

**Journeys to engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement:
Life stories of activist-educators**

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2014**

Abstract:

This thesis explores how individuals in the UK come to and sustain engagement with global justice issues (such as poverty, development and human rights). It responds to a scarcity of relevant research and a stated desire for greater understanding from those involved in development education and related areas. Relevant literature is used to develop: a working definition of the UK Global Justice Movement; a new conceptual framework for understanding forms of engagement; a 'route map' summarising knowledge about individuals' journeys to engagement; and an understanding of current practice and debates in development education and related fields. Using narrative research techniques, the study then presents five individuals' life stories with respect to engagement with global justice issues. The respondents come from a range of backgrounds and utilise a number of different forms of engagement, but all act in some way as educators/multipliers of engagement. Their stories are analysed using two different 'lenses': together, considering themes relevant to development education, and separately, investigating how concepts related to identity (Social Identity Theory, Identity Theory and Narrative Identity) can be used to understand individuals' engagement. This analysis includes discussion of: the places in which learning happens; debates concerning learning, criticality and visits overseas; the extent to which respondents might be understood to be development educators themselves; roles they have played; the in- (and out-) groups mentioned; and the various sources of narrative available to each of them over the course of their journeys to and within engagement. Finally, the thesis suggests implications for researchers, policy makers and practitioners. This includes: future use of the concepts developed; further exploration of the potential learning value of 'low cost' forms engagement; supporting individuals to engage with different organisations and issues 'across' the movement; and, considering possibilities for work with families and faith groups.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Signed:

Word count (exclusive of appendix and references): 80030

Acknowledgements:

This research was a journey which could not have been completed alone. Many thanks to:

Rebecca, Ayo, Leena, Jules and Malcolm, for sharing their stories;

Dr. Doug Bourn, my supervisor, for keeping me moving in the right direction;

CAFOD, and particularly the Education Section, for encouraging their squatter so generously;

Friends committed to global justice and education, for keeping me grounded;

Colleagues in the Development Education Research Centre and Dr. Eleanor Brown, Dr. Adam Unwin, Professor David Lambert and Professor Matt Baillie Smith, for lending friendly but critical eyes;

Sean, Mark and Matt, for proof-reading;

My funders, for believing in the value of this research;

And finally, Kyra, for believing in me.

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List of acronyms

AFP	Asian Foundation for Philanthropy
CAFOD	Catholic Agency For Overseas Development
DA	Development Ambassador (of AFP)
DEA	Development Education Association (now Think Global)
DFID	Department For International Development
IT	Identity Theory
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NI	Narrative Identity
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SMO	Social Movement Organisation

Chapter 1: Introduction

This research examines the relationships between experience, learning, identity and engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. It does so through exploring 'journeys to and within engagement' both within relevant literature and by utilising narrative research. In particular, it focuses on five individuals who see global justice issues as a high priority in their lives and whose engagement includes some form of educating others, raising awareness about issues or in some way acting as multipliers.

Overall research question:

- **What can be learned through exploration of individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement?**

Key questions investigated:

- **How do individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues?**
- **What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?**
- **How can concepts related to identity be used to understand individuals' engagement with global justice issues?**

The research makes original contributions to a number of areas of knowledge. These are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 6, but include: conceptual frameworks for exploring 'engagement' (2.2) and 'journeys to engagement' (2.3); contributions to debates concerning learning in development education (introduced in 2.4); and, the life stories of activist-educators (presented in Chapter 4).

1.1 Chapter summaries

This section gives an overview of the entire thesis, presenting brief summaries of each chapter. 1.2 then offers two rationales for the research: my personal motivations for exploring this area and an argument grounded in relevant literature.

Chapter 2 is made up of four sections considering what existing literature can contribute to my investigation of the first two key questions presented above. The first section, 2.1, reviews the literature regarding social movements and related areas in order to construct a working definition of the UK Global Justice Movement. 2.2 considers concepts concerning engagement, participation and activism. 2.3 synthesises literature concerning individuals' motivations and steps into active participation by constructing a route map of journeys to engagement. The final section discusses the practice and critiques of development education in the UK considered in the literature surveyed.

Chapter 3 explores the methodological foundations of the research. It begins with a discussion of my epistemological position and how I came to narrative research. The second section, 3.2, introduces narrative research, considering the areas of knowledge it can explore, the types of knowledge it can produce and questions regarding validity. 3.3 makes explicit the literature and thought processes which led to practical decisions regarding methodology before finally detailing my development of an approach to analysis which draws on a variety of theories related to identity.

Chapter 4 presents the 'data' generated using narrative research: the five life stories at the heart of the research. For each respondent there are four sections: a summary; an introduction to the respondent and their current engagement with global justice issues; their life story with respect to engagement; and a short section telling the 'story behind the story', situating the interviews in context.

Chapter 5 presents analysis of the stories presented in Chapter 4, utilising the approach to analysis developed in Chapter 3. The two sections making up this analysis link to the last two key questions presented above, considering the significance of development education and identity. The first section, 5.1, uses thematic analysis to consider the role of development education and learning in my respondents' stories as a whole. The second section, 5.2, looks at each respondent's story in turn, considering the role of identity in each.

Chapter 6 returns to the overall research question presented above, drawing on all previous chapters to suggest a number of implications. This chapter makes clear the contributions to knowledge made by this research, placing emphasis on learning for researchers, those with an interest in development education and related practices, and for me and my on-going commitments.

Chapter 7 concludes the research by summarising the thesis and reiterating contributions, limitations and suggestions for further research.

1.2 Rationale

The focus for my research has been chosen for a number of interlinking reasons, both personal and professional/academic. In reality it is difficult to separate these motivations, as “most often, the questions which guide our research originate from deep within ourselves” (Andrews, 2007:27). However, for the purposes of this chapter, my rationale is explored in two parts. The first sets out my ‘journey to engagement’, sharing my motivations for undertaking this research. Following this personal perspective, the second part makes an argument from relevant literature for an in-depth study in this area.

1.2.1 Personal rationale

Conscious of my own engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement, I see the importance of recognising the interconnectivity between my personal ‘journey’ and experiences and the subject matter (Wolkowitz, 2000:105). As a narrative researcher I am particularly conscious of my own story and agenda(s), as “our subjectivity is always a part of that which we are documenting” (Andrews, 2007:3). I therefore begin by telling my story, positioning myself for the reader (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:757), making “clear the nature of the gaze” (Sikes, 2010:13) that this research brings upon the literature and ‘data’. In telling my story I use the same format with which I tell my respondents’ stories in Chapter 4, beginning with my current engagement and then working chronologically through my life to the time of writing.

Introducing myself and my current engagement

I am a 34 year old male, living with my wife in a flat in South London. I am a Catholic and see my faith as being related to my commitment to global justice issues. I am close to my family, seeing them regularly.

I see my main engagements with global justice issues as being my employment, as 'Justice and Peace Education Worker' for a Catholic organisation, and this research. In addition, I support a number of organisations concerned with peace, poverty and development through membership, donating money and time, taking campaign actions and attending events. I see myself as committed to development education (see 2.4), and take whatever opportunities present themselves to engage others with the issues I care about.

My journey to and within engagement

As early as I can remember my faith has been linked to action, for example through serving on the altar at church, fundraising at school, playing music at mass and especially being involved with youth work. I always enjoyed working with children younger than myself, for example volunteering at summer camps, helping at my school's youth club and working in a crèche on Saturday mornings and during the holidays. The Salesians¹, a Catholic Religious order who ran my secondary school, and with whom I have volunteered, lived and worked in many different ways, had a significant influence on this. Their approach to living out faith is based on service of the young and the poor, values that echo through my life.

In my early teenage years there were two experiences that I feel may have encouraged my burgeoning sense of engagement. I remember sitting on the sofa with my mum, both crying, as we watched a documentary about child poverty in the UK. We were amazed that this could exist in the so-called developed world. Around the same time, Sean Devereux, a volunteer with the Salesians, was murdered in Somalia. He had been a teacher in my school, and while I had never met him, he became something of a hero to me, someone

¹ Catholic Religious order, <http://www.salesians.org.uk/>

who came from 'my' world and committed himself to serving those in poverty. I began to dream of working in a 'developing country' with young people.

When I was 17 years old I was diagnosed with a heart condition which resulted in me having a pacemaker inserted. Soon after this I visited the Philippines with my then-girlfriend and her family, all British-Filipinos. This experience of rural life in a 'developing' country had a great impact on me. While I enjoyed the simplicity of life and wonderful experience of community, I was conscious of the great advantage I had in the British National Health Service. If I had been born in that context I would have probably not have been diagnosed or had the possibility of a pacemaker; in all likelihood I would not have lived into my twenties. I have always wondered how this knowledge has affected my commitment to global justice issues.

I went on to study maths at university, with the aim of qualifying as a teacher. My motivation was clear to me: to develop skills and qualifications which would be useful anywhere in the world. During my summer holidays I volunteered with the 'young and the poor' in UK, India and Kenya, deepening my love for travel and being outside my own culture. I began to imagine my future to be working in a home for street children.

After completing my degree I took a postgraduate qualification in teaching and began my probationary year, teaching in a small Catholic primary school near to my parents. Wherever possible I brought my 'experience' of poverty overseas into my classroom, taking on extra responsibility for teaching Citizenship and organising various assemblies and fund-raising events. Looking back, my motivation was largely charitable, with very little understanding of justice (see discussions in 2.4). I definitely saw myself as committed to these issues, and invited friends and family to support various projects with their money or attendance. I began to look for opportunities to volunteer overseas for a period longer than the one or two month experiences I had each summer. I approached the Salesians and asked them about volunteering. Their response surprised me, as they asked whether I had considered if I might be called to Religious life as a priest or brother, committing to a life of poverty, chastity and obedience in the service of the young and the poor.

I decided that this was something I had to explore, and so began a period of formation and discernment. This included a year as a 'pre-novice', in which I taught in a Salesian secondary school in Bolton, and then four months as a 'novice' in Farnborough. During both stages I lived with a community of priests and brothers, sharing in their prayer life. Although I found aspects of this time challenging, for the most part I enjoyed the experience, learning about myself, my faith and values. The time in Farnborough was more frustrating, as for the most part I was expected to spend my time in prayer and reflection. I found the lack of active service exasperating, and remember losing patience at one stage. Desperate to do something useful I went for a long run with a black plastic bag, picking up litter as I went. During this time I began an email newsletter called 'Little things', sent largely to my friends and family. My aim was to encourage people to take little actions for a better world and included links to ethical bank accounts, 'good gifts'² and click-to-donate websites³.

After 16 months discerning a vocation with the Salesians I decided that this was not the right life for me and left. I moved back in with my parents and taught supply in local schools while I decided what to do next. The dream of living and working in a developing country had not gone away, so I began to explore the various options. I ended up back with the Salesians, as a volunteer in a training and youth centre in a slum community in the Philippines. This was a wonderful year; I felt fulfilled, working hard, surrounded by poverty, playing copious amounts of basketball and music and learning so much about a different culture. However, I began to ask more critical questions about the role of 'developed' countries in poverty overseas. I became aware of rich tourists who would come to the Philippines for 'sex tourism', the exploitation of the poor by big corporations making clothing for the West and the injustice of the Filipino people having to pay back loans that had only benefited since-ousted dictators.

When visitors came from the UK to visit me I began to experiment with how they might learn about poverty through their stays. For example, my parents were taken to various different slum communities and a centre for abused women

² 'Buy a goat' and similar, for example: http://worldgifts.cafod.org.uk/wg_home

³ For example, <http://www.thehungersite.com/>

and children. When the Salesian priest who had organised my volunteer placement came to visit we discussed this and eventually drew up a proposal for me to work part-time with the British Salesians on my return, developing their volunteer organisation, Bosco Volunteer Action⁴.

I worked for Bosco Volunteer Action for six years, which included the first three years of my work on this PhD. In the first year the Salesians sponsored me to complete a Master's Degree in 'Education and Training for Development'. This was a pivotal year, as I questioned my intention to work for and with the poor in a developing country. My studies led to a growing awareness that the processes of 'development' must be largely internally driven; "the poorer must help themselves" (Chambers, 1983:3). However, I saw that progress was being impeded by various 'root causes' of poverty, some of which can be traced back to developed countries. Issues such as debt, unfair trade rules, climate change, corruption and the arms trade can be seen to have contributing factors in the developed world and negative consequences in the developing world. A story from the preface to Freire's 'Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage' (Macedo, 1998:xxix) crystallised my feelings: A white middle-class female gave up a successful business career in order to work with battered mothers from under-privileged communities in an American inner-city area. She tells one of her new colleagues about how satisfied she feels with this decision and receives the reply, "Ma'am, if you really want to help us, go back to your white folks and tell them to keep the wall of racism from crushing us." While I enjoyed living and working overseas, I felt that if I really wanted to 'make a difference' I should concentrate on challenging causes of poverty and particularly those that can be traced back to the UK.

While studying for my Master's I became involved with various campaign groups at the university, organising a variety of events. These activities made sense to me in the light of my experiences overseas; I was helping people in the UK grow in awareness of injustice affecting 'developing' countries and providing opportunities for them to take action. Examples include attending a protest at a pharmaceutical company about patents for anti-retroviral drugs, protesting at

⁴ <http://www.boscovolunteeraction.co.uk/>

the G8 meeting in Germany, running workshops in schools and writing articles about child sex tourism. My work developing Bosco Volunteer Action reflected my values; the focus of the organisation is sending volunteers as learners who return to the UK passionate about poverty issues, faith in action and the Salesians. My commitment was now rooted in justice rather than charity. Via Chambers' call for a "pedagogy for the non-oppressed" enabling "those with more wealth and power to welcome having less" (Chambers, 2005:203), Freire's suggestion of the need for an education which is "painful yet empowering" (West, 1993:xiii) and my experiences as a teacher and youth worker, I came to see myself as engaged in 'development education'.

My decision to undertake this study comes directly from this passion. I want(ed) to understand how we, as a movement, can engage more people in the UK at greater depth with working to create a more just world. I therefore approach(ed) this research with a clear agenda; I am not studying for study's sake and like Freire, "I am not impartial or objective" (Freire, 1998:22).

1.2.2 Academic rationale

The above shared my personal motivations for undertaking this research. This second section presents an academic rationale, building an argument from relevant literature. It begins with a discussion of the available data, and then briefly explores various barriers to engagement. It then considers calls to engage people more 'deeply' and the need to develop understanding about peoples' journeys to and within engagement.

It is difficult to make concrete statements about the UK public's attitude towards engagement with global justice issues. Research has been carried out investigating attitudes to development and development aid, and into public awareness of global justice issues. However, these have been criticised for being misleading (for example, Hudson and Van Heerde-Hudson, 2012:6) and shallow (Henson *et al.*, 2010:1). There is a difference between awareness and action, and "we actually know very little about public attitudes towards development and how these attitudes translate" (DEA, 2010:3). The evidence which is available points towards a growing scepticism towards aid and

development (Glennie, Straw and Wild, 2012:2). It is suggested that while the majority still believe that “it is morally right for the UK to help developing countries” (Henson and Lindstrom, 2010:7), the economic downturn has resulted in decreasing support for overseas development aid (Henson and Lindstrom, 2011:10).

The research available generally suggests that the UK public struggles to understand poverty as a justice issue. Poverty “is seen as being caused by bad governments and natural disasters” (Henson and Lindstrom, 2009:2), with limited focus on any external, injustice-orientated causes. The reasons given are varied. While “the public possesses very little knowledge of development aid programmes” (Hudson and Van Heerde-Hudson, 2012:16), this does not prevent them having opinions; “even the uninformed may have quite elaborate views of what poverty looks like, why poverty exists, how it might be alleviated” (Henson et al., 2010:11). It is suggested that people are able to “picture aid ‘failure’, but not aid ‘success’” (Henson and Lindstrom, 2009:2) and have limited understanding of the distinctions between humanitarian aid for emergencies and longer term development aid (Henson and Lindstrom, 2011:5).

Various influences serve as barriers to individuals engaging with global justice issues. If all is framed as ‘poverty’, discourses of waste (Glennie, Straw and Wild, 2012:4), corruption (Henson and Lindstrom, 2011:9) and overestimates of the amount spent by the UK Government on aid to developing countries (ActionAid, 2007:1) potentially act to limit public engagement. People may feel unable to engage, due to other time commitments or responsibilities (see discussion of ‘cognitive liberation’ and ‘biographical availability’ in 2.3). Other barriers may include compassion fatigue (Wilson, 2010:279), apathy or the impact of advertising (Alexander, Crompton and Shrubsole, 2011) and a “lifelong consumer education” (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:67).

Although the above suggests a largely non-engaged public, it is clear that this is not the complete picture. There are people in the UK who engage in a wide variety of ways (explored in 2.2). There appears to have been a change in the ways in which people ‘engage’ with global justice issues, a move from charitable giving to a desire to “take action” (Rugendyke, 2007:232). This is

reflected in a range of literature, including surveys on perceptions of poverty (for example, Darton, 2009), the evaluations of the Make Poverty History campaigns (Martin, 2006) and work on social movements (for example, Della Porta and Diani, 1999; McDonald, 2006). One of the contributions of this research is to explore what it means to be ‘engaged’ with global justice issues via the literature and narrative interviews with five individuals.

Section 2.3 sets out a review of how the literature suggests individuals come to engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement, while 2.4 explores ‘development education’ and models of learning that aim to encourage this engagement. Development education in the UK, particularly in its more formal manifestations, has largely been led by the agendas of NGOs and government. It has been used as a means of securing public support for development (Bourn, 2008:7), and, under the influence of the work of Freire (1972), enabling and encouraging individuals to participate in taking action for change. However, there are debates: is it necessary to truly ‘educate’ individuals on global issues or, due to the urgency of the situation, is it enough to solely ‘raise their awareness’ sufficiently to motivate immediate action? This is reflected in the differences between Hicks’s understanding of global education as “a way of seeing and understanding the world in a holistic and systematic way with a key concept being interdependence” (Hicks, 2008), the broad understanding of global education promoted by the Council of Europe (as an umbrella term for a variety of issue-based practices) (Bourn, 2008:8) and concepts of global citizenship (for example in Gaventa, 2001; Mayo, 2005; Oxfam, 2006) which place particular value on taking action against poverty and injustice as an educational outcome. Vare and Scott (2007) note a similar conflict in education for sustainable development. It has also been reflected in criticisms of DFID’s public communications about UK Government development aid (van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:402). According to Bourn, debate between learning for critical thinking and learning for action is both important and under-researched (Bourn, 2008:8). This research makes a distinctive contribution to these debates, offering an academic exploration of both literature and empirical research.

It is accepted that people can learn from experiences outside of their formal education, that “education is only one piece of larger lives in an even larger

society” (Shor and Freire, 1987:25) and that it is not possible to truly separate education from personal experience (Tite, 2008:76). This then is true of learning about global justice issues and poverty (DEA, 2010:4). People learn from many sources and experiences, including encounters with those in their personal networks (Henson and Lindstrom, 2009:3), from the media and from public campaigns by NGOs. There are debates concerning these potentially educational experiences. Questions are asked about the effectiveness of NGOs’ attempts to engage the public. It has been suggested that communications are “fairly limited”, focusing on “specific fundraising appeals or campaigns rather than wider consultation or dialogue” (Glennie, Straw and Wild, 2012:25). Despite the successes of large-scale awareness raising initiatives, including Comic Relief and Make Poverty History, understanding remains shallow (van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:389) with limited impact on attitudes or values (Hogg, 2011:3). In particular, it appears that attempts to engage the public with concepts of justice (rather than charity) have had limited success (Darnton, 2006:10). The educative value of media stories have also been questioned, for example for presenting messages that are contradictory (Marshall, 2005:2) or “negative, sensationalistic and truncated” (van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:400).

Whilst recognising that there is little research into learning in contexts other than formal education (Brown, 2013:93), as well as the various debates and challenges referred to above, there are calls in the literature to engage more people with global justice issues (for example, CONCORD, 2011:3; Glennie, Straw and Wild, 2012:3; Hogg, 2011:41). Of particular interest to this research are the suggestions that there is a need to take a limited number of people ‘deeper’, in terms of learning, commitment and action (for example, DEA, 2010:4; Hogg, 2011:4; Kirk, 2012:250). It is suggested that such engaged people could act as catalytic individuals (Hogg, 2011:4), development advocates (Debeljak, 2012:4) or active enthusiasts (TNS, 2010:11), engaging others and “affecting social and cultural norms” (Kirk, 2012:250). However, there is a general admission that we, as a movement, do not know how to best go about this. For example, “whilst DFID has worked hard in recent years to identify a segment of the population as ‘active enthusiasts’, we understand very little about why active enthusiasts have their active enthusiasm” (DEA, 2010:5). Although there has been an exciting increase in scholarship exploring and

critiquing development education and engagement in recent years (for example, Brown, 2013; Dogra, 2012; Tallon, 2012b), there is still little research considering 'journeys to or within engagement', how and why individuals come to deepen their commitment, and what impact this might have on their forms of engagement. Significantly, Baillie Smith notes "we lack accounts of the complex and contested ways individuals and groups in the global North engage with development" (Baillie Smith, 2012b:3).

This study makes a significant and distinctive contribution to these areas. Through its use of narrative research, it explores debates concerning engagement, campaigning and development education from a new perspective. By investigating the journeys of individuals who are already engaged and acting as multipliers within the UK Global Justice Movement, it looks beyond the broadly linear scope of formal education to consider the range of experiences, encounters and influences which play a part in individuals becoming, and remaining, 'engaged' with global justice issues. In doing so it makes original contributions to a number of areas of knowledge. These are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 6, but include: conceptual frameworks for exploring 'engagement' (2.2) and 'journeys to engagement' (2.3); contributions to debates concerning learning in development education (introduced in 2.4); and, the life stories of activist-educators (presented in Chapter 4).

1.3 Conclusions

After presenting the overall research question and key questions to be investigated, this chapter gave an overview of the entire thesis through brief summaries of each chapter. It then went on to consider motivations for undertaking this research from two different perspectives. In the first part, following a convention of narrative research, I presented a personal perspective, sharing some of my 'journey to engagement'. This gives insight into my personal rationale, my desire to bring more people to a 'deep' engagement with global justice issues. The second part used literature concerned with campaigning and development education to argue that there is a need for research in this area, highlighting voices calling for an exploration of engagement and of journeys to and within commitment to global justice issues.

This 'justifies' the overall research question and the first two key questions. The third key question, concerning identity, developed as part of my methodology (see 3.3.3).

While the second half of this chapter presented rationales for this research, it did not reveal the complete truth. My motivations to undertake and complete this research cannot help but be complex and confused. There have no doubt been moments where I have been driven by the desire to better understand myself, my commitments and the 'worlds' I inhabit. At times it has been a response to my faith, an act of hope for a better future. In addition there are less 'worthy' drives, such as my desire to become an 'expert', to impress or to prove myself by 'jumping through' this particular academic 'hoop'.

This complexity of motivations ends this chapter with an echo of the whole thesis. While it is not possible to present clear-cut answers about what motivates engagement, it is possible to explore peoples' stories using a variety of academic tools, creating new knowledge of value to researchers, educational practitioners and NGOs.

The next chapter explores the context of this research, considering what existing literature says about the UK Global Movement, engagement, motivations for engagement and development education.

Chapter 2: Exploring the context

This chapter considers what existing literature can contribute to my investigation of the first two of my key questions:

- How do individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues?
- What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

It explores these questions through four sections. The first, 2.1, reviews the literature regarding social movements and related areas in order to construct a working definition of the UK Global Justice Movement. 2.2 considers forms of engagement, looking at some of the different concepts concerning engagement, participation and activism. The third, 2.3, introduces the concept of a 'journey' and then synthesises literature concerning individuals' motivations and steps into active participation by constructing a route map of journeys to engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. The final part, 2.4, discusses the practice and critiques of development education in the UK considered in the literature surveyed.

The exploration of literature presented here cannot hope to provide a definitive understanding of all relevant contexts. However, through considering what previous researchers have suggested about what people engage with, the forms in which they do so, the journeys they take and the possible contributions of development education, it provides foundations for the empirical research presented in later chapters. Such an understanding is critical; "knowledge of the social and political environment which forms the context of action of an individual or group of individuals is crucial in understanding the evolution of such people's political consciousness and activism" (Andrews, 1991:89). Similarly, Goodson, in his explorations of teachers' life histories, notes the importance of locating life stories alongside a broader contextual analysis (Goodson, 1992:6). This chapter therefore underpins later chapters, introducing and developing the language, frameworks and concepts which allow individuals' journeys to be told and explored.

2.1 The UK Global Justice Movement

In order to discuss why and how individuals engage it is necessary to consider what they engage with. The 'UK Global Justice Movement' is made up of a wide array of NGOs, single issue campaign groups, political movements, direct action networks, anti-capitalist alliances, faith groups, government departments, diaspora groups and so on. This section discusses theories and definitions from relevant literature in order to construct a definition of the UK Global Justice Movement. Beginning with debates around defining movements, it then discusses the meanings of 'UK' and 'Global' and the role of NGOs. It concludes with a brief summary.

2.1.1 A social movement?

Although social movements are considered complex and difficult to characterize (Rootes and Saunders, 2005:1) and the relevant literature continues to evolve, for example regarding the increasing significance of social media (Castells, 2007; Mason, 2012), various working definitions exist. For Goodwin and Jasper, a social movement is "a collective, organised, sustained, and non-institutional challenge to authorities, power holders, and/or cultural beliefs and practices" (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003a), while for Della Porta and Diani it must be an informal interaction network which shares beliefs and solidarity, features collective action and makes use of protest (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:14-15). These definitions share the contention that a movement should be collective, informal/non-institutional and challenging/protesting against something. They differ regarding whether or not a movement shares beliefs. Should it be defined solely by what it's against or also what it's for?

For Gibson the 'against' aspect appears most important; "all struggles, no matter how localised, are ultimately fought against the same neoliberal order" (Gibson, 2008:255). The reason for this focus on shared 'No' rather than the multiple 'Yeses' may be that "beyond the "master frame" of global justice, it is difficult for the global justice movement to develop concrete unified programs" (Tarrow, 2005:59). In this view, the movement focuses on resistance (for example, to injustice or globalisation) (McDonald, 2006:vi) and has protest,

which “refers to the act of challenging, resisting, or making demands” (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003a), as its main form of collective action.

Other viewpoints suggest that the movement is more than simply “a reflex response to globalization” (Thompson, 2006:118), noting the importance of the second face; that of shared beliefs and collective voice in favour of something. In this understanding, the movement is both defensive and creative (McDonald, 2006:25). Freire makes a similar observation, suggesting that people need to be armed with words and concepts (McLaren and da Silva, 1993:61) which allow them to name the world, “denounce” the negative and then “announce the dream for which one fights” (Freire, 2004:18). Tarrow suggests that this collective dream could be the concept of ‘social justice’ which acts as an “adhesive” bringing together “fragments of diverse cultures” (Tarrow, 2005:56) – the many “yeses”. In this understanding of the movement, ‘protesting against’ is supplemented by ‘campaigning for’, where campaigning is understood as “part of the discourse and practice of democratic politics and social change”, offering opportunities for citizens to “have their views heard and to influence the decisions and practices of larger institutions that affect their lives” (Gaventa, 2001:275). Both can be found, for example, in the movement’s/movements’ actions around the G20 in London in 2009, where there were elements of both protest (anti-G20, anti-capitalist) and campaign (a march led by ‘Put People First’, a broad coalition of NGOs).

The question then becomes whether this manages to remain one movement; is this two extremes within one movement or two (or more) separate movements defined “not by social location, nor by political belief, but by forms of practice – forms of doing” (McDonald, 2006:95)? ‘Forms of practice/doing’ can be understood as examples from within Tilly’s “repertoires of contention”. He suggests that different forms of engagement largely fall within limited contextually defined sets (Tilly, 1987:227), an idea which is explored further below. For the purposes of this research the Global Justice Movement will be understood as being built simultaneously around both shared noes and shared yeses, and made up of any number of partially overlapping subgroups. Each of these subgroups offers slightly different opportunities for engagement, together covering a large subset of the repertoire of contention.

2.1.2 Global justice issues

Having discussed movements, it is also necessary to consider the words 'Global Justice'. What distinguishes the 'UK Global Justice Movement' from other movements? It is something active at local, national and global levels (Mayo, Gaventa and Rooke, 2009:165); it involves people in the UK acting on justice issues concerning people and situations in other countries. It would be impossible to definitively list the type of issues which might be relevant, but from a quick informal survey of NGOs' websites they include climate change, unfair trade, debt, people trafficking, conflict, human rights and so on. One explanation as to why there is such a breadth of issues represented can be found in the suggestion from Rootes and Saunders that the Global Justice Movement is made up of the intersection of parts of a number of movements and groups: humanitarian, aid and development organisations, the environmental movement, anti-capitalist and direct action organisations, peace and anti-war movements and trade unions and the political left (Rootes and Saunders, 2005). These "fragments of diverse cultures - secular and religious, radical and reformist, younger and older generations" come together around broker issues, which tie together "concerns of different movements and organizations" (Della Porta, 2007:16).

Such an understanding of the Global Justice Movement lays the groundwork for a definition: it is "the loose network of organizations (with varying degrees of formality and even including political parties) and other actors engaged in collective action of various kinds, on the basis of the shared goal of advancing the cause of justice (economic, social, political, and environmental) among and between peoples across the globe" (Della Porta, 2007:6). This definition covers some but not all examples of transnational social movements or transnational activism, a concept of Tarrow's, defined as "socially mobilised groups with constituents in at least two states, engaged in sustained contentious interactions with power-holders in at least one state other than their own, or against an international institution, or a multinational economic actor" (cited in Della Porta, 2007:6). Following this and the above understanding of broker issues, it is therefore assumed that this UK-based movement is itself a sub-group of wider movements, both in terms of a wider Social Justice Movement,

which would additionally include domestic justice issues, and a wider Global Justice Movement, which would include Global Justice Movements based in other countries. There is a bias towards issues affecting people in 'developing' countries, but this does not preclude a pro-poor focus in other countries.

2.1.3 Home and away

Assuming that the UK Global Justice Movement is concerned with challenging injustices afflicting people outside the UK, does it matter where the cause of the injustice is situated (i.e. where the focus of any campaign or protest is located)? Tarrow's transnational activism (defined above) appears to require this. Similarly, Della Porta proposes that "a global movement requires the development of a discourse that identifies both a common identity—the "us"—and the target of the protest—the "other"—at the transnational level" (Della Porta, 2007:7). An alternative view would be to include in addition those parts of the movement which target powers within the UK with the aim of bringing positive change to situations overseas.

The latter view will be utilized for the purposes of this research; the UK Global Justice Movement is global in the sense that its concerns are global, without the need for its 'targets' to be international or at least foreign to the UK. Referring back to earlier discussions of 'for' and 'against' regarding movements, the 'for' is global, while the 'against' could be anywhere depending on need and opportunity. Perhaps then the world view becomes important; the movement promotes an "ethos of internationalism" (Clark, 2001:18) concerned with increasing the "accountability and input into the decision-making processes of organizations perceived to be promulgating the negative effects of globalisation" (Rootes and Saunders, 2005:19). It is UK-based in the sense that the individuals and/or groups engaged are, and it is a movement in a complete sense around broker issues (and thus in a more dissipated one otherwise). With all these qualifications it is perhaps reassuring to hear that, according to Rootes (2007:17) at least, the UK Global Justice Movement does exist.

2.1.4 The role of NGOs

As will become evident in later discussions, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) such as charities and campaign bodies play a major part in individuals' engagement, but how do they relate to the wider movement? There appears to be limited discussion of this in the literature (Tarrow, 2005:66). There is, however, discussion of Social Movement Organisations (SMOs), defined as "complex organizations whose goals coincide with the preferences of a social movement and which try to realize those goals" (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:140), although these appear to be understood as more informal than the NGOs (Oxfam, Save the Children and so on) widely recognised in the UK. Noting that SMOs tend to institutionalise (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:253), perhaps these are examples of highly institutionalised SMOs? Or particular sections within them act as SMOs (UK-focused work such as campaigning and development education, explored in 2.4) while others do not (overseas development work)?

