connections between our actions and their consequences, we have a “reflective experience” (Dewey, 1916, p. 145). Thus, in a Deweyan perspective, reflection is aimed at understanding experience in order to gain control over it.

At the root of this pragmatistic conception of reflection, there is an assumption according to which “thinking occurs when things are uncertain or doubtful or problematic” (Dewey, 1916, p. 148). Dewey states that the general features of a reflective experience are: (i) perceiving perplexity, confusion, doubt, (ii) making a conjectural anticipation, (iii) developing a careful survey of the situation, (iv) formulating a consequent elaboration of a tentative hypothesis, and (v) making a plan of action. This pragmatistic view, which directs reflection to the solution of a concrete problem, infuses the main part of the debate on reflection and orients the majority of educative experience on this topic, both in school and in adult education.

Of particular interest is the pragmatistic perspective elaborated by Schön (1983, 1987), who, starting from a critique of the dominant technical rationality, introduces two concepts of reflection: reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action. Reflecting-in-action, which Schön compares to “thinking on your feet” (1983, p. 54), means thinking about doing something while doing it (1983, p. 54). In accordance with the Deweyan perspective, Schön conceives of this kind of reflection as occurring when one experiences a surprise, an unforeseen event. Being capable of this kind of reflection should enable researchers to function competently in situations where no answers or standard procedures are available to face up to problematic and confusing cases. But, in order to enhance one’s competence, it is also possible to carry out the reflection-on-action, which consists in thinking back on what we have done in order to comprehend how one’s knowing-in-action may have contributed to the solution of the problem (Schön, 1987, pp. 22–27).

The Critical Perspective

Critical reflection is a conception worked out in the frame of critical pedagogy, which in its turn takes critical theory as a

reference. In this context, a very interesting perspective on reflection is the one offered by Michel Foucault (1990), who assigns to reflect the aim of degoverning the mind.

Critical perspective is based on the following assumptions: Thought is permeated by power relations that are socially and historically constituted, everyday life is dominated by hegemonic forces which infuse culture with coercive values and blinding prejudices, and the oppressive forces that regulate social life are reproduced through language, which is not a neutral tool, but a device of power. On these bases, critical theory asserts that one’s life, both in the private and in the professional sphere, is not a limpid and tranquil pond, which we can manage by cutting it off from the dynamics of power that permeates one’s environment. The larger economic, social, and political environment conditions our life both in a evident and explicit way—through laws, codes, and rules—and in a tacit way, since life is infused by “hegemonic assumptions” (Brookfield, 1995), that is assertions—such as stock opinions, conventional wisdom, and commonsense statements—which decide in our own best interest and are so deeply embedded in our life that they act with tacit power. Critical reflection is focused on uncovering these hegemonic assumptions, which permeate the context invading and distorting one’s life, both in the intimate and social spheres. However, since they have become part of the cultural air we breathe, it is difficult to unearth them, also because the power groups are interested in shielding them from critical investigation. Critical theorists attribute to critical reflection the task of unmasking the tacit hegemonic assumptions that infuse our context of life, in order to interrupt the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression (Giroux & McLaren, 1989; Kanpol, 1999; Lather, 1991).

In particular, Foucault hopes for a critical way of thinking, which explores the ways wherein the discourse reproduces relations of power and how the criteria for deciding what truth is are discursively situated and implicated in relations of power. In Foucault’s view, the practice of critical reflection implies to have the courage for taking the intimate decision to uncover what silent cognitive acts govern our lives. Opposing the various kinds of governing means to subject each statement to a critical appraisal, rejecting any predefined authority. To be critical is to practice “voluntary disobedience and reasoned undocility”. Thus, for Foucault (1985) critical thinking is not only an intellectual tool but a way of life, which allows the subject to gain an ethical stance. To find oneself governed by forces of power is not a natural condition of human life but is the product of precise cultural processes that the individual has the ethical task to investigate critically. To dedicate oneself to critical reflection is an exercise of liberty. Indeed, Foucault (1990) conceives the art of criticizing as a kind of virtue.

Independent of the radical differences between pragmatistic and critical reflection, there is however a common quality between them, which consists in pursuing a transformative goal: as in the pragmatistic viewpoint, reflection is not a mere intellectual exercise, since it is action oriented, aiming at solving problems in order to make life better, likewise in the critical framework, reflection is conceived of as having

concrete implications, because it has not only a deconstructivist but also an empowering task, since it should release the subject from the different governing forces and allow him or her to change his or her life conditions. Both conceptions are aimed at improving practice, for this reason, these kinds of reflection are often developed in action-research contexts.

