

**Building and
Evaluating
RESEARCH
CAPACITY**
in Healthcare Systems
Case Studies
and Innovative Models

EDITORS

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Chapter 8

Capacity Building with Research Partners: Experiences from Proyecto Araucaria in Chile

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Proyecto Araucaria (the Araucaria Project) studied work-related mental health problems in Chile and regulatory and policy issues in a variety of jurisdictions, from a gender perspective. It brought together Chilean researchers from the Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM, or Centre for Women's Studies) and Canadian researchers from the University of Ottawa, Université du Québec à Montréal and Laval University. (The official title of this Teasdale-Corti research programme was 'Work-related mental health problems in Chile: A gender perspective'; details may be found at <http://www.proyectoaraucaria.>)

The proposal grew out of an initiative of CEM, which, in 2006, approached researchers from the Centre de recherche interdisciplinaire sur la biologie, la santé et l'environnement (CINBIOSE), a research centre in Québec dedicated to occupational health issues, to develop a research partnership on psychosocial hazards, gender and precarious employment in Chile. For decades, the sociologists and economists working at CEM had been studying the working conditions of women in Chile, focusing on precarious employment, work-life balance and issues related to the quality of employment in Chile. The researchers became aware of an increase in disability claims for mental health problems in Chile, and proposed the partnership idea to CINBIOSE to understand better the contribution of working conditions to the increase in mental health problems among workers. CEM and

CINBIOSE focus on a gender-based analysis of working conditions, and have a long history of partnerships with trade unions, community groups and social change agents. While the respective research centres were familiar with each other's publications, the Araucaria Project was the first formal collaboration between CEM and researchers from CINBIOSE (Lippel, Messing and Bernstein).

When the first contact was made by CEM, Lippel was identified as the CINBIOSE member who was in the best position to meet the needs of the proposed partnership. A specialist in occupational health and safety law and policy, she had worked for decades on the policies governing the prevention of exposure to psychosocial hazards and workers' compensation for disability related to workplace stressors. She and Bernstein had collaborated for years on the regulation of precarious employment in Québec. She was also involved in a project led by Dr Michel Vézina from the Institut national de santé publique du Québec called the EQCOTESST study (see <http://www.inspq.qc.ca/eqcotesst/>), which sought to measure exposures to various working conditions in Québec and the health measures associated with those exposures. Lippel and Messing have been collaborating since 1993, studying women's occupational health problems and policy solutions, in partnership with Québec trade unions, in the context of the *Invisible qui fait mal* research team (see <http://www.invisiblequifaitmal.uqam.ca/>).

Both research centres worked in partnership with community organisations and policy-makers in order to co-construct knowledge about women's working conditions. Thus, the choice to focus on a gender-based analysis in partnership with community groups, unions, labour inspectors and policy-makers in Chile was a natural extension of previous work undertaken by members of the team. The project was initiated by the Chileans, who identified psychosocial hazards at work as a priority issue because it was under-studied in that country, and the social partners who traditionally collaborated with CEM as well as the CEM researchers themselves, who identified the need to improve their capacity to intervene, as researchers and as social partners, for the protection of workers' mental health. The fact that Chile was a poster child for the neo-liberal deregulation of working conditions under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet made it an interesting country to study, as the labour market was particularly segmented; precarious

employment and subcontracting were prevalent, and psychosocial hazards specific to women (like sexual harassment and discrimination) in the workplace were believed to be prevalent.

The project was divided into two axes: axis 1 sought to understand the effect of working conditions on the mental health of Chilean workers and document risk factors and protective factors for their mental health; axis 2 focused on a comparative study of law and policy on mental health, gender and work in order to identify policies and regulations that promote healthier work environments and provide compensation for work disability.

Working conditions are a key determinant of health (Benach, Muntaner, & Santana, 2007) and the significance of their impact on the mental health of working men and women in LMICs led to their acknowledgement as a priority issue by the World Health Organization (Kortum, 2007). The importance of using a gendered approach to conceptualising capacity building with regard to policy changes is well known, notably in relation to an examination of health and safety (European Agency, 2003; Cornish, 2008; Messing & Silverstein, 2009), and more specifically with regard to measures of psychosocial hazards in the workplace (De Smet et al, 2005; Vézina et al, 2011). However, the way to promote such an approach is not without challenges. According to Theobald and colleagues (Theobald, Tolhurst, Elsey, & Standing, 2005) the effectiveness and impacts of capacity-building interventions are known to vary depending on the focus and targets, and they note that bureaucrats, NGOs and academics have very different approaches to gender mainstreaming.