In some ways, the role of NGOs appears similar to that of McAdam's "established organisations" which served as the primary source of participants who took part in 'freedom summer' (McAdam, 1986:76). NGOs bring individuals within their own constituency or sphere of influence to participation in wider coalition events (Tarrow, 2005:59). An example of this can be found in research about the participants of 2005's Make Poverty History march: "Slightly more than half claimed membership of one or more campaigning organizations, associations or NGOs" (Rootes and Saunders, 2005:2). NGOs can act to legitimise the movement in the eyes of individuals, offering an accessible face in terms of the particular stated beliefs, aims or encouraged forms of engagement or association. Finally, they play some part in both creating and sustaining collective beliefs and values and focus campaigns on their chosen targets and visions. On the other hand, individuals can engage with the movement without engaging with an NGO (Della Porta, 2007:7) or any institutionalised organisation. However, it seems likely that even individuals who do not belong to an NGO's constituency are still influenced by their agendas as played out in public forums, such as the media.

2.1.5 Summary: The UK Global Justice Movement

Before considering how individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues it is helpful to consider what they engage with. The above discussions result in a definition: The 'UK Global Justice Movement' is the UK-based "loose network of organizations ... and other actors engaged in collective action of various kinds, on the basis of the shared goal of advancing the cause of justice (economic, social, political, and environmental) among and between peoples across the globe" (Della Porta, 2007:6). It is 'for' social justice for people overseas and thus 'against' any powers that cause injustice, be they in the UK or elsewhere. It utilises many of the forms from the repertoire of contention. In some way it is an intersection of other movements, brought together at times around broker issues about which they share concern. NGOs (from the informal to the completely institutionalised) play an important part in bringing people to the movement, energising and legitimising it.

2.2 Forms of engagement

There are numerous words describing forms of engagement. These include donation (of money and/or time), petition, boycott and ethical consumerism, campaign, protest, demonstration and lobby. Such forms are sometimes summed up using an identity such as 'activist' or 'global citizen'. But what does it mean to be 'engaged with the UK Global Justice Movement'? Is it possible to define a person's engagement? This section considers how people engage, discussing various concepts concerned with engagement, participation and activism. After critically considering Corning and Myers' (2002) 'Activist Orientation Scale', it presents a new conceptual framework allowing a more qualitative exploration of forms of engagement. It concludes with a brief exploration of the importance of various forms of engagement with global justice issues.

2.2.1 Concepts concerning engagement

Engagement/disengagement or activism/inactivism are sometimes presented as clear-cut dichotomies (see, for example, discussion of Corning and Myers' 'Activist Orientation Scale' below). This thesis, however, considers engagement to be far more complex. There is often no set boundary demarcation and people can be engaged in a number of different ways, sometimes in combination, and to a range of extents (McAdam, 1986:66-67). Tilly's concept of "Repertoires of contention" (1987:227) provides a solid starting point for exploration, suggesting that the different forms of engagement largely fall within a limited contextually defined set. However, there is no obvious way of distinguishing forms within the repertoire.

There are a number of useful concepts presented in the literature. Della Porta and Diani refer to some actions as "unconventional forms of political engagement" and go on to suggest a continuum line of least to most extreme (from petitions and lawful demonstrations to illegal but non-violent to, finally, violent activities) (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:168-173). Within McAdam's work he draws a distinction between low- and high-risk/cost activism, where cost "refers to the expenditures of time, money, and energy that are required of a person engaged in any particular form of activism" (to which maybe we should add some concept of emotional cost) and risk "refers to the anticipated dangers - whether legal, social, physical, financial, and so forth - of engaging in a particular type of activism" (McAdam, 1986:67).

Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2003:448) suggest there are three types of activism. The first, "individualistic activism", is largely concerned with relatively small lifestyle choices, such as ethical consumption and making donations. The second, "contact activism", involves contacting those in authority, for example by writing to MPs or business elites. The third, "collective activism", is about public participation, for example in protest marches or direct action. On a related note, for some (for example those interviewed in Mayo, Gaventa and Rooke, 2009:172), being engaged must involve some element of community. This begs an interesting question: 'What makes the community, shared action (McDonald, 2006:95) or shared beliefs/frames/values?' A final concept considered here comes from Annette, who suggests there is a difference

between simply being active and being politically active (Annette, 2009:152), between a focus on the consequences of an injustice and on the causes.

2.2.2 Exploring forms of engagement

Corning and Myers (2002) make a particularly interesting contribution to the exploration of engagement, presenting “a theoretically-grounded, psychometrically sound scale that assesses individuals’ propensities to engage in activist behaviours” (p. 723). Their understanding of activist orientation and engagement is broad, encompassing “various collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviours spanning a range from low-risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active, and unconventional behaviours” (p. 704), and has its foundations in many of the concepts introduced above and in 2.1. Similarly to this research, they acknowledge that “the genesis, maintenance, and abandonment of activist activity are complex processes influenced by a wide variety of factors” (p. 723). However, although many of the ‘ingredients’ are the same (including research cited), their research comes from a very different epistemological position.

The result of their work is a 35-question survey, allowing a researcher to quantify numerically the likelihood of the respondents’ engagement. While this is a useful contribution to exploring engagement, there is a risk that it masks some of the complexity involved. Engagement is complicated (see discussions in 1.2, 2.3 and 3.1). My exploration of the literature therefore led me to create a conceptual ‘tool’ which might complement Corning and Myers’ rather ‘neat’ scale by emphasising the complex and changing nature of engagement.

Expanding Della Porta and Diani’s suggestion of a continuum line for forms of engagement (1999:168-173) and working-in the various concepts suggested above, my framework (Figure 1) is made up of five continuum lines. In theory at least, any form of engagement, at a specific time, within a given context, should belong within the repertoire of contention and be ‘plottable’ somewhere on each of the lines: between low cost and high cost; low risk and high risk; non-political and political; conventional and unconventional; individual and collective.

Defining how people engage

All forms of engagement belong within the 'repertoire of contention'.

Any particular form, within a specific context, can be plotted according to:

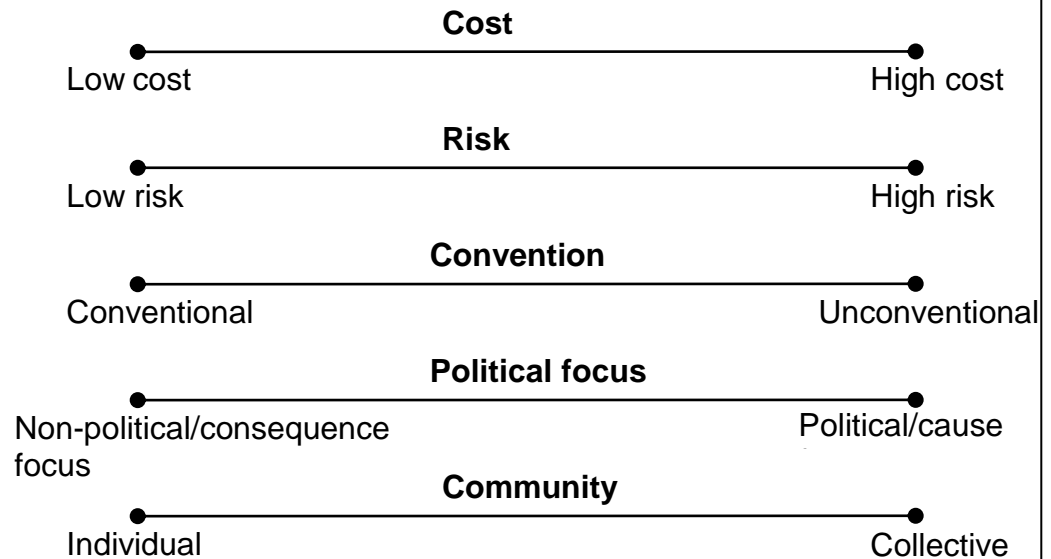


Figure 1: Forms of engagement

By considering some examples it is possible to see both the benefits and limitations of such a framework.

The engagement of a UK citizen signing an NGO's online petition calling for the Government to act to stop climate change could be considered: low cost as it takes very little time and no money; low risk as there are no obvious consequent dangers; political as it attempts to influence a cause rather than a consequence; conventional as petitions are a widely accepted form of engagement considered unthreatening to social norms; individual as an action carried out alone.

The engagement of a UK citizen volunteering for a number of evenings each week to assist with literacy classes for asylum seekers could be considered: high cost in terms of time, energy and possibly potential earnings; low risk as there are no obvious consequent dangers; non-political as there is no direct

focus on causes; conventional as it is unthreatening to social norms (depending on peer group); collective, assuming they volunteer with others.

The engagement of a UK citizen attending a protest against a G20 meeting in London could be considered: moderately low cost, costing more in time than the petition, but less than the volunteering; moderately high risk, although this is hard to judge –should this be judged beforehand, during or after? It may be high for the British context, but this is relative and would be less risky than a similar action in a more repressive context; political, although this possibly depends on the individual's motivations; slightly unconventional as although protests like this are usually not threatening to social norms, due to media hype beforehand this may have become perceived slightly differently; collective as a mass gathering of people.

The third example begins to reveal limitations to the framework. It is clearly subjective; who decides what is 'conventional', 'high' or 'low' and how do we discover and judge motivations? Another limitation becomes clear when we consider that engaged individuals are likely to be engaged in multiple ways; people may utilize more than one form at a time and may be engaged with multiple 'issues'. Hence the 'snapshot' of engagement which is created is limited to capturing only one form linked to one issue. It also provides no way of judging the effectiveness of any engagement, acting simply to describe it.

More positively, the framework does provide a way to answer the question of 'how' somebody engages – they do so using a form (or a combination of forms) from the repertoire of contention and that form belongs somewhere on the continuum lines of cost, risk, political focus, convention and community. It is a new and useful contribution to explorations of how people engage with activism, bringing a 'depth' perspective to complement more quantitative approaches such as the 'Activist Orientation Scale'.

2.2.3 The importance of various forms of engagement

Is increasing engagement beneficial for the movement and its aims? There appears to be a collective belief in mass participation being a useful tool for the

movement (and especially NGOs) to deploy as part of the public face of advocacy (Edwards, 2001:10; Ollif, 2007:50). But are all forms of engagement important? For any given issue the choice of form depends on what might attract the attention of the media, the public or the powerful (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:183), on the available 'repertoire' and on who makes the choice. It is possible that the breadth (on all five of the continuum lines described above) and complexity is useful; "some are more reactionary in nature and others more proactive, some confrontational and others collaborative. They should not be considered as stand-alone discrete responses. They are often employed alongside one another and are intended to supplement the strengths and build on the limits of other strategies" (Newell, 2001:192). Similarly, different forms of engagement appeal to (and repel) different people.

The shared belief in the importance of engaging more people (in whatever form) is certainly not a conclusive proof that it is correct, that greater numbers engaging is beneficial for those suffering under 'global injustices'. Neither does it allow for the creation of a hierarchy of forms of engagement, from the least to the most useful or from the superficial to the deep. However, these issues are beyond the scope of this research, so from this point it will be assumed that increasing any form of engagement is a positive outcome, and hence that there is a particular value to engaging individuals like my respondents, people whose engagement includes attempting to engage others.

2.2.4 Summary: Forms of engagement

The above section explored literature concerned with how people in the UK engage with global justice issues. It did so by introducing a number of existing theories about forms of engagement, including Tilly's concept of "Repertoires of contention" (1987:227), Della Porta and Diani's discussion of convention (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:168-173) and McAdam's thinking around high- and low-risk and cost engagement (McAdam, 1986). After introducing and critically considering Corning and Myers' (2002) 'Activist Orientation Scale', it then presented a new conceptual framework. This took the form of a set of continuum lines, each based on concepts from the literature, which offers the possibility of 'mapping' the repertoire of contention, giving emphasis to the

complexity of engagement. After briefly exploring some of the strengths and limitations of this framework, the section concluded with a discussion of the importance of various forms of engagement with global justice issues.

2.3 Journeys to engagement

The section below considers discussions in the literature about why people make the step to engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. It begins by introducing the concept of journeys, motivations for exploring them and the challenges of complexity. It then explores existing thinking about journeys into and within engagement, beginning with preconditions useful to (and in some cases perhaps necessary for) engagement, before looking at experiences which create these preconditions and next steps within the movement. Finally it provides, in diagrammatic form, a summary of ‘journeys’ into the movement reflected in the literature.

2.3.1 Exploring ‘Journeys’

Using a range of literature this section considers routes for an individual’s ‘journey’ to and within engagement. The journey concept was originally taken from Temple and Laycock (2008:104), but similar models can be found, including that of ‘trajectories of contention’, which focuses on how different mechanisms and processes relate to one another in episodes of contention (Klandermans, Staggenborg and Tarrow, 2002:328), examples of exploring teachers’ identities via life story (for example, Gardner and Kelly, 2008; Goodson, 1992; Goodwin, 2008) and the life histories used by Andrews in her study of individuals with sustained involvement to political activism (Andrews, 1991).

A key theme is the importance of attempting to understand people’s motivations for engagement. Temple and Laycock suggest that if it is possible to identify patterns it may be feasible to use this to bring others into the movement (Temple and Laycock, 2008). Crompton notes that “the reasons for adopting particular behavioural changes have very important implications for the energy

and persistence with which these behaviours are pursued” (Crompton, 2008:6), allowing the movement greater knowledge of the ‘resources’ at its disposal (its members). For Edwards there is a need to explore “constituency building” using “a range of new skills and competencies in public communications”, working with academics, think tanks, trade unions and others (Edwards, 2001:10). Having justified asking the question we will now proceed to consider what the literature says about why people become engaged.

Human motivation is complex; “about the only thing one can say with absolute certainty is that it is virtually impossible to derive universal causal models with which to construct behaviour change policies” (Jackson, 2005, quoted in Crompton, 2008:27). It appears likely that different forms of engagement are influenced by different motivations. So, for example, “for easy behavioural choices, appeals based upon motivations that have a low-level of self-determination (e.g. based on financial incentive, guilt or appeals to self-esteem) may be sufficient. But as the choices become more difficult, reliance must increasingly be placed on appeals to motivations with a higher level of self-determination” (Crompton, 2008:32). An additional level of complexity comes from McAdam’s observation that there are both push and pull factors for becoming engaged (McAdam, 1986:65).

Klandermans, Staggenborg and Tarrow provide a useful framework for beginning discussion of journeys into engagement, separating them into 3 stages: the generation of mobilization potential; the transformation of mobilization potential into actual participation; and, sustained participation and withdrawal from participation (Klandermans, Staggenborg and Tarrow, 2002:326). Following this, we will look first at preconditions useful to engagement, before looking at what creates these preconditions, what encourages people to take the first step into engagement and what motivates the continuation of this journey.

2.3.2 Preconditions for engagement

Meyer suggests that “for most people, participation in a social movement is dependent upon coming to a belief that a problem is (a) urgent, (b) has potential

solutions, and (c) that his or her efforts might matter” (Meyer, 2007:453). This is strikingly similar to other models reviewed, including “frames necessary for successful recruitment” (Benford and Snow, 1988, cited in Goodwin and Jasper, 2003b:52), “the 3-stage collective action frame” (Klandermans and Goslinga, 1996:328), discussion about beliefs in Cotgrove and Duff (2003:76) and comments regarding values in Gibson (2008:259) and Della Porta and Diani (1999:67-68). These three concepts (beliefs, frames accepted and values) appear to be used almost interchangeably in the literature, with the basic contention being that people are more likely to engage (and/or remain engaged) if they share beliefs/frames/values with the movement (or their subsection of the movement such as with others within an NGO’s constituency).

The first useful precondition is knowledge of injustice (referred to by Meyer, above, as the urgency of a problem). There is some temptation to assume that knowledge of justice issues leads directly to action. Knowledge certainly does not guarantee behaviour change (Moser and Dilling, 2007:11); in fact, Chess and Johnson argue that information is overrated as a change agent as “more knowledge does not necessarily lead to more appropriate behaviour” (Chess and Johnson, 2007:223). For the purposes of this chapter we will refer to knowledge of the issues as ‘belief in the existence of the issues’. The word ‘belief’ is important when we consider instances of denial (for example of human rights violations). Although, following Meyer, we have begun with knowledge, the theoretical nature of this whole section is clear; while it appears that it may be possible to plot a general route to engagement, the reality is often much less linear, with action preceding knowledge for example (Temple and Laycock, 2008:105).

The second precondition is an individual’s belief that they are able to become engaged; that it is convenient (or at least not massively inconvenient) (Gibson, 2008:261) and that there are no responsibilities or restrictions which prevent them from engaging. McAdam defines this as ‘biographical availability’, “the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities” (McAdam, 1986:70). Chambers approaches the same concept from a slightly different view: rather than checking for restrictions, he

emphasises 'scope for action', suggesting a "rise in agency" should result in an increase in engagement (Chambers, 2005:203). Freire widens the context further, introducing an ethical capacity, suggesting that "as men and women inserted in and formed by a socio-historical context of relations, we become capable of comparing, evaluating, intervening, deciding, taking new directions, and thereby constituting ourselves as ethical beings" (Freire, 1998:38). For the purposes of this chapter we will refer to the types of belief referred to in this paragraph as 'belief in the possibility of engagement'.

Once it can be assumed an individual has relevant knowledge, is 'biographically available' and aware of their 'scope for action', the next precondition appearing regularly in the literature is the belief that becoming engaged would 'make a difference', that their efforts might matter. This belief, labelled as 'cognitive liberation' by McAdam (1982), might be identified in Obama's "Yes we can!" election campaign. It acts to counter the barriers of hopelessness, where people feel an injustice is "too big, too complicated, too overwhelming" (Moser, 2007:65), and unwillingness to act if outcomes are not assured. One of the classic models of motivating activists, that of 'Rational Choice', relies on individuals deciding action is worthwhile in such a cost-benefit analysis (Pattie, Seyd and Whitely, 2003:443). For the purposes of this piece of chapter we will refer to the types of belief referred to in this paragraph as 'belief in the value of engagement'.

In much of the literature it appears to be assumed that an individual who believes that (1) an issue exists, (2) it is possible for them to engage with it, and, (3) doing so would lead to some beneficial outcome, will consequently believe that they ought to do so, that there is some (moral) duty on them to do so. For Chambers this flows directly from their capacity; "since ... scope for action is greater, so, too, is our responsibility" (Chambers, 2005:204). Echoes of such a sense of vocation can be found in the quotes from engaged individuals given in Della Porta and Diani: "There are things that I care really, really deeply about, and that sort of infuses my whole life with meaning... my life's work" (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:83). In later discussion of identity we will probe this area more deeply. For the purposes of this chapter exploring the literature

concerning journeys to engagement we will refer to the types of belief referred to in this paragraph as 'belief in the duty of engagement'.

2.3.3 Creating the preconditions

The above suggests that there are useful preconditions to engagement. It is also necessary to consider how the literature suggests these beliefs are created. The simplest view is they flow directly from (formal) education; that taught knowledge and understanding leads to accepting these values. It appears true to suggest that education can play some part in supporting their creation, for example in increasing belief in the existence of the issues, although "education is only one piece of larger lives in an even larger society" (Shor and Freire, 1987:25). Education is discussed further in 2.4. Experiential education, based on the view that humans learn through experience so "experience and reflection have taught more than any manual or lecture could" (Conner, 2007), would suggest that people come to beliefs which make them receptive to the movement through their wider life experience.

For an individual from a less privileged background, an encounter with wealth might lead to class consciousness and a sense of injustice (for example, Andrews, 1991:117). Similarly, a first-hand encounter with poverty for a more well-off individual, perhaps as a volunteer or tourist, may lead them to a belief in the existence of the issues and an understanding of their relatively high scope for action (Trewby, 2007:29) or belief in the possibility of engagement. If such an encounter is accompanied by a direct 'challenge' from the 'other' it may also help create a belief in the duty of engagement (for example in Macedo's foreword to Freire, 1998).

Such encounters can also take place indirectly through books, photographs, films and other media. These are "a vital means of discovering how other people see the world, especially those in distant places who we are unlikely ever to meet or those whose lives are so different from our own that we will never experience what they go through ourselves" (Krznicaric, 2008:21). The

telling of stories can play an important part in increasing knowledge and belief in the existence of the issues, especially if they simplify complex issues (Chapman, 2001:260), making them easier for people to access. It can also act to create 'moral shock' (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003b:54), a response to information such as "gruesome pictures of landmine victims" (Collins, Gariyo and Burdon, 2001:131) of distress, surprise and outrage.

Jasper (2003) and Freire (1998:45) recognise the importance of emotion, particularly for creating a belief in the duty of engagement. Guilt, anger, sympathy and empathy can all play a part in building belief in the existence of the issues, and sometimes move people towards a desire to engage. Anger can also play a role in a more direct manner; people can be driven by a desire to rebel against or challenge authority (McAdam, 2003:59) or fight the system, perhaps in the face of oppression (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:211) or as an alternative to politics (Clark, 2001:20). Todd's research (2003:63), however, suggests that emotion risks people becoming caught up in their own feelings and thus not truly hearing the voice of the 'other'.

There is some debate about whether seeing, or, via the media, hearing about, a protest or campaign can successfully raise awareness about injustices. Freire, on seeing a march calling for social justice in Brazil, suggested that they were "generating in their practices a pedagogy of resistance" (Mayo, 2004:57). Similarly, others suggest that dramatic forms of engagement "can be of great importance in drawing attention to issues" (McCarthy, Smith and Zald, 1996:309), acting as a form of mass communication (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:169). Parts of the literature challenge this, observing that the more 'extreme' forms can act to disengage the wider public (for example, Gibson, 2008:258). This is a double-edged sword – just as some individuals can be turned away by the radical forms of engagement (Ollif, 2007:48), others can be frustrated and become disengaged by more conventional forms.

The media plays a role in informing peoples' perceptions of these events as the movement attempts to use it to carry its message to the public (Dobson, 1995:8). However the media not only transmits information, it also transforms it (Zald, 1996:270), deciding which parts are 'news' and responding to other

agendas (Gitlin, 2003). The movement uses dramatic forms to become newsworthy – a risky approach; “winning media attention requires strategies and tactics exactly opposite to those needed to win political standing within established political institutions” (Gamson and Meyer, 1996:288). Stories (and instances) of violence in particular are often used; “Fire in the belly is fine, but fire on the ground photographs better. Burning buildings and burning tyres make better television than peaceful vigils and orderly marches” (Gamson and Meyer, 1996:288). The negative press coverage which results can act as a barrier to engagement for some. Although all these points are negative, the literature does not suggest that all dramatic forms of engagement are unhelpful to furthering the movement’s cause. ‘Radical flank effect’ (discussed in 2.4.2) suggests that they are useful in making the less radical parts of the movement more accessible to convention. While perhaps limited in their educational value, they may act to increase tolerance (ESRC, 2007:6) and dialogue (Gibson, 2008:259) and, as shall be discussed below, they can act as fertile ground for encouraging future engagement.

Success narratives, such as those around campaigning and landmine legalisation (Collins, Gariyo and Burdon, 2001:122), are used by NGOs to encourage and inspire cognitive liberation. In addition they can increase the belief in the possibility of engagement, giving examples of “people like you” who have engaged and “made a difference”. Stories of people-slightly-less-like-you, celebrities, also play a part in making people receptive to engagement; “Princess Diana’s popular appeal added unprecedented levels of public support to the [landmine] campaign’s efforts” (Collins, Gariyo and Burdon, 2001:127). In examples like this “heroes or heroines are created, whose exploits become mythologized and who become part of the motivating force that draws in new supporters” (Chapman, 2001:260), raising belief in the existence of the issues and often attempting to engender a belief in the duty of engagement.

Celebrities, along with other opinion leaders and the media, can play a part in making particular forms of engagement (or even parts of the movement) fashionable. ‘Make Poverty History’ (Rugendyke, 2007:225) and the sections of the movement campaigning on climate change have appeared at times to have caught the imagination of the UK public, as if they “resonate with the spirit of the

times” (Chapman, 2001:259). In some cases this leads to engagement, or at least the appearance of engagement, becoming a status symbol (Crompton, 2008:15). If an issue becomes fashionable it may raise belief in the existence of the issues through the media (McCarthy, Smith and Zald, 1996:295), make people aware of their possibility of engagement, help them build belief in the value of engagement and, through peer-pressure, encourage a sense of duty.

The four preconditions (‘beliefs’), and the experiences the literature surveyed suggest act to encourage them, are summarised in Figure 2. From informal research talking with engaged individuals, there are various factors that appear to be missing which receive only passing reference in the literature. These include the influence from family and role models (Andrews, 1991:203), politics and faith (Della Porta, 2005:19; McAdam, 2003).

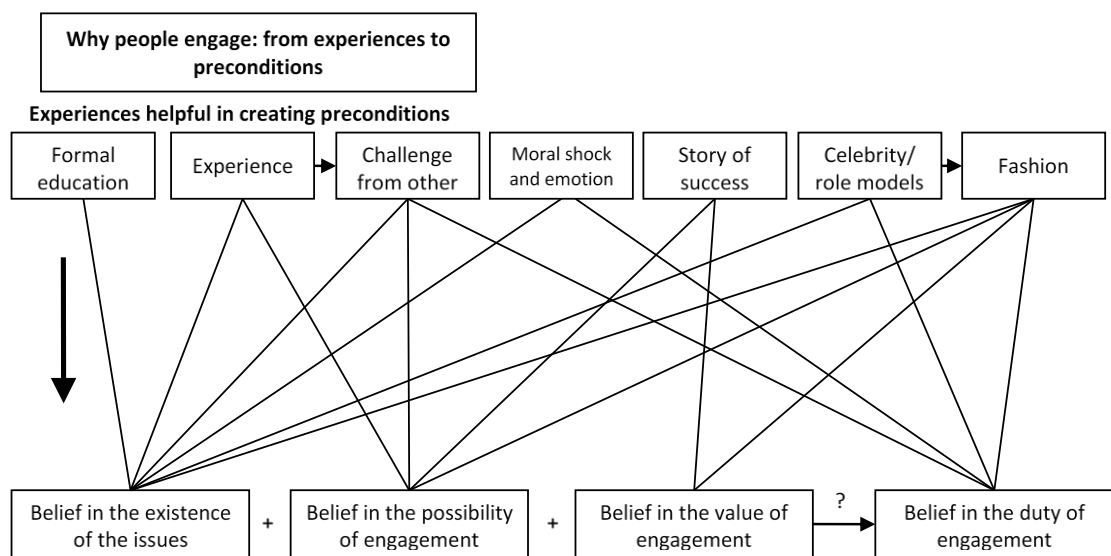


Figure 2: Preconditions for receptive attitude to engagement

2.3.4 Towards initial engagement

In some cases a sense of duty may lead directly to an individual’s engagement. The literature suggests, however, that in most cases there is some extrinsic motivation, a pull-factor from within the movement. A number of researchers, including McAdam (in Goodwin and Jasper, 2003b:51), suggest that those with friends and acquaintances who are engaged are more likely to engage, assuming the preconditions are met. The importance of personal contact is echoed in literature from the environmental movement about engagement with

climate change (Meyer, 2007:94). Being a member of networks or affinity groups (McDonald, 2006:45) with engaged individuals allows the preconditions to be strengthened and provides opportunities for personal invitation. Perhaps unsurprisingly, “being asked to participate makes it more likely people will participate” (Pattie, Seyd and Whitely, 2003:465). Invitation strengthens all the beliefs previously mentioned while simultaneously making engagement more accessible. The issue of whether this invitation can be made successfully through channels other than interpersonal ones is unresolved in the literature reviewed.

McAdam’s model of recruitment to high cost/risk activism (Figure 3, from McAdam, 1986:69) suggests that the next step is a ‘taste’ of engagement, possibly leading to a greater commitment. In his example (McAdam, 1986:69), a young man “gives in to the entreaties of his friends” and attends a peace rally: “once he is there, three things are likely to happen. First, through his friends, he will almost surely meet activists whom he did not know previously, thus broadening his range of movement contacts and increasing his vulnerability to future recruiting appeals. Second, in talking with others at the rally and listening to the scheduled speakers, our budding activist may well develop a better and more sympathetic understanding of the anti-nuke movement. Finally, the behavioural norms of the rally may encourage the recruit to “play at” being an activist for the duration of the event.” He goes on to suggest that “it is precisely these tentative forays into new roles that pave the way for more thoroughgoing identity changes... playing at being an “activist” is a prerequisite to becoming one”, and that an experience of low cost/risk engagement may lead to a higher one at a subsequent stage. In a later analysis he observes that “people commit themselves to movements in stages, each activity preparing the way for the next” (McAdam, 2003:61). For Tarrow, the initial engagement may be with another movement and lead, perhaps through ‘broker issues’, to “engagement in actions with global implications” (Tarrow, 2005:62).

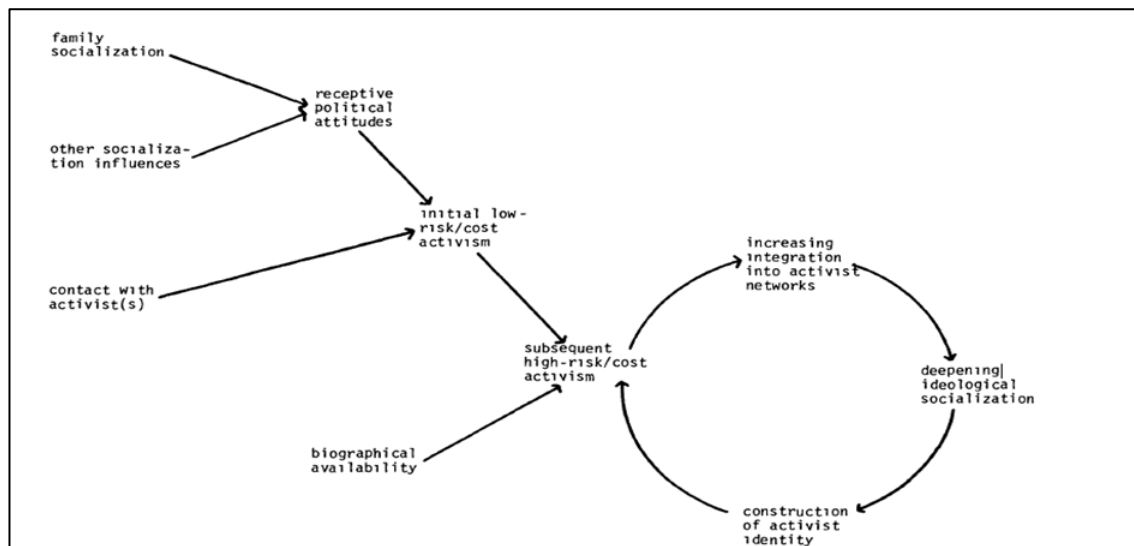


Figure 3: McAdam's model of recruitment to high-risk/cost activism

The initial taste of engagement offers opportunities to increase knowledge of issues, proof that it is possible to engage, a chance to share stories of success and provides encouragement in the belief in the duty to engage. At the same time it gives individuals a chance to 'try on' the identity of being engaged, a process which is discussed below. However, it is not necessarily such a positive experience. As McAdam observes it would not be true to suggest that low-risk/cost engagement inevitably leads to further action; "if it did, there would be nearly as many people occupying nuclear plant sites as attending anti-nuke rallies" (McAdam, 1986:70). Crompton makes a similar point in his ironic reference to the 'virtuous escalator': "Compact fluorescent light bulbs today, marching on Parliament tomorrow" (Crompton, 2008:14). So what are the possible pitfalls for McAdam's potential activist experiencing a low-cost/risk taste? "He may not meet anyone new at the rally. He may be repelled by the "extremist" ideology or goals that are espoused at the demonstration. Or he may reject the role of activist as being inconsistent with his "true" identity" (McAdam, 1986:70). The presence of violence (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:177) or other forms which challenge people's comfort zones may dent their belief in the possibility of their engagement, acting to make them biographically unavailable. In fact, the 'wrong' form of engagement may repel people who otherwise may have engaged in a different manner; for example those looking for less conventional forms of engagement may be disengaged by a more moderate initial taste activity (Tarrow, 2005:55).