The Hermeneutic Perspective

Van Manen (1977) proposes three levels of reflection: technical reflection, which is concerned with the efficiency and effectiveness of the means to achieve unproblematic ends; practical reflection, which takes into account not only the means but also the ends of one's actions; and critical reflection, which examines questions of justice in one's professional field and locates the analysis of one's practice within wider social, economic, and political contexts. Most recently (Van Manen, 1991, p. 101), he distinguished among anticipatory reflection, which deliberates about possible future alternatives; active reflection, which recalls the Schönian concept of reflection-in-action; and recollective reflection, which is oriented to making sense of past experiences, to this, he also adds the mindfulness posture, a way by which the practitioner tends to maintain a certain distance from the actions he or she is involved in. However, one can argue with Van Manen's thesis (1991, p. 98) according to which "to reflect is to think," and in the field of education reflection has the quality "of deliberation, of making choices, of coming to decisions about alternative courses of action." On the contrary, reflection is different both from thinking and deliberation. To think is an umbrella concept, encompassing many mental activities: to meditate, to look for an answer, and to seek an interpretation, and so on. To deliberate means to assess an uncertain situation in order to take a right decision for action. To reflect, from the Latin verb *reflectere*, means "to bend, fold back, go back to, revise, and recede." Basically, reflecting means to "turn back," to suspend the action and concentrate the attentiveness on the thinking while it flows. Reflection should never be confused with deliberation, indeed, the first is the condition of the second, in the sense that "reflection can provide the basis for rational responsible choices" (Fendler, 2003, p. 18).

On the basis of the conceptions of reflexivity presented above, we observe that a wide range of methods for fostering reflection have been applied, but from the literature, it appears that little scientific evidence shows how effective they are (Hutton & Smith, 1995, p. 36). Many techniques are used: oral interviews, writing journal, and autobiographies, and these are experienced in different learning environments. These strategies are expected to facilitate reflection, but little research testifies to their real effectiveness. It is not sufficient to present a model of reflective training, but in order to facilitate reflective practice, a theory must explain more analytically what the reflective act consists of.

By taking into account the question identified above, the following part of the study introduces another philosophical approach, the phenomenological theory of reflection, which

hasn't yet received adequate consideration within the academic community. This approach is relevant in the field of reflection training, since it explains in a rigorous way the mental acts involved in a reflexive process.

The Phenomenological Perspective

The phenomenological philosophy assumes *understanding* the life of the mind as its fundamental aim. Before dealing with the topic of phenomenological reflection, it is necessary to clarify that the main reference of the present analysis is Husserlian philosophy, which consists in a less than facile discourse, because of the highly technical jargon used and the stylistically tortuous way in which it is written (Moran, 2000).

Husserl is interested in attaining a rigorous science and to this aim maintains that the investigation must go to the "things in themselves," that is the phenomena as they immediately appear to the consciousness, only in the manner they appear. Thus, the object of phenomenology is the life of consciousness, more precisely the *lived experience* or *mental processes* of consciousness (*Erlebnisse*), and its aim consists in finding a method to make it possible to investigate them in a rigorous way (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 33, pp. 65–68).

The cognitive act that allows the subject to grasp the lived experience of consciousness is reflection. In eidetic phenomenology, reflecting means keeping the gaze firmly turned on the life of consciousness in order to understand what occurs in it. The task of phenomenological reflection (*phänomenologische Reflexion*) should be seizing the essence of the stream of consciousness. That is possible because the mental stream is made up of lived experiences, each of which has an individual essence, which can be analyzed in its peculiarity.

From a phenomenological point of view, the processes that take place in the mind, as cognitive phenomena, "can become the object of investigation in introspection" (Arendt, 1958, p. 280). By introspection, phenomenology means the activation of an inner gaze, or "mental regard" (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 35, p. 71), moved by the sheer cognitive concern to understand mental life. Thus, carrying out a phenomenological reflection means to activate introspection, in order to seize upon the immediacy of the unreflective mental experience and to give voice to it in order to grasp its essence (Varela, Thompson, & Rosch, 1991, p. 19). As it is understood by phenomenology, reflection is a metacognitive act, since it is the way cognition analyzes itself, a thinking which thinks through the life of the mind precisely, while it generates the things-of-thought. In other words, "it is the practice of a rigorous self-examination, through which to investigate the processes of meaning-origination" (Moran, 2000, p. 61).

The cognitive act that characterizes the phenomenological reflection is "paying attention." There is an *external attention*, which is turned on the world: It is at the root of the generation of meaning regarding experience; and there is an *internal attention*, which consists in "having the mind's eye on" (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 37, p. 77), which keeps the stream of thoughts in its gaze: it originates the "reflective turning of regard"

(Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 38, p. 78). Thus, starting from this conceptual analysis, reflection results in a cognitive act that is different from the thinking. The acts of thinking assume as intentional objects phenomena that are part of the world (they examine a practical problem, evaluate an event, and investigate a philosophical question), whereas the reflective acts have the thinking acts themselves as their object. Reflection is the thinking that thinks on itself.

Just because the reflective acts are of the same substance of the acts of thinking, they can become in their turn the object of new reflections, so reflection can be made *ad infinitum* (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 77, p. 174). When the mind reflects on the reflective acts, it realizes what Husserl defines a reflection of “a higher level” (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 77, p. 177), which is a *meta reflection*.

What is interesting from a training standpoint is that Husserl indicates the method whereby the mind can reflect on itself for self-understanding: it is the method of describing. Husserl characterized his approach as “descriptive phenomenology” (Moran, 2000, p. 66) or a “descriptive science” (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 65, p. 150). In order to grasp the essence of a phenomenon, description has to be inspired by the principle of faithfulness, which is the first methodic principle of phenomenology, because a reflection is rigorous when it is grounded in a “scrupulous faithfulness of description” (Husserl, 2000, p. 125).