Capacity building formed a central part of the project, which was designed to promote reciprocal exchange of experiences, knowledge and strategies, involving researchers and research users. The Chilean researchers were well skilled in qualitative research methods but less familiar with quantitative measures of psychosocial hazards. For them, Araucaria provided an opportunity to learn, apply and share with research users those skills that provided stronger arguments for prevention and change because they were backed up with data gleaned from a representative sample of the working population. In terms of policy reform, research anchored in a comparative analysis also

supported recommendations for change, by contextualising them both regionally and globally.

The programme sought to build not only research capacity but also capacity to perform evidence-based interventions on a local, national and international level to promote better working conditions for workers, while ensuring that the strategies retained were informed by a gender lens. The need for capacity building for institutions responsible for labour inspection is illustrated by recent projects undertaken in the context of trade agreements between Canada and Latin American countries. See, for instance, http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/labour/labour_globalization/IPPLA/pucp.shtml.

The researchers in the team came from a wide range of disciplines, including sociology, law, medicine, public health and ergonomics. Students in both Canada and Chile were actively involved in the research programme. The research users spanned an equally vast spectrum of fields. In Chile, collaborations were well established with various NGOs, including rural agricultural women workers' groups, women's groups, unions and other worker representatives as well as state actors. In Canada, students were involved in the capacity-building process; worker representatives and unions were also involved. Participation in workshops and collective publication projects also enabled capacity building for researchers from other countries who were not necessarily active in the specific field of research focused on by the Araucaria Project.

In this chapter, we will first define terms and then provide illustrations of the various facets of capacity building which have emerged in the context of our project.

WHOSE CAPACITY AND CAPACITY TO DO WHAT?

When reflecting on our accomplishments with regard to capacity building, it is first necessary to clarify our objectives. From the outset, our team emphasised the importance of improving the capacity of research users, who were chosen to participate as equal partners in our team because of their ability to influence the evolution of civil society and government policy with regard to occupational psychosocial hazards. In that sense, the primary purpose of our capacity-building

endeavours was not so much to increase our capacity to do research, although several illustrations allow us to conclude that that too has been accomplished, but rather to mobilise the research process and the research results in a way that was meaningful to those who were in the best position to make changes in light of the research findings. We chose not to focus primarily on training and knowledge transfer, rather adopting Potter and Brough's (2004) more systemic approach to capacity building instead. Potter and Brough (2004, p. 336) recommend an approach that they call 'systemic capacity building' which addresses a 'four tier hierarchy of capacity building needs':

- 1) structures, systems and roles
- 2) staff and facilities
- 3) skills
- 4) tools.

Araucaria targeted systems, structural capacity and tools, among other aspects. This was done by developing training and tools for the labour inspectorates and NGOs, and by building on the roles of NGOs and state actors in the recognition of psychosocial hazards. It also included promoting and participating in 'decision-making forums where inter-sectorial discussion may occur' (Potter & Brough, 2004, p. 340).

The choice of this approach was grounded in our previous experiences, in Chile and in Canada. From the initial conceptualisation of the project, the researchers from Canada and Chile were well aware of the importance of learning from community partners and providing them with the opportunity to increase their intervention capacity through participation in our research. In the Araucaria Project, the choice of this approach was reinforced by the fact that a major component of our programme sought to influence policy and policy-makers in Chile as well as in other jurisdictions. The most effective mechanism to achieve this objective, in our experience, was by engaging the active participation of decision-makers and community groups, including targeting those actors in the capacity-building process.

In his paper on monitoring policy interventions, Harry Jones described mechanisms to promote a Theory of Change, based on relationships with key actors:

[Theories of Change] for this kind of influencing activity are based on actors, the relationships between them, and the institutions within which they work. One review of successful lobbying has found that, in addition to clear and focused policy goals, the key strategic capacities required are identifying natural allies, developing relationships and credibility with policy actors, and understanding the nature of the policy process and institutional access (Jones, 2011, p. 8).

The Araucaria Project sought to influence policy to improve working conditions in Chile and other countries and thus reduce exposure to psychosocial hazards. Given these objectives, the formation of natural alliances with research users to promote their capacity to intervene, either as researchers from the Dirección de trabajo (Labour Inspectorate), as occupational health professionals from the Ministry of Health, as labour inspectors, or as unions and community groups having a lobbying agenda, was seen to be the most effective strategy to ensure that research was translated into practices that could effect change.