Recognising that membership of a network containing engaged individuals could also be a cause of or strengthen the beliefs mentioned earlier, and that in some cases a strong belief in the duty of engagement can lead directly to initial engagement, we can now summarise our findings from the literature in Figure 4:

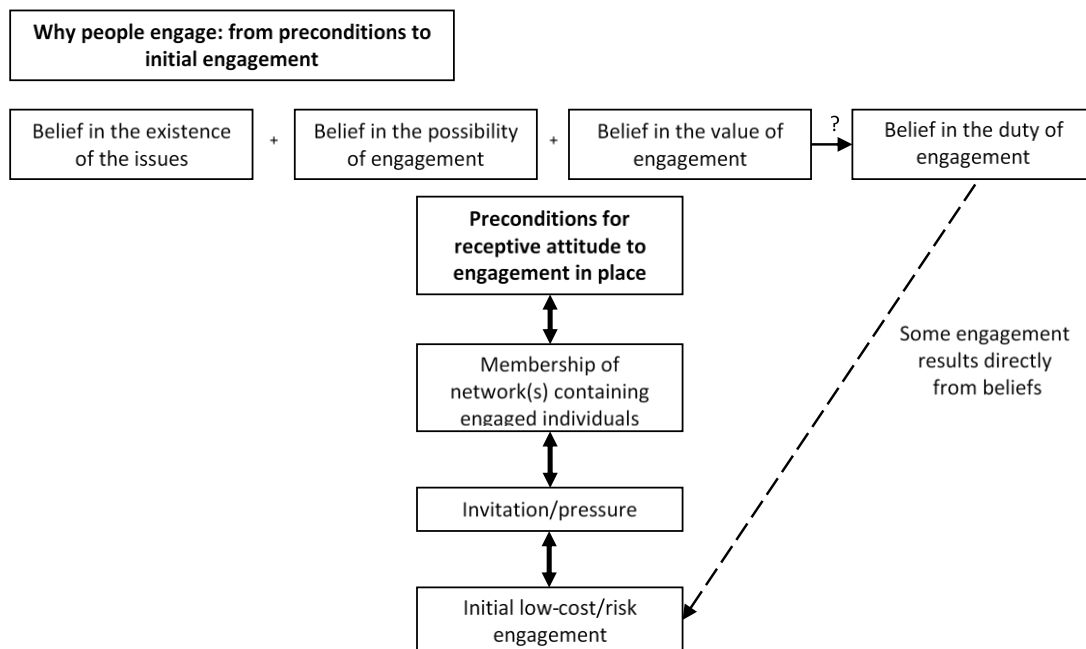


Figure 4: Preconditions to initial engagement

2.3.5 Going deeper

McAdam (in Figure 3) suggests that “construction of an activist identity” is part of the journey of ongoing engagement. This is echoed by McDonald, who cites Snow and McAdam (2000, 52): “before individuals become serviceable movement agents... it is necessary that personal identities dovetail with a movement’s collective identity” (McDonald, 2006:27). Identity is a complex concept, explored in 3.3.3. However, some comments are relevant to this section. The context in which social movements exist has altered so that identity is now rarely formed simply from territory (Della Porta, 2005:66). Engaged identity is created through a mixture of experiences, background, shared values and actions; it is “about both internal (cognitive) and external (relational) mechanisms” (Tilly and Tarrow, 2005:3). The relational aspect is of great importance as the identities of relevance to individuals’ journeys within engagement “always involve plurals, especially “us” and “them”” (Tilly and Tarrow, 2005:13). They are about people self-defining (in practice at least) with

a collective 'us' (Della Porta, 2005:3), as opposed to the disengaged 'them' or the 'them' which the movement stands against. This identity is supported by shared reference to and understanding of forms of engagement, objects (such as logos, characters and artefacts), events, places and stories (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:97-98).

The literature observes the role of action in taking on an activist identity; attendance at marches and so on "brings recognition as a credible political player with capacity to make a difference" (McDonald, 2006:36). However the relationship is not simple; just as action can lead to identity, identity can lead to action, giving individuals a sense of vocation. This is reflected in Della Porta and Diani's interview quotes from engaged individuals (feminists), who make use of vocational language: "my life has a theme...infuses my life with meaning...if someone asks me, 'Who are you?' I'm a radical feminist...my life's work" (Della Porta, 2005:83).

Once an individual has moved from a low-cost/risk initial engagement, strengthened their beliefs and built an identity as engaged, what happens next? There appears to be limited discussion of this in the literature surveyed, with only references to moving to engage in related movements (for example, in Chapman, 2001:260) and discussion of increased commitment and disengagement in Klandermans (2003). Figure 5 summarises findings from the literature concerning individuals' journeys after initial engagement:

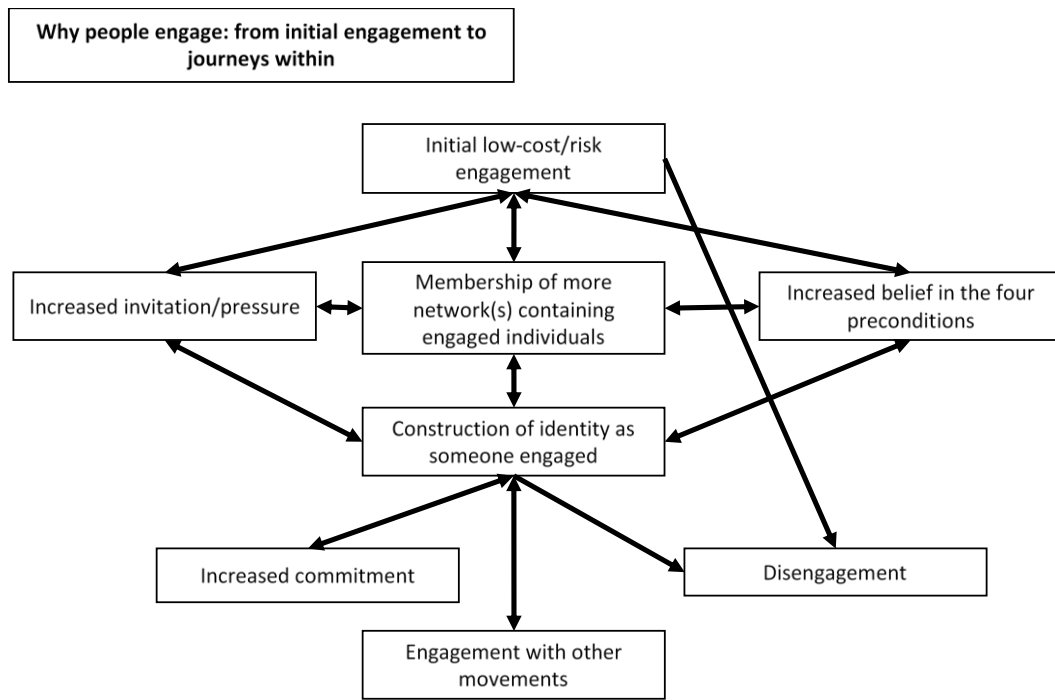


Figure 5: Next steps

2.3.6 Summary: Journeys to engagement

The above section critically engaged with the literature concerning how people engage with the UK Global Justice movement. It began by introducing the concept of a 'journey', which in Chapter 3 will be added to through consideration of narrative research methodologies. The above then explored existing thinking about journeys into and within engagement, summarising the findings into a diagram (Figure 6). This will not be representative of every individual's route; life is complicated. However, it is a useful summary as background to my research into individuals' stories of their journeys.

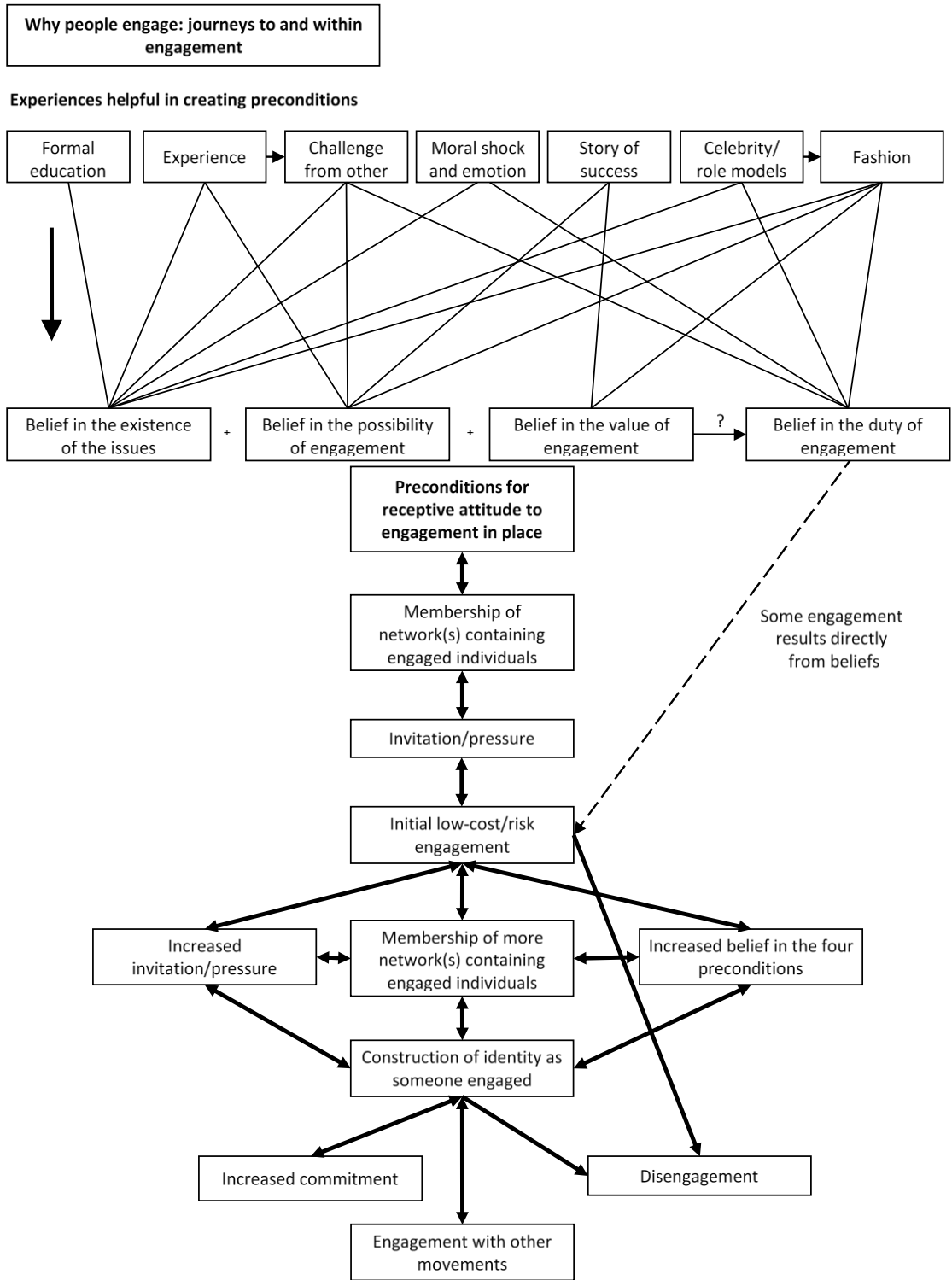


Figure 6: Journeys to engagement

2.4 Development education and the place of learning in engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement

One of the key questions for this research is: 'What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?' This section therefore surveys the practice and critiques of development education in the UK as found in the literature. It makes clear that it is a broad field, encompassing a wide range of practice and policy, with people understanding it to be a subject, a pedagogy or some hybrid of both. This section has two main purposes. Firstly, it provides a foundation for later analysis exploring how 'development education' and other related forms of education play a part in my respondents' stories (see 5.1). The background presented here allows the analysis to explore the ways in which my respondents have been 'recipients' of development education, if their journeys reflect in any way the success (or failure) of any of the forms of development education currently practiced, and how they might now be considered to be 'development educators' themselves. Secondly, it 'sets the scene' of current practice within development education, necessary for later exploration of some of the implications of this research for the policy and practice of development education (see 6.2).

After first introducing development education and some of the debates surrounding it, this section surveys the practice of development education in the UK. It considers the role of NGOs, formal and non-formal places of education, the media and debates about the place of action in learning. The next section briefly places development education in a wider context, before moving on to consider criticisms of development education, focusing particularly on questions of efficacy and criticality. Various barriers to the practice of more critical development education are discussed, including funding, the multiple roles and agendas of NGOs, the media and the contexts within which development education is largely practiced. The final paragraphs explore suggestions made in the literature as to how development education might become more critical, including bringing in more perspectives and learning from post-colonial theory.

2.4.1 Development Education

Educative processes concerned with engaging people in “developed countries” (or the “West”, the “first world”, the ‘global North”, the “non-oppressed” or similar) with issues of global justice are not new. Bourn and Ohri suggest that “there has been a history of development education that belongs to black people” (Bourn and Ohri, 1996:3), including freed slaves speaking about their experiences. Adamson notes that President Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kaunda of Zambia both argued “that 10 per cent of all overseas aid, including the aid given by charities, should be spent on educating the public in the ‘first world’ about the real causes of world poverty” in order to make explicit the “set of economic relationships, rooted in the colonial era, that served to enrich a minority by impoverishing the majority” (Adamson, 2013:12).

Along with other “adjectival educations” (Huckle, 2006:28), such as environmental, peace, humanitarian and human rights education, development education has been heavily influenced by charities, NGOs and campaigning organisations. It has been supported as “a response to NGOs’ desire to secure public legitimacy for aid and development” (Bourn, 2008:5), attempting to do so through activities aimed “to educate, inform and build support” (Adams, 2010:3). In some cases it has also been linked to NGOs’ campaigning agendas (Bourn, 2008:7), reflected to some extent in rhetoric of a move from charity towards a ‘global citizenship education’ approach, emphasising “the need for a global consciousness in the face of an escalating range of issues which transcend national borders” (Bryan, 2008). For example, Oxfam, an NGO that has had considerable influence over development education in the UK, have reframed their development education programme as ‘Global Citizenship’. For them, a global citizen is someone who: is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is outraged by social injustice; participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global; is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; and takes responsibility for their actions” (Oxfam, 2006:3). There are also voices sceptical of NGOs’ influence on development education. These will be

considered in later discussions of some of the barriers to the practice of 'critical' development education.

'Development education' is "a contested term" (Baillie Smith, 2008:9), understood in a variety of ways. It can be a subject, a pedagogy/methodology (Bourn and Kybird, 2012:47; Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004:729) or a combination of content and approach, "not only what is taught, but also how it is taught" (Hunt, 2012:15). It can be focused on learning and/or on action, and these actions might be charitable, political and/or entail some form of lifestyle choice. For example, Chambers called for an education which would enable people to "welcome having less" (Chambers, 2005:203), initiatives such as Live Aid and Comic Relief are fundraisers, requesting that people donate money, while Cameron and Fairbrass see the purpose of development education as to "inspire" people to "act individually or to join campaigns to bring about social, political and economic change" (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004:729). These differences in understandings have resulted in a number of ongoing debates, some of which will be discussed below.

Various voices within the literature suggest that 'development education' is unhelpful as a term. It has been suggested that the term, and in particular the use of the word 'development', serves as a barrier to engagement for those in diaspora communities⁵ (Dhalech, 1996:5; Najmudin, 2001:3). For example, Joseph associates 'development' with an arrogant, "perceived superiority" (2000:6). Both the influential academic Annette Scheunpflug and Think Global (formerly the Development Education Association) suggest that 'global learning' might be a more appropriate term (Bourn, 2011a:257; Bourn, 2011b:13). Hunt uses 'global learning', suggesting that it "connects the local to the global and advocates that people throughout the world are agents in interconnected, sustainable and thoughtful living" (Hunt, 2012:14). Debates about how this

⁵ The term 'diaspora' is a complex one, which can be understood in a variety of ways. Here it is used to refer to groups within the UK that feel some sense of ongoing commitment to a 'home' within the 'Global South' (Gamlen, 2008:4; Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008:7). This concept of 'home' or 'homeland' is crucial but not straightforward. It is not simply a physical space, and instead refers to a culture or ethnicity understood as a social construct (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008:16).

education is named are often rooted in its relationship to development, which in turn is “intimately connected to public understanding of, and action on, global poverty” (Baillie Smith, 2012b:2) (see discussion in 1.2). Since public perceptions of poverty, injustice and development have largely been framed by NGOs and government (Bourn, 2011:12), development education has generally worked within these discourses, rarely offering a clear critique of dominant understandings of ‘development’ and causes of injustice and poverty. Other terms, such as global learning, the global dimension in education and global citizenship, can to some extent be understood as attempts to break free from these discourses, although critics question whether there is a risk of learning only about the world, without addressing complex structural inequalities (see 2.4.4).

2.4.2 The practice of development education – surveying the field

The practice of development education is diverse. A broad understanding would include all communications which influence public understanding of poverty, development and global justice issues. For example, Baillie Smith suggests that “events such as Make Poverty History, the mainstreaming of fair trade, increasing celebrity engagement in development and the growth of the ‘gap year’” all play a part in “diversifying and stretching popular imaginaries of development” (Baillie Smith, 2012b:1). In addition to these ‘purposeful’ communications, globalisation provides other incidental forms of global learning (for example, in terms of fashion, music and food), although there are questions about whether this is truly educative (Bourn and Brown, 2011:11; de Block and Rydin, 2006). The breadth of practice within development education is perpetuated by the “considerable variation” in the ways development education is perceived and articulated (Bourn and Hunt, 2011:5) and by the “diverse range of organisations, institutions and educators” involved (CONCORD, 2007:3). What follows focuses predominately on development education within the UK. There are variations in practice according to context; for example, there is a closer relationship between development education and campaigning agendas in some other EU countries (Krause, 2010).

As has been noted above, NGOs have had considerable influence over the practice of development education in the UK. Bourn and Hunt suggest that “initiatives such as Oxfam’s Framework for Global Citizenship, the British Red Cross’ programme on Humanitarian Education or UNICEF’s Rights Respecting Schools, may have had more influence on the development of a teacher’s thinking than, for example, a government policy document” (Bourn and Hunt, 2011:11). NGOs remain important as they are “often the first point of contact” in terms of bringing global justice perspectives into schools and other communities (Bourn and Hunt, 2011:35). As a result of NGOs’ investments in formal education, schools have been a main focus of development education practice in the UK (Bourn and Brown, 2011:13). This has taken place in a number of subjects across the curriculum, such as citizenship, geography or history, as well as through activities such as fundraising linked to NGOs (Bourn and Hunt, 2011:7). Examples can be found across the age range of formal education, including adult education (Bailey, 2010:74) and within the ‘early years’ (Oberman, Waldron and Dillon, 2012:38).

Outside formal education, development education practice can be found in a range of contexts, with some suggesting that people learn more about development and global justice issues informally (DEA, 2010:4). This includes development education within youth work (DEA, 1995; Edleston, 2006), in religious contexts (for example, Banaji et al., 2009:13) and through the media. Mass media plays a variety of roles in the practice of development education, with its reach and influence making it perhaps the most important source of information about the developing world (Bryan, 2008). Through media, including new technologies such as social media, the ‘global’ reaches into the ‘local’, influencing life in multiple and complex ways (Bourn and Brown, 2011:18; de Block and Rydin, 2006). Mass media is also used more purposefully by NGOs, communicating targeted messages relating to global justice issues, including NGOs using celebrities to raise awareness and interest in issues of global justice (Brockington, 2011). As an example, the use of the media could be seen clearly in the communications of Make Poverty History, “a campaign that not only took place through the media; to a large extent, especially in the UK, it took place in the media” (Nash, 2008:170).

Noddings observed that it is not possible to separate education from personal experience; “who we are, to whom we are related, how we are situated - all matter in what we learn, what we value, and how we approach intellectual and moral life” (Noddings in Tite, 2008:76). Some fields of development education practice have embraced this insight, making use of a range of experiential education practices. This includes time spent in ‘developing’ countries (Debeljak, 2012:16; Gibson, Rimmington and Landwehr-Brown, 2008:18; Trewby, 2007), learning either as a by-product of volunteering or due to going with a specific commitment to intercultural or development education, or remotely via school or community linking partnerships. While there are critiques and questions around these methods (for example, Baillie Smith and Laurie, 2011:548; Leonard, 2008:75), it does appear that personal connections and experiences can have a significant impact (Debeljak, 2012:16). These connections can also come about via travel with family or school, or through meeting people who have migrated to the UK (Bourn and Brown, 2011:21).

Action is often considered a key aspect of development education practice (see, for example, Fountain, 1995:15; Griffiths and Baillon, 2003:116; Ni Chasaide, 2009; Smith and Rainbow, 2000:4), making learning concrete; it “is not only a logical outcome of the learning process, but a significant means of reinforcing new knowledge, skills and attitudes” (Fountain, 1995:16). The inclusion of action is an example of one of the ways in which development education owes a debt to Paulo Freire. For him, it was crucial to avoid the pitfalls of verbalism, meaning words without actions, and activism, action without theory for action’s sake (Freire, 1972:60). As an alternative he suggested ‘praxis’, “the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1972:66), as “words not given body (made flesh) have little or no value” (Freire, 1998:39). This draws attention to an area of development education practice that receives less attention in the literature reviewed – that of learning through action. Models of learning through doing, which echo McAdam’s exploration of recruitment to high cost/risk activism (McAdam, 1986:69) (discussed in 2.3), build on the theory that a ‘taste’ of engagement can act as a significant learning experience, possibly leading to a greater commitment at a later stage. Similar suggestions can be found in work considering a “pedagogy of civic engagement” (Banaji et al., 2009:15) and in Mayo’s suggestion that participating in social movements

can be an educative process in itself (Mayo, 2005). While there is some evidence to suggest that action-learning development education models are effective (for example, Asbrand, 2008), there are questions to be answered (Bourn and Brown, 2011:12): Should development education follow a “linear model (education leading to action) or a spiral model (action/reflection – praxis)” (Hayes and McNally, 2012:105)? How should educators work with a process which leads different individuals towards different outcomes, since people derive differing lessons from their experiences, influenced by external factors (Mayo, Gaventa and Rooke, 2009:166)? It must also be recognised that outcomes may be ‘negative’, for example those looking for less conventional forms of engagement may be disengaged by a more moderate initial ‘taste’ activity (Tarrow, 2005:55).

Action can also be used as a form of development education aimed at a non-participative external audience. This is reflected in Della Porta and Diani’s discussion of a “pedagogy of protest” (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:179-181) and Freire’s recognition of a “pedagogy of resistance” (Mayo, 2004:57), in which accounts of action are communicated to others. This can serve to encourage those who are already engaged, perhaps by acting as success narratives (see Section 2.3), and/or by drawing others’ attention to global justice issues (McCarthy, Smith and Zald, 1996:309). The more radical forms (those with higher cost/risk, using unconventional methods and often of a political nature) tend to garner the most publicity, perhaps because they are deemed ‘newsworthy’ and allow the use of dramatic language (Tarrow, 2005:54). They can have a positive impact through ‘radical flank effect’. This suggests that they alter the definitions of middle and extreme, in this case in a manner beneficial to the movement (Dobson, 1995:6); the policy director of one NGO contended that “rock throwers create political space for more constructive engagement by others” (Sayer, 2007:164). However, their educational value can be questioned. Any message passes through the transforming and complicating lens of the media (Zald, 1996:270) and therefore risks interference from other, perhaps unsympathetic, sources; the communication that reaches the audience may not be what was intended. For example, Biccum suggests that anti-G8 and Make Poverty History communications were combined and distorted by the media, resulting in an unhelpful “distinction between legitimate protesters, peaceably

obeying the law, lobbying and putting pressure on leaders following 'democratic' codes of conduct, and 'anarchists' or illegitimate protesters (all lumped into one) who aimed at disrupting the G8, through unlawful civil disobedience" (Biccum, 2007:1121). Sensationalism makes the mass media a questionable space for education; as Gamson and Meyer observe, "fire in the belly is fine, but fire on the ground photographs better. Burning buildings and burning tyres make better television than peaceful vigils and orderly marches" (1996:288).

This section has considered something of the range of development education practices in the UK. This has included discussion of the role of NGOs, schools, the media, and informal and non-formal contexts, such as learning based on experience and action. The next section summarises the context within which development education has been working.

2.4.3 Development education in context

There is no doubt that the practice of development education in the UK is, and has been, affected by various contextual factors. These include national and global events. Significant examples in recent memory include the Ethiopian famine of 1982, Live Aid, the 'drop the debt' coalitions, terrorist attacks on New York and London, the 'war on terror' and anti-war campaigns, the tsunami of 2004, Make Poverty History, climate change campaigns and the international 'Occupy' protests. In addition, development education practice and policy in the UK has also been influenced by various solidarity movements, including the campaign against apartheid, the British legacy of colonialism and, in particular, intersections with other movements (for example, with the anti-racism movement, peace movement or environmental movement). For further discussion on this, and on the related concept of "broker issues" (Della Porta, 2007:16) within social movements, please see 2.1 and 2.3.

Recent political changes offer a clear example of how context can impact upon the practice of development education. The previous (Labour) Government invested in 'development awareness', which in some ways encouraged it to flourish. As Tom Franklin, the Chief Executive of Think Global, observes, "this benign environment for DEAR [development education and awareness raising]

changed suddenly in 2010, with the election of the new Government” (Franklin, 2012:14). Funding was frozen then cut, with the “13 years of steadily rising funding thrown into reverse overnight, with many DE organisations - despite their natural resourcefulness - struggling to find alternative funding sources to carry on their work. Some of the infrastructure that had been built up over the years was dismantled again and capacity lost” (Franklin, 2012:14). These contextual factors must be taken into account when considering any suggestions that this research makes concerning the policy and practice of development education.

2.4.4 Questioning the value of development education

Most voices within the literature agree that UK public support for action against poverty and injustice overseas is important, for example in terms of protecting the aid budget and giving political and financial support for attempts at bringing about change (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:13), particularly while “Northern states dominate the G7, the G8, and the Bretton Woods institutions dictate many of the terms of international trade; and consume far more than an equitable share of global resources” (Kirk, 2012:245). There are, however, questions about the value of development education in its current form.

The most damning critique is probably that it has not been effective; “simply put, people in the UK understand and relate to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s. This is the case despite massive campaigns such as the Jubilee 2000 debt initiative and Make Poverty History; the widespread adoption and mainstreaming of digital communication techniques and social networks; steady growth in NGO fundraising revenues; the entire Millennium Development Goal story; and the establishment of a Westminster consensus on core elements of development policy” (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:5). As discussed in 1.2, although large amounts of money and time have been invested (Kirk, 2012:247), “apathy and political inaction, particularly in the Global North, remain significant problems” (Wilson, 2010:276) and “people’s understanding of poverty and development issues remains shallow” (van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:389). A related concern is that it is hard to know exactly what impact development education has. Little is known about “public attitudes towards development and

how these attitudes translate into support for aid, personal agency and levels of private giving" (DEA, 2010:3), there is limited academic research available (Bourn, 2008:8; Bourn and Brown, 2011:14) and the link between learning and engagement is complex and unclear (Hoskins, D'Hombres and Campbell, 2008:388). In particular, there is a scarcity of research considering global learning outside of formal education contexts (Brown, 2013:93).

A second critique of development education is the suggestion that it has been "de-radicalised" (Bourn, 2011:11), "de-clawed" (Bryan, 2011:2) or "de-politicised" (Hayes and McNally, 2012:101). The argument here is that although rhetoric and (historical) aims may be radical and transformatory (Bourn, 2011:11), the current practice, formalised and institutionalised (Bryan, 2011:4), fails to live up to these ideals. For some critics this failure is complete; "the disjuncture between the radical aims and professed rhetoric of development education and its practical implementation has led many to become deeply disillusioned by, and increasingly sceptical of, the agenda behind development education itself" (Bryan, 2011:6). This perspective suggests that development education has completely lost its way, producing 'global citizens' who advocate development solely as part of a neoliberal project, acting only as a "theatre of legitimation for the neoliberal agenda, a stage-managed simulation of democracy 'at work'" (Biccum, 2007:1112). Development education here is seen simply as a tool to "inculcate young people into a mainstream way of thinking about development which disparages alternative anti-globalization critiques", steering people towards toothless "'legitimate' democratic civil society campaigning and activism" (Biccum, 2007:1116). It can be argued that funding development then outweighs action for justice; "while donations to development organizations have increased, the quality of public engagement with questions of global justice has fallen to its lowest point ever" (Bryan, 2013:6). This challenge to development education is related to critiques of NGOs, for example that they are lacking the radical vision of change and political drive required to meet their professed aims (McCloskey, 2012:114).

A more nuanced understanding is that development education has not been completely 'de-radicalised', but that there are variations in both policy and practice. Andreotti (2006a) suggests there are two groups within development

education practitioners. The first practise a 'soft' global citizenship education, concerned with poverty and helplessness, empowering "individuals to act (or become active citizens) according to what has been defined for them as a good life or ideal world". The second group, in contrast, practise a 'critical' global citizenship, concerned with inequality and injustice, empowering "individuals to reflect critically on the legacies and processes of their cultures, to imagine different futures and to take responsibility for decisions and actions" (Andreotti, 2006a). A similar dichotomy can be found in the work of Parinaz-Solis (2006:4), who recognises a "progressive group", aware of the North-South power relations, challenging the roots of injustice and inequality, and prioritising critical thinking in their practice, and a second group "less aware of North-South relations (and of how they came into existence)". Educators from this second group "look to the South with benevolence and sympathy", focus on symptoms rather than causes and "see development education as providing information that leads to fundraising activities and charity" (Parinaz-Solis, 2006:4). Murphy, in her research with development education practitioners in Ireland, contrasts a more radical, political "African perspective" development education with a "safe", harmless education which functions within the confines of the NGO charity model of development and curtails actions to the MDGs, Aid and Fair Trade (Murphy, 2011b:100).

Building on this understanding of development education encompassing a range of political agendas, from the 'soft' and 'safe' to the more 'radical' and 'critical', the next section considers some of the factors the literature reviewed suggests may serve to 'de-radicalise' the practice of development education in the UK.

2.4.5 Barriers to 'critical' development education

The simplest answer is that "working for social justice is never cosy" (Griffiths and Baillon, 2003:59) and that practicing a radical development education is a more challenging prospect for both educators and organisations. However, there are many factors at play. Murphy's research suggests that Irish development educators "feel constrained by funding bodies, development non-

governmental organisations (NGOs), the media and the formal education sector, which limit the capacity for an overtly political and ‘radical development education’” (Murphy, 2011a). This section considers the role of each of these factors in the UK in turn.

The main funding source for development education in the UK has been government. It has been suggested that this has influenced development education’s tendency to work within dominant social and political discourses (Bourn, 2011:11). Many NGOs have relied on government for a large part of their funding, and this “entanglement in economic and political considerations” has led some to question their independence and transformative potential (Hoff and Hickling-Hudson, 2011:189). While government support for development education through the Department for International Development began as being open to more critical perspectives (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004:730), it then moved towards distancing itself from the more radical and political dimensions (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004:734). Hunt suggests that “the global learning agenda promoted by government offers a non-threatening, non-confrontational agenda which raises awareness of identity, equality and justice, but perhaps does not advocate for the critical complexity of understandings and action advocated by Andreotti” (Hunt, 2012:16).

The role of NGOs within development education is significant. As discussed above, they continue to have great influence through funding, resourcing and carrying out much of the development education practice within the UK. However, NGO development education has been critiqued as “being narrow in scope, Eurocentric and a kind of ‘Band-Aid’ pedagogical response to complex issues of global injustice” (Tallon, 2012a:6). Before engaging with these criticisms it is first important to note that there is a wide breadth of development/anti-poverty/global justice NGOs. They vary “in terms of their goals and objectives, the people they seek to benefit, their resources, networks, and the degree of their independence from political and commercial interests” (Hoff and Hickling-Hudson, 2011:188). Some are “focused on service delivery in a more depoliticised and top-down model of development”, while others “pursue more radical agendas for change” (McCloskey, 2012:113). This variety cannot help but affect their various practices of development education.

A further complication is revealed when considering the range of agendas found even within a single NGO. NGOs have “multiple orientations and commitments – such as to education and fundraising or to charity and justice” (Baillie Smith, 2008:6), leading to mixed messages reaching the public. Smith refers to “tensions between fundraising, advocacy, education and service delivery” resulting in “different competing public faces of development”, noting that in some cases these contradictions can even be found together within a single NGO-public communication (Smith, 2004:743). In this way, critical development education practice may be “undermined by other NGO activities” (Tallon, 2012b:8), such as fundraising.