To describe faithfully means to name the phenomena in the manner of their appearing, limiting the words to what is directly given. Mental processes too have their clear givenness, which allow us to describe them as they are experienced, in the manner as they are given to the inner gaze. In order to gain a rigorous cognition of the mental life through reflection, the act of describing must absolutely avoid going beyond what is immediately given to the reflective gaze, and the description has to be adherent to what is immanently appeared.

Thus, reflection is the inner gaze that turns on the acts of the mind and actualizes itself in scrutinizing and describing analytically them in order to seize upon their original essence and to formulate that essence in “faithful conceptual expressions” (Husserl, 1982, vol. I, § 65, p. 150). In organizing experiences of education to reflection, it is necessary to keep in mind that from a phenomenological perspective, there are two errors: lack of attention and misdescription (Moran, 2000, p. 131).

The Limits of Reflection

It is important to free the theory of reflection from any illusions of gaining complete awareness of the experiential life of consciousness. Capturing the whole richness of mental experience is impossible for three reasons:

- a. Reflecting on a thought while it happens implies the cognitive move of extracting a thought from its stream, but only some fragments of mental life are accessible to reflection, while the background remains obscure.

- b. Reflection is a cognitive activity that takes place after the fact, by being thus retrospective, it cannot capture the object of attention in its entirety, but only in what the reflective act can retain.
- c. The mental life is so complex that, in order to gain complete awareness of it, it would be necessary for us to become spectators of its flowing from a place of observation outside ourselves. Gaining this position is impossible. The human mind is only allowed cognitions of the cognition from inside the cognition itself, thus from a limited visual angle. Reflection on consciousness is immanent to consciousness, and consequently, reflection carries with it a blind spot that cannot be elucidated (Merleau-Ponty, 1968).

If we may identify the mind with the *psyché* of Heraclites, the same words would hold true: “Whatever road we travel, we will never reach the boundaries of the mind, in that its deeps are unfathomable” (Husserl, 1968, p. 196). This is the reason why the analysis of the life of the mind will always be partial and provisional.

Nevertheless, however, incomplete and fragmentary the cognitions of cognition are, reflection is essential because it allows us to have some information about “where we are when we think” (Arendt, 1978, p. 195), that is from what banister we think, and a mental banister is not only made of thoughts but also of emotions.

A rationalistic conception of reflection tends to consider reflective acts only from the intellectual side of the epistemic process, by leaving out the emotional side. Instead, emotional lived experience (moods, sentiments, passions) permeates the heuristic process and often plays a decisive role as regards the epistemic choices. Orienting reflection toward the emotional lived experience happening in the heuristic process has to be guided by the intention to identify and understand the affective side of the thinking in order to gain awareness about the ways emotions perform the heuristic acts.

Focusing reflection on the emotional side of research does not mean to fall into a sentimentalist and irrational approach; indeed, from a cognitive perspective, an emotion has a cognitive substance, which is made of an appraisal (Oatley, 1992). Thus, reflecting on the emotional side of the research work means to enlighten the appraisals that are at the roots of many heuristic choices. Recognizing the beliefs that are at the basis of a way of feeling is essential in order to understand what are the streams of thoughts that structure our own mental life.

Mindfulness

After identifying the object and the method of reflection, it is necessary to individuate the posture the mind should keep. The Western philosophical tradition doesn't give us information about that. For this reason, cognitive scientists such as Francisco Varela, Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch—who work in the framework of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology—suggest that we should encompass non-Western traditions of

reflection on mental life, in particular the Buddhist method of examining lived experience called “mindfulness meditation” (Varela et al., 1991, p. 21). Applying the method of mindfulness means to keep the mental flow present in its experience while it happens; the purpose of this practice “is to become mindful, to experience what one’s mind is doing as it does it, to be present with one’s mind” (Varela et al., 1991, p. 23). In the natural attitude of the mind, thoughts have a tendency to wander; when this attitude prevails, thinking is entrapped in reified categories and automatic schemes of behavior, so it is impossible to assume a reflective posture toward experience. Learning the method of mindfulness means “to render the mind able to be present to itself long enough to gain insight into its own nature and functioning” (Varela et al., 1991, p. 24). To be mindful means to pay attention to the “right here, right now” and to infuse the present moment with full concentration. The practice of mindfulness made it possible to interrupt mindlessness, the fact of being mindlessly involved, unaware of this mindlessness condition. There is a very strong relationship between the Husserlian concept of reflection and the Buddhist one, because both conceive it as a manner of studying the life of the mind, without any direct practical preoccupation. Robert Tremmel (1993) also proposes the Buddhist conception of the mind’s attitude in reflection, or more precisely the Zen conception, because it allows us to gain a perspective from outside the Western tradition of thought, which can facilitate the development of a mindful attitude. He makes a deep and very interesting presentation of mindfulness, but he maintains that “although mindfulness should not be equated with reflection in the broad sense, there is an important common ground between mindfulness and reflection-in-action” (Tremmel, 1993, p. 444). I think, on the contrary, that it is only apparently so, since while reflection-in-action—as conceptualized by Schön—happens immediately when the subject perceives a problem, and this precise reflective act interrupts a nonreflective attitude, instead mindfulness is a way of being in touch with one’s experience, intentionally activated by the subject independently of any external stimulus. Mindfulness is a stance to cultivate with continuity. Being mindful means living with a persistent attention concentrated on the present.