Participating in the research process is one aspect that ensures better uptake by the research users. Our Chilean community partners were active throughout the research programme, from the initial conceptualisation of the objectives and research to be accomplished, through the data gathering process, and on to the conceptualisation of tools designed to best ensure accessibility for a broad range of potential users.

We also sought to increase the research capacity of all participants in the programme, including the Chilean and Canadian researchers, and the students funded by the programme. The Chilean researchers benefited from input from the Canadian scientists in fields such as ergonomics, public health and law, while the Canadian researchers, both professors and students, learned new skills in developing a research programme that was respectful of the needs of the Chilean partners. Chilean expertise was particularly strong with regard to women's working conditions and Canadian researchers integrated new ways of including gender issues in Canadian tools, thanks to the input of the Chilean partners. In turn, specific skills related to ergonomic analysis and gender were shared by a Canadian expert in gender-

based ergonomics, who provided training to the Chilean sociologists preparing workplace observations and designing the survey. This collaboration also led to the development of a new programme, funded by the CIDA, which was designed to train Chilean graduate students in ergonomic analysis applied through a gender lens.

Finally, it became clear that capacity building extended far beyond the specific processes we had initially identified in the grant application. For example, in the context of the policy stream (axis 2), we organised a series of seminars and special issues of journals, and researchers from 16 countries, as well as union representatives from three countries, either in person or through the scientific production process, to reflect on psychosocial hazards, gender and policy issues. Emphasis was placed on specific challenges raised by precarious employment and changing labour markets. One unexpected outcome of this process was that the participants (which included researchers and union representatives from Canada, Chile and elsewhere) needed to improve their own local understanding of certain aspects of the issues to be discussed in order to successfully participate in the process. Thus, a union representative, with vast experience in health and safety interventions, needed to reflect specifically on his union's role in reducing psychosocial hazards, a process that led to new interventions by that Canadian union long after the seminar in Santiago was over. Similarly, seasoned academics who specialised in worker representation with unions with regard to more traditional health and safety hazards were required to reflect more specifically on psychosocial hazards and gender issues.

In the following section, we will provide a few concrete examples of the ways in which our researchers and research users were empowered by the research programme, in order to illustrate the preceding points.

THE MANY FACETS OF CAPACITY BUILDING

More classical strategies contributed to research capacity building of the Chilean and Brazilian scholars who received doctoral scholarships through our programme. For example, academic training and research assistance was provided to several Latin American scholars studying at the University of Ottawa, mostly in law, but some in public health.

One bursary student was a professor of law at the Universidad

Diego Portales in Santiago, and as she pursued her doctoral studies on regulatory effectiveness of sexual harassment policy in Chile, she in turn built new research capacity by transmitting novel ways of studying law to her own law students. As has been the case in many Canadian universities (Lajoie, 2003), classic legal scholarship in Chile does not usually include interdisciplinary approaches to law. Nor does it invite reflection on legal rules through a gender lens. Our scholarship student's study of the regulatory effectiveness of Chilean sexual harassment legislation allowed her to transmit, to her students, knowledge and readings drawn from feminist legal theory. Her participation in Araucaria also allowed her to draw on knowledge from the social sciences in the pursuit of her analysis of effectiveness, and she included specific questions on sexual harassment in the Araucaria survey of working conditions and participated in the analysis of data relevant to her research question. By training the trainers in new ways of analysing law to make it more effective in protecting workers' health, particularly the health of women workers, the project allowed for capacity-building activities that would continue long after the original project was completed.

A Brazilian scholarship student in law studying the regulatory effectiveness of anti-bullying legislation in Brazil, compared the effects of explicit legislation as opposed to the more general legal protections that exist in the Constitution and in general labour law. Empirical research by legal scholars is unusual in Brazil, so not only will the results of the study be useful to policy-makers but also the introduction of new methodological approaches will inform research practices in Brazilian law schools, where the candidate intends to work as a law professor upon the completion of her studies.

Finally, a third scholarship recipient, a Chilean doctoral student in public health, trained in occupational psychology, and a professor of psychology at the Universidad Diego Portales, pursued her doctoral studies under the supervision of the Canadian public health physician from the Araucaria team, adapting the Québec EQCOTESST survey of working conditions and workers' health (Vézina et al, 2011) to the Chilean context. CEM also benefited from her participation in the development of the Chilean Araucaria survey, which included questions adapted from the EQCOTESST survey to the Chilean context.

Aside from capacity building for the students, numerous undertakings were designed to build the capacity of the community partners. The following example shows how the knowledge and skill of the Chilean research team served to empower a local community group to make change in light of research results.

La Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Rurales e Indígenas (ANAMURI) was one of our most active research users throughout the life of the project. Unlike the traditional rural NGOs active in the agricultural sector, which are run by men who own the land, this organisation is a women's group comprised mostly of temporary agricultural workers. Chile is an exporter of agricultural products, particularly of fruit, and the development of the sector has had a negative impact on subsistence farming. This sector is comprised of a small permanent workforce that works all year long and a significant temporary workforce that is active at harvesting time. Women comprise almost two-thirds (64%) of this workforce (Díaz & Mauro, 2010).

In the context of the Araucaria project, in partnership with the Chilean research team, ANAMURI organised a vast campaign to sensitise its members to work-related mental health problems. Local meetings were organised in various parts of the country. These meetings allowed the group to document the experiences of hundreds of workers, experiences that were then synthesised in a brochure documenting working and employment conditions and their consequences for workers' health. The knowledge transfer tool included ten chapters written in clear language and illustrated with concrete examples from the workers themselves. The brochure was broadly distributed and read during meetings of women workers. Specific discussion questions allowed for collective small group discussions. Those who took part in this experience spoke of it with great enthusiasm and related how this consciousness-raising approach allowed workers to organise around concrete objectives and, in those cases where the balance of power made it possible, to obtain a real improvement in their working conditions. This success is all the more remarkable considering the particular vulnerability of temporary female agricultural workers, who are among the poorest working people in Chile, and have few opportunities for paid employment other than seasonal work (Díaz & Mauro, 2010).

Another example was the proposed knowledge transfer project to mobilise a trade union that was a research user in our team. The Confederación Nacional de Funcionarios Técnicos en Enfermería de Chile was a union representing health sector workers. One of the activities involving that union was the development of a proposal to study workload and the work–family balance of paramedical nursing technicians in Chile. The objective of the grant application was to develop a tool for organisational empowerment concerning psychosocial hazards associated with workload and work–family balance via knowledge transfer activities. The union members mobilised around the activity preceding the grant application. Despite the fact that the funding was not forthcoming, workshops took place to develop a collective diagnosis of the specific challenges facing the participants with regard to work–family balance, which served to improve our understanding of how our research could be applied to the specific context of the workers involved.

State actors have also been involved in the research process in a way that has allowed for appropriation and adaptation of tools to suit the Chilean context. One example is drawn from the work undertaken with the Unidad de Condiciones y Medio Ambiente de Trabajo, Dirección del Trabajo, part of the Chilean Labour Inspectorate. Starting with a Québec-based tool developed to support occupational physicians working within the Institut national de santé publique du Québec, Chilean and Canadian members of the research team met with representatives of the Unidad de Condiciones y Medio Ambiente de Trabajo, Dirección del Trabajo, who helped to define the needs of their inspectors with regard to the protection of workers from psychosocial hazards. The process of adapting the tool to the Chilean context led to an ongoing series of collaborations between the Canadian and the Chilean researchers, and between the Chilean institutions that had not previously collaborated on this issue. The process led to the creation of an expert panel that included representatives of the Chilean public health department, the Departamento de Salud Ocupacional del Instituto de Salud Pública (whose director was a member of the research team), members of CEM and other institutional actors. Representatives of the Chilean inspection institutions were able to define their needs, with input from

a variety of other groups, including CEM, who ensured that gender issues like sexual harassment and work–family balance were included in the final tool. Aside from linguistic issues, one of the adaptations of the tool that was required for the Chilean context focused on making it more like a checklist than a design to lead discussion in the workplace. The role of those responsible for using the tool in Chile, for the most part labour inspectors, required that they have a list of variables to examine, articulated in a way that would allow them to determine compliance in a binary fashion. The committee finalised the adaptation of the tool in July 2012 (see http://www.ispch.cl/sites/default/files/instrumento_de_evaluacion_de_medidas_para_la_preencion_de_riesgos_psicosociales_en_el_trabajo.pdf) after years of discussion that included interruptions attributable to the earthquake of 2010 which changed public health priorities in the short term.

The intervention of the Araucaria Project in the development of the tool in Chile had repercussions in Québec as well, since the original instrument did not include issues of importance from a gender perspective. The tool in Québec was thus improved by the input of the researchers in the Araucaria team, who helped to provide content that captured issues more specific to women, like sexual harassment, work–family balance and discrimination (Vézina & Chénard, 2011).