NGOs, often understood as charities, rely in part on money donated by the public. In the face of a number of NGOs acting as brands competing for donations (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:30), funding sections within NGOs sometimes resort to making charity sleek and “sexy” (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008:1476), using ‘negative’ or patronising imagery (Alam, 2007; Bourn and Ohri, 1996:4; Manzo, 2006; Olaniyan, 2006:20) or “individualistic and commodified” approaches (Smith, 2004:747) in order to encourage donation. Some argue that examples of this ‘engagement as consumerism’ might include initiatives such as fair trade (Baillie Smith, 2012b:5), ‘good gifts’ and child sponsorship (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004:661), all perhaps rooted in “feel good” (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004:662) opportunities for supporters to buy into “active and attractive” engaged identities (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008:1477; Crompton, 2008:29). Emphasis is put on forms of engagement derided as providing “cheap” rather than “deep” participation (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:28), as there is a fear that putting too much weight on critical approaches and political advocacy may risk alienating supporters and thus limit an NGO’s ability to go about the ‘business’ of development overseas (Bourn and Kybird, 2012:48; Ollif, 2007:48). So how might commitment to fundraising negatively affect the practice of critical development education? For Cameron and Haanstra, “faced with the tensions between fundraising and public understanding of development issues, most aid organisations in the North have given priority to the former” (2008:1479). Adams suggests that there is a tension between the two agendas, made visible through the results of events such as

Live Aid, which generated “a significant increased public awareness of famine and poverty” but communicated the message that “those in poverty were helpless and hopeless and in the need of charity” (Adams, 2010:4). Communication which prioritises charity over justice, centred on a particular understanding of development in which the ‘needy poor’ are dependent on the generous rich (Bryan, 2008; Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004:661), runs counter to more critical perspectives within development education. Hence “there is a difficulty facing NGO educators, in that whilst they may seek to challenge systemic structures that promote inequality, for many of them, funding demands and other institutional needs constrain them to remain within the more traditional (some would argue, neo-colonial) ways of viewing the world” (Tallon, 2012a:7).

Although campaigning and development education sections within NGOs perhaps have somewhat complementary agendas, given the importance of action to both, there are suggestions that too close a relationship between the two can be detrimental to critical development education. There is a risk that rushing to action, with many little campaign actions “competing for the agenda and contributing to a growing sense of powerlessness” (Sinclair, 1994), can get in the way of deeper learning, perhaps compounded by ‘compassion fatigue’ or ‘psychological numbing’ (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008:1479-1480). Ashmore suggests that tensions between development education and campaigning “stem from the motivations of the individuals and their different beliefs about how change can effectively be brought about” (Ashmore, 2005:73). More critical models of development education avoid moving learners quickly towards pre-decided action as “indoctrination is incompatible with an educator’s (or indeed an NGO’s or activist’s) role in education in a democratic society” (Scheunpflug, 2008:21).

Even in instances where the practice of NGOs’ development education can be understood as critical, avoiding the pitfalls related to fundraising and campaigning, other factors may “influence the reception of the material so that the lasting impression may undermine the original intent” (Tallon, 2012b:12). For example, even when NGOs “do not seek to promote fundraising, their approach is mediated and distorted since some schools and teachers choose to

do this anyway” (Baillie Smith, 2008:10). All communications sit within wider narratives and frames, influenced in particular by the media.

The media is an extremely significant source of information for the British public about poverty and developing countries (van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:397). However, with its ubiquitous and sometimes truncated nature (Kirk, 2012:253; van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:400), critics suggest it lays a somewhat unhelpful foundation for critical development education. It is seen to portray development “through prisms of disaster, famine and extreme poverty” (Baillie Smith, 2012b:4), using “wide angle black and white shots and grainy, high contrast images” to characterize the “typical Third World helpless victim” (Alam, 2007). Some “nations and cultures are excluded from being represented at all” and where they are, they “are predominantly represented through the eyes of the more powerful” (de Block and Buckingham, 2007:22), with a focus on highlighting difference rather than encouraging understanding (de Block and Buckingham, 2007:2). These short-comings may reduce “individuals’ feelings of efficacy in solving the issue” (van Heerde and Hudson, 2010:400) and reaffirm the “oppressive charity frame” (Kirk, 2012:253).

The concept of frames, understood by Darnton and Kirk as “the chunks of factual and procedural knowledge in the mind with which we understand situations, ideas and discourses in everyday life” (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:5), provides an insight into the challenges to critical development education presented by people’s preconditioned understandings of poverty and injustice. A similar model is given by Andreotti, who argues that everyone, including development educators, teachers and so on, has a set of learning, conceptual frameworks and understandings which are “already conditioned (but not determined) by our social, cultural and historical contexts” (2013:12). These heavily influence the knowledge produced and the approach to development education practised (Andreotti, 2013:12). So, for example, if an educator, influenced by the media, their own education and learning experiences, believes that the answer to injustice is solely charity, they are unlikely to be open to more critical approaches to development education.

As was noted earlier, most development education in the UK takes place within the context of formal education. What challenges might this present to more critical practice? Although at some level all education is political (Shor and Freire, 1987:13), the general consensus appears to be that schools “tend to promote a ‘soft’, non-threatening global learning” (Hunt, 2012:10), largely rooted in charitable activities (Smith, 2004:745), such as fundraising (Hunt, 2012:37). All discussed in previous paragraphs potentially affects the perspective from which an educator is working. In addition, schools and other places of formal learning tend to be institutions with a number of staff, which may make asking the more challenging and critical questions difficult. Hunt has found the motivations and commitment of individual staff is crucial to the practice of development education (Hunt, 2012:44). Given the considerable variation in teachers’ interpretations of global learning (Bourn and Hunt, 2011:15), a possible lack of teacher confidence in critically exploring these issues (DEA, 2009) and time pressure within schools, “teachers are less likely to use critical, open, discussion approaches to teaching about development, falling back instead on the communication of traditional messages about development” (Bourn and Brown, 2011:15). Here the risk is that complex themes are “reduced to simple and caricatured messages”, which in turn may “contribute to young people’s distrust of political institutions” (Scheunpflug, 2008:23).

A second consequence of the constraints of time, teacher knowledge and curriculum, is that the action component of development education may be affected. In some situations action is removed completely, leaving only information, which although not entirely inconsequential is “much overrated as a change agent” as “more knowledge does not necessarily lead to more appropriate behaviour” (Meyer, 2007:223). The alternative is often that small, school-appropriate, actions are included; “the desired social action is often designed around the consumer, the Northern student”, fitting in with the timetable and “user-friendly for the teacher and the classroom setting” (Tallon, 2012a:9). This can result in “placing the student into a possible ‘saviour role’, moving from reflection through to action quickly, to salve any forms of guilt or apathy that may or may not have surfaced” (Tallon, 2012a:9). Educators may hope that these small steps lead to more significant action at some later stage, an assumption which is certainly open to challenge (Crompton, 2008:2). The

need to include a 'quick-fix' response to injustice often results in a fundraising initiative, which while positive in some ways, risks re-affirming and continuing learners' education 'in charity' at the cost of a more challenging education 'in justice'.

2.4.6 Making it critical – suggested ways forward

Having considered some of the barriers to the practice of a more critical form of development education, this section concludes by exploring possible ways forward suggested in the literature. The underlying barrier is the strength of the charity frame. People in the UK, including many of those engaged with forms of education concerning global justice issues, are extremely familiar with fundraising and convenient campaign actions such as 'clicktivism' (White, 2010). These are the most accepted or easiest 'go to' responses to awareness of poverty or injustice, to the point where other, sometimes more radical, responses are often not considered. The education offered by and through media, NGOs and educators, facilitated largely within dominant discourses (or frames) of charity, poverty and development, often fails to provide a space that allows for critical engagement and deep learning. While it would not be possible, or perhaps even desirable, to attempt to alter everybody's understandings (Meyer, 2007:90), the literature makes a number of potentially helpful suggestions.

It was noted above that NGOs are "often the first point of contact" in terms of bringing global justice perspectives into schools and other communities (Bourn and Hunt, 2011:35). They make valuable contributions, providing a perspective that "if seen as one amongst many perspectives" can "enrich learning about global and development themes" (Bourn and Kybird, 2012:60). However, this is sometimes (or perhaps even often) the only perspective offered; Tallon notes that due to "language barriers with foreign websites, time constraints and a lack of knowledge about other sources of information", an NGO's perspective sometimes becomes the most significant and authoritative source of information about developing countries (Tallon, 2012b:15). In an example she considers, "the region is effectively viewed almost entirely through the NGO's framework" (Tallon, 2012b:15). If the only perspective presented is from NGOs it is not

surprising that awareness raising, campaigning and funding dominate (Bourn, 2008:12). One way to encourage more critical development education suggested in the literature is to attempt to broaden the range of perspectives provided.

The literature reviewed presents three suggestions as to how this might be brought about. Firstly, stronger links with social movements could be built (McCloskey, 2011:33). Secondly, 'direct' communication between the 'North' and 'South' online via personal contact or networks could be increased (Beckett and Fenyoe, 2012:22). Finally, attempts could be made to increase the engagement of people from diaspora communities. The literature on diaspora engagement explores this last option in some depth. While, as noted above, the concept of 'development' may serve as a barrier (Dhalech, 1996:5; Najmudin, 2001:3), there are groups from ethnic communities, such as first and second generation migrants, engaged in work with similar purposes but not using the terminology (Baker, 2006:2). This includes activities aimed to "help the public to understand issues relating to ethnic minorities and to increase awareness of North-South issues" and "correct misconceptions, negative stereotypes and prejudices against their communities and countries of origin" (Wurie Khan, 1999:10), both of which are elements of more critical development education practice.

In addition, 'new media' could be utilised to bring new perspectives to bear. The largely negative discussions of 'media' above come from the traditional perspective of "an established pyramid inhabited by politicians, journalists, and citizens" (Blumler and Coleman, 2013:174). In this understanding communication is linear and one directional, with the 'audience' limited to passively receiving a message from a dominant elite. Coleman and Ross (2010) note that this has never been the entire picture, as there is a history of underground or alternative media sources, including radio stations, zines and minority ethnic and indigenous media. This complexity is multiplied in present day media communication, particularly when taking into account social media and devices such as smartphones; it is "more riddled with crosscurrents, and confronts many of its actors with more choice and greater uncertainty" (Blumler and Coleman, 2013:177). Castells notes that "multimodal, digital networks of

horizontal communication are the fastest and most autonomous, interactive and self-expanding means of communications in history” (Castells 2012:15). While it is now generally accepted that the promise of the internet transforming representative democracy has not been met, it does present opportunities to “to seek practical and diverse information that would strengthen their civic roles; to communicate with like-minded others, sometimes around issues of cultural values; and to create occasions of symbolic visibility” (Coleman, Morrison and Svennevig, 2008:786). This can be seen in the use of social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube by, for example, Occupy (Juris, 2012; Milner, 2013) and the ‘Arab Spring’ (Castells, 2012:106). At best, this ‘new media’ allows a blurring of roles concerned with media production as, “equipped with social media, the citizen no longer has to be a passive consumer of political party propaganda, government spin or mass media news, but is instead actually enabled to challenge discourses, share alternative perspectives and publish their own opinions” (Loader and Mercea, 2012:3).

Bringing a wider variety of perspectives into development education would support the second suggested way forward. Bourn proposes that development education would be more likely to be critical if there was more distance between learning and action (Bourn, 2008:18). Such an education would require funding independent of the dominant discourses of charity and development (McCloskey, 2012:118), recognising the value of ‘pure’ learning. This in turn would allow educators to “attend to questions of power, politics, identity and culture – raising awareness and building skills to move the public beyond notions of the South based on compassion and charity, towards an understanding of interdependence that acknowledges uneven levels of power” (Andreotti, 2006b:7). Andreotti and others suggest that such a learning- (rather than action-) focused development education should learn from post-colonial theory (Andreotti, 2006b:8), “a theoretical framework which makes visible the history and legacy of European colonialism, including the ways in which the wealth of the global North has been acquired and maintained through a history of exploitation, and examines how it continues to shape contemporary discourses and institutions” (Bryan, 2008). Bringing these concepts into dialogue with development education may provide counter narratives to current frameworks, encouraging educators and learners “to consider the theoretical

and ideological underpinnings of internationally derived development policies and practices, to engage deeply with the structural dimensions of poverty, injustice and oppression, and to consider alternative progressive political, economic, and social arrangements” (Bryan, 2008).

The above suggestions, bringing more perspectives into development education, focusing on learning apart from action and learning from post-colonial theory, offer possible routes to increasing the practice of more critical development education. While it is argued here that this is laudable, it is important to remember that there are a broad range of organisations, educators and funders with interest in this field. There can be no one solution; “development education should not be seen as some form of monolithic approach to education but as a pedagogy that opens minds to question, consider, reflect and above all challenge viewpoints about the wider world and to identify different ways to critique them” (Bourn, 2011:26).

2.4.7 Summary: Development education and the place of learning in engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement

This section has surveyed the practice and critiques of development education in the UK as found in the literature. It has shown development education to be a broad field, with practice ranging from the ‘safe’ to the ‘radical’, both supporting and challenging dominant discourses concerning poverty, justice and charity. It has considered the various roles played by NGOs, formal and non-formal education, the media and funding sources in terms of both the current practice of development education and as barriers to increasing the criticality of development education in the UK. Finally it has presented various suggestions from the literature as to how development education could become more critical, including bringing in more perspectives and learning from post-colonial theory.

The exploration of literature concerning development education presented here provides background for one angle of analysis of my five respondents’ stories (5.1). Through their ‘journeys’ to and within the UK Global Justice Movement they have been exposed to various forms of development education. My analysis, amongst other things, considers the impact of these experiences in

terms of their stories and who they profess to be today. In addition, these five individuals have been chosen in part because of their commitment to engaging others with issues of global justice; they are themselves in some way development educators. In my analysis I therefore consider how their practice fits within the field described above. Finally, by 'setting the scene' of current practice in development education, this section lays the foundations for later exploration of some of the implications of this research for the policy and practice of development education (6.2).

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has surveyed the literature in order to provide a context for the empirical research presented in later chapters. In doing so, it presented partial answers from existing research to the first two of my key questions:

- How do individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues?
- What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

The first question was broken down and explored in three parts. The first considered what it is that people engage with by critically considering the literature regarding social movements and related areas in order to construct a working definition of the UK Global Justice Movement, the context within which this research is based: The 'UK Global Justice Movement' is the UK-based "loose network of organizations ... and other actors engaged in collective action of various kinds, on the basis of the shared goal of advancing the cause of justice (economic, social, political, and environmental) among and between peoples across the globe" (Della Porta, 2007:6). It is 'for' social justice for people overseas and thus 'against' any powers that cause injustice, be they in the UK or elsewhere. It utilises many of the forms from the repertoire of contention. In some way it is an intersection of other movements, brought together at times around broker issues about which they share concern. NGOs

(from the informal to the completely institutionalised) play an important part in bringing people to the movement, energising and legitimising it.

The second section explored literature concerned with the ways in which people in the UK engage with global justice issues. It did so by introducing a number of existing theories about forms of engagement, and then combining these in a conceptual framework. This took the form of a set of continuum lines which when taken together offers the possibility of 'mapping' the repertoire of contention, giving emphasis to the complexity of engagement. It was suggested that, in theory at least, any form of engagement, at a specific time, within a given context, should belong within the repertoire of contention and be 'plottable' somewhere on each of the lines: between low cost and high cost; low risk and high risk; non-political and political; conventional and unconventional; individual and collective. While this framework was shown to have limitations (for example, in its subjectivity), it was suggested that it is a new and useful contribution to explorations of how people engage with activism, bringing a 'deep' perspective to complement existing quantitative approaches.

The third section approached the question of 'how' people engage from a different angle, exploring what the literature presents about 'journeys' into engagement. This included considering the roles of experience, motivating factors, preconditions for engagement and other related concepts. A number of significant theories were introduced, including those related to identity and group membership (explored in greater detail in Chapter 3). The findings of this review of the literature were summarised in a diagram, the 'route map' of journeys to and within engagement. This has already proved to be a useful tool to practitioners thinking about engaging individuals with social justice issues, and is useful background to my research into individuals' stories of their journeys.

The fourth section of this chapter focused on presenting findings in the literature relevant to the second research question, considering the role of development education and related practices in individuals' engagement with global justice issues. It began by briefly introducing development education and some of the debates which surround it. It then discussed current policy and practice in the

UK, considering the role of NGOs, formal and non-formal places of education, the media and debates about the place of action in learning. Development education was shown to be a broad field, with practice ranging from the 'safe' to the 'radical', both supporting and challenging dominant discourses concerning poverty, justice and charity. Attention was then given to voices in the literature which question the value of development education, particularly in terms of efficacy and criticality. Various barriers to the practice of a more critical development education were explored. The final paragraphs explored suggestions made in the literature as to how development education might become more critical, including bringing in more perspectives and learning from post-colonial theory.

Taken together with the rationale and methodology sections, the review of the literature presented above has provided context for the rest of this research. In line with the epistemological basis of the research (set out in the next chapter), the above does not claim to provide a definitive understanding; while care has been taken to present a range of perspectives, all has been processed and represented by one researcher. Having said this, it has explored what existing literature suggests about what it is that individuals engage with, the ways in which they do so, how this comes about and the role of development education. This has provided foundations for the research presented in later chapters; it has introduced and developed the language, frameworks and concepts which allow individuals' journeys to be told (Chapter 4) and explored (Chapter 5), and 'set the scene' for the implications suggested in Chapter 6.

The next chapter presents the epistemology, methodology and methods which underpin my research. It introduces narrative research and explores how and why I have used it, including considering the types of knowledge I understand it as being able to produce. It then discusses the various decisions which had to be taken during the research process. Finally, as part of an exploration of my approach to analysis, it introduces theories concerning identity.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology underpinning my research into individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement, building on Chapter 2's exploration of context. It begins with a discussion of my epistemological position, how I came to narrative research and concepts related to 'journeys'. The second section, 3.2, introduces narrative research, considering the areas of knowledge it can explore, the types of knowledge it can produce and questions regarding validity.

Following these largely theoretical discussions, 3.3 moves to the more 'practical' aspects of the research. In three sections, it makes explicit the decisions I made and the literature and thought processes that led me there. The first section discusses choices I had to make early on in the research, including those concerning sampling. The second section draws on relevant literature to explore issues related to narrative interviews, including semi-structured interviews, co-constructed stories, the importance of listening, and ethical considerations in narrative research. The final section looks at decisions which had to be made after the interviews. It begins with discussion of transcription and how respondents' stories reached the final state presented in Chapter 4. It then explores analysis, detailing how my initial analysis led me towards concepts of identity. The final sections explain my development of a flexible framework for analysis, drawing on a variety of identity theories.

3.1 Setting the scene

My initial reaction to considering my understandings of truth, knowledge and other epistemological concerns was one of disappointment. Section 1.2, in explaining my rationale for undertaking this research, made clear that I am keen that my study leads to 'useful' outcomes. Hence it was difficult to accept that the PhD process was not going to produce a 'magic bullet' for engaging more people more deeply with issues of global justice. Instead, after discovering that I favour the depth of qualitative exploration over the breadth that quantitative methods offer, and realising that my understanding of knowledge leans towards

constructivism and that I therefore could not expect to discover any definitive 'truth', I realised that at best I might 'explore' a limited number of individuals' journeys to and within engagement, and make some tentative comments about them.

But then I read Molly Andrews's 'Lifetimes of commitment: ageing, politics and psychology' (1991). Her exploration of activists' life stories showed me that it is possible to be both academically rigorous and find and share useful stories and reflections on them. It also served as my introduction to narrative research, a field of enquiry which felt like home almost immediately. Further reading of the literature discussing narrative research methods was encouraging, revealing an approach that allowed me to make use of my experience, passions and the unavoidable resulting subjectivity in a positive and reflective manner. It gave me a methodology which feels honest and accessible, making use of "relational modes of interviewing that reflect and respect participants' ways of organizing meaning in their lives" (Riessman, 2002a:696), helping to "humanise the research process" (Lewis, 2008:562). Most importantly, it presented a way of exploring individuals' journeys to engagement through their stories, allowing me "to see different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning, to bring them into useful dialogue with each other, and to understand more about individual and social change" (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008:1).

The concept of an individual's 'journey' can be found in Temple and Laycock (2008:104), but similar ideas can be found elsewhere. These include 'trajectories of contention', which focus on how different mechanisms and processes relate to one another in episodes of contention (Klandermans, Staggenborg and Tarrow, 2002:328), the life histories used by Andrews in her study of individuals with sustained involvement to political activism (Andrews, 1991) and the 'volunteer journey' concept developed by the Commission on the Future of Volunteering (Ockenden and Russell, 2010:1). Ockenden and Russell, in relation to volunteers' journeys, note that "an individual's journey is dynamic and changes in response to their wider environment, life experiences, view and opinions" (2010:7). The immediate problem with regard to learning about and from individuals' journeys is that there is "no direct access to experience as such. We can only study experience through its representations" (Denzin,

2000:xi). Hence I made the decision to use narrative research to explore life stories, sharing the belief that they “can offer detailed and nuanced accounts of personal experience... and they are suited to exploring personal change – both positive and negative - in context and over time” (Miller, 2010:6).

3.2 Introducing narrative research

There is considerable variation in how narrative is utilized in research; it is “strikingly diverse in the way it is understood” (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008:3). It is perhaps best conceived as a family of approaches, traversing disciplinary boundaries, with, for example, sociolinguists placing emphasis on studying linguistic practices in narratives, anthropologists and sociologists exploring how local narratives resonate with or resist global ones, and social psychologists considering narrative’s role in the construction of the self (Merrill, 2007:2). Narrative research can be found in a vast variety of fields, including history, anthropology and folklore, psychology, sociolinguistics and sociology, law, medicine, nursing, occupational therapy and social work (Riessman, 2002a:696). To add a further complication, ‘narrative’ can be understood both as an overarching methodology, with Somers for example referring to narrative and narrativity as concepts of social epistemology and social ontology (Somers, 1994:613), and/or as a tool used in a variety of ways at different stages in the research process. For example, ‘narrative research’ can refer to a method of data collection, a method of analysis and/or a representational form for sharing findings through the telling of stories. Through different lenses and disciplines, “narrative inquiry embraces narratives as both the method and phenomena of study” (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006:5).

The literature discussing the various relevant fields, including narrative research, narrative inquiry, life stories, life histories and auto/biographical research, manages to say a great deal without necessarily pinning down the concept of ‘narrative’ to a definition. Some attempts have been made; for example, Bradbury and Day Sclater suggest it is an “accumulating construction” (Bradbury and Day Sclater, 2000:6) of “a sequence of events in time” (p. 3), and De Fina (2003) agrees that it features temporal ordering, and adds the requirements of having a ‘complicating event’ and a ‘tellable’ message. Perhaps,

however, a definition is not as useful as it may first appear. Maria Tamboukou, of the well-regarded Centre for Narrative Research, suggests that a summary of the first ten years' work of the centre might be "trying not to answer the question of 'What is narrative?'" as "narrative is not and should not be ontologically defined; narrative is about doing; it is a process that is open, in movement, in the intermezzo of academic research fields, philosophical traditions, scientific methods; it is forceful and dynamic since it constantly creates conditions of possibility for an experience of "pure time," a conceptualization of time as an assemblage of moments, wherein past and present co-exist in opening up radical futures. It is for this reason that we insist upon the futility of pinning down "what narrative is," since the moment we think we have grasped it, narrative is already, always elsewhere" (Tamboukou in Andrews *et al.*, 2011:8). Similarly, Merrill argues that, since the lack of a consensus definition does not appear to be preventing narrative research from thriving, "a better approach to this "problem" of narrative can be found by considering the question rather than the answer, specifically the type of question and the type of knowledge it is capable of producing" (Merrill, 2007:6). Following this advice, I will now proceed to consider some of the areas of knowledge that narrative research has the capacity to explore. I will begin by suggesting that narrative research can reveal something about identity and the wider influences that impact upon creating the self.

3.2.1 Areas of knowledge narrative research can explore

Identity is a complex and contested concept which will be discussed in greater depth at a later stage (3.3.3) but for the time being, in line with the constructivist stance I have outlined above, let us assume that individuals have multiple identities lived out in different settings. Riessman argues that since "when we tell stories about our lives we perform our (preferred) identities" (Riessman, 2002a:701), personal narratives are a "particularly significant genre for representing and analyzing identity in its multiple guises in different contexts" (p. 706). In this understanding, narratives, and particularly life stories, give a glimpse into an individual's understanding of themselves. Some narrative researchers go further, arguing that the idea of identity "*requires* narrative" (Freeman, 2009:1), that "stories are not only the way in which we come to

ascribe significance to experiences we and others have had; they are one of the primary means through which we constitute our very selves” (Andrews, 2000:77). Here, ‘story’ becomes a tool for the construction of identity, a way of making meaning. Through the development of personal narrative, identity takes a coherent shape for an individual (Hammack, 2008:232). Thus a person can be understood both as constructed from story, and, “essentially a storytelling animal who naturally constructs stories out of life” (Sparkes and Smith, 2007:295). Narrative research then allows for exploration of how individuals construct and understand themselves, with Brockmeier suggesting that no other approach captures the complexities of human meaning-making more intelligently, sensitively and sympathetically than narrative (Brockmeier in Andrews *et al.*, 2011:10).

The previous paragraph may appear to imply that narrative research limits its exploration to the individual. To some extent this is true; most research in the field begins with an individual telling a personal story. However it does not end there, as “when respondents are encouraged to speak about their lives in the way in which they actually perceive them, the constituent social influences are almost invariably highlighted” (Andrews, 1991:23). In this way narrative research techniques reveal something of the wider influences on an individual’s personal journey. This includes relating with the ‘Other’, which Freeman widens to “consist of any and all objects outside ourselves – people, projects, nature, art, God – that ‘inspire’ us and thereby draw us beyond our own borders” (Freeman, 2009:15), groups interacted with, experiences, events and other influences. It is important to note that narrative research cannot claim to give any kind of ‘pure’ insight into these wider influences; in fact, it can be argued that there is an inherent contradiction in using narratives as they “both reveal and conceal, enable and constrain”, but, in some way at least, they “bear witness to the patterns of lived experience” (Bradbury and Day Sclater, 2000:9). The limits and challenges of narrative research will be further discussed below, after a brief exploration of the various types of wider influence on individuals’ journeys that narrative researchers see reflected in their explorations of people’s stories.

As well as the perhaps more obviously apparent influences of the lived experiences and events that make up the life course, narrative researchers recognise that “when people tell a story about themselves, they draw upon a particular set of narrative resources that are at hand” (Sparkes and Smith, 2007:301). Both story and structure are cultural products (Andrews, 2007:53) and hence any narrative is “drawn from social, cultural and, perhaps, unconscious imperatives” (Bradbury and Day Sclater, 2000:8). One theory that takes this idea further is the suggestion that people’s narratives are actually built from “always-already” existing stories (Mason, 2000:157), a “limited repertoire of available social, public, and cultural narratives” (Somers, 1994:613), with which individuals ‘fiction’ themselves “in a multiplicity of culturally available ways” (Mason, 2000:158). Hence Ricoeur describes the life story as “a fictive history or, if you prefer, an historical fiction” (Ricoeur, 1991:73).

The repertoire of stories utilised is not always immediately obvious. Freeman’s work on the ‘narrative unconscious’ draws particular attention to the hidden stories, conventions, traditions, norms and so on which influence an individual’s life story without their awareness. Using ‘Jewishness’ as an example, he highlights the “narrative ‘reserves’, untold and unwritten stories, cultural as well as personal, that are in important respects constitutive of experience” (Freeman, 2002:210), highlighting the need to “move beyond personal life in telling one’s own story, into the shared life of a culture” (p. 194) and then exploring the relationships between them. One important outcome of Freeman’s work is the observation that the ‘normal’ and ‘assumed’ are often not explicitly named and explored, an oversight which risks the loss of some of the richness of narrative research.

3.2.2 Types of knowledge narrative research can produce

Having explored briefly some of the areas of knowledge that narrative research has the capacity to explore, I now move to consider the types of knowledge it can produce about these areas. Hopefully I have already made clear that I accept that narrative research will not provide an unproblematic window (Elliott, 2005:26) onto simple ‘truths’ about how individuals became engaged with global justice issues. It is also true that life histories “can be highly unreliable indicators

of autobiographical change” (Blee and Taylor, 2002:104), distorting or concealing information (p. 111). In the following paragraphs I will explore various factors which serve to ‘muddy the waters’ and conclude by suggesting the type of knowledge I see my use of narrative research producing.

There are a number of challenges to ‘validity’ in the use of narrative research. Can it be assumed that individuals respond ‘honestly’, attempting to tell the (factual) truth? And what might truthfulness mean in this context (Andrews, 2007:126)? Certainly narratives can very easily be “justifications or rationalizations” (Phillips, 1994:20) as respondents “engage in retrospective interpretation” (Blee and Taylor, 2002:111). Even if the intent to be honest is present, it is still possible for the narrative to be mistaken (Phillips, 1994:19), for example if it is based on a ‘mistaken’ recollection. Memory, described by Freeman (2002:199) as “a curious amalgam of fact and fiction, experiences and texts, documentary footage, dramatizations, movies, plays, television shows, fantasies, and more”, does not provide a direct view of the past; given the distortions of memory, “narrative is always a story about the past and not the past itself” (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:745). Andrews notes three processes in the production of retrospective data: events have to be perceived, remembered and recalled (Andrews, 1991:68), and at each stage the ‘facts’ are liable to alter. It is also significant to note that “autobiographies and biographies are written backwards from a destination already determined” (Harnett, 2010:167), the present. Thus “narratives do not mirror the past, they refract it” through the eyes of the present (Riessman, 2004a:708), leading to a constant process of reconstruction and/or reinterpretation; autobiographies are “a continuing interpretation and reinterpretation of our experiences” (Bruner, 2004:692). So, a new experience, role or belief in the present (in the self or in wider society) may require a “reconfiguration of the whole narrative, since the nature of narrative is that parts and the whole are constantly in dynamic interaction” (Kanno, 2003:121), in an attempt to recast the past “in a way that makes sense from the perspective of the present” (Andrews, 2007:191). Freeman completes the ‘temporal triad’ by suggesting that the ‘imagined future’ also plays a role in memory: “that *remembering* and *acting* are key aspects of the formation of narrative identity seems self-evident. But what about *imagining*, projecting oneself into the future, or possible future?” (Freeman, 2009:9). So perhaps

narrative research techniques give a glimpse into the past in the light of the present, with one eye on the future? Does all this invalidate life story narratives as data, or just make them more interesting? For Andrews, “the way in which a life is recalled by the person who lived it is as important as what actually happened” (Andrews, 1991:63), while Riessman notes that personal narratives are of interest precisely because narrators interpret the past in stories rather than reproduce the past as it was” (Riessman, 2002a:705).

Further complications come from the “issue of ‘contamination’ of data” of narratives produced through interviews (Lewis, 2008:563). As Van Enk notes, “my presence and conduct are key to the particular account that emerges... I cannot avoid influencing the words of the interviewee” (Van Enk, 2009:1266), and therefore “responses are not simply answers to questions but also a reflection of the interviewer’s assessment of whether a respondent has said “enough” for the purpose at hand” (Mishler, 1986:55). The questions I ask, my body language, my facial expressions, my silences and so on, all have impact on what is said, on the personal narrative that is produced. Most narrative research accepts that this is unavoidable, and that the resulting ‘personal’ narrative is actually, to some extent at least, co-constructed, and that there are “two active participants who jointly produce meaning” (Riessman, 2004b:709).

The above paragraphs have shown the complexity of the ‘data’ that narrative research works with; stories which may or may not have been ‘factual’ in the first place, reconstructed from memory, ‘refracted’ in the light of the present, possibly ‘fictioned’ using an available repertoire of stories and then co-constructed within an interview. On top of all this, they then continue to pass through multiple stages of communication and interpretation, for example through transcription and analysis (Riessman, 2008:154). The ‘data’ which remains is perhaps best understood as “‘reflections on’ lives, events and selves, rather than straightforwardly ‘reflections of’ these phenomena” (Bradbury and Day Sclater, 2000:198), but there is still the suggestion that “spoken narratives and life paths run in inexact, approximate parallel” (p. 7).