In order to clarify the concept of mindfulness, it is useful to refer to the philosophy of Hannah Arendt, who dialogues intensively with the Eastern thought from a phenomenological standpoint. By questioning “where are we when we think?” she describes the mindful posture as the capability of withdrawing oneself from the external things that occur and recoiling one’s mental activities upon themselves (Arendt, 1978, p. 202), to be present to the present while it happens, with the mind entirely absorbed in its activities. Arendt (1978, p. 207) speaks of “*nunc stans*,” a Latin expression that can be translated with “standing in the now,” that is, withdrawing oneself from ordinary time and letting the mind situate itself in the gap between past and future.

The assumption of this study is that the mindfulness practice, as it is conceived by phenomenology and cognitive sciences, is useful in epistemic contexts, since through learning

the mindfulness method a researcher can develop the capability of keep attention centered to the heuristic acts while these happen.

The Primacy of the Phenomenological Conception of Reflection

This phenomenological interest in consciousness, entirely focused on the internal experience, has undergone a lot of criticism, above all from critical educational theorists, because it is conceived as a disengagement from the world, since it fails to move beyond the act of describing meanings in order to gain a more practical commitment and/or address social and political issues (Taylor, 1998, p. 145). This is an acceptable critique; however, it is necessary to recall that the aim of Husserl was to identify a rigorous way of thinking and thus to find a basic method on which to ground any scientific research. Phenomenological reflection has thus to be assumed as a basic cognitive act that allows us a rigorous approach to the scientific work. If pragmatist reflection is provoked by the perception of a surprise or an unforeseen event, and if critical reflection is motivated by the awareness of cases of injustice, instead phenomenological reflection is a method for self-education, wherein the mind learns to keep itself present here and now. In this sense, it is the basic kind of reflection.

The thesis of this study is that the practice of phenomenological reflection can be considered a basic kind of training, because it enhances the capability of the mind to go in depth in its life. In particular, it proves to be a crucial way to facilitate *radical reflection*.

By “radical reflection,” I intend a reflection which, through in-depth interrogation of the mental life, aims at focusing on hunting down assumptions. According to Brookfield (1995, p. 2), “assumptions are the taken-for-granted beliefs . . . that seems so obvious to us as not to need stating explicitly.” Brookfield (1995) discriminates among paradigmatic assumptions, which are basic structuring axioms that we use to create order in the world; prescriptive assumptions, which establish what ought to happen in a particular situation; and causal assumptions, which explain how reality functions (pp. 2–3). Starting from a different gnoseological vision according to which each assumption plays a prescriptive role, I propose another categorization by conceiving the intimate core of the cognitive life as made of *ontological* assumptions, which state the quality of things in the world; *gnoseological* assumptions, which establish how knowledge happens; *epistemological* assumptions, which decide what criteria validate knowledge and what is true and what is not; *ethical* assumptions, which discriminate what is right to do and what is not; and *political* assumptions, which identify what is a good research to increase the quality of life. Education to radical reflection ought to guide the mind to discover the tacit assumptions that structure the core of thinking and exert a performative power over our mental life. If “we are our assumptions” (Brookfield, 1995, p. 2), consequently we can argue that becoming aware of the importance of investigating the tacit cognitive dynamics and learning

to dedicate oneself to a radical self-inquiry is one of the most important tasks we should face not only for the research work but also for the everyday life, and thus a main aim of education.

Phenomenological reflection is a basic cognitive exercise to practice for developing the capability to dig for our mental experience and so to gain awareness of it. This kind of reflection is what allows researchers to perform a real *reflective practice* and not a mere *thinking about practice* (Parker, 1997, p. 30). Radical reflection is a condition for carrying out the critical reflection that demands the uncovering of hegemonic assumptions.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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Article

The Development of Constructivist Grounded Theory

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Abstract

Constructivist grounded theory is a popular method for research studies primarily in the disciplines of psychology, education, and nursing. In this article, the authors aim to locate the roots of constructivist grounded theory and then trace its development. They examine key grounded theory texts to discern their ontological and epistemological orientation. They find Strauss and Corbin's texts on grounded theory to possess a discernable thread of constructivism in their approach to inquiry. They also discuss Charmaz's landmark work on constructivist grounded theory relative to her positioning of the researcher in relation to the participants, analysis of the data, and rendering of participants' experiences into grounded theory. Grounded theory can be seen as a methodological spiral that begins with Glaser and Strauss' original text and continues today. The variety of epistemological positions that grounded theorists adopt are located at various points on this spiral and are reflective of their underlying ontologies.

Keywords: grounded theory, constructivism, constructivist, methodology, nurse/nursing

Authors' note: Jane Mills acknowledges the financial support of the Queensland Nursing Council.