Training sessions for labour inspectors were provided by a Canadian member of the research team and the lead advisor in the development of the Québec tool. Other training sessions were given by the Canadian expert in gender and ergonomics to labour inspectors and inspectors from the Chilean Institute of Public Health on ergonomics and gender-based analysis of the working conditions of men and women.

These are only some examples of the capacity-building activities that took place in Chile and in the context of university training in Canada.

One of the most significant components of the research programme was a major survey of working conditions in Chile, and a preliminary analysis of those results was presented for the first time in January 2012. It is expected that the analysis of those results will inform policy recommendations specific to the Chilean context, which will also be

informed by the results of the comparative policy research undertaken in axis 2 of the programme, as described below.

Beyond the activities specific to Chile, the very process of developing three special issues of international journals on psychosocial hazards and work provided an opportunity to place the issues explored locally in an international perspective, thus raising the profile of workplace psychosocial hazards in the international research community. Three special issues were produced in the first four years of the project, and others are either in press or have since been published (Lippel & Casas Becerra, 2012). The first, in the *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* (Lippel, 2007), included a broad range of contributions, from many disciplines and many countries. It allowed those team members responsible for its production to mobilise researchers from different scientific communities and perspectives around the issue of psychosocial hazards, work and policy. The second special issue, in the *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal* (Lippel, 2010), focused specifically on policy and law governing workplace bullying. Contributions from nine countries, including Chile, set the stage for an overview of regulatory strategies, and also provided models for different research strategies to study regulatory effectiveness. This special issue has since been translated into Mandarin and is scheduled to be published by the Peking University Press. The third special issue, in *Safety Science* (Lippel & Quinlan, 2011), brought together several papers presented at the international seminar on the role of unions and labour inspectorates in the prevention of psychosocial hazards, organised in Santiago by Araucaria in January 2010. Contributions from scholars who had not attended the seminar were also included, so that the overview covered situations in the European Union and six other countries. The various publications provided a platform to learn from the successes of inspectorates or unions in other jurisdictions, like Spain, and led to further international exchanges that are still ongoing. The activities associated with the development of these publications and the seminars held in Santiago have allowed for the creation of an informal international network of scholars, from both the North and the South, interested in the policy issues governing psychosocial hazards, and these exchanges will continue beyond the life of Araucaria.

CHALLENGES

While we are stimulated by the successes of our project with regard to capacity building, it would be inaccurate to suggest that these results came easily and without challenges. Aside from the challenges specific to language (Spanish, French and English were all used in our project), the primary challenges were not specific to global health research and collaborations between Canadian researchers and researchers from a middle-income country. Instead, interdisciplinary differences in methodological approaches required more translation efforts to ensure the quality of communication between team members than did cultural or even linguistic differences. Among the issues that were the most challenging from an intercultural perspective were those related to Canadian institutional research requirements, particularly with regard to ethics. For example, the requirement of signed consent forms had an adverse effect on response rates to the survey conducted in Chile, a country where it is unusual to make such a request. In hindsight, we would have proactively insisted that signatures not be required on consent forms, but we followed Canadian practices without considering whether or not they were appropriate to the Chilean context. Only when we saw the poor response rate did we realise that we should not have proposed a signed consent form from the outset.

Another source of unanticipated challenge emerged during the recruitment of students, for whom we had designed bursaries to study in Canada. It was important to us to support students interested in gender issues, but we had not anticipated the difficulties in finding students who could speak sufficient English or French to participate in graduate studies in Canada. It was particularly challenging to recruit women, who, in the Chilean context, could not easily leave their homes to study abroad. Furthermore, male students with families required funding to relocate them, although no funding of this nature was available. We eventually recruited two doctoral students from Latin America to study in Canada, instead of four as originally planned, and reallocated the remaining funding to students pursuing studies in Chilean universities, under the supervision of a Canadian member of the team, in one case, and a Chilean member of the team, in the other.

A final set of difficulties, perhaps universal, was associated with the

challenges for researchers who hoped to inform policy-makers and state actors who were necessarily influenced by their political masters. In a volatile political context, years of collaboration and building of trust can be jeopardised by a change in government, an event totally beyond the control of the researchers and the research users themselves. Because a key component of our project focused on policies regulating working conditions, it was necessary to involve both NGOs, whose mission addressed working conditions, as well as state actors, who were responsible for the implementation of legal frameworks governing working conditions and occupational health.