One seductive response to challenges to the validity of narrative research is to argue that the concept of ‘validity’ is not relevant, that “we might ask what

validity has to do with a piece of art” (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995:26). Phillips, who is critical of narrative research and the claims it makes, counters this by pointing out that “there are times when it is important to identify the correct narrative or narratives... when something of significance hangs in the balance, when further action or intervention is called for, when policy is about to be made, and so on” (Phillips, 1994:17). This matters to me; if my research does not make a useful contribution to thinking about how individuals become engaged with issues of global justice then it is not of interest to me. However, Blumenfeld-Jones goes on to suggest that ‘fidelity’ is more important than truth, understanding truth as “what happened in a situation” and fidelity as “what it means to the teller of the tale”, where “truth treats a situation as an object while fidelity is subjective” (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995:26). This subjective understanding makes sense within my epistemological position and presents the challenge of acting with fidelity as a researcher by “being true to the situation of the teller by recognizing, constructing, and establishing linkages between events, small and large, immediate and distant, immediate and historical” (p. 28). He continues to suggest that there should be some kind of ‘believability’ in the telling and re-telling of stories such that they ‘resonate’ with an audience’s experiences (p. 33). This echoes Ellis and Bochner’s thinking on generalizability: “A story’s generalizability is constantly being tested by readers as they determine if it speaks to them about their experience or about the lives of others they know” (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:751). By accepting that I cannot produce a single and absolute ‘truth’, the challenge becomes presenting plausible interpretation(s) (Mishler, 1986:112), not attempting to faithfully represent a past world, but investigating the shifting connections forged between past, present and future” (Riessman, 2004a:708). Those who use narrative research “accept and value the way in which narrative inquiry allows wondering, tentativeness, and alternative views to exist as part of the research account” (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006:25).

And is this so different from the types of knowledge produced using other methodologies? Mishler argues that other methodologies also struggle to discover sure and valid truth (Mishler, 1986:112). Much of what has been said above holds true for most interview-based research techniques. For me, the reflective nature of narrative research gives it an honesty and breadth that other

approaches sometimes sidestep by focusing purely on a response to a question, and turning a blind eye to the wider context of the whole interview, the co-construction of responses and the impact of the world on what is said on any given day. So, to conclude this section, what kind of knowledge do I understand narrative research as producing? It is a tool for discovery rather than for generalization. It explores individuals' stories by opening windows onto larger stories, and explores larger stories by focusing on individuals telling their stories. It is a subjective exercise resulting in conclusions which recognise that narratives are complex and open to a variety of interpretations, and is excited rather than disappointed at the prospect that it may lead to more questions than answers.

3.3 From methodology to method

Having established a 'home' in narrative, I now move to the more 'practical' aspects of research. If, as Andrews suggests, method is about what we do and methodology is about why we do it that way (Andrews, 1991:16), what follows is a combination of both, an attempt to make explicit the decisions I made and the thought processes that led me there. My guides along the path have predominately been the academic literature concerned with personal narratives, life stories and related methods, supplemented by discussions with my supervisor, other academics, and individuals and organisations interested in my research. Unsurprisingly, the other major factor has been the constraints of reality, bringing a dose of pragmatism to decisions. In order to bring order, what follows is subdivided into three sections: 'Before the interviews', 'During the interviews' and 'After the interviews'.

3.3.1 Before the interviews

The major decisions I had to take at this stage concerned sampling. Who (and who not) to interview? How to find them? How many people to interview? These questions are interrelated; for example, I could not interview someone I could not access (Wengraf, 2001:95). Broadly speaking my decisions fall in line with the norms of narrative research: "researchers who study life narratives, or who

aim for fully biographical accounts of at least parts of interviewees' lives, tend to use small numbers of interviewees, sampled theoretically, often on an opportunistic and network basis, with little randomization in the sampling frame" (Squire, 2008:48). However I feel as if that only fits in retrospect – it took me quite some time, reflection and considerable angst to get to this point!

In light of developing an improved knowledge of the field through my initial reading around 'journeys to engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement' (explored in 2.3) and development education (discussed in 2.4), there were numerous areas that I was keen to explore. These included faith groups, engagement by individuals in the UK who identify as members of diaspora communities from 'developing' countries, people who engage in a range of the different forms explored in 2.2 and engagement at different ages/stages across the life course. Clearly, I had to make some decisions. I informally used criteria influenced by my thinking around forms of engagement to attempt to limit my respondents to individuals who see global justice issues as a high priority in their lives, investing heavily in terms of cost (e.g. time, money, energy or emotion) and/or risk (e.g. legal, social, physical or financial). In particular, as discussed in 1.2, I looked for individuals whose engagement included some form of educating others, raising awareness about relevant issues or in some way acting as multipliers of engagement.

I attempted to select respondents with whom I had at least something in common, such as experience of a particular form of engagement or shared interest in an issue. My hope was that this would help on two fronts, encouraging trust to build some level of rapport (Blee and Taylor, 2002:97) and providing for some shared understandings, since "storytelling happens relationally, collaboratively between speaker and listener in a cultural context where at least some meanings and conventions are shared" (Riessman and Salmon, 2008:81). My decision to loosely limit participation to respondents aged in their 20s and 30s similarly reflects my hope that this would help us 'relate' to one another, as well as my experience of working with young adults and an interest in considering the influences of both 'educational' and other experiences.

Upon reflection after the fact it becomes clear that there were additional criteria at work. All my respondents spoke English to a very high level, and I have vague memories of not following up a particular lead upon discovering that the individual in question might require a translator. This seemed like an extra layer of interpretation (and, pragmatically, cost) which I could do without, as well as opening up the context I would need an understanding of in order to make sense of the data. For similar reasons I limited myself to respondents based in the UK. In addition, the respondents have clearly shown a willingness to take part, meaning my sample is actually made up of those who were both engaged and willing. It is an open question as to what difference this made.

Regarding the number of interviews, I was faced with the dilemma that Andrews describes: “Did I wish to learn a lot about a small number of people, or a little about many people?” (Andrews, 1991:43). Responses in the literature to ‘How many qualitative interviews is enough?’ gave mixed messages: only do 5 or 6 if doing intensive interviews (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:756), keep going until reaching some level of information saturation, be realistic about “the sheer volume of work involved” in transcribing and analysing narrative data (Lewis, 2008:563) and limit the number of respondents, and perhaps most honestly, Becker's observation that wherever someone decides to ‘stop’ interviewing new respondents “will be somewhat arbitrary, probably more the result of running out of time or money or some similar mundane consideration than of some logical analytic procedure” (Becker in Baker and Edwards, 2012). In my original research proposal I suggested a relatively large number of respondents (nine), “representing” different sectors of the UK Global Justice Movement. However, Baker and Edward’s reminder that the number interviewed should depend on epistemological, methodological and practical issues (Baker and Edwards, 2012:2), and the richness of data revealed in my first couple of interviews, encouraged me to go back to the type of knowledge I understand narrative as able to create. I began to question whether I was being seduced by the idea of ‘generalizability’ and truth claims that did not fit with my methodology; for example, how could my interpretations of these stories ever be considered to be ‘representative’ of particular groups? I did not need large numbers for the purpose of exploration, as these would simply limit the depth of analysis and the reverence I could give to each individuals' story.

I therefore took a purposive approach to sampling, selecting five information-rich respondents who engaged in a broad range of ways with the UK Global Justice Movement. I found them through referral from others, including my supervisor and contacts working in NGOs, who know the field well and suggested them as 'cases of interest'. This approach, a hybrid between "intensity sampling", "maximum variation sampling" and "snowball or chain sampling" as described by Wengraf (2001:102-103), provided a diverse set of stories and wider influences, an exciting prospect for narrative analysis. As a narrative researcher I recognise that the story of how I came to find each of my respondents is also important. I have therefore included this in Chapter 4.

Many non-narrative research projects would now move directly to discuss decisions made regarding the interviews themselves. However, the literature on narrative research has drawn my attention to two other 'before the interviews' issues which certainly affected what happened when the recordings started. Firstly, what impact might communication between interviewer and respondent before the interview have had? Such communication is entirely necessary, as respondents need to know what they are agreeing to and the practical details of where and when the interview will take place need to be negotiated. Wengraf suggests that "the more information that you give, the more they will inevitably 'slant' what they say in the light of their interpretation of 'who' they think you are and what they think the effect of your research will be" (Wengraf, 2001:189) and therefore counsels giving the bare minimum. On the other hand, in some cases at least, if they do not understand the purpose of the study and/or have the (re)assurance of confidentiality they will not agree to be involved. My approach was to send them a summary page (see Appendix), giving information about the study, its purpose, the format of the interview and ethical considerations, and then answer any questions they had. In some cases I suspect that this meant that they prepared/reflected beforehand, while others appeared not to have read the emails. It is also possible that some of them searched the internet for my name and found earlier publications or stories about my public engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. All of this affects how they saw me and therefore the narrative we co-constructed. A final issue, before moving to consider method 'during the interviews', concerns my attitude towards those

interviewed. Most research based in narrative makes the point of using terms such as 'respondent', 'co-constructor' or 'participant', rather than the more impersonal 'subject' (see, for example, Ellis and Bochner, 2000:754). I think (and hope) that this approach was reflected in my communication with respondents from the very beginning, leading to interviews in which the power differential was less onerous (Mishler, 1986:126).

3.3.2 During the interviews

The first major decision regarding the interviews was that they should be done by me, in person, with one respondent at a time. I briefly considered other options, including group interviews, interviews by email (giving them time and space for reflection and saving me from transcription) and having participants interviewed by someone from an NGO they were engaged with (as some kind of 'double-blind' approach), but these ideas were quickly dismissed as not allowing for the important personal, relational and flexible qualities of narrative research.

In summary, I used 'semi-structured interviews', understood to be guided conversations with a purpose (Blee and Taylor, 2002:92), eliciting personal narratives (p. 103) by acting as a "story facilitator" (Wengraf, 2001:122). Semi-structured interviews were used as they are the norm within narrative research, providing "greater breadth and depth of information, the opportunity to discover the respondent's experience and interpretation of reality, and access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher" (Blee and Taylor, 2002:92).

In my first interview with each respondent I began asking about their current involvement with global justice issues. The rest of the interview was used to generate "thematic biography" personal narratives (Squire, 2008:42). This involved asking them to recount their journey to and within the Global Justice Movement, from their reflections on how and why they first became involved, including the experiences which they felt prepared them for this, through as far as the time of the interview. This involved a 'generative' question, restricting life history to a particular topic or issue (Wengraf, 2001:122), supplemented by

extra questions to fill in details and request expansion (Squire, 2008:48), making use of their language, the “emergent idiolect of the interviewee”, wherever possible (Wengraf, 2001:156).

Recognising that “research need not stop with the first interview” (Squire, 2008:49), following transcription and reflection I then re-interviewed each respondent, in order to explore their stories further and clarify any ‘grey’ areas. The time period between interviews, which varied in length according to the time I had available for transcription, also allowed for some small element of a multiple time approach because my respondents’ journeys continued to develop during that time, “after all, movement participation is a process, and we cannot investigate a process with a single-shot measure” (Klandermans and Smith, 2002:6).

In both interviews I attempted to minimise my interventions so as to maximise them telling their stories in their own words, making comments or asking follow up questions only when the respondent came to a natural end point. However, this proved difficult as my enthusiasm and the ‘natural’ conversational flow of the interview sometimes led to me commenting on something or asking a follow-up question. This was noticeable in particular in the parts of the interview which were in some way less ‘official’. Van Enk observes a similar phenomenon when discussing her experience: “during most of the interview, the learners and I are conversing as interviewee and interviewer; in the main, I ask questions and the interviewee responds. There are also parts of the interview where we step out of this interview talk, where we “realign” as our “real” selves. We facilitate the conversation with laughter, explanations, corrections, bracketing rituals, and so on” (Van Enk, 2009:1274). Even when I didn’t speak, my body language, laughter, silences and so on played a role in the co-construction of the interview (Mishler, 1986:96). In narrative research there is no pretence that this does not take place, nor is it seen as negative; it is just something to be taken account of. I agree with Van Enk’s conclusion that doing nothing but asking questions “would not necessarily have produced better responses, just different ones” (Van Enk, 2009:1280).

Mishler suggests that during an interview the researcher takes on a dual role, as both interviewer and listener (Mishler, 1986:102). Listening well is not easy, it is “hard work, demanding as it does an abandonment of the self in a quest to enter the world of another” (Andrews, 2007:15), especially attempting to stay open to new ideas in later interviews, for “as we develop knowledge in our areas of expertise, we may become increasingly embedded in the arguments we construct and less open to entertaining opposing lenses of interpretation” (Andrews, 2007:15). It was certainly easier with some respondents than others, as some, for me, were better storytellers (or perhaps had more ‘tellable’ stories); as Lewis notes, “informants can vary significantly in their capacity to ‘perform’ a life-history narrative” (Lewis, 2008:563). One in particular was far less ‘chatty’ than others, although nowhere near the extreme case discussed by Booth and Booth, who they concluded “just didn’t have much talk in him” (Booth and Booth, 1996:60). This was interesting to me as it hinted at some kind of range of respondents’ ‘chattiness’, confidence or confidence and chattiness with me, on that day and/or in that place.

So what might affect that? As explored briefly above, narrative research sees interviews as co-constructed, with both participants having an influence on the ‘data’ produced. Of particular importance is the ‘performed’ relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, especially in terms of to whom the story is being told; “in order for us to make sense of the stories which we gather, we have first to identify who the interviewees perceive themselves as addressing” (Andrews, 2007:17). This is not as simple as it may seem, involving both their perception of me and their perception of the wider group who may hear their words, the “imagined audience” (Andrews, 2007:17).

Respondents’ perceptions of me undoubtedly had a significant effect on what we co-produced, and so “questions of ‘Who am I?’ and ‘How will I ‘speak’ her?’ are equally as important as the question ‘Who is she?’” (Lyons and Chipperfield, 2000:6). Their perceptions of me as a researcher and individual, and in particular the shared or differing experiences and identities we may have had, were formed in part by my conscious (and unconscious) efforts to build a working relationship between us. It can be argued that playing up similarities between an interviewer and a respondent in order to establish a “connection”

(Lyons and Chipperfield, 2000:3) can lead to a 'better' interview, promoting "the trust and rapport necessary for collecting sound data" (Blee and Taylor, 2002:97). However, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, "regardless of the presence or absence of shared group membership, is always a tenuous one which merits careful consideration" (Andrews, 1991:53). While there may have been some similarities, these cannot be assumed to have the same meaning for myself and them, as clearly "shared historical circumstances do not, in themselves, determine shared political outlook" (Andrews, 2007:60). Even if 'rapport' was achieved, it does not ensure understanding (Lyons and Chipperfield, 2000:5). The inclusion of respondents from diaspora communities was both exciting, allowing for exploration of stories from groups who are in some ways underrepresented in the movement, and challenging. Individuals' stories take place and are told in particular cultural contexts (Wang and Brockmeier, 2002:47). There may, therefore, have been barriers to communication due to a lack of cross-cultural understanding. On the other hand, while with all of those interviewed there was something in common, some form of engagement with global justice issues, there were undoubtedly at least some differences between my experience and theirs (such as gender, class, education or religious beliefs). Perfect congruence was impossible; I aimed instead for "sensitive collaboration" (Andrews, 1991:56) and a good understanding of relevant contexts.

In addition to perceptions of one another, my respondents and I also brought our own personal history of interviews, our expectations based on "past encounters in other places—expectations about relevant content, acceptable form, and appropriate uptake of roles" (Van Enk, 2009:1271). This, no doubt, affected us (Wengraf, 2001:18), bringing conventions that, to some extent at least, guided our interactions. Van Enk gives examples of such unspoken rules: "I would ask questions but they wouldn't, the floor would be ceded to them for long stretches, they would offer up chronologically and causally ordered accounts of experiences relevant to the topic at hand, I would not argue or offer advice in response to what they told me, and so on" (Van Enk, 2009:1272). With these came histories of previous positioning (Phoenix, 2008:71) with respect to power.

Van Enk notes that “power can be variously and subtly distributed in interviews” (Van Enk, 2009:1270). Most peoples’ histories of interviews include some in which they may have felt like the less powerful in the exchange, for example when being interviewed to obtain a job. This perhaps parallels the power I had in asking the questions and controlling, to some extent, the venue and the length of the interview. On the other hand, they had power deciding whether or not to agree to be interviewed and over how they responded (or did not respond) to my questions. Narrative research entailed me giving away some power, using open questions to obtain longer answers and “following participants down their trails” (Riessman, 2004b:709). In addition, “neither party leaves behind any asymmetries of power in the wider society when they anxiously enter a room for an interview” (Wengraf, 2001:196). In fact, the co-constructed narratives produced were influenced not just by our power in the wider world, but also by all the things that made us who we were in those moments, as interviews “are not asocial, ahistorical, events. You do not leave behind your anxieties, your hopes, your blind spots, your prejudices, your class, race or gender, your location in global social structure, your age and historical positions, your emotions, your past and your sense of possible futures when you set up an interview, and nor does your interviewee” (Wengraf, 2001:4). Thus the immediate context for respondents and myself mattered, what preceded and followed the interviews in our lives, and how we felt on that day and in that place.

Following best practice, and in particular the ethical guidelines set out by the British Educational Research Association (2004), it was necessary to be conscious of the impact my interviews (and the resulting analysis) may have had on my respondents. Care must be taken regarding the consequences of individuals reflecting on their personal journeys (Andrews, 2007:42). Encouraging people to talk at length and then analysing and interpreting their narratives can have both positive and negative effects (Elliott, 2005:137 and 141), and impact their behaviour external to the interview. This was kept firmly in my mind by Clough’s vivid and terrifying (though thankfully fictional) description of the pain and hurt which can be caused by not taking into account the effects of research on the individuals whose lives are explored (and those close to them) (Clough, 2002:54-59).

Finally in this 'During the interviews' section, it is important to note that "in semi-structured interviewing, analysis and interpretation are ongoing processes" (Blee and Taylor, 2002:110). Although my main discussion of analysis can be found in the following section considering the methodological decisions made after the interviews, it is true to say that it began much earlier, through my informal field notes immediately after each interview and in ongoing reflections, both individually and in discussion with others.

3.3.3 After the interviews

Telling their stories

Having completed an interview my next decisions concerned transcription; how best to make the 'data' manageable for analysis? This "involves complex decisions as mediation occurs between the speakers and the eventual readers of transcribed words in any published report" (Wengraf, 2001:221). Recognising that transcription is "part of the analytic process" (Elliott, 2005:51), I did all transcription myself, allowing me to 'hear' the stories in a different way. Following Mishler (1986:49), I listened to recordings multiple times during transcription to improve accuracy. In order to emphasise the co-constructed nature of the interviews I transcribed all of my speech as well as that of my respondents. In addition I made an effort to record silences, laughter and 'filler' words such as "erm" and "err". However, even with these precautions there is no question that my transcriptions are only a partial rendering of the interviews as so much is "lost in translation" (Mishler, 1986:48). Interviews are more than solely speech events, as body language, "the tone of voice and the speed of delivery, the silences, the hesitations, the mode of delivery of the words can be as important in determining meaning and reception as the actual words themselves" (Wengraf, 2001:47). Recognising these limitations I have attempted to keep in mind Mishler's suggestion that researchers ought to be "wary of taking their own transcripts too seriously as the reality" (Mishler, 1986:48). Following the conventions of narrative research I have attempted to avoid relying solely on texts created from interviews, referred to sarcastically by Riessman (2002b:209) as the "holy transcripts", by keeping the wider contexts

in mind (Riessman, 2002b:209), ensuring that “both the stories and the humans are continuously visible in the study” (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006:7).

Having completed transcription of the interviews, I then had to consider how to tell my respondents’ stories. Following other narrative researchers (Andrews, 1991; Cole, 2005; Kanno, 2003; Yarrow, 2008), I made the decision to allow a substantial amount of time and space, inviting readers to see my respondents not as subjects or types of subject but as distinctive individuals (Kanno, 2003:8) with significant stories to tell. By giving weight to these stories within my thesis I attempt to respect my respondents and their journeys to and within engagement, feeling an accountability to them for the use of their stories; with Andrews, I feel that I have made some kind of “personal promise to take care, to tread cautiously with the material of other people’s lives” (Andrews, 2007:17).

Treating my respondents and their stories with due respect entailed various ethical decisions. There was a balance to be struck between telling their stories as they told them, “honouring the self-report of the teller” (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995:28), and presenting the stories in a suitable manner for an academic work, possibly at the risk of losing some integrity (Andrews, 2007:74). As Lewis notes, “a researcher does not simply ‘give voice’ in a straightforward way, but in practice he or she decides what goes in and what is taken out of the account, and makes crucial decisions about how the material is framed” (Lewis, 2008:563). This included deciding upon the scope of stories within the longer life stories, artificially imposing beginnings and endings (Andrews, 2007:187), itself an interpretive act (Riessman, 2002a:699). A second dilemma, described by Sikes, involved deciding whether or not to remove linguistic ‘fillers’, as it may “be consistent with acceptable and indeed approved transcribing conventions to note down the ‘ums’ and ‘erms’, the ‘you knows’ and ‘kindalikes’ that litter the speech of a life story giver, but if the person concerned feels that such interjections make them appear stupid and incoherent, is it ethical to include them?” (Sikes, 2010:21). Researchers have two sets of relationships to keep in mind, with respondents and, significantly for this consideration, readers (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:758), and I therefore made the decision to enhance readability by removing some superfluous interjections.

I had another ethics-related decision to make with respect to changing respondents' names and potentially identifying biographical details for the sake of anonymity. For my work to be useful to the movement it can be argued that some specific details in my respondents' stories, such as an organisation or campaign they were involved with, may be helpful, or even necessary. However, giving too much detail might make it difficult to maintain anonymity (Elliott, 2005:142). It is also true that changing too much risks depriving respondents of their own voices (Mishler, 1986:125) and individualism. My final decision reflects a balance between detail and confidentiality, attempting to change "details sufficiently so that the reader cannot identify the individual concerned but in such a way as not to destroy the social-science research value of the final report" (Wengraf, 2001:187). This included changing respondents' names to pseudonyms chosen by them.

Analysis

Having transcribed the interviews and re-told, undoubtedly re-constructing to some extent, my respondents' stories, the next methodological decisions concerned analysis. As important as the stories collected are, "narratives do not speak for themselves or have unanalyzed merit" (Riessman, 2004a:706). This is not straightforward; there is a temptation to over-simplify, drawing superficial conclusions. However, as Riessman observes, doing justice to respondents' narrative accounts means "facing complexities and indeterminacies in our conclusions – resisting the academic pull toward a "simple", consistent story" (Riessman, 2002b:207). Narrative researchers recognise that their ability to hear such complexity, and to fruitfully explore it in analysis, is necessarily "connected to the vantage point from which we view the world" (Andrews, 2008:86), dependant on life experience, knowledge and "intellectual biography" (Elliott, 2005:154). This approach therefore utilises my experiences and subjectivities, but results in an analysis which can never be final, as "historical change, as well as changes in our individual life circumstances, provide us with opportunities to see new layers of meaning in our data" (Andrews, 2008:98). According to Wengraf (2001:49), the US sociologist Jesse Barnard once said "that in any marriage, there were two marriages: 'his marriage' and 'her marriage'. The same is true of any given interview". This, therefore, is also true

of my analysis; narrative researchers recognise that “those who read narratives are themselves positioned, they enter the narratives imaginatively and participate in constructing their meaning” (Riessman, 2002b:205). My analysis cannot help but be a reflection on my respondents’ narratives through the multiple lenses of my experience, my understanding of “the ‘worlds’ that surround a narrative text” (Riessman, 2008:153) and my position at the moment of writing.

Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou observe that “What do I do with the stories now I’ve got them?” is a common question asked by first time narrative researchers (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008:1). This is no surprise; as with most forms of rigorous academic exploration, narrative analysis is a complex and “subjective exercise that cannot be readily represented by an algorithm” (Elliott, 2005:38). Narrative analysis is better understood not as a single form of analysis, but as a range of methods sharing some similarities. Mishler suggests that “any approach to narrative analysis must deal with the familiar triad of linguistic topics – syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, the basic issues of structure, meaning, and interactional context” (Mishler, 1986:75). Riessman surveys a number of methods: textual, conversational, interactional, structural, cultural, political/historical and performative (Riessman, 2002a:701; Riessman, 2004a:706-708), with each putting a slightly different weight on exploring the three themes of what was said, how it was said, and the context in which it was said. In any form of narrative analysis these three themes are understood to be linked, as meaning is given through their combination.

Relatively early on in my studies I made an initial (and later revoked) decision to use categorical analysis, where “short sections of the text are extracted, classified and placed into categories for analysis” (Elliott, 2005:38), with the intention of concentrating more on the “the content of a text, “what” is said more than “how” it is said, the “told” rather than the “telling”” (Riessman, 2004a:706). Such a thematic approach is “useful for theorising across a number of cases – finding common thematic elements across research participants and the events they report” (Riessman, 2005:3). My intention was to use thematic analysis alongside the ‘route map’ of journeys I constructed in my literature review (2.3). This form of narrative analysis is common, but is sometimes criticised. For

example, Mason suggests that ‘chopping up’ the interview narratives and focusing instead on extracts, decontextualised from the wider stories in which they had been embedded, risks sacrificing the overall coherences and the ‘lines of narrative’ (Mason, 2000:155). Similarly, Fairbairn and Carson, critiquing thematic as well as some more linguistic-focused forms of narrative research, suggest that “it is regrettable that storytelling as a research method is often viewed merely as a way of gathering data to be manipulated in various ways, which probably involves cutting them up into little labelled specimens – themes and sub-themes – that can be sorted and counted and weighed” (Fairbairn and Carson, 2002:7). These challenges to categorical analysis made me rethink, encouraging me to ensure that throughout my explorations of my respondents’ stories, including when working with extracts, I keep in mind the importance of the contextual (Mason, 2000:155) and chronological (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008:11) basis of the transcripts.

From narrative to identity

Having made this initial decision to use thematic analysis alongside the ‘route map’ of journeys (2.3), I arranged and carried out my first narrative interview. Rebecca was asked to tell me about her life story with respect to engagement with global justice issues. The stories (co-)produced were fascinating, encouraging (for me both as a researcher and as an activist/educator) and full of rich data. However, as I began an initial analysis, it became clear that I needed to rethink my approach. It felt wrong to attempt to categorise Rebecca’s stories using the relatively simple frame works I had constructed during my review of the literature, as useful as these are in exploring the context. Instead, interesting and complex themes came to the fore, including the words she uses to describe herself and her friends, the groups that she sees herself as belonging and not belonging to, and the different roles that she takes on as her journey unfolds. These three themes, self-identity, groups and roles, all have prominent places in the literature on identity, a concept which appeared to offer a lens through which I could investigate the particular forms of engagement taken by respondents. I therefore returned to my research questions, adding a third area for investigation:

- How can concepts related to identity be used to understand individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

The literature makes clear that identity is not a simple concept. People have multiple identities, taking different roles and accentuating different group memberships in different situations. 'Identity' itself is a contested term. This should be no surprise, as it is a word used by such a diverse range of fields, including sociology, psychology, philosophy and the everyday lexicon of 21st century Britain. It is a word that can be used in reference to both individuals and groups, and can be understood as both a cause and consequence of action (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:8-10). It is difficult to find a common thread (or 'identity') running through areas as varied as 'identity change', 'identity theft', 'gender identity', 'identity formation', 'cultural identity', 'identity politics' and 'national identity'. Brubaker and Cooper present a strong critique of the term 'identity', arguing that it "tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity)" (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:1).

My research is focused on those who identify in some way as educators/multipliers within the UK Global Justice Movement. The identities of particular interest are therefore those created, or at least accepted, by the individual. Creating identity appears not to be an easy task; Rutherford suggests that "the individual struggle to create a personal identity has become the defining paradigm of how we live in Western cultures" (Rutherford, 2006:19). Is the task of creating identity ever complete? Just when identity appears finalised, something changes and the process begins again (Rutherford, 2006:155). Perhaps we don't want this process of reinvention to end? Bauman observes that "projects to which one would swear lifelong loyalty that once were selected and embraced... now have a bad press and have lost their attraction" (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:54) and that "a cohesive, firmly riveted and solidly constructed identity would be a burden, a constraint, a limitation on the freedom to choose" (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:53). In fact, perhaps short term, shallow commitments to an identity are preferable, temporarily joining a "cloakroom community", "patched together for the duration of a spectacle and promptly dismantled again once the spectators collect their coats from the hooks in the

cloakroom” (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:31), without any major ongoing expectations. However, there is also a contradictory “longing for identity” which “comes from the desire for security” (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:29), the human need to belong.

The above discussions frame the construction of identity as a positive process. In contrast to this, there are some suggestions in the literature that maybe we construct our identity as rebellion, “as the rejection of what others want you to be” (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:38). Certainly one of the fascinating aspects of my respondents is their ability to live, at least in part, counter-culturally. How have they avoided catching “affluenza” (James, 2007), resisting at least some of the temptations presented in the ubiquitous “lifelong consumer education” (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:67) in a context where it is so easy to ignore injustice while settling into “Little Englandism”, “the peculiarly English combination of racism, nationalism and popularism” (Mercer, 1990:53)?

Theories of identity

In much of the literature, identity, understood as a sense of self, appears to be made up of two parts: individuality and belonging. The two dominant theories approach from these different angles. Social Identity Theory (SIT) is “a social psychological theory of intergroup relations, group processes, and the social self” (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995:259). It looks at how individuals come to see themselves as members of some groups and not others. Identity Theory (IT), on the other hand, focuses on the roles individuals take on in particular situations or relationships and how these influence behaviour, approaching from a sociological perspective. Here, personal identity is understood as “the set of meanings that are tied to and sustain the self as an individual” across roles and situations (Stets and Burke, 2000:229). The below paragraphs discuss these theories, their strengths and limitations.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory's foundations are found in the work of Tajfel, for whom social identity represents "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his group membership" (Tajfel, 1972:292). Hence, "identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others" (Weeks, 1990:88). This makes sense from a number of perspectives; Hall comments that "identities are constructed through, not outside, difference" (Hall, 1996:4), while Bauman observes that at least some of the attraction of belonging comes from exclusivity, from the exclusion of others (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:21).

According to SIT, the process of "creating" identity is made up of two steps, categorisation and self-enhancement/comparison. The first stage, categorisation, involves an individual separating the world into in-groups and out-groups. Self-Categorisation theory elaborates on this process, suggesting that people cognitively represent social groups in terms of prototypes, "subjective representations of the defining attributes (e.g. beliefs, attitudes, behaviours) of a social category" (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995:261). These category prototypes help capture the similarities and differences between the group and other groups or people who are not in or not in the group. The next stage involves a comparison of the in-group with others, building a positive perception of the in-group, which sometimes involves belittling out-groups. SIT allows for different identities to be activated in different contexts as the "relevant stimuli for self-categorization change" (Stets and Burke, 2000:231).

SIT provides concepts helpful in the exploration of my respondents' identities. Although they are individuals, their group memberships can aid investigation of their attitudes (Smith and Hogg, 2008). In particular, it appears that when people categorise themselves as members of a particular in-group there is some level of assimilation to the prototype; "the norms, stereotypes, attitudes, and other properties that are commonly ascribed to the social group become internalized" (Smith and Hogg, 2008).

SIT is not without criticism. The major concern is that categorisation brings the risk of essentialism, where identity is cut down to categories such as race or

gender. Here, understanding engagement with justice issues risks becoming simply “an exercise in placing people into the right social categories” (Somers, 1994:623). Such oversimplification clearly limits what can be learned.