Introduction

Grounded theory has proved an enduringly popular choice of methodology for nurse researchers since its development in the 1960s, with more than 3,650 journal articles published, both on the methodology itself and reporting research outcomes. Over time, the diverging approaches and positions adopted by the

founding fathers, Glaser and Strauss, have provoked much discussion (Corbin, 1998). The question of which theorist has broadened the methodology in a way that is faithful to its original intent of developing theory from data has been thoroughly debated (e.g., Boychuk Duchscher & Morgan, 2004; Heath & Cowley, 2004).

In this article, we argue that all variations of grounded theory exist on a methodological spiral and reflect their epistemological underpinnings. The form of grounded theory followed depends on a clarification of the nature of the relationship between researcher and participant, and on an explication of the field of what can be known. Constructivist grounded theory is positioned at the latter end of this methodological spiral, actively repositioning the researcher as the author of a reconstruction of experience and meaning. Here, we discuss the development of constructivist grounded theory from its beginnings in the work of Strauss and Corbin through to the work of sociologist Kathy Charmaz.

Constructivism as a methodological imperative

To ensure a strong research design, researchers must choose a research paradigm that is congruent with their beliefs about the nature of reality. Consciously subjecting such beliefs to an ontological interrogation in the first instance will illuminate the epistemological and methodological possibilities that are available.

We do not quickly or easily reach any sort of conclusion or resolution about our own view of the nature of truth and reality. We are all influenced by our history and cultural context, which, in turn, shape our view of the world, the forces of creation, and the meaning of truth. Often these underlying assumptions about the world are unconscious and taken for granted. Constructivism is a research paradigm that denies the existence of an objective reality, “asserting instead that realities are social constructions of the mind, and that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (although clearly many constructions will be shared)” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 43).

Individuals who deny the existence of an objective reality assume a relativist ontological position (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Relativists claim that concepts such as rationality, truth, reality, right, good, or norms must be understood “as relative to a specific conceptual scheme, theoretical framework, paradigm, form of life, society, or culture . . . there is a non-reducible plurality of such conceptual schemes” (Bernstein, 1983, p. 8). In other words, the world consists of multiple individual realities influenced by context.

Epistemologically, constructivism emphasizes the subjective interrelationship between the researcher and participant, and the coconstruction of meaning (Hayes & Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997). Researchers, in their “humanness,” are part of the research endeavor rather than objective observers, and their values must be acknowledged by themselves and by their readers as an inevitable part of the outcome (Appleton, 1997; de Laine, 1997; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Stratton, 1997).

In seeking a research methodology that would provide an ontological and epistemological fit with our position, we were led to explore the concept of a constructivist grounded theory. Several authors identify grounded theory when it is underpinned by a constructivist paradigm (Charmaz, 1994, 1995b, 2000; McCann & Clark, 2003a, 2003b; Nelson & Poulin, 1997; Norton, 1999; Stratton, 1997).

Grounded theory: Glaser, Strauss, and Corbin

Grounded theory is a methodology that seeks to construct theory about issues of importance in peoples’ lives (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It does this through a process of data collection that is often described as inductive in nature (Morse, 2001), in that the researcher has no preconceived ideas to prove or disprove. Rather, issues of importance to participants emerge from the

stories that they tell about an area of interest that they have in common with the researcher.

The researcher analyzes data by constant comparison, initially of data with data, progressing to comparisons between their interpretations translated into codes and categories and more data. This constant comparison of analysis to the field grounds the researcher's final theorizing in the participants' experiences.

Several permutations of grounded theory have evolved over time (MacDonald, 2001; MacDonald & Schreiber, 2001; Wuest & Merritt-Gray, 2001). Depending on the researcher's ontological and epistemological beliefs, there are several points of departure along a spiral of methodological development. Engaging in any form of grounded theory study, however, requires the researcher to address a set of common characteristics: theoretical sensitivity, theoretical sampling, treatment of the literature, constant comparative methods, coding, the meaning of verification, identifying the core category, memoing and diagramming, and the measure of rigor (McCann & Clark, 2003b).

On our initial reading of the seminal grounded theory texts (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998), we were easily drawn into comparing Glaser and Strauss. Reflecting on each text, we seemed to need to choose between the two. One can be blinded initially by the seeming complexity of Strauss and Corbin's procedures for coding, memoing, and diagramming, and become suspicious that "the technical tail [is] beginning to wag the theoretical dog" (Melia, 1996, p. 376).

However, our examination of each author's treatment of the common characteristics of grounded theory, first from an ontological and then from an epistemological perspective, finally crystallized the differences between the two. Our use of the terms traditional and evolved grounded theory to describe the work of Glaser (traditional) and Strauss and Corbin (evolved) is a result of this process. Strauss and Corbin (1998) themselves have described their methodology in this way. This is congruent with the metaphor of a spiral of methodological development, as opposed to a situation of binary opposition (McCann & Clark, 2003a).

By focusing on how the authors interacted with the data gleaned from their research, we could make a choice that agreed with constructivist research values. In making such a choice, however, we were conscious that this would provide only a guide, as opposed to a prescription. Rather, we would be following others with a constructivist intent in moving along the methodological spiral—further developing grounded theory (Annells, 1996, 1997b; Charmaz, 1995a, 2000; Charmaz & Mitchell, 1996; Clarke, 2005; Costain Schou & Hewison, 1998; McCann & Clark, 2003a; Sandelowski, 2000).