The delicate task of respecting the sovereignty of local regulators (Okunzi & Macrae, 1995), particularly in a context of political transition, was facilitated by the active involvement of NGOs, whose involvement in the project was less vulnerable to political change associated with electoral agendas. Their continued enthusiasm for the research programme and its implications suggested that the impact of the programme would outlive not only current funding but also the political climate of the moment. In the context of the political changes in Chile brought about by a change in government in 2010, it became evident that some aspects of our policy work would be more difficult to pursue than others. For example, the promotion of rights of workers was more difficult than the promotion of gender issues, all political spectra acknowledging the equality rights of women, which was not so for the rights of workers. The best strategy when faced with political change is to take the space you can in light of the political context. Despite the change in government, collaboration by our team in the development of a tool to monitor psychosocial hazards in the workplace continued, and the finalisation of the Chilean instrument in July 2012 was a clear example of the successful influence on policy through the long process of collaborative research.

It may well be that the existence of the Araucaria Project also ensured the inclusion of gender issues in that tool. The initiative for the tool in Chile came about as a suggestion of the Araucaria Project, an exchange between public health researchers from Québec involved in our project and those in Chile. Because of the funding through Araucaria, gender became a necessary ingredient of the project, and when the Chilean version took on a life of its own, the inclusion of CEM

as a legitimate interlocutor in the process ensured that the gender-based adaptations were integrated in the final product. It is likely that, were it not for the initial funding that created the opportunity for collaboration, no psychosocial hazard tool would have been developed in Chile, or were it to have been developed, gender issues would not have been included.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to outline concrete examples of various ways in which the Araucaria Project has pursued the objectives of capacity building for all those involved in the programme. The transdisciplinary nature of the research team and the project's inherent grassroots approach has encouraged bilateral and internal capacity building, much of which has been reciprocal. The team members, including the students, learned from each other, from the research users and from the project advisors and vice versa. We saw progress in the integration of a gender lens in the analyses of both the research users and the researchers from the international, Canadian and Chilean contexts, and we saw an increased interest in psychosocial hazards for both researchers and research users. We believe we succeeded insofar as the political and global contexts permit in supporting the empowerment of all those involved, from local workers to policy-makers and researchers, so that they were able to intervene more effectively for the promotion of workers' mental health, while including a gender perspective in their interventions.

The impact of these capacity-building activities is ongoing, and can be illustrated by a few examples. Through a broad range of workshops, tools and *cartillas* (primers) that were produced, the project succeeded in sensitising many male and female workers with regard to the importance of the relationship between work and employment conditions and mental health. This is particularly significant for working women and their organisations. For instance, the Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Rurales e Indígenas presently includes, in its advocacy agenda, the improvement of working conditions affecting mental health. The vice-president of the women's committee of the Agrupación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales (ANEF) and the Central Autónoma de Trabajadores (CAT) incorporated the mental health of public

sector workers as one of its principal preoccupations, promoting the eradication of discriminatory practices towards women (psychological harassment, sexual harassment, schedules that are incompatible with work–family balance, etc). The Araucaria team, including researchers and research users, hopes to follow up with the development of broadly based training schools in which workers will be given the tools needed to recognise, prevent and collectively address pathogenic factors in their workplace as well as the legal tools needed to act effectively on these factors.

Lessons learned from our experience included the importance of acknowledging the limitations of a classic research programme designed to train graduate students from abroad. The usual indicators of success, such as publications in high-impact journals and the number of diplomas obtained by students, are not the only or the most appropriate indicators of successful capacity building. This is even truer if one of the objectives is to empower women researchers from countries in the global South and more flexible measures of success would ensure better involvement of scholars and research users from grassroots associations. Impact factors are often inappropriate measures of relevance or usefulness of publications, particularly when the objective of the research programme is to have an impact on scholars and research users whose language is not English.

In research that includes a policy component, much of the impact of research activities will only become evident in years to come. Quantitative measures of success are in large part inappropriate not only with regard to policy components but also in relation to capacity-building activities involving grassroots organisations. Training materials and training sessions in the community are often far more useful and meaningful than peer-reviewed articles in the context of programmes designed to build capacity for effective change on the ground. The number of training sessions is relevant, but says little about the quality of that training and the transformations brought about by that training.

A more meaningful evaluation tool would provide opportunities for qualitative analysis. The preparation of this chapter proved to be extremely useful in promoting collective reflections on the meaning of the capacity-building experiences of the team over the years. Collective

books inviting teams to reflect on the usefulness and meaning of their work may well be more appropriate vehicles for providing evidence of success and failure than any quantitative questionnaire or other bureaucratic exercise ill adapted to understanding the real impact of the research and capacity-building programme.

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