Questions of belonging and difference are important; as Hall notes, “identities are constructed within discourse” (Hall, 1996:4), and, in particular, through difference. Naming categories is therefore not without value as, for example, it allows for consideration of how and where power lies according to class, gender, age and so on (Hall, 1997). However, “contemporary political projects of belonging ... are always situated and multi-layered” (Yuval-Davis, 2011:vii) so “identity cannot be grasped by a list of characteristics that informs us about the ‘what’ of a person” (Prins, 2006:281). Much can be learned from literature on ‘intersectionality’, understood by Phoenix and Pattynama to be a concept which “aims to make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it” (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006:187). It recognises that individuals are never simply one ‘type’, instead taking into account intra-group differences (Prins, 2006:278). For example, a person is never simply ‘of’ a gender, they also have an age group, a race, a class and so on; they sit at the crossroads of numerous categories. In terms of criticisms of SIT, intersectionality therefore draws attention to an individual’s multiple memberships and the resulting complex axes of social power (Yuval-Davis, 2006:198).

Prins, considering intersectionality and life-story narratives of former classmates, argues the case for an approach to intersectionality with an understanding of identity as a narrative construction rather than simply a task of categorisation (Prins, 2006). The idea of bringing narrative to bear is built upon below after discussions of a second influential concept, Identity Theory, and a consideration of the limitations of these theories for the task in hand.

Identity Theory

Originally formulated by Stryker in the 1960s, Identity Theory (IT) is concerned with the different roles people take on. It argues that an individual has a set of identities, a collection of role positions occupied by that person in society (for

example son, teacher, friend, consumer and so on). People “have as many identities as distinct networks of relationships in which they occupy positions and play roles” (Stryker and Burke, 2000:286). The verb ‘play’ is significant; the occupation of a position is linked to doing something, conforming to a certain set of behavioural expectations. Hence, playing a particular role, identity means “acting to fulfil the expectations of the role” (Stets and Burke, 2000:226). Roles are assigned (including by an individual themselves) through identification, bringing sets of expectations and meanings which guide behaviour.

The literature around IT is particularly helpful for the exploration of my respondents’ stories in its discussions of commitment and identity salience. Within IT, “commitment refers to the degree to which persons’ relationships to others in their networks depend on possessing a particular identity and role” (Stryker and Burke, 2000:286). It is understood in terms of identity salience, “the probability that an identity will be invoked across a variety of situations, or alternatively across persons in a given situation” (Stryker and Burke, 2000:286). This influences effort and performance with respect to a given role and allows for the concept of a hierarchy of identity salience within the self, with the identities most likely to be invoked ranked highest. IT suggests two aspects of influence salience, one quantitative and one qualitative. Firstly, the higher number of people with whom one is tied through an identity, the more likely it is that identity will be activated; “the stronger the commitment, the greater the salience” (Stets and Burke, 2000:230). Secondly, the qualitative depth of the ties to others has influence, as “stronger ties to others through an identity lead to a more salient identity” (Stets and Burke, 2000:230).

Theories of identity: combinations and criticisms

Perhaps SIT and IT are not sufficient independently? A section of the literature (for example, Hogg, Terry and White, 1995; Stets and Burke, 2000; Stryker and Burke, 2000) makes strong arguments that both perspectives are required to investigate the concept of identity; “to establish a general theory of the self, we must understand how group, role, and person identities are interrelated” (Stets and Burke, 2000:228). There are similarities between the theories as both acknowledge the impact of society on the individual and regard the self as

differentiated into multiple identities linked to situations, make use of similar language and understand the self as reflexive (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995; Stets and Burke, 2000). However, “remarkably, the two theories occupy parallel but separate universes, with virtually no cross-referencing”, even to the extent that while the same terms might be used, they do not have the same meaning (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995:255). In addition, there is a major difference between the two theories: “the basis of social identity is in the uniformity of perception and action among group members, while the basis of role identity resides in the differences in perceptions and actions that accompany a role as it relates to counter-roles” (Stets and Burke, 2000:226).

Making use of insights from both perspectives deepens exploration of my respondents’ stories. SIT encourages the investigation of group membership (in-groups and out-groups) and how this affects attitude, while IT aids in exploration of roles taken on by respondents, and how these differ in relation to context. However, following reflection on criticisms of these approaches, and more broadly of the concept of identity, even a combination of these two perspectives appears to miss elements vital to my analysis. SIT’s focus on groups leads to a risk that individual stories are missed. There is an argument that all stories, their diversity and variety, should be valued and not treated simply as outliers (Hammack, 2008:223). It appears to me that the specific combination of group memberships and roles which make up an individual are truly that, specific and individual; it is, in part, this particular combination which makes that person different from any other. The interaction between them is therefore not repeated in anybody else and requires analysis. In addition, neither SIT nor IT considers the passing of time. This is crucial; identity “is never a static location, it contains traces of its past and what is to become” (Rutherford, 1990:24). This realisation of the importance of time on identity is strongly linked to a third shortcoming of a combined SIT/IT approach. Everything, the groups we join, the ways in which we judge in-groups and out-groups, the roles that are activated in any situation and so on, is influenced by the discourses which surround us. Whether consciously or subconsciously, in agreement or rebellion, we cannot help but be affected; “we bring into the world our own propensities, but our minds and our individuality are shaped by the

cultures, values, conscious and unconscious communications we grow up within” (Rutherford, 2006:153).

These three shortcomings of SIT and IT, the side-lining of individual stories, the absence of a temporal element and the lack of an exploration of how identity formation is influenced by context and discourse, made clear that my analysis would require another approach to identity. My reading and reflection around methodology for data collection had led me to explore and utilise narrative research techniques. The next section now returns to narrative to discuss a third theory of identity, that of Narrative Identity.

Narrative Identity

Narrative Identity (NI) was espoused by Somers in her efforts to solve “the enduring conundrum of explaining social action” (Somers, 1994:608), by building upon Ricoeur’s “notion” of narrative identity (Ricoeur, 1979; Ricoeur, 1984-1988; Ricoeur, 1991). She aimed to counter what she saw as a reductive essentialism, suggesting people act rationally according to their membership of particular groups or categories, by incorporating “into the core conception of identity the categorically destabilizing dimensions of *time*, *space*, and *relationality*” (Somers, 1994:606).

The concept of NI is built on the premise that identities “arise from the narrativization of the self” (Hall, 1996:4). Somers suggests narrative identities are “constituted by a person's temporally and spatially variable *place* in culturally constructed stories composed of (breakable) rules, (variable) practices, binding (and unbinding) institutions, and the multiple plots of family, nation, or economic life” (Somers, 1994:625). Hammack offers a similar understanding, defining identity as “ideology cognized through the individual engagement with discourse, made manifest in a personal narrative constructed and reconstructed across the life course, and scripted in and through social interaction and social practice” (Hammack, 2008:222). Such approaches immediately answer some of the criticisms levelled at SIT and IT, as focus is on individual stories (personal narratives), constructed within and in relationship to time (the life course) and wider discourses.

Justification for the link between narrative and identity can be found in work in social psychology which “affirms the notion that it is through narrative that we come to understand the meaning that a life possesses, both for an individual and in his or her relation to some particular social and cultural ecology” (Hammack, 2008 p. 232). This relationship works in both directions, as we both create our identities as stories and use the stories contextually available to us to create our identities (Somers, 1994:613).

Discussion up to this point assumes that narrative allows access to identity through the complete life story. Realistically, however, this is not possible. Narratives are necessarily limited, taken from a particular perspective; “the evaluative capacity of emplotment demands and enables *selective appropriation* in constructing narratives. A plot must be thematic” (Somers, 1994:617). This provides a further justification for my research methodology, designed to illicit individual’s life stories focused on their engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement.

Recognition of the influence of wider discourses is crucial to the concept of narrative identity as “identities are crafted, modified and abandoned, and particular courses of action followed, according to how people are located by and locate themselves, however temporarily, in a range of given narratives” (Phibbs, 2008:47). Individuals do not simply create new stories. Instead they create their stories using the repertoire available to them; “life stories, far from constituting raw data, are highly processed according to situational, professional and cultural norms” (De Fina, 2003:22). Hence, in order to analyse a narrative identity, it is necessary to consider the available stories which constitute the raw materials and the ways in which these are linked. These links are not simple, but however the individual under investigation utilises other discourses, accepting them completely, in part, or even opposing them in a counter-narrative, they still influence their story; “this intertextual dimension is crucial to the analysis of identity as stories since the identities that are built in discourse are also shaped in response to the need to fight or confirm socially constructed narratives about the self” (De Fina, 2003:221).

There are a number of helpful observations made in the literature regarding an individual's use of other stories in creating their own. Firstly, there are many stories available (Loseke, 2007:665). This requires some amount of self-reflexive work by individuals with respect to responding to, relating to or opposing them in their own narratives (Hammack, 2008 p. 232). However, "it is wrong to assume that social actors simply look out into the horizon and appropriate an existing formula story as their own. Relationships between personal and cultural narratives of identity are anything but straightforward" (Loseke, 2007:673). Stories must come from the contextually appropriate repertoire, limited, for example, by culture and power (Loseke, 2007:673; Somers, 1994). Secondly, these given narratives or wider discourses are not all of the same order. Somers suggests four different dimensions of narrative: ontological, public, meta- and conceptual (Somers, 1994:617).

The first level of narratives categorised by Somers are ontological narratives. She understands them as being "the stories that social actors use to make sense of - indeed, to act in - their lives... to define who we *are*" (Somers, 1994:618). Who we are then influences what we do, which "in turn produces new narratives and hence, new actions" (p. 618). Ontological narratives are constructed using public narratives. Somers defines these as "narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual" (p. 619). This includes narratives of families, workplaces, faith groups and nations. Similarly, Phibbs suggests that "they are the cultural stereotypes that exist in the wider communities of interpretation through which stories circulate" (Phibbs, 2008:48). Somers goes on to suggest that ontological and public narratives exist within a third dimension of narrativity, which she refers to as "master narratives" or metanarratives. She sees sociological theories and concepts as encoded with aspects of these master narratives, and gives examples such as Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, Enlightenment, Capitalism vs. Communism and the Individual vs. Society (Somers, 1994:619).

Finally, Somers offers a fourth dimension of narrative, conceptual narrativity, standing apart from the levels described above, being "the concepts and explanations that we construct as social researchers" (Somers, 1994:620). She suggests that "the challenge of conceptual narrativity is to devise a vocabulary

that we can use to reconstruct and plot over time and space the ontological narratives and relationships of historical actors, the public and cultural narratives that inform their lives, and the crucial intersection of these narratives with the other relevant social forces” (p. 620).

The above discussions largely focus on the ideas concerning narrative and identity presented by Somers (1994) and by those who have utilised her concepts. However, she is by no means the only scholar to consider the use of narrative to explore identity. Other relevant thinking can be found, for example, in Brockmeier and Carbaugh’s edited volume ‘Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture’ (2001), a result of a conference held in Vienna in 1995 on ‘Narrative and Identity’, from literature on political narratives (such as Booth, 2006; Polletta, 2006; and Selbin, 2010) and in Charles Tilly’s ‘Stories, Identities, and Political Change’, which he describes as being based at the “promising intersection” of stories, identities and political change (Tilly, 2002:13).

Coming from a variety of perspectives, this literature shares an understanding that narrative and identity are linked in significant ways. For example, Selbin states that “if it is our biology that makes us human, it is our stories which define us as people” (2010:6) and Formenti observes that the process of self-narration leads to sense of identity (2014:13). There are also a number of echoes of Somers’s insight concerning the relationship between an individual’s personal story and the repertoires, canons (Brockmeier and Harré, 2001:52) or repositories (Selbin 2010:79) of narratives available to them. While not presented in such stark terms as Somers, for whom there is a clear distinction between ‘public’- and ‘meta’- narratives, there is consideration of the complex relationship between the stories individuals tell of themselves and the cultural ingredients available from family (Formenti, 2014:14) or other “collective” sources (Yuval-Davis, 2011:14), drawing both from “the past and the present of the culture, the socio-political world in which the person lives” (Whitebrook, 2001: 140). This necessarily includes consideration of the “relationship between macro and micro narratives, in other words the relationship between the stories of individuals and the stories of the communities in which they live” (Andrews, 2014:39).

Somers's presentation of levels of narrative largely focuses on a one-way relationship, with the individual drawing on public narratives in the context of a metanarrative. Reflection on Yuval-Davis's observation that construction of identity "is not individual or collective, but involves both, in an in-between perpetual state of 'becoming'" (Yuval-Davis, 2011:16) complicates matters. Perhaps as the ontological narrative draws from public narratives, ontological narratives, particularly when they are multiple and in some way 'non-canonical', can influence the repertoire of public narratives? Davis (2000) complicates matters further, presenting a situation in which identity can be changed through re-telling ontological stories after influence from new stories from the public repertoire. Discussing adult survivor therapy, in which participants move from "victim narrative" to "survivor narrative" to "thriver narrative", he suggests that through re-creating one's ontological narrative it is possible for an individual to re-create their identity. In particular he argues that this happens through the public telling, through their story being "socially recognised by significant others" (Davis 2000, 170). Clearly the relationship(s) between Somers's levels of narrative should not be oversimplified.

In addition, there are a number of insights which add to those offered by Somers, broadening the concept of Narrative Identity presented here. It is noted that contexts do far more than provide sources of narrative; "while Self is regarded (at least in western ideology) as the most 'private' aspect of our being, it turns out on close inspection to be highly negotiable, highly sensitive to bidding on the not so open market of one's own reference group" (Bruner, 2001:34). This suggests a complex symbolic system (Bruner, 2001:36), which acts to both constrain and enable (Phoenix, 2009), limiting the availability of narrative models (Freeman 2001: 287), the language which can be used (Whitebrook, 2001:6), the stories which can be heard (Buitelaar, 2006:261; Selbin, 2010:29) and how they might be interpreted (Polletta, 2006:28). To this final point, Zingaro adds a particularly significant postscript: sometimes there is a "price people pay to tell the truth about themselves" (Zingaro, 2009:18), particularly with stories outside of the immediately available public narratives.

My use of Narrative Identity

Tilly suggests that “an identity is an actor's experience of a category, tie, role, network or group, coupled with a public representation of that experience” (Tilly, 2002:75). My approach to using Narrative Identity to inform my analysis therefore aimed to supplement insights from SIT and IT, drawing upon a broad understanding of identity and narrative. It entailed noticing and locating public narratives used (or opposed) in the creation of the partial ontological narratives I have access to, taking into account underlying metanarratives, and exploring the links between them. In doing so, I hope to have contributed to conceptual narratives, allowing my research to go beyond the five life stories. In this way I suggest NI gives foundation to my SIT- and IT-focused explorations of identity, avoiding their shortcomings; the concept of NI gives weight to individual stories, takes account of the temporal element in the life course and explores how processes of identity formation are influenced by context and discourse.

Such an approach is not without criticism. Brubaker and Cooper's challenge to Somers is that they cannot see the link between the concept of identity and the fact that people use stories to tell others about themselves; “social life is indeed pervasively “storied”, but it is not clear why this “storiedness” should be axiomatically linked to identity... the major analytical work in Somers's article is done by the concept of narrativity, supplemented by that of relational setting; the work done by the concept of identity is much less clear” (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:12). In my opinion this criticism is a valid one. The word “identity” has been asked to carry too great a burden, even in the three concepts explored above. However, whether or not it means the same in SIT, IT or NI, each facilitates an interesting exploration of my respondents' stories. I use the word “identity” simply because others before me have, and although it does not make the argument, it certainly helps set the scene.

The sections above explored the use of three theories concerned with identity: SIT, with its focus on group membership, IT, considering roles played, and NI, exploring the interrelations between individuals' personal ontological narratives and the public and metanarratives that are utilised in their creation. It presented each theory as separate, with foundations in different research traditions. However, the insights offered by SIT and IT can be understood within the framework provided by NI. As an individual takes on a role or joins a group, they

become exposed to new repertoires of public narratives. Some of these stories necessarily become woven into the individual's ontological narrative, as the stories provided by narrative research cannot help but tell of the past "in a way that makes sense from the perspective of the present" (Andrews, 2007:191). Taking this further, it is possible that with a large enough biographical change, the repertoire of public narratives available and an individual's reception of them might lead to their coming under the influence of new metanarratives.

Framework for analysis

In one sense my analysis informally began long before I began to write up my interpretations, in my field notes, during the interviews, transcription and perhaps, to some extent, even before meeting respondents; as others before me, I found analysis to be "an ongoing process" (Blee and Taylor, 2002:110). More formally, it was completed after having worked the ten interviews into the five stories set out in Chapter 4. As discussed above, my initial decision was to use thematic analysis, focusing on 'what' was said rather than 'how' it was said. Trialling this approach rapidly led to a re-think, opening up exploration of identity. This eventually brought me back to narrative, and an understanding that I cannot truly separate 'what' from 'how'; meaning is contained in the complex blending of content, immediate context and broader influence. I therefore approached analysis with multiple lenses, accepting that "narrative might be best subjected to multiple forms of analysis" (Sparkes and Smith, 2007:303).

Respondents' stories were explored from two different directions, each bringing to bear a range of perspectives and allowing me to make some meaning out of the "data". Given the importance of development education to this research (set out in 1.2 and 2.4), I first considered the stories thematically from this perspective, using the exploration of relevant literature set out in 2.4 as a starting point. This involved considering various experiences and influences in my respondents' lives relevant to discourses and debates about development education, including discussing how the five respondents might be understood as development educators themselves. The outcomes from this approach can be seen in 5.1, 'Analysis from the perspective of development education'.

Having completed this first analysis, I then looked again at each respondents' story individually in turn, considering what the various different understandings of identity could reveal. As discussed above, I explored their stories through the roles played, language used and group memberships claimed, but gave primacy to analysing their stories using insights from Narrative Identity. While in doing so I followed work by others who have used this theory, including Somers (1994), Breheny and Stephens (2011), Phibbs (2008), Sparkes and Smith (2002) and Ybema *et al.* (2009), I also drew upon other (narrative) researchers, including Goodson (2008), Hunter (2010), Andrews (1991), Riessman (2002b), Yarrow (2008) and Hunt and Benford (1994). I did not allow any one theory or approach to constrain my analysis, seeing them as linked and compatible through my synthesis of various theories of identity discussed above. The outcomes from this approach can be seen in 5.2, 'Analysis from the perspective of identity'.

While I considered using the route map created in 2.3 as a third form of analysis, I felt that the complexity of respondents' stories could not be fairly represented by such a clear cut diagram. Real lives are fragmented and complicated, better suited to exploration through narrative than lines and boxes. On the other hand, this diagram, along with my thinking concerning the UK Global Justice Movement, forms of engagement and journeys to and within engagement (as set out in 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3), was invaluable background for both analysis sections. My final approach to analysing my respondents' stories, holistically from the perspective of development education, individually from the perspective of identity, and interlinked through contrasts and comparisons, can be understood to be a 'meshwork' of exploration, opening up stories from multiple directions while respecting the teller, telling and context. While I am pleased with the fruits of this approach I recognise that it is not a 'definitive analysis'. Different meanings could be found by considering my respondents' stories from other perspectives; I accept that "there is no one reading of a text" (Riessman, 2002b:205) and so the interpretations presented in Chapter 5 can only ever be 'my' analysis.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the methodological foundations to the research presented in the following chapters. It has detailed how I understand narrative research to contribute to knowledge and how I made use of narrative, before, during and after the interviews in order to explore individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement.

The largest section of the chapter attempted to make explicit the decisions I made and the literature and thought processes that led me there. My final methodology is similar to that used in most narrative research, with semi-structured life-story interviews of a relatively small sample of respondents leading to data in the form of detailed, co-constructed stories. Section 3.3.3 presented my approach to narrative analysis, developing a structure which draws together a variety of concepts, allowing stories and identities to be explored from multiple perspectives. Incorporating insights from Chapter 2's exploration of relevant context alongside concepts of identity, the methodology developed above brings together thinking about roles, groups and wider influences in order to explore my key questions:

- How do individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues?
- What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?
- How can concepts related to identity be used to understand individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

The next chapter presents my 'data'. It introduces five individuals, Rebecca, Ayo, Leena, Jules and Malcolm, and tells their stories of journeys to and within engagement, following the methodology set out above.

Chapter 4: Respondents' stories

Following Chapter 3's exploration of method and methodology, this chapter presents the five life stories at the heart of my research. Each of the five sections below has the same format: a summary; an introduction to the respondent and their current engagement; their life story with respect to engagement (co-created as discussed in Chapter 3); and a short section telling the 'story behind the story', situating the telling of the story in context. The respondents are presented in the order I interviewed them.

4.1 Rebecca's story

Rebecca's engagement began with supporting a Catholic development NGO and buying and then promoting fair trade and ethical fashion at school. Her engagement with global justice issues is closely related to her faith. Until university her engagement was largely via donation and ethical consumerism (herself and organising events). On starting university she became involved with campaigning via a range of organisations. Over her time as an undergraduate she became an organiser, leader and, in her own words, a "campaigning machine". At the time of her interview she is participating in a Catholic development NGO's post-university gap year programme in a city in the north of England. Her current engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement is extensive, including giving money and/or time to a range of NGOs, promoting and practicing ethical consumerism, encouraging her friends and "teaching others about campaigning".

4.1.1 Introducing Rebecca and her current engagement

Rebecca is 21 years and the youngest of 3 children. Her family live in a small town in the west of England, although in her early childhood they spent two and a half years living in Kuwait. Of her siblings, she sees herself as the most engaged with global justice issues, which she sometimes finds frustrating:

“I think that... in my family, erm, I think that my sister and my brother might say that I’m, kind of, the one who cares about stuff and I’m quite different to my sister and my brother.”

Rebecca was brought up as a Catholic and still sees her faith as an integral part of who she is: “I go to church every Sunday... it’s a really, really important part of my identity.” Her education reflects this, having attended a Catholic primary school, the local state secondary school and then studied Religious Studies at a university in the North of England. Her parents are both involved with the Catholic Church; her mother is a chaplain to women and juveniles in prison and her father is a deacon, as well as working as a human resource project manager.

Rebecca’s current engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement is extensive, including giving money and/or time to a range of NGOs, promoting and practicing ethical consumerism such as fair trade and vegetarianism, encouraging friends and “teaching others about campaigning”. Particularly high commitments include taking part in a gap year programme with CAFOD⁶ and being on the steering committee of People and Planet⁷. In addition she shows a commitment to ongoing learning about global justice through attending events organised by organisations such as Seeds for Change⁸ and War on Want⁹ and reading materials from Oxfam¹⁰ and the New Internationalist¹¹.

4.1.2 Rebecca’s journey to and within engagement

When Rebecca was five, her family spent two and a half years living in Kuwait before returning to live in a town in the west of England. She feels that this experience influenced her outlook in later life: “I’ve always loved tolerance between different groups of people. Not different, well between different, faiths.

⁶ Catholic development NGO, <http://www.cafod.org.uk/>

⁷ Student campaigning organisation, <http://peopleandplanet.org/>

⁸ Training co-op for action and positive social change, <http://www.seedsforchange.org.uk/>

⁹ Development NGO, <http://www.waronwant.org/>

¹⁰ Development NGO, <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/>

¹¹ Global Justice magazine, <http://www.newint.org/>

And I think that definitely without a doubt was inspired by me being in Kuwait and... being in such a multicultural community.”

Rebecca’s earliest memory of being aware of global justice issues was at school, when she was aged about 13. She noticed that a friend’s school folder was covered with pictures of fairly traded goods. She remembers thinking, “Why would that be interesting, why would you just put lots of photos of fair trade on your folder?” Rebecca notes that her friends had significant influence over her:

“They encouraged my faith and also encouraged me to think about putting my faith into action... erm and I think it’s always been people, friends in my life who’ve encouraged me and made me question and think about what I’m doing.”

Rebecca and her friends’ interest in fair trade continued, leading to her involvement in helping to organise an event:

“...my other friend, Gemma, organised, did a massive thing for Oxfam Unwrapped¹² every year, and she raised thousands of pounds by doing a fair trade fashion show which I helped in... erm... and so we just worked through our town with boxes and boxes of clothes from Oxfam [laughs]... Loads of hats and stuff [laughs].”

She also notes the influence of a particular teacher and her emotional reaction to certain films he showed:

“In year 9 I had an amazing teacher and he, he showed us videos, and one video was about, erm, about the struggle against apartheid... and that just moved me so much and I think also watching Gandhi the film definitely helped me too... for a very long time, really passionate about Gandhi.”

Her engagement with global justice continued to be closely related to the practice of her faith, thanks in part to regular appeals from CAFOD volunteers at

¹² OXFAM fundraiser, <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/shop/oxfam-unwrapped>

her church. Around this time Rebecca took the sacrament of confirmation, deepening her commitment to Catholicism:

“I made the choice to follow Jesus, I made the choice that I believed in Jesus... I was just really, really inspired and moved in Year 9 by God and by the church... and during that year I’d won some money on the Grand National and I decided to give some of it to CAFOD and I gave it to one of the volunteers at our church. It was just like £5, but she was really, really grateful and gave me a CAFOD bookmark which I’ve still kept.”

In 2005, aged 16, Rebecca took part in Make Poverty History events in her local area, including a mass at the cathedral:

“I persuaded my mum and dad to go to the Make Poverty History Mass at the cathedral and I just... that was, I just cried so much throughout it, it was just so moving and I got really involved in that actually. I didn’t go on the march but I wanted to.”

While studying for her ‘A’ levels, Rebecca responded to another CAFOD appeal at her church by helping organise a cake sale in her sixth form. She remembers thinking that she wanted to get involved and mentioning this to her mother:

“And my mum said, ‘Why don’t you help?’... [laughs]... I think my mum’s, even though she groans sometimes that I’m so... I do get involved in lots of stuff, she has always been the one who’s like, ‘Well why don’t you, why don’t you take the opportunity?’... So she’s... without directly saying that I should, she has helped me to follow that pathway.”

She reflected that the success of this experience encouraged her to become more involved as, “after that experience I learnt that’s something that I could do, and I enjoyed doing it”.

Around this time Rebecca volunteered in a local charity shop and bought her first copy of the Big Issue¹³, an event she saw as an important step:

¹³ Street paper, <http://www.bigissue.org.uk/>

“One important factor before university was erm seeing Big Issue sellers cos my mum never wanted me to buy a Big Issue, erm but I remember getting to sixth form and thinking that I was independent now and I will buy a Big Issue. And I bought a Big Issue and I loved it and I had a really good chat with the guy who sold it. And I still buy the Big Issue and I think it’s a really good magazine. But I think taking that step, kind of an independent step that I wanted to take, was important... yeah... and that’s where I found out about Plan¹⁴ and WaterAid¹⁵ who I support.”

Rebecca looked for a university that took fair trade seriously, eventually choosing to study Religious Studies at a large university in the north of England. Her faith, and religion in general, continued to be important to her and to link with her engagement with global justice issues. Throughout her journey, although she became involved with many other organisations, she maintained involvement with CAFOD as “I always thought CAFOD was special because it was Catholic.”

Rebecca became more involved with “activism” after arriving at university, particularly through joining People and Planet, a student network campaigning on issues to do with global poverty, human rights and the environment. Her reflection on joining them was that “it wasn’t like a sudden thing that changed my life, it was like an inevitable thing that I was looking for that I didn’t know I was looking for.” When she first came across their stall at a freshers’ fair she hesitated as she “went with people who probably weren’t interested in campaigning and so that almost stopped me from going over, thinking what they might be thinking of me”, but quickly overcame her hesitations to the point where People and Planet became a key part of her university experience:

“There was something missing and so I went to a second freshers’ fair erm and I saw People and Planet. And I, part of me thought, ‘Oh, they’re a bit hippyish, I shouldn’t go over there’ and part of me was like, ‘I want to go over there, they look

¹⁴ International child sponsorship NGO, <http://www.plan-uk.org/>

¹⁵ Water NGO, <http://www.wateraid.org/>

hippyish' [laughs] and so I went over and they had lots of stuff on, erm, like anti-sweatshop campaigns and that was absolutely what I wanted to do and I was so, so excited about joining, it was just amazing... and, yeah, People and Planet has been a massive part of my life throughout uni and it has really... broadened my perspective on so much... just knowing the people, getting to know the people who are involved in so many different ways and finding out about campaigning."

Around this time Rebecca noticed that she had developed a feeling of responsibility or duty to be engaged with global justice issues:

"My friends asked me if I was coming to this talk on Zimbabwe, and but some of my flatmates were going out for a meal that night... and so I chose to go out with them, but I was just worrying about it the whole time and feeling guilty, and I told my friend and he was like, 'But you don't have to go to that meeting. Why are you worrying about it?' and so I had this meal, and then afterwards I just, I just realised how... like, I was just really frustrated at myself, like, 'Why have I eaten so much when people are struggling just to buy a piece of bread?' and that, I just realised then that, like it wasn't, it wasn't like something that I was interested in, I felt obliged to... like... I felt like, I should be there, because, it's, it's erm morally right to be there."

The first campaign march Rebecca attended was the Free Tibet¹⁶ march in London in 2008. She attended it with a friend from the university People and Planet group. Again, it was Rebecca's mother that encouraged her to attend:

"I talked to my Mum and I was just like... [sigh] I really want to go to this but it's so far away in London' and she was just like, 'Rebecca, why don't you go?' [Laughs] So I did go... and I always tell her that when she moans that I'm too involved to [laughs]... yeah so, that was amazing and we heard like, testimonies from Buddhist nuns who were like, imprisoned in

¹⁶ Campaign organisation, <http://www.freetibet.org/>

the occupation... and it was just... amazing. And just being around so many people was amazing... it just helped me to understand... protests... and the struggle of them. And seeing the police and seeing... it was just, it was just so fascinating to me, and I just talked to the founder of People and Planet [at Rebecca's university], we met him in London and he was just really amazing and he talked about the Chaplaincy as well and I'd already been in the Chaplaincy and it was, it was just really cool that he was, I just looked up, I just looked up to people who were so involved... and... I just got really erm... I was just really proud to be so close erm, to what was happening and to be committed enough to go to it I think... and... I just... told lots of people about it... and bought a Free Tibet scarf... yeah, it just, I think that was an important time because that was the first big protest that I went on. And then after that I just felt like I was involved in the Global Justice Movement... and by taking part in that march I was, yeah, it was I like I was, erm, in then."

After this march Rebecca reflects that she became far more public about her commitment to engaging with global justice issues.

For the rest of her first and second years at university Rebecca engaged with a variety of global justice issues through fundraising, campaigning and awareness raising. She had involvement with a huge range of NGOs and organisations, including Friends of the Earth¹⁷, War on Want, Labour Behind the Label¹⁸, Transition Towns¹⁹, Christian Aid²⁰, Speak²¹, Amnesty²² and One World Week²³. She saw herself as a "campaigning machine" with a group of like-minded "hippyish" friends:

¹⁷ Environmental NGO, <http://www.foe.co.uk/>

¹⁸ Campaigning organisation, <http://www.labourbehindthelabel.org/>

¹⁹ Environmental network, <http://www.transitionnetwork.org/>

²⁰ Christian development NGO, <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/>

²¹ Christian campaign network, <http://www.speak.org.uk/>

²² Human Rights NGO, <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/>

²³ Development education charity and event, <http://www.oneworldweek.org/v2/>

“I think, just knowing that social justice was... absolutely... just it was my life and, like, campaigning was the reason why I was in uni [laughs].”

Many of Rebecca’s friends were also involved with global justice issues, spending time together learning, “to grow more confident with arguing and debating about different issues.” At the same time she became aware of her particular approach to global justice issues, and how this differed from some others she knew:

“I remember feeling a little bit intimidated by some of the guys in People and Planet who were so... like angry against the arms trade, and I just, like I agreed with them, but their, their reaction was different to mine I think... I think I’ve always been a more, kind of fluffy activist rather than an [laughs] anarchist, well no not anarchist... yeah, I wouldn’t ever want to be violent in a protest or use violence against a building... erm... just always peaceful protest I think... is what’s important to me.”

In her second year, Rebecca took on more responsibilities within People and Planet, and became vegetarian, trying to consume more ethically, and took part in a variety of campaigns, including some related to the BNP²⁴ and the European elections. She was particularly pleased to take part in a campaign with Christian Aid against tax-dodging in her home town, “and that was really good because I was just excited how I could do campaigning at home, that was just amazing to me [laughs].”