Evolved grounded theory: Discerning a constructivist thread

Strauss and Corbin (1994) have clearly stated that they do not believe in the existence of a "pre-existing reality 'out there.'" To think otherwise is to take a positivistic position that . . . we reject . . . Our position is that truth is enacted" (p. 279). This is a relativist ontological position that leaves behind the traditional grounded theorists' subscription to the discovery of truth that emerges from data representative of a "real" reality (Glaser, 1978).

The literature, however, contains differing opinions about the ontological nature of Strauss and Corbin's (1994) work (Annells, 1996, 1997a; Charmaz, 2000). This is brought about, in part, because in their two major grounded theory texts, Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) never directly address the paradigm of thought that underpins their method. In the years between editions, however, they did write an insightful book chapter that discusses the relationship of theory to reality and truth. This positions them as relativist pragmatists—stating that "theories are embedded 'in history'—historical epochs, eras and moments are to

be taken into account in the creation, judgment, revision and reformulation of theories” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 280).

Undoubtedly, however, their work demonstrates a mixture of language that vacillates between postpositivism and constructivism, with a reliance on terms such as recognizing bias and maintaining objectivity when describing the position the researcher should assume in relation to the participants and the data. Nevertheless, they mix these ideas with observations such as “we emphasize that it is not possible to be completely free of bias” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 97). This has led some researchers to remark that “people can find support in it for any ontology that they wish” (MacDonald & Schreiber, 2001, p. 44), which is not to negate the value of evolved grounded theory. Rather, it can be seen as evidence of a struggle to move with the changing moments of qualitative research (Annells, 1997a).

Strauss and Corbin, in the evolution of grounded theory, acknowledge the importance of a multiplicity of perspectives and “truths” (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994, 1998) and as such have “extended and emphasized the range of theoretically sensitizing concepts that must be attended to in the analysis of human action/interaction” (MacDonald, 2001, p. 137). This enables an analysis of data and a reconstruction of theory that is richer and more reflective of the context in which participants are situated. They insist that theirs is “interpretive work and . . . interpretations must include the perspectives and voice of the people who we study [sic]” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 274; emphasis in original). Such a position clearly implies that this perspective includes relating participants’ stories to the world in which the participants live.

There are several key points of difference between the research method of an evolved grounded theory study and that of a traditional grounded theory approach. We will now discuss the common characteristics of grounded theory—theoretical sensitivity, treatment of the literature, coding, diagramming, and identifying the core category—with a view to discerning a constructivist approach to inquiry in the work of Strauss and Corbin.

Theoretical sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity is a multidimensional concept that includes the researchers’ level of insight into the research area, how attuned they are to the nuances and complexity of the participant’s words and actions, their ability to reconstruct meaning from the data generated with the participant, and a capacity to “separate the pertinent from that which isn’t” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 44).

Traditional grounded theory asks of researchers that they enter the field of inquiry with as few predetermined thoughts as possible, enabling them to “remain sensitive to the data by being able to record events and detect happenings without first having them filtered through and squared with pre-existing hypotheses and biases” (Glaser 1978, p. 3). There is a reliance on the researchers’ immersion in the emerging data to increase their theoretical sensitivity. Much has been made of Glaser’s claim that the researcher in traditional grounded theory must be a *tabula rasa*, or blank slate, when entering a field of inquiry (Clarke, 2005) to develop theoretical sensitivity legitimately. We would argue that he was not so naive as to think this was possible and that the emphasis should be on his expected emergence or unveiling of a separate entity called data—locating the participant as a vessel containing a precious liquor in which the researchers will immerse themselves so as to become more theoretically sensitive.

Strauss and Corbin have used a variety of techniques (e.g., questioning, the flip-flop technique, far-out comparisons) to enhance researcher sensitivity during analysis (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). They are emphatic, however, that the ideas generated from the use of these techniques do not constitute more data but “stimulate reflection about the data at hand” (Corbin, 1998, p. 122) and provide different ways of knowing the data.

If researchers believe that the product of their analysis—a grounded theory—is a reconstruction of their own making (Costain Schou & Hewison, 1998; Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997; Sandelowski, 2000), the use of such techniques is defensible against the charge that they force the data (Glaser, 1992). Rather, these techniques are tools for the researcher to draw on in the act of theory development. Strauss and Corbin clearly take this position, saying, “Theorising is the act of constructing . . . from data an explanatory scheme that systematically integrates various concepts through statements of relationship” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 25; emphasis in original), and that theories themselves are “interpretations made from given perspectives as adopted or researched by researchers” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 279).

Treatment of the literature

The area of literature and its uses are diametrically contested between traditional and evolved grounded theorists. Traditional grounded theory provides the dictum that “there is a need not to review any of the literature in the substantive area under study” (Glaser, 1992, p. 31) for fear of contaminating, constraining, inhibiting, stifling, or impeding the researcher’s analysis of codes emergent from the data (Glaser, 1992). This, again, situates the data as an entity separate from both participant and researcher.

Engaging proactively with the literature from the beginning of the research process, Strauss and Corbin identified many uses for this information (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), interweaving the literature throughout the process of evolved grounded theory as another voice contributing to the researcher’s theoretical reconstruction. In the same way that Strauss and Corbin have viewed the use of techniques to increase theoretical sensitivity, the literature is able to provide examples of similar phenomena that can “stimulate our thinking about properties or dimensions that we can then use to examine the data in front of us” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 45).

The “nontechnical” literature, such as reports and internal correspondence, is seen as a potential source of data, providing information, in particular, about the context within which the participant operates, for example, their employing organization (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This then contributes to an analysis of additional data that is concerned with uncovering the meso and macro conditions that might influence the area of interest identified by the participants (Corbin, 1998).

Coding and diagramming

For traditional grounded theorists, coding from the data is the fundamental analytic tool that will uncover an emergent grounded theory from the field of inquiry. Three forms of codes are used: open, theoretical, and constant comparative (Glaser, 1992). Open coding is the initial step of theoretical analysis, developing codes from the data. This form of coding ends when it locates a core category. Theoretical codes are “conceptual connectors” that develop relationships between categories and their properties (Glaser, 1992, p. 38). Constant comparative coding describes the method of constant comparison that imbues both open and theoretical coding.

Strauss and Corbin (1998) have used complex coding methods as strategies to examine the interface between structure and process. This demonstrates Strauss’s pragmatic concern about the interplay between social groups and the worlds within which they live (Corbin, 1991). Glaser first introduced theoretical coding in grounded theory with the use of the 18 coding families that the researcher is able to draw on to develop conceptual analysis (Glaser, 1978). Strauss and then Strauss and Corbin followed on from this but focused on one particular coding family, the “Six Cs,” which identifies the causes, consequences, and conditions affecting categories identified by the researcher. Annells (1997c) has argued that this reflects Strauss’s pragmatic concern with the management of problems through contextualization.

In their later text, Strauss and Corbin (1998) simplified their paradigmatic framework to ask questions about the conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences of categories, thus making links between the ideas being conceptualized from the data. This form of coding is called axial coding. They also qualified the use of the paradigm, saying that it provides a guide for axial coding, to provoke thinking about the relationships between categories and their properties and dimensions, but that it should not be used rigidly lest it prevent the researcher from “capturing the dynamic flow of events and the complex nature of relationships” (p. 129).

Another tool that evolved grounded theorists can use to expand the dimensions of their analytic work is the conditional/consequential matrix. Strauss and Corbin (1998) have described this as “an analytic device to help the analyst keep track of the interplay of conditions/consequences and subsequent actions/interactions and to trace their paths of connectivity” (p. 199). Using the matrix, the researcher is able to locate an interaction that appears repeatedly in the data and then trace the linkages from this through the micro and macro conditions that might influence it (Corbin & Strauss, 1996). This allows the researcher to reconstruct the original data in such a way that its broader context becomes apparent.

Diagramming is central to the coding processes, and Strauss and Corbin use it extensively. Initially in the coding process, logic diagrams such as flowcharts are used. When undertaking higher level analysis, researchers use both the conditional/consequential matrix and integrative diagramming, illustrating the complex interplay between the different levels of conditions (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998).

Rather than viewing axial coding and the conditional matrix as constraints to theory construction (Charmaz, 2000), we argue that they are tools for reconstructing a grounded theory that is both dense and significantly analytical, as well as representative of structure and process. As evolved grounded theory developed, Strauss and Corbin (1998) became more emphatic in their argument that the tools for increasing theoretical sensitivity and coding processes need to be used with a degree of flexibility and creativity—an approach that is reflective of their constructivist intent. They used the metaphor of a “smorgasbord table” (p. 8) to describe their techniques—a table from which grounded theory researchers can pick and choose according to their “tastes.” From this table, thoughtful constructivist grounded theorists can choose techniques to use in their reconstruction of participants’ stories into theory.

Identifying the core category

The central point of a grounded theory, the core category, integrates all of that theory’s various aspects. Strauss and Corbin (1998) developed the process by which the core category is identified to acknowledge the role of the researcher as the author of a theoretical reconstruction. This occurs during the process of selective coding. In particular, Strauss and Corbin achieved this through their exploration of the centrality of the story, their narrative rendering of the analysis, to the eventual development of the core or central category.

In writing a story about the analysis, Strauss and Corbin (1998) advocated that researchers describe their “gut sense” about the subject matter of the research (p. 150). The story line is the final conceptualization of the core category, and as such, this “conceptual label” must fit the stories/data it represents (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 121). This process acknowledges the reconstruction of the participants’ stories by the researcher and the fulfillment of their obligation to “give voice—albeit in the context of their own inevitable interpretations” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 281).

For traditional grounded theorists, the dichotomy between emergence and construction continues in the identification of the core category. For Glaser (1978) “it always happens that a category will emerge from among many and ‘core out’ ” (p. 95) of its own accord.

Constructivist grounded theory: Charmaz

Ontologically relativist and epistemologically subjectivist, constructivist grounded theory reshapes the interaction between researcher and participants in the research process and in doing so brings to the fore the notion of the researcher as author. A student of Glaser and Strauss, Charmaz (2000) has emerged as the leading proponent of constructivist grounded theory.