Her university course included a study visit to India. This proved to be an emotional experience for her:

“That’s just going to stick in my memory for years I think... I just... just being face to face with, with people living poverty... and meeting the people who I’d been campaigning for... in those moments I felt helpless... and I... I felt like quite disempowered actually... I think when I went to India that was probably a bit of a shock to my senses, to realise that it’s not

²⁴ Far right political party, <http://www.bnp.org.uk/>

just as easy as campaigning for a cause and people are getting exploited and I can't just step in and ask someone to sign a petition, even though that helps... it's not, it's not getting through to the immediate need and I can't... I think going to India, experiencing some poverty and for a while afterwards, that summer, I really questioned why was I doing this, shouldn't I be doing something better, something that's going to make more of a difference. But, I think because I was already so involved in People and Planet, I just got straight back into it straight away when I went back."

At the beginning of her third year at university, Rebecca took part in the 'Climate Swoop', an action organised by eco-activists from Climate Camp²⁵. Media speculation beforehand led to concerns about taking part:

"Just the media before then was, there was so much stuff in newspapers that was about activists and how the police were going to clamp down on them, arrest them, and we, me and my friends, chose the block which was going to be peaceful and not the invading and trying to shut down the power station block. And so yeah, before going I was a bit unsure, and then we went there we just, we went on the march and watched from a distance but... watched from a distance the actual clash between protesters and police which I hadn't seen before in real life... I was shoved out of the way by a policeman."

After telling this story, Rebecca went on to reflect a second time on her approach to activism, and on the differences between her and some other activists:

"I hate the thought of climate change and I hate the stuff that's like, building coal power stations, but that doesn't make me want to use violent direct action against it. In People and Planet once we had a non-violent direct action workshop and we had like a spectrum line across the room and we were just looking at different slides, different photos, and you had to stand on one

²⁵ Climate change action network, <http://climatecamp.org.uk/>

side if you thought that it was violent and on the other if you thought it wasn't violent. And I always stood on the violent side whether it was violence against people or against property. And people, other people in the group really disagreed with that. I just think, I think violence is not, it defeats the point of being there if you're going to use violence because violence, like coal is a violent, polluting thing which we don't want. It's like meeting hate with hate. Which I think is just counter-productive and destructive."

In her third year at university Rebecca was elected as the president of her university's People and Planet group. Her friends and boyfriend were all involved with global justice issues, but sometimes from slightly different perspectives:

"So we used to cook, like vegan meals for each other and go round to each other's houses... and a group of us went to Copenhagen, and we went there with Christian Aid and I was so, so proud of, like, some of them. Some of them in People and Planet were a bit sceptical of the Christians and we were a bit like, 'Oh no, they're not going to like me' and maybe some of the people who went with Christian Aid were a bit like, 'Oh they're a bit like... they smoke and take drugs and stuff and that's a bit... odd', but everyone got on so well, it was amazing... really like, that was incredible and so inspiring."

At the time of her interviews Rebecca is in CAFOD's gap year programme, working in a local school to encourage campaigning and engagement with global justice issues. She sees herself now more as an educator: "The more I think about it these days I've been thinking that the things I've been doing so far have been myself learning about campaigning and doing campaigning, but now, doing this placement, I feel like I'm teaching others about campaigning." Following successful work with young people lobbying their local MP, she has also been invited to join CAFOD's campaign advisory team.

While she is enjoying this work, she is missing her network of engaged friends, noting that “I feel I’m slipping and I’m not as awake and aware as I would have been before around more people who are similar, similar mind-sets.” She looks back on her university experience with nostalgia and pride.

4.1.3 The story behind Rebecca’s story

For the last 5 years CAFOD have allowed me to work in their office in South London, although I have not been employed by them. My supervisor therefore suggested I ask the Head of Education at CAFOD to help me contact a CAFOD supporter as my first respondent. She referred me to the co-ordinator of CAFOD’s gap year programme, who suggested Rebecca.

My first contact with Rebecca was via email, forwarded through CAFOD staff. Rebecca responded enthusiastically, sending me her direct contact details. I made contact, mutually arranging a date for me to visit her, explaining about the consent form (see appendix) and format of the interview.

The first interview took place on 16/10/2010 and lasted a little over 2 hours. It took place in a sitting room in the house she was staying in. We had a short break for a meal together. Although we did not know each other previously we had a number of mutual acquaintances because of my Catholic background and experience of CAFOD and People and Planet, and conversation quickly flowed freely. The interview took place soon after Rebecca’s break up with her boyfriend and while she was missing her friends at university, and was therefore emotional at times.

After our first meeting I transcribed the interview, totalling over 13,000 words. I emailed this to her and asked her to check for any major omissions in her story. We then arranged the second interview. Because of her involvement with CAFOD, I saw Rebecca in passing a number of times in between the interviews. We did not discuss the interviews, but greeted each other as friends.

The second interview took place in the house of mutual acquaintances on 19/1/2011, with a break for dinner together with them. It lasted just under 2

hours and became a transcript of over 10,000 words. In this interview I explored areas of interest from the first interview and experimented, largely unsuccessfully, with using my continuum lines to explore her attitudes towards engagement at particular stages of her journey.

Since the interviews, Rebecca and I continue to meet each other at CAFOD events. In 2012 she got a job at CAFOD and so we now work in the same building.

4.2 Ayo's story

Ayo is 36 years old and lives in London. She was born in Nigeria, living there until the age of ten, when she came to a boarding school in England. While at school she was involved with fundraising for a mainstream development NGO. She also had a successful experience of lobbying, using the local media to shame the school into turning the heating on. While at university in London, she (re-)‘discovered’ injustice, particularly with respect to poverty and racism affecting Black²⁶ communities. This led to her attending marches and learning circles with Afro-Caribbean groups. Upon visiting her family in Nigeria she saw injustices, particularly with respect to power and opportunity, with new eyes. After university and time in the US and Nigeria, Ayo worked as a lawyer in London. Unsatisfied with this work, she changed her career, taking a significant pay cut to work for an NGO concerned with young peoples’ learning around development and human rights. Her current engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement includes her work, volunteering with diaspora organisations, use of social media and being a volunteer trustee of two youth empowerment organisations.

4.2.1 Introducing Ayo and her current engagement

Although now living in London, Ayo was born in Nigeria and has returned there many times. Her faith “gets very complicated” as her father is Muslim and her

²⁶ The word ‘Black’ is capitalised throughout this thesis at the request of a respondent

mother is Christian: “So in my family there were two faiths, we’d all go to the church and we’d all go to the mosque, and that seemed fairly normal.” She describes herself as a “social action Christian”, saying “for me faith doesn’t really make sense without having action with it.” After attending boarding school in the UK she went on to attend university in London, and at a later stage completed an MA in Human Rights.

Ayo sees herself as a member of the African diaspora within the UK, and her informal engagement with diaspora networks is important to her. This includes attending events, using social media to raise awareness about citizen engagement, youth and positive images of Africa, and involvement “in little projects” including a school in Kenya and an orphanage and coffee business in Malawi. She sees herself as a “facilitator, trainer educator” rather than a traditional educator.

Ayo consciously avoids supporting mainstream development NGOs:

“I definitely made a very clear choice about not supporting them. Erm I have, I guess, a really, I have a big issue about the way that they function... it’s not a hatred of aid... I have an issue with the process of development and development aid.”

...

“I think there is a, a cycle that organisations get caught in, that you know you send your trucks and your people and all these earnest lovely liberal people to, you know, rock up to some village in Ghana, and essentially there is no real exit strategy, so for me it’s not really helping people, it’s just kind of keeping them dependant, and I find that process really frustrating. I find it disempowering and I really also object, I guess, to the, I guess a friend of mine calls it poverty porn that we’re all kind of sucked up into, into the child must have a fly in their eyelid before like I’m moved to give 5 pounds.”

4.2.2 Ayo's journey to and within engagement

Ayo was born into a large family in Nigeria. She feels her family's attitude towards those poorer than them was key to her later engagement with global justice issues: "I think it would be very weird in my family to have no sense of social justice." Her parents and grandparents all demonstrated a commitment to helping the less well off, motivated by faith and a sense of responsibility to those less affluent than themselves. Her maternal grandfather "pulled himself out of poverty" and therefore "felt that poverty was something that people overcame through hard work, and once you overcame that through hard work then you had a responsibility to help other people who were poor":

"Once my grandfather made some money, he made quite a bit, erm he set up a school and he set up lots of different things in the town that my mother comes from"

...

"My grandmother also, my mother's mother... had a really clear, I guess, sense of being responsible for others within the community, so if there were cousins of ours or even people in our church who maybe had kids and couldn't look after them, there was always someone in my grandmother's room, some random child she'd found somewhere."

...

"I definitely remember that my father on Fridays, from 12 til the end of the day, in his office, wouldn't see any paying clients, would just see people from the village where he was from. So they would come and they would get free legal advice on Fridays, everybody knew that, and there was a queue of people."

When Ayo was 10, following a coup in Nigeria in which her father was arrested, Ayo's parents sent her and her younger brother to boarding schools in the UK. She returned to Nigeria every summer: "linguistically and culturally, my dad wanted us to feel very tied to Nigeria, which I think was very important to him, and I think actually that worked out really well for us because it gave us a sense of, I guess, belonging and identity that was very well rooted in Nigeria." Ayo was

one of very few Black students in a predominately white school, but she does not “think that moved me to a sense of justice or anything.”

Ayo’s school had a tradition of raising money for charities chosen by the staff. Aged around 14, Ayo and a friend decided they wanted to organise an event to support a particular charity, chosen by them:

“I remember that I, and a friend of mine, were really clear that we wanted to raise money quite specifically for a couple of things, and so we set up events in school, we had to sort of convince teachers that we were able to do that. I think it was the first time anyone had done that in school, because normally we had a charity fixed, we all raised money, the money went to the charity and that was the end of it. But we were really clear that we wanted to do something very different, and we wanted to be very specific for, I think it was the Red Cross or something, I can’t really remember, I remember something quite big had happened and we felt that we should do something... We ran a fashion show and sort of pulled in local businesses to give us clothes and invited all these people and we made an absolute fortune. It was a really good event and I think that really changed the way the school sort of saw, I guess, how we should engage with our charitable donation, because actually we really took control of that process.”

Ayo felt that her school encouraged its students to grow as leaders: “I think we all came out, probably quite engaged, quite bolshie, that’s the word my brother uses.” Ayo felt that she was also motivated by a sense of anger against injustice, “Like if someone pushed my brother around at school I’d get involved. Can’t stand it. Can’t stand people being pushed about, can’t stand like unfair fights. Never have been able to.” This had some results the school may not have expected:

“There was an issue in my school in that heating came on the 31st of October that was the rule, it didn’t come on before... and it was a particularly cold autumn, it was like really, really cold, and I remember a lot of us were studying, I think it was GCSEs

or some other exam, and we were all in our rooms, studying, and we were wearing coats and hats and gloves, and it suddenly occurred to me, my parents are paying a fortune to this school, and I'm literally sitting here in gloves, like freezing cold, trying to study. This is completely ridiculous. So, people were kind of bitching about it and stuff, so I went down the corridor like, 'Who wants to come with me?' and everyone was like, 'Yeah no, it's not right, it's not right'... I went to find the caretaker guy to find out why the heating couldn't be turned on as we were all freezing cold. And I think three people came with me then. And he was like, 'Oh it's not my fault love, you need to speak to the bursar because he told me I can't turn it on until the end of the month' and so I marched onto the bursar, I think I'd lost one person by then, so it was just me and some other girl, and went, 'Well like you've got to turn on the heating', he's like, 'Well no, I don't actually, we don't turn it on til the 31st.' And I said 'It's freezing, it's warmer outside than it is in the building, that's surely ridiculous' and he's like, 'Well you can't talk to me like that' and the other girl sulked off so I was left on my own and I was like, 'Well actually I can, cos I think you'll find my parents pay your salary, so the least you could do is make sure that I don't die!' He's like, 'Well, I'm reporting you to the headmistress', so I got marched off to the headmistress and she's like, 'You can't talk to people like that and we know what we're doing' and I said, 'Well actually, no you don't. You see the thing is, this is like some massive scam that you've got going here and what I'm going to do, is I'm going to give you a day to think about what you want to do and by the end of that day, if you're not ready to put the heating on, I'm going to call the Oxford Times, I'm going to call this person, I'm going to call that person, I'm going to make sure everyone's really aware of the fact that, despite the fact that you have more than enough money to turn on the heating, you're still leaving children, children, people's children' and she sort of looked at me, and I think she didn't think that I was going to see it through so I

called a couple of papers and I told them to ask her whether they'd be allowed into the school and so they called her, and pretty much in 24 hours we had heating on!"

After leaving school Ayo went to study law at a university in London, seeing law as "a tool for social justice" and change. The experience of living in London had a significant impact on her: "It really kind of opened my world view up, and it provided me with a sense of, 'This isn't right and you should do something about it!'" Ayo became more aware of poverty and her relative affluence:

"When you're at a boarding school, everyone's similar backgrounds to you, generally, there was a couple of people that didn't, but generally everyone's parents are fairly affluent. So you don't realise that you're affluent, you just think that's the way everybody is, so there's no sense of, there's a great disparity or anything. What I think London made me realise is just how huge that gap was."

...

"I went to a lot of hip-hop clubs which were quite like grimy and maybe kind of interesting parts of London, and that was just something that I'd never, I'd never seen before. I'd never seen people who had nothing, who basically were living, like on benefits, in a room somehow with the rest of, I'd never seen that, I didn't know people lived like that."

Experiences of racism and injustice led Ayo to involvement with diaspora groups and demonstrations:

"I remember quite clearly, first year law school, doing my law degree, being at a party or something, and being stopped by the police. I think it was the third time I'd been stopped by the police in a car, I remember getting really quite angry about that, and asking the police officer, 'Why?' and him saying, 'You can't say anything to me' and everybody in the car saying, 'You've got to be quiet, that's the way it goes. You're Black, you can't say things.' I remember being quite angry about that and wanting to do something about that and I remember that sort of

led me, and quite a lot of my friends, to participating in quite a lot of marches around Black justice in London.”

...

“I think there was a sense that my colour was a real issue. It was an issue in school, but school was such a protected space, it was quite a, it was a manageable issue... But coming to London it was like coming through that whole racism viewpoint again, afresh, but being older, so being like really aware of it this time, as opposed to just kind of going like, ‘What? What did you say? What do you mean about Tarzan?’ like totally understanding that and being quite angered by that. And I think London at that time, racially, was quite political. You know, I belonged to an Afro-Caribbean society and it was a place where people of colour go and talk, and it sort of festers all of that kind of anger and sense of justice and sense of injustice, and so I think that probably contributed to that whole awareness erm around things.”

Ayo joined Afro-Caribbean societies with friends from her school, in part because she wanted to explore ‘Black identity’: “there was a sense that I come from a very white background, and definitely wanted to fit in with Black people, which was the caricature I was getting everywhere, so if you went anywhere people just saw you as Black.” These groups were both social and political, including dances, club nights, discussions and taking action. Through one of these groups Ayo attended her first campaign march:

“It was pretty scary, there was still quite BNP kind of EDL type of people around and that was pretty scary, and I remember being, I guess, what we’d probably know now as being kettled almost, in an area, and it sort of getting quite intense, everyone getting really angry and feeling kind of, I guess, really, really angry, angry that we’d been kettled, angry that women and children were kind of caught up in all of that, angry that they were charging us with horses, and I just remember being really, really pissed off, and I remember that march ending up with people breaking into shops and setting things alight, and all that kind of stuff and it all got a little bit out of control, erm and I

didn't go on another march for quite a while actually cos that just really, it really did traumatise me, I was really scared."

Ayo's experience of London led her to look at Nigeria with "new eyes":

"I definitely remember you know, going back to Nigeria and being really shocked by looking, maybe by paying attention to the roads and seeing people. You know, we'd always been used to, if people begged you give them money, that's quite a Muslim thing, you give them Zakat, but you know, you just did that and you sort of forgot about them, but you know, for a minute there I kind of realised actually you can't forget about these people, they're like everywhere, they're poor, they're struggling, they're angry, I guess, because I realised I was quite angry about not having access to things and maybe for me it was the first time in my life that I wasn't part of the powerful group, the group that could make things happen, so in Nigeria, I'm middle/upper class or whatever, so in that sense, if I wanted to make things happen, I can, in going to a boarding school, in sort of being in that, if you want to make things happen you could. And then coming to London and sort of being seen as 'a Black person', it sort of stripped you of all of that power of the elite, and so whatever you said, however well-educated you were, people still saw me as 'a Black person', and I realise actually that I had no real power, I couldn't really influence, necessarily, anything in the way that I originally thought I could, and maybe it made me understand, maybe where those people in Nigeria might be coming from, because I'd never really, I thought we all just had power and you just had to speak up so, you know growing up it was just that sense of, 'If I can get myself there, you can get yourself there too', without necessarily understanding that actually we were all coming from different points of view, and also, I guess, different, we all have different accesses to power and that sort of changes things."

At the age of 22, Ayo spent a year in the US as an intern with a state defence attorney working around the death penalty. She “wanted to do something” about the way it was “unjustly applied to poor people, and racistly, racially applied to Black people.” This was a challenging experience, as she feels that “I just had not thought anything through properly... I guess I’d gone over with a very naive sense of justice”:

“I found it, just really demoralising actually... I was really broken by that process, and I felt, and I wasn’t sure if I really wanted to do what I wanted to do anymore, I was like, ‘I’m going to save the world, the death penalty thing, it’s going to be great’, and it was like, ‘No, actually, no. You can’t do this, this is horrible, I can’t cope with this, this is horrific.’”

Ayo feels that her experience in the US “probably cemented a sense of, I wouldn’t say it was diaspora but maybe, race, so it was definitely working with Black people, I definitely felt a Black person in a white country which makes you connect back to other Black people more than it does to white people.”

After returning to Nigeria for a year, Ayo returned to London and completed a Master’s Degree in International Human Rights Law:

“I thought that would sort of reenergise me and give me a sort of focus. I was really keen to work with the UN, it seemed like a good way to do that... I think what was really disappointing out of the course was probably a realisation about the UN and about the ability of the UN to change the world.”

In her disappointment she took a job at a law firm, a job she kept until she was 28.

The work in the law firm did not satisfy Ayo: “It wasn’t enough to have a job. I was volunteering the whole time.” This volunteering including producing a newsletter for African and Caribbean communities in North London around HIV and AIDS awareness and youth work with local teenagers through her church. Ayo found working for the law firm “quite disillusioning”, as “we were all just trying to charge as much as we could get through. Everyone was trying to get as much money as they could get, it was all quite shallow.” After a romantic

relationship with a colleague “broke up in a really horrible way”, she became aware of her frustration and unhappiness with the work:

“I remember lots of internal groanings and gnashing of teeth in a really overdramatic way, and I sort of made a decision that I wanted to work for an NGO, but the problem was, I had gone so far in this law firm, there was no NGO that would really hire me at the salary that I was on, to do the job that I wanted to do. Erm, so, I think I spoke to someone... and he said, ‘You know, take a cut, take a cut. You know, it’ll take you like a year or something, you’re bright, you’ll sort yourself out, it’ll be fine.’”

Following this advice, Ayo took a job with a community-based human rights organisation, supplementing her income with a weekend job in a shop. This shocked some of her friends, who thought she “was completely insane”, and disappointed her father, who stopped talking to her “for about a year and a half”.

Ayo made this change because:

“I still believed that the world needed to be changed and what I was doing wasn’t changing the world. So therefore, in myself, I didn’t feel balanced... I definitely think, in terms of wanting to change the world it is a, it’s a simple and hard thing. It’s a simple thing because you just want to change the world, do stuff and it changes the world. That’s how simple it is, but it’s a hard thing because you want to change the entire world and you’re not really pleased with the tiny changes that you make. So therefore it becomes a hard thing. So, there is that kind of, it’s a constant seesaw I guess.”

...

“I am frustrated if I am doing stuff that doesn’t reflect who I am or the world that I want to create. That is, that might be a luxury of being a middle class child, that I can indulge in that, but I’m very well into the idea that what I do shouldn’t just be blah, it should have a bigger purpose.”

Ayo’s new job included working with a range of different communities across the UK, an experience which led her to a broader understanding of injustice:

“Before that I hadn’t seen injustice in different groups so I wasn’t really aware of it, and when I did it sort of like, this is the same story, look at that group of traveller kids, it’s the same story, look at a group of white working class kids in some crappy estate in East London, it’s really the same issue. It’s the same issue, lack of opportunities, lack of, I guess participation, and all of those kind of things, which are the things that we all say, that are issues for “developing” countries as well, you know, those are the issues.”

After three years, Ayo left this job in order to take another job, as a director and trainer focusing more on young people’s understandings of human rights and participation. When she was 35 the funding for this job came to an end, and Ayo moved to her current job at an organisation concerned with young people’s understanding of poverty and development.

Around this time Ayo noticed a change in her engagement with diaspora groups, particularly in terms of “promoting positive stories from Africa and trying to support people who were doing work that was actually influencing real life.” This included “making some really practical changes and my lifestyle choices to kind of support people, and I remember going through buying clothes from Nigerian designers or African designers, and buying hair-products from people who were definitely producing them in a really ethical way from countries.” In addition she began to use the internet, Facebook, Twitter and blogging, to try to “actually create space for something different to happen”, particularly in terms of using education and young people’s engagement to bring about “societal change”. She sees herself as an “early adopter of technology”, and feels that social media has played a significant role in her engagement:

“I definitely think me using technology has made a massive difference to my engagement with projects definitely in Nigeria and around the world... I see my role now feeling a lot more balanced than maybe it started off and it seems to me that this is kind of the ideal role for someone from the diaspora to have, is to speak back and also to speak forward about their connection.”

4.2.3 The story behind Ayo's story

In 2011, following my involvement with a Filipino church in London, I had been thinking around the apparent lack of diaspora engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. When I met Ayo at a development education conference she mentioned her distrust of mainstream development NGOs. After chatting for a few minutes I asked her if she would be willing to be interviewed, in part to bring this perspective into my research. Following email communications with consent forms and information about the interview we met for the first interview at her work in September 2011.

Although Ayo initially thought she might be daunted by the length of the interview, she appeared to enjoy telling her story, talking for just over 2 hours and generating a transcript of nearly 20,000 words. Conversation between us flowed freely, with frequent laughter, particularly when the voice recorder ran out of batteries.

The second interview took place in another office at her work on the 25th of November. It lasted 37 minutes and led to a transcript of around 8500 words. Since that time Ayo has left that job and moved to a new role at another charity. Other than sending her the second transcript and a write-up of her story, Ayo and I have had very limited contact.

4.3 Leena's story

Leena is 27 years old. She lives with her parents and sister in London, and the family identifies as British Indian. Her visits to India as a child led to a desire to return as a volunteer. Various barriers, including cultural and financial, thwarted this ambition until she became involved with a British South Asian Diaspora NGO, the Asian Foundation for Philanthropy (AFP)²⁷. Through AFP, Leena spent four months as a volunteer in India. On her return she completed a Master's Degree and then began volunteering with AFP, in their London office

²⁷ British South Asian Diaspora NGO, <http://www.affp.org.uk/>

and in their Development Ambassador programme. This programme included organising public events aimed at “educating, engaging and empowering” people in the Indian diaspora with respect to development. Since returning to full-time employment, Leena’s engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement has decreased, although she continues to volunteer with AFP when time allows.

4.3.1 Introducing Leena and her current engagement

Leena’s mother is a cleaner, her father is a builder and her sister, who is two years younger than her, is an English teacher. Leena and her family identify as British Indian and are Hindus. Although they “aren’t overly religious” they have a small shrine in their home and religion is part of their everyday lives. Leena’s parents moved to England from overseas, her mother from Kenya and her father from India. At home the main language spoken is a variant of Gujarati.

Leena went to school and college in her local area before going on to study multimedia at university, taking a year out to work in industry. At a later stage she completed an MA in anthropology. Leena’s employment status changed between her two interviews; at the time of the first she was looking for work, by the second, 7 months later, she is working in the advertising and new media sector.

Finding paid employment impacted Leena’s engagement in the UK Global Justice Movement. At the time of her first interview she was volunteering at the Asian Foundation for Philanthropy (AFP) and taking part in their Development Ambassador (DA) programme, speaking at events about development issues. Her volunteering involved “helping out in their office... I’ve basically kind of slotted myself into AFP technical support, so I’ve helped them become a bit more social media savvy... I helped them launch their YouTube channel, I edit a few videos for them. I also help out at events... I just come in a bit early and I stay a bit late and help with the clear out, so I guess I do little things wherever I can.” By the second interview she continues to volunteer when time allows but no longer sees herself as a Development Ambassador.

She donates money to AFP but no other charities, feeling that smaller NGOs “can benefit more from the money.” She does not usually take part in protests, seeing them as not “necessarily my thing, but it’s not to say that I would never go, it would depend completely on the cause.”

4.3.2 Leena’s journey to and within engagement

Leena felt that her formal education, through school, college and undergraduate studies, had little effect on her involvement with global issues. The three family trips she took to India, on the other hand, helped her to understand something of the similarities and differences between life there and her life in the UK. Her first visit, aged around 9, was her first trip abroad, and she reflects that “it’s great when you’re a kid, you don’t really think about it.” Later trips, when she was 15 and 18, taught her “a lot”, about her family in Gujarat, the role played by religion, about culture and, in particular, about how different her life might have been if she had been born in India:

“The older you get, the more you realise that the life you lead in London is nowhere near in comparison to your cousin in India who, I’ve got one cousin who got married at the age of 17. When I went to see her, my third visit, she had her second child, at the time I was I think 16. And then you just realise you’re so similar, but you lead such different lives.”

Leena’s childhood visits to India made her keen to visit India again, this time as a volunteer. However, her university course in multimedia included a year in industry, which led her to a job immediately after university. This was one reason she felt she could not volunteer at this point:

“I had always wanted to volunteer in India, but I really lacked the confidence in pursuing it, and I could never really afford to, I was fortunate to have got a job straight after I graduated, and erm, I think in the community that I’m from volunteering is a concept that doesn’t really exist. Especially, well volunteering is a concept that does exist, but mainly I think the assumption is that you help at your local temple, or your local community. Volunteering abroad is a concept that is quite alien, and erm I

could just never really explain to my parents that I wanted to leave my job and maybe, gap years just didn't exist in my culture. They just didn't exist."

She feels that there are cultural barriers to volunteering overseas: "In my community, I think a gap year is very much, if I'm honest, a white middle class construct."

After a couple of years of work her desire to volunteer remained, but the financial barrier to volunteering had lessened:

"I could never justify leaving uni in debt and building up an even bigger debt to go and volunteer and travel... but for me it just got to a stage where I was getting, I was in a job, but it was just a job."

A turning point came when Leena met another female British Indian who had recently returned from a volunteer experience in India. This person encouraged her to consider volunteering through the Asian Foundation for Philanthropy (AFP), an organisation based in the British Indian Diaspora. Leena was further encouraged when this lady began working at AFP, and they went on to become "quite good friends".

"I knew of her, because people had mentioned that she... she was volunteering in India at the time before she started working at AFP, and at that point in time I was looking to volunteer, but didn't quite know how to go about it or who to talk to so a lot of people mentioned that I should speak to her. And then through a friend, I think, it was just a night out, someone mentioned that this is the girl and we just spoke about, well she just told me about her experience and told me to press on."

...

"She explained that she was one of the first early volunteers, and she explained how it kind of shaped who she was, and how she related to... she was in India and like nothing beats just being in India and seeing things for yourself. It's fair enough to have an opinion on everything else, but until you see it, til you experience it, it's just a different name. And she was very

supportive of the organisation in terms of, they understand that, the community that they're, that they're trying to bring in, to get engaged in development, doesn't necessarily understand development, or they're very protective, especially of daughters I guess, going to India, for safety reasons, cultural reasons."

Leena applied to AFP after a friend told her, "You just have to do it, stop thinking too much about it and just do it", but had missed the cut off date for that year and so was "rolled over to the following year." She continued working, using the time to save up, and at the same time completing a short course in anthropology.

Leena's parents found her decision to volunteer difficult to accept and understand:

"I had to have a really tough conversation with my parents. And my dad actually thought that I was being harassed at work. He thought the reason I wanted to leave the country was tied to a problem with potentially the guys. And he asked if there was a guy harassing me. He couldn't believe, that I had wanted to go back to India, or potentially live in India."

...

"And, yeah, I think trying to explain to them, volunteering, it was a concept that really my parents struggled with. My sister tried really hard to explain to them, but they didn't really understand that. Also that need for independence, because in our community, generally what happens is women, they live at home, erm, if they get to an age... In my community the average age to get married is I guess 24, 25. I'm 27 so I'm way beyond the average age. I often get told I'd better hurry up or there won't be any guys left for me. OK! Erm, I often get the pity, the pity effect I call it. People pity my parents because I'm the unmarried daughter. And my parents worry because I should be married, and it's the natural life-cycle, not volunteering... I don't know where volunteering fits into the natural, once you've done your education, once you've got a good job, the next

progression, step is to find a husband and get married. So in between, I think for a woman, in my community, there's no real struggle for independence. You're like an object, you're being shifted around. And for me that just wasn't good enough. I wanted some kind of capacity of independence. I just wanted to volunteer, and I just think 3 months, I have the rest of my life to earn, I have the rest of my life to work, so 3 months is nothing."

At a later stage she reflects that although there were challenges, including her father not talking to her for "a good couple of months", her volunteering was a struggle for them and "they were very understanding, and I think there are parents that could have been a lot more strict."

Leena saw her pre-departure training for volunteering in India as her first involvement with global justice issues, "cos even when I was applying erm it wasn't something really tangible, I hadn't really explored, development wasn't really on my register at the time, I didn't really understand it at the time. I didn't even know what the MDGs were... I didn't know how it fitted into my everyday life."

Leena enjoyed her experience of India, describing it as "the best 4 months I've had in my life." She recognises it as a time of learning:

"I think it's only when you actually go to India and you kind of realise that, the way things are, just the systems, the power cuts, your colleagues, erm. You think, you know, when you're emailing someone, an NGO in India, and they don't get back to you in within a couple of weeks, you think it's due to laziness, but it's actually their agenda's completely different. So it's only once you're on the other side you get to see."

She spent two months supporting a slum school with their web development, then a month in another area at an NGO which supports women who have been through domestic violence. She found some of her colleagues in India particularly inspirational:

[The founder of a domestic abuse NGO], "she's basically seventy-, late seventies, and she'd founded the organisation

after she'd retired... I just met her and I just thought 'Wow!' Everything that she'd achieved, everything that she's continuing to achieve. And just the work, the everyday struggles they face... I think just one woman, to build an organisation, to do this, it was very, very inspirational for me."

Leena was pleased with her placements, feeling that they were appropriate for her: "So for me it seemed like the right fit. Yes I had a desk job, but it was based on my skill sets, and it's what that organisation needed at the time." She reflects that the time she spent there was "just a fragment" and that it was "only a taster of volunteering."

On returning to the UK, Leena "kind of stepped out of the development mind-set for a while", studying for a Master's Degree in Anthropology. She saw this as "quite critical of development":

"And it was interesting for me to see because development can do, it can be known to do more harm than good, or, you know, what is development? How do we define development?"

During this period Leena took a step back from engagement with AFP due to time commitments:

"I think, for me, the Master's came first... AFP actually host very, really, really nice events. They don't go on for too long and I do find myself listening, and I do walk away with a piece of knowledge that I didn't necessarily have prior to the event. And wherever possible I do try and go to the events. But that year, I just didn't even think about it because the Master's that I was studying, it was just so new to me and I, I felt like I had to work twice as hard."

Her commitment to her degree resulted in her turning down a second opportunity to volunteer in India, a decision she now regrets.

Throughout this period "AFP was there in the background", with one member of staff inviting Leena to take part in their Development Ambassador (DA) programme a number of times. Leena rejected these invitations until she had completed her dissertation, then joined the programme, beginning with a series

of weekend training events, “like once every 4 to 5 weeks there’d be a training session at the weekend”, which she “really enjoyed”:

“The sessions are really well designed. I think they’re a nice mix, like a like mix of theory and practice. And they’re engaging. You’re not just sitting and listening, you’re taking part, you’re doing group discussions. And everyone has opinions. And you learn a lot from your peers, because the cycle that I’m in, it’s a nice mix, a nice age range. There’s like, everyone’s from different backgrounds, some people want to work in development, some people don’t, some people are students, some people are retired. So it’s a nice bunch of people I think. And you kind of realise where you slot in in it all.”