Opposing our argument that there is a discernable constructivist thread in the strategies of Strauss and Corbin, as discussed previously, Charmaz (2000) has argued that in their development of “analytic questions, hypotheses [relational statements], and methodological applications” (p. 513), they assume the existence of an external reality. Discussing the position of Charmaz’s form of constructivist grounded theory, Annells (1997c) has suggested that it applies the strategies of traditional grounded theory within a constructivist paradigm thus rejecting notions of emergence and objectivity.

We found a number of articles about constructivist grounded theory during our review of the literature. These came from the disciplines of education (Jones, 2002; Jones & Hill, 2003), psychology (Corbet-Owen & Kruger, 2001; Dodson & Dickert, 2004; Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000; Stratton, 1997), occupational and environmental medicine (Gustafsson, Dellve, Edlund, & Hagberg, 2003), and nursing (Annells, 1997c; McCann & Clark, 2003a; Norton, 1999). Without fail, each of these authors/researchers drew on the work of Charmaz (1995b, 2000) in formulating their argument for assuming a constructivist approach to their own studies. Charmaz has contended since the mid-1990s that a constructivist approach to grounded theory is both possible and desirable, because, “Data do not provide a window on reality. Rather, the ‘discovered’ reality arises from the interactive process and its temporal, cultural, and structural contexts” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 524).

Focusing on the data and the possibilities for meaning that can be constructed from them, Charmaz (1995b) has used grounded theory to elicit multiple meanings. Following Charmaz, researchers need to go beyond the surface in seeking meaning in the data, searching for and questioning tacit meanings about values, beliefs, and ideologies. There is an underlying assumption that the interaction between the researcher and participants “produces the data, and therefore the meanings that the researcher observes and defines” (Charmaz, 1995b, p. 35; emphasis in original). To enrich these data, Charmaz (1995b) has positioned the researcher as coproducer, exhorting them to “add . . . a description of the situation, the interaction, the person’s affect and [their] perception of how the interview went” (p. 33).

Treatment of the data and their analytical outcomes is the main theme of Charmaz’s (2000) explanation of how researchers undertake studies using constructivist grounded theory. There is a sense that researchers need to immerse themselves in the data in a way that embeds the narrative of the participants in the final research outcome. This immersion is played out through the use of coding language that is active in its intent and that “helps to keep that life in the foreground” (p. 526). Charmaz advocates that the researchers as authors include raw data in their theoretical memos and that they continue with this strategy as their memos become more complex and analytical to keep the participant’s voice and meaning present in the theoretical outcome (Charmaz 1995b, 2001).

Charmaz (2000) developed the theme of writing as a strategy in constructivist grounded theory in her later work, when she advocates a writing style that is more literary than scientific in intent. She has argued that constructivist grounded theorists are impelled to be analytical in their writing but that their style of writing needs to be evocative of the experiences of the participants (Charmaz, 2001). The researcher’s

voice need not “transcend experience but re-envis[age] it . . . bring[ing] fragments of fieldwork time, context and mood together in a colloquy of the author’s several selves—reflecting, witnessing, wondering, accepting—all at once” (Charmaz & Mitchell, 1996, p. 299).

It is a delicate balancing act, enabling participants’ accounts to retain a degree of visibility in the text so that the reader can make the connections between analytical findings and the data from which they were derived (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002; Jones, 2002). Making such connections clear, however, demonstrates the value the researcher places on the participant as a contributor to the reconstruction of the final grounded theory model. It also meets the researcher’s ethical obligation to “describe the experiences of others in the most faithful way possible” (Munhall, 2001, p. 540).

For constructivist grounded theorists Charmaz’s (2001) work provides guidance in making meaning from the data, and rendering participants’ experiences into readable theoretical interpretations. Emergent in her writing is a recognition that constructivist grounded theorists need to think about the thorny question of how to resolve the tension that exists between developing a conceptual analysis of participants’ stories and still creating a sense of their presence in the final text.

Historically, grounded theory has been judged as silently authored, that is, researchers have maintained a position of “distant expert” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 513). Revealing the researcher as the author of a coconstruction of experience and meaning is an important next step in grounded theory research. In part, Charmaz’s work in developing a methodological model of constructivist grounded theory addresses this.

Conclusion

Constructivist grounded theory can be traced from the work of Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994, 1998) underpinned by their relativist position and demonstrated in their belief that the researcher constructs theory as an outcome of their interpretation of the participants’ stories. Strauss and Corbin’s focus on the provision of tools to use in this process confirms their constructivist intent.

Following Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994, 1998) Charmaz (2000) is the first researcher to describe her work explicitly as constructivist grounded theory. With an emphasis on keeping the researcher close to the participants through keeping their words intact in the process of analysis, Charmaz has striven to maintain the participants’ presence throughout. A key point is creative writing as a form of expression that has the potential to communicate how participants construct their worlds.

Grounded theory is a research methodology that has an enormous appeal for a range of disciplines due to its explanatory power. This power illuminates common issues for people in a way that allows them to identify with theory and use it in their own lives. Researchers, who first identify their ontological and epistemological position, are able to choose a point on the methodological spiral of grounded theory where they feel theoretically comfortable, which, in turn, will enable them to live out their beliefs in the process of inquiry.

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