...

“It gave you a theoretical, a basic theoretical foundation of development. So actually that was the only time I actually learnt about what the MDGs were. Even when I was in India I didn’t really correlate what it meant or how it applied to me, and yeah, it forced me to look at the MDGs very critically. And the other parts of the sessions are practical, so developing your presentation skills.”

...

“They introduced development speak in non-development, academic lingo. And it was nice just to work through things, like for example case studies and practical sessions instead of just reading sessions. And it was good, I think it was, a lot of people couldn’t make it because it was Saturday and people make plans, but I think it was, for me, weekends well invested.”

Although Leena was initially nervous about the programme’s requirement to give presentations, the training “calmed her nerves”. By the time of Leena’s first interview she had given about 4 or 5 presentations to different groups, with the aim of “educating, engaging and empowering”. She focused her presentations on her experience as a volunteer in India. She hopes that people who came to her events felt a connection with what they heard; “I just think, if someone can relate remotely to something that I spoke about, then to me, it’s quite relevant.”

Although Leena was fully engaged with the Development Ambassador programme, she does not like the label: “I just don’t like the word ‘ambassador’ so I never really call myself an ambassador”, instead referring to herself as a DA.

At the same time, while looking for work, Leena volunteered in the AFP office:

“I finished my Master’s and I was coming to the end of my dissertation and I was like, ‘What next?’ and I thought, erm, I was considering looking up potential career options in development... And I thought, OK, whilst I’m looking let me kind of go back to AFP, and I can just help out in the office, and if any job applications come in I can get them to help me.”

Although Leena recognised that she was volunteering, she felt uncomfortable with the label ‘volunteer’:

“I don’t need to tell the whole world I’m volunteering. For me it’s like, I help out at AFP events but I never call myself a volunteer. I have a real problem with it sometimes.”

...

“Sometimes volunteer can be a loaded word, and people think, and I think the stigma is often that if you are a volunteer the natural assumption is for you to want a job in development, and also volunteering, it must make you feel very, it’s a very rewarding job, but it’s not that I’m volunteering to feel as though as if there is a reward, I’m actually just volunteering because I have time free or, I want to help out with AFP. I think volunteering, sometimes it has a stigma to it, and whenever I go for job interviews, if I mention volunteering, the first thing I get told is, ‘That must have been very rewarding.’ It’s very patronising. So I just don’t mention it. I think it’s very private. And I think I do it, I don’t have to tell the whole world about it.”

As a result of her ongoing relationship with AFP, Leena feels that she has “learnt a lot.” Her interest in development has broadened beyond India to

include other developing countries and issues. She sees volunteering in the UK as an act of solidarity with work taking place in overseas:

“You don’t have to be in India to be a part of change I think, I mean people forget that there are grass roots organisations in the UK as well. And to me, if I can’t afford to go to India at the moment cos I’m not working, but I can equally be engaged and, like, support AFP, because I have a personal connection, and I know the staff and I think for me that’s a very big thing. I know how hard they work, I’ve seen how hard it is on the other side of the spectrum.”

Leena’s engagement has continued to be exclusively through AFP and she urges her family not to support “the larger NGOs, but look at the smaller NGOs, the slightly grassroots-orientated ones, cos they’re the ones who I feel can benefit more from the money.” Her opinion of larger NGOs is “not the best”, seeing them as a “white middle-class construct”:

“It’s very interesting when you look at the marketing materials. There was something from, there was a flyer from OXFAM, and it was like a, their marketing campaign was, there was a small community from the UK, ladies, and there was another community, I don’t know, somewhere abroad, and I just said to the lady that, I just said to someone in the office, ‘Just look at the difference’, I said, ‘Tell me the problem with this flyer.’ And basically the community from the UK, they’re all white, middle class ladies, there was like no ethnic minorities in that.”

In the period between Leena’s first and second interviews, she began a new job in the advertising and new media sector. This has led to a reduced engagement with AFP, as she now gives priority to her paid work. She continues to volunteer when she can, but no longer sees herself as a Development Ambassador (DA):

“I’m working so I physically can’t be there the way I used to be but I try and, my way of helping is just kind of, I try and attend events. And turn up a little earlier to help them set up the room, and stay a bit later so they’ve got help tidying up. And they’ve had a few events up north, so they’ve been weekend trips, and

they've kindly offered to cover my expenses, and I was free that weekend, so it just made sense to go and help them with their various events that they had. So it's mainly revolving around events that I've just been supporting... And even that just depends on the timing of the event. They've got a few events coming up over the next couple of weeks which I just won't be here for so I can't help out."

...

"I think as soon as I started work my ambassador role kind of stepped to the side... It's just something quite personal to me, so I think if I do talk about it, I'd be very selective as to who I would talk about it to. Whereas previously, being part of the DA programme, you had to talk about it, because it was compulsory as part of your events which you had to complete. So now my events are completed, and I've done more than my quota-full, I don't feel the need to talk about it as much. I think if people ask me then I'm happy to engage in conversation, but I don't see any need for me to seek people out."

4.3.3 The story behind Leena's story

I first heard of the Asian Foundation for Philanthropy (AFP) when one of their staff presented information about their 'Development Ambassador' (DA) programme at a development education conference I attended. I asked them if one of their DAs would be willing to take part in my research. The member of staff then forwarded me Leena's contact details. After speaking on the phone about my research and sending her my 'Research information and consent form', Leena agreed to be my third respondent.

Leena's first interview took place on 15/3/2012 at the London International Development Centre, a building belonging to my university. It lasted a little over one hour. Leena was noticeably more reluctant to 'tell me her story' than other respondents, and as a result her transcript included a greater number of interjections from me.

I sent Leena the transcript of her first interview, of just over 10,000 words, for her to check and see if there were any events or experiences she felt she had missed. She responded with a couple of corrections but no oversights.

For a variety of reasons Leena's second interview did not take place until 3/10/2012, by which time her situation had changed; she was back in full-time employment. The interview took place in the same venue and lasted only 30 minutes, leading to a transcript of just under 4000 words. Again I sent the transcript for her to check. Since then Leena and I have been in contact regarding one of her friends who she felt might be a useful respondent for my research. This person's engagement (via AFP) was too similar to Leena's so they have not been included in the research.

4.4 Jules's story

Jules is 33 years old. He was born in Canada to British parents. His family are Jewish and he feels this has had a significant influence on his life. At high school, following experiences of holocaust education and visits to concentration camps, he organised a school assembly challenging homophobia. Throughout his journey he has been engaged with Israel-Palestine issues. This has included thinking critically about what he had been taught, spending time in Israel and Gaza, and educating others, particularly through film-making and encouraging opportunities for dialogue. He moved to London in 2005 to complete a Master's in Human Rights. His work since then has included working with youth and young adults to challenge stereotypes, education and awareness raising about Israel-Palestine and working as a teaching assistant. In 2011 he was involved in creating an educational resource about the Israeli social justice protests²⁸. He took part in Occupy London²⁹, particularly with education and outreach initiatives. This led to his current engagement, co-organising an education programme concerned with exploring 'political economy'.

²⁸ Involving hundreds of thousands of people protesting the cost of living and the deterioration of public services

²⁹ <http://occupylondon.org.uk/>

4.4.1 Introducing Jules and his current engagement

Jules's parents are both British, but immigrated to Canada in the 1970s, where his father worked as a chartered accountant and his mother ran a pre-school. Jules grew up in Toronto, moving to the UK in 2005. He has one sister, who lives in Amsterdam. Jules was brought up in the Jewish faith and sees that as a "significant identity" in his life; "It's something that's important to me, that's been a part of my life, has informed what I was exposed to." In particular he notes the influence of Jewish concepts related to social justice and charity.

Jules currently works part-time as a teaching assistant and part-time as a freelance consultant, "facilitating workshops on controversial issues" including "the impact of the Middle East conflict on inter-communal relations here" and issues around free speech, respect and tolerance. He has recently applied to begin doctoral studies, interested in exploring in "reactions to this time of crises or ongoing crisis" and "why people get active, and at the same time... why people don't join, or are reluctant to join collective action, but actually their internal world might be quite active."

Much of Jules's engagement has been linked to Israel-Palestine issues. Although he has currently "taken some steps back from that, sort of shifted energy elsewhere", he continues to take a "strong interest" and has recently completed an educational resource about the Israeli social justice protest movement of 2011. In addition, Jules is working with a group of people he met through Occupy London to organise an education programme with a diverse group of participants, exploring responses to the 'financial crisis':

"We're working with a youth group, a high school group, a homelessness charity, a group of university students... participants from those groups are working with facilitators, who are all graduate students, to basically situate the participants' lived experience and struggles, economic hardships, to situate those and develop an analysis of those within a political economy."

He hopes that the programme will lead to participants "developing a critical consciousness that asks why this is so, how it could be different."

4.4.2 Jules's journey to and within engagement

Jules feels his engagement with justice issues has been influenced by his family's commitment to Judaism, and particularly "the Jewish concept of Tikkun Olam which means repairing or healing the world... a central concept of Judaism which is often linked to social justice or charity." He remembers his parents' involvement with supporting Jews in trouble:

"I was probably about 6, 7 or 8, I remember going, through other people in our synagogue, my parents were involved in helping to support Soviet Jews who were experiencing a lot of difficulties, either couldn't get out or there was a whole thing about refuseniks in the Soviet Union in the 80s. And that was a big campaign within diaspora Jewry to mobilise. So I remember going to a basement and trying to call this one group. That sense of like, there was definitely a sense of purpose, an urgency."

When Jules was 16 he took part in the 'March of the Living'³⁰, visiting the concentration camps in Poland before spending a week in Israel. He saw this as "a very formative journey in the past and the present, fundamentally helping to develop, cultivate, a certain form of Jewish identity" and "moral purpose":

"It just informed me of gross injustice and the need to speak up... sort of like, a vigilance of discrimination, xenophobia, that was definitely planted."

Jules feels that this influenced his first experience of "taking action":

"The first time I really sort of took action and felt the need to speak up was in my final year of high school. I played on the soccer team, and I became quite shocked, I hadn't really been exposed to it in my other high school experiences, but just at the rampant homophobia that existed."

³⁰ A two week educational experience taking place in Poland and Israel, <http://marchoftheliving.org/>

While he wasn't linked to the gay community in any way, Jules had learnt about the other groups that were persecuted under the Nazi regime as part of holocaust education. With a group of other students, Jules organised a school assembly and facilitated class discussions about homophobia and leadership, with invited guests including a gay rights activist and a holocaust survivor.

During his school holidays, Jules took part in summer camps organised by a "progressive labour Zionist youth movement". While this experience was largely social, by becoming a camp counsellor Jules became friends with other counsellors who were "active in terms of feminist issues, in terms of environmental issues":

"I remember a good female friend just challenging me on why are women not invited to play basketball, really kind of had it out with me about that, and really making me think about... One of those important moments where somebody challenges you on something that like, right, I wasn't committed to that in a really value way, I just hadn't thought about it. So that started to, that definitely had an impact upon my thinking, my values."

Jules studied history and contemporary studies at a university on the East coast of Canada. During his time there he began to question what he had been taught about Israel, partly as a result of a course he attended about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

"I knew there was more to the story, I wanted to read more accounts, the history of 1948 which is particularly contested, and we'd been given very simple narratives about the founding of the state, and the reality is a lot more complicated, it was a war, and people won and people lost, and what are the stories of people that lost?"

This feeling was strengthened as a result of attending an Israel advocacy conference:

"There were all these talks, and a few times I got up and really challenged what was being said. I'd had a few years of really thinking about this and being exposed and it was like, these guys are just missing out on a lot of things, I guess things were

apparent to me, and I was like here are points that I can really sort of challenge on and feel confident enough to do so, but also it was starting to make just that positioning of like, 'I really don't identify with this, I'm not an Israel advocate', but I thought of it in that way, if this isn't a vehicle through which I can express my connection and concerns for that region, what is?"

Around the same time Jules remembers seeing demonstrations organised by Palestinian groups:

"I remember people, they were holding placards and there was a demonstration, and I remember then definitely wanting to understand what motivated people to come there, and I remember having a few conversations with a couple of women there who were involved, and that was, I don't know, I guess just my early experience of wanting to open up channels of communication."

That summer Jules was a counsellor on a youth visit to Israel, with a particular responsibility for developing the curriculum. He recalls "starting to think about how you educate other people and younger people about this, and what sources do you draw on, how do you expose people to multiple interpretations of things?"

After returning to university he began to explore opportunities for dialogue:

"There was one guy, Khalil... I think he'd grown up in the West Bank and then his family had moved to the East coast of Canada, and through getting to know each other... I guess we had a number of conversations that led us, there was enough common ground that we were like, 'OK let's try a few dialogues about what's going on.'"

Following 4 or 5 discussions, involving a limited number of friends from their personal networks, Jules asked Khalil if he would facilitate public discussion after each performance of a play Jules was co-directing. The play, 'Reading Hebron', explored the reactions of a non-Israeli Jew to a massacre of 29 Muslims in Hebron in 1994. Jules felt the first night, with Khalil leading a discussion after the play, was a great success. However, to Jules's surprise, on

each of the following nights Khalil did not attend. After a couple of weeks Jules received an email:

“He felt he couldn't continue with the dialogue... participating in dialogue was, I don't know if you're familiar with the term normalization, but, more and more, like it's at its height now, a lot of Palestinians feel like dialogue is like normalizing a relationship that's not normal, and not addressing the power dynamics... I don't know if, it took some time to reflect on that and like I was quite sort of upset by it, but the... yeah that definitely made an impact.”

Jules completed his degree with a semester at a university nearer home. Here he joined with a group to organise a public conference:

“We had dialogue sessions ourselves, we trained as facilitators to run dialogue groups on the day, we put together an opening panel which brought together different Muslim and Jewish communal leaders... And we also had an arts evening, arts and music evening at the end.”

This “got some good media coverage”, with Jules and a friend taking the lead “doing more of the media interactions and speaking.”

After leaving university Jules worked for a local organisation, facilitating dialogue to challenge stereotypes. This work was largely with young people, but also included 'Evenings of breaking bread', bringing people together again from various backgrounds for a meal and discussion.

Through a private foundation Jules was accepted into a fellowship programme. This paid for him to spend a year in Jerusalem, living together with a group of non-Israeli Jews, all of whom committed to taking part in a form of study (paid for by the foundation) and regular community engagement. Jules studied Modern Hebrew, but “what was really most rewarding” was working with an NGO taking international groups on tours of the separation barrier:

“And so just learnt a lot about the nitty-gritty of like the layout of the city, and how different parts of the wall, the fence, and how it is a wall and fence in different parts. And, yeah thinking about

how, they were also trying to do that balance of like advocacy, but with these tours it was the educational piece of let's show multiple perspectives, or let's show, what's the argument about how this tramples individual rights as it does in every case in terms of Palestinian rights cutting off access to the land, mobility, versus security, which is always the Israeli argument for almost every step that they take, and, so yeah that was very interesting."

Jules reflected that educational experiences like this have great value:

"The more like education people can do, seeing things directly with their own eyes on the ground, actually going to these spots. You know, there we weren't meeting Palestinians, maybe there was one speaker, but at least you were going and like seeing Bethlehem from like nearby, or further east you'd see like Abu Dis and areas, and go towards Ramallah in the North. So yeah, that was the main... benefits or challenges there."

In 2005, Jules moved to London and began a Master's in Human Rights. He found this interesting, "thinking about how society, collectively or individuals, grapples with a past history of like mass violence, and just real gross structural and physical violence." Jules consciously used this year to "broaden beyond Israel-Palestine", writing his dissertation about the "narrative in post-genocide Rwanda that had been created within the main museum in Kigali." This involved a 9-day visit to Rwanda with a group organised by a British holocaust education centre. His impression of this organisation, and of the museum, was not entirely favourable: "I mean there's major silences here, very clearly politically motivated by the fact that, you know, the victors' justice and the victors' narrative."

After completing his Master's, Jules spent a short time working as a legal clerk at a law firm, before taking a job with a free speech charity. He worked there for about 6 months, researching issues around the state of free speech in the UK. In 2006 he left this and took a part time job at an education charity where he stayed for a couple of years. His responsibility there was to manage a programme focused on encouraging dialogue amongst young people from diverse communities. This had two main projects: a rural-urban school

exchange and a conference for young people. Jules found organising the conference “more gratifying”, inviting a group of young people from a range of backgrounds to form a committee to work with him: “So I worked with this committee, meeting, I guess over 6 or 7 months, trying to really help coordinate and facilitate, but to empower them to make all the decisions.”

At the same time as working with the education charity, Jules began working part-time for a private philanthropist who shared his interest in Israel-Palestine issues:

“He started to employ me to explore the seeds of building a new charity to work on Israel-Palestine work... so I started to do that, and it was specifically looking at how could we increase the links between people in the UK and people who were doing non-violent activism on the ground in Israel and Palestine. There were already some initial relationships with specific Israelis and Palestinians who were doing this work, and... maybe 2008, 2009 it sort of, we started to do public work initially by, we brought over two Palestinian guys, two brothers, who basically did a tour within the UK.”

After a couple of years Jules left his work at the education charity to work full-time on this new project:

“We were specifically continuing to work with these Palestinian guys, which was very challenging work in that, understanding exactly what their needs were, but as, also the money side, OK are we starting to raise, this was the question, are we starting to raise money for their operations there more, or are we just doing the awareness raising, you know, information-wise of what they're doing... And we worked with a couple who'd lost their daughter in a suicide bombing, mid-90s I guess it was, and they'd found her diaries some time after she'd died, so they'd produced this educational resource, and they had links with Palestinian, really trying to use it as a tool to erm educate people how to respond to such a horrific experience, and to build bridges. So we started to get that diary into some schools and run workshops with it.”

Following the invasion of Gaza, in early 2009, Jules and a friend filmed demonstrations in London:

“One weekend there was a major pro-Israel rally, organised by the Jewish community, and the next day there was the pro-Palestinian rally, sort of coming from a whole conglomeration of groups like on the left and from the Muslim community or from the Palestinian activism community. And I went with a filmmaker friend, really just a couple of days before she called me and said, ‘I had this thought of...’ It was quite an agonising time I remember, because I didn't feel comfortable going to either rally necessarily and it was very distressing what was going on. And she had the idea to go and just to interview people, go to both rallies, capture it, understand why people were coming and getting involved.”

From their footage, Jules and his friend made a short documentary which they then used as an educational resource through Jules's work. They were interested in exploring the “space” or “complexities” between being pro or anti, helping people to ask, "Does this represent your voice?... Where is your voice within that? What's missing? What are you critical of?"

Later that year, through a friend linked to the UN Relief and Works Agency, Jules was able to spend two days in Gaza. He found this “really fascinating”:

“There's no substitute for seeing things with one's own eyes, and having, getting beyond the, especially when something becomes so taboo, like a stereotype of it builds up quite quickly. It's like a competition over proving or disproving it, and erm, I think often between, with Gaza it's either the George Galloway, like there are heroes and just like starving, I think sort of exoticised... ‘We're on your side’ versus anti, it's all a hot bed of terrorists, everybody's almost guilty by association for living there. And one goes there and it's, how the everyday experience, automatically, just like, shatters those in a lot of ways. And fine, it's still only a number of particular experiences

you have there for two days, but that was quite eye-opening, and had a real impact.”

Around the same time Jules was involved in building a “new organisation or a new movement”, “basically pro-Israel, pro-peace, progressive left-wing, for lack of better words.” This included organising a speaker tour and running a two-day training workshop for university students. While he enjoyed this, Jules began to “check out of active involvement” and ended his work with the philanthropist:

“We tried to build something that was equally working in Jewish and Muslim communities... and just like that was very difficult to achieve, and we weren't able to achieve that, the strains of trying to push that perhaps too much came to a point where actually it was decided it was better to sort of bring it to a close rather than try and like force something forward. I think also, because a lot of it had been me and this guy, who had funded most of it throughout, in a lot of ways I came to a limit of, I can't do this anymore. I think personally it was also an experience of becoming burnt out on an issue and a focus of engagement.”

Jules took a job as a teacher's assistant in a school's special educational needs department. In the summer of 2011 he arranged a trip to Israel in order to visit friends and develop an educational resource about the charity he had previously volunteered with in Jerusalem. While he was there the Israeli social justice protests began:

“I decided with a friend there, we wanted in some ways to respond to it or be involved in it or document it. We ended up deciding to go for finding an Israeli film-maker, video person, who would want to go... I extended my stay, it ended up being for 5 weeks, so I guess the beginning of August to the beginning of September, going round Israel and filming the protest movement in different sites, because it really was a wide spread national affair, with tent camps, and maybe up to 80 places.”

...

“It was really eye-opening for me, because I'd spent a lot of time, lived in Israel for a year, spent time there, but visited places and got to see day to day life, and hear from people in a way I hadn't before. Definitely interesting, troubling, perplexing, the way it didn't engage, but in some way engaged, with the question of justice for Palestinians in Israel, Arab-Israeli, but people without citizenship in East Jerusalem, West Bank, Gaza, in large part it didn't touch upon that issue, because this tried to be something that was very much focusing on the social, and wanting to unite left and right.”

This filming generated about 30 hours of footage. Over the last year Jules has worked with others, supported by grants from Jewish charities, to edit this down into a teaching resource based around a website. He is now promoting this and hopes it will be used by Jewish community networks, youth movements and NGOs.

On returning to London, Jules became interested in the Occupy movement and was keen to be involved:

“It became clear, as it spread through the United States, that this was going to go global, definitely because of my experience in Israel, and seeing friends and other people that I'd met, getting involved in something that was so exciting, that was taking that power, using power differently, using decision making differently, all of that, the excitement of, you know, creatively disrupting within the public... So the week before I went to a couple of meetings of people organising, and on the 15th of October, when there was an occupation that was set up at St Paul's, was there and got involved.”

Jules was particularly interested in the role of education at Occupy:

“I'd had a conversation with someone in New York, that they'd set up a, I knew that there was a university of some sorts, and education. So a couple of people that I'd met, just there, I remember actually, a woman, this woman was very involved with the squatting movement here, and they'd set up a free university was it called the year before. And she'd told me

about it the night before, and then she called the meeting for, 'OK who wants to set up a tent university?' We ended up calling it Tent City University, it might have gone through a few different names, I can't remember. She actually, I remember, slept through that initial meeting, it just shows like how all over things were, she was up all night. And I remember someone saying, 'Who called this meeting?' and somebody was like, 'Oh that person sleeping!', and it was like, 'That doesn't matter!'"

Jules was involved with Occupy, and in particular Tent City University, until May 2012. This included being a media spokesperson, arranging speakers and giving talks about Occupy in a range of different venues:

"Very quickly we started to get, people started emailing, just wanting to give talks and lectures. So once we'd actually set that up it started to fill itself, people would see the calendar and start to... so at its height, for a good couple of months there were 7 or 8 talks a day in the tent city at St Paul's, and another site opened at Victoria, Finsbury Square, then also the old UPS building, which was the Bank of Ideas."

...

"It was in the name of, you know, everybody can teach, everybody can learn, the two go hand in hand, very much the notion of trying to cultivate collective wisdom, and that was kind of like the ethos and methodology behind it. And it was good. It started to attract some media attention, there were several articles on it, but also we were involved in a number of more, I guess, larger events. We did go and reach out to a few people who we wanted to speak there in particular, and that was, we designed, or I should say put together, organised a couple of what we started calling 'Teach outs', where we'd take, we'd go to a surprising but relevant place, outside the Bank of England or Canary Wharf, and bring sort of speakers there for a teach out outside that place."

Jules's last engagement with Occupy was in May 2012, for which he helped to organise a 'teach out' and took part in a march, during which he was arrested:

"I think personally that was just an experience of, it was kind of, it does make you, not rethink what I did, but it took a bit more out of me, I had to start thinking about legal issues around the court. The case was eventually thrown out in September, so it never did come to court, so the, yeah, it's a, even before May 15th, I was already, I was in some ways feeling burnt out by then. I put a lot of like time, in a lot of ways, I'd stopped working full time and put a lot of my energy into that, and so needed to take a break and just go back and make some money."

Reflecting on his experience of Occupy, Jules thinks he learnt "a lot":

"I really liked going there, and I wasn't necessarily your sort of conventional activist in that way, in terms of being a left-wing activist on environmental issues or... I don't know, the other, the activist scene that I'd kind of known of, in London or Toronto, I... partly because of Israel-Palestine issues, because I often found it took too much, a knee jerk, pro-Palestinian, anti-Israeli, for lack of better words, but it was so problematic that it wasn't where I felt I could connect. But also I just wasn't active on economic environmental issues as such, and in Israel and getting involved with Occupy, it opened me up to those issues, I just learnt a lot more about them and the interconnection between various injustices."

Jules says he feels "a certain nostalgia" for Occupy and remains open to being involved again in the future.

Jules sees his current engagement in organising the political economy education programme as a result of his involvement with Tent City University. Working with others he met there, he is attempting to reach wider groups of learners, away from the geographic limitations of Occupy; he feels there is a need to "bring this sort of space for learning to people, where they exist, where they're based in their lives."

4.4.3 The story behind Jules's story

I first contacted Jules in August 2012, following a recommendation from an academic who knows my subject area. I was particularly interested in his engagement with Occupy, a movement that I had followed with interest. After emails and phone conversations he expressed interest in taking part, but asked me to approach him again later in the year. We eventually met for his first interview in December.

The interview was held at the London International Development Centre, a building belonging to my university. Jules had another appointment and needed to leave earlier than expected, so unlike the other respondents, we did not complete his 'journey' in the first interview. The interview lasted nearly 90 minutes and generated a transcript of 7422 words, which I then emailed him to check for omissions or oversights.

During that interview we discovered a shared love of playing basketball, and I invited him to join a group I play with. Through his attendance there we have had a number of conversations, talking about basketball, his PhD application and my proposals for future work projects. We have avoided talking about my research.

The second interview took place at his house in mid-January and lasted over two hours, generating a transcript of just over 11,000 words. In this interview we completed his life story and returned to some areas for clarification. Jules appears to be someone who is naturally analytical, perhaps enhanced by his writing of PhD proposals. This was reflected in his interviews; it was sometimes difficult to separate his story from his critical reflections on his experiences. He expressed interest in hearing my analysis of his story.

4.5 Malcolm's story

Malcolm is 26 years old and lives in London. His mother is from the Caribbean and his father is white British, and the first memories he associates with social justice are of being subjected to racism. Until he began at university he was not

involved with any social justice issues as none of his friends were interested. While attending university in the Midlands he was engaged with a variety of networks, campaigns and forms of direct action, including Black students' groups, occupations of university buildings, youth work and awareness raising campaigns. Since then he has been involved with writing, and later co-editing, a magazine, focusing on peace and justice issues. He has worked and volunteered for a number of think tanks concerned with youth and race. His involvement in the protests against the G20 in London was a "turning point" in his life, giving him a critical perspective on the role of the police. After completing his undergraduate studies he moved back to London and completed a Master's in Globalisation and Development. Moving away from student politics, he organised solidarity events with a social movement in South Africa, presented a radio show from a Pan-African community centre and worked at think tanks. Following the 2011 riots, Malcolm got involved with Black organisations working to defend people from police abuse, an area he is now exploring as a doctoral student.

4.5.1 Introducing Malcolm and his current engagement

Malcolm has one younger brother, who is currently a university student and who, in Malcolm's opinion, is "not really involved in any global justice stuff - he just likes to party really." Malcolm's parents are separated and also live in London. His mother is a social worker, and comes from the Caribbean, moving to the UK aged 10. His father is semi-retired, having worked as a psychiatric nurse, social worker and translator. While Malcolm has no memory of it, he is aware that his parents were engaged with global justice issues when they were younger. He feels they continue to be engaged "on an intellectual level". Malcolm has "no faith", instead preferring to "pursue philosophy".

Malcolm has recently begun a PhD at a prestigious British university, exploring how Black led community organisations in the UK are defending themselves from the police. He volunteers with a number of these organisations in London in his spare time, doing "police monitoring work, taking cases against the police for abuse." He also works part-time as a researcher for a barrister.

Malcolm's current engagement with global justice issues is diverse. He spends about a day and a half a month co-editing and writing for an online magazine. He writes about the "politics of race, activism and imperialism", most recently about the French invasion of Mali. He is involved in the development of a new group interested in running cultural and educational projects around issues that relate to people of African descent. In addition, Malcolm has recently become the primary organiser in the UK of an initiative linking individuals doing youth and community work in urban areas of Ghana with "radical intellectuals" in the UK. The programme aims to document the work in Ghana while "demystifying academia" and encouraging critical approaches.

4.5.2 Malcolm's journey to and within engagement

Malcolm attended a local state school, which he describes as "interesting":

"It was very segregated, Black people didn't really hang out with white people very much at all, so there was a lot of racism... it wasn't too bad a school... but at the same time, I guess they were working in an environment where all the rich kids went to the private schools, all the smart kids went to the grammar schools, all the religious kids went to the faith schools, all the stupid, poor godless people came to my school, so that can't have been easy for the teachers."

He remembers experiencing racism at school and in the local area:

"My first experience of social justice, or social injustice, would be like forms of overt racism, just like getting called the 'n' word, that kind of stuff, or just like less accurate racism, like 'pond life paki scum', that kind of stuff. Erm... whether it's in school, or when I was a bit older, in pub toilets and that kind of stuff. Because where I grew up was on the border of quite a diverse area and a quite white working class and quite racist. So like... it's something that I experienced quite a lot."

After leaving school Malcolm took a year out, working in an office, where he continued to experience racism.

“The two guys who I shared a desk with, sat opposite and next to, both of them were in the BNP³¹. And fairly openly in the BNP as well... people would say just really old-school racist things and not realise. I was the only Black person in the whole building and it was just like, people would just be like, ‘Oh why are you sharing sweets around, why aren't you giving me a sweet? What, am I Black or something?’ And I remember everyone going silent and the woman turning round and realising I'm doing my work in the corner of the room.”

Looking back on this time Malcolm reflects that he was not politically engaged or interested in learning about political issues, largely because none of his friends were:

“None of my friends were interested in reading, and so reading wasn't something I did either... Like I read for pleasure when I was a kid, until I was about 12, and then I just didn't read for pleasure again until I was about 19 [laughs]. So I wasn't reading radical texts... I was just making some money, going to raves, being a teenager. No one, no one, no friend around me was in any way politically engaged. If I wanted to have a political conversation with someone my age, it would just been impossible, be unthinkable.”

When Malcolm was 19 he began a politics degree at a university in the Midlands. His first impressions of tertiary study led to him developing an interest in education and class divide: “When I got to university and I suddenly realised that like everyone was from a posh school, and I was like, ‘Oh shit, I didn't realise it was like this.” He later went on to explore education and class in his undergraduate dissertation.

At university Malcolm joined the Black Students' Committee, leading to his first involvement in activism:

³¹ The British National Party, a far-right political party

"I decided to join the Black Students' Committee, which was like a SU³² committee on race equality, and that same day, or the same term, the Education Officer went to a training meeting and they were training people on different things, and one of them was how to stop knife and gun crime on university campuses, and you had to write down like your suggestions and hold it up, and he held up a sign that said, 'Bring back slavery'... so we ran like a big campaign to have a vote of no confidence against him. We got enough signatures to have the vote, but the rest of the SU was just like so ridiculously backward that they all supported him and they love him so he ended up staying, and being voted as Chair of Council the next year. He's now tipped to be one of the next Tory front benchers."

Malcolm feels he learnt a lot from this experience:

"It kind of got me used to the logistics of running a campaign, how to subvert resources from the Students' Union, who don't want you to do what you're doing, erm convincing apathetic middle-class students that they should take a stand against racial injustice."

The failure of this campaign led Malcolm to question the value of student politics.

He was therefore surprised by the good experience he had attending the NUS³³

Black Students' Conference:

"I was just, 'Well what's this going to be like? Is this going to be some bourgeois Black people just talking about how, complaining they can't get a job in Barclays, like, and just wanting to recreate capitalist power structures, but with a more even colour distribution?' But it actually like a really, really critical, like radical event, where you had people from Palestine, we had speakers from Somalia, they flew over people from Ghana, from Congo, ex-Black Panthers from the USA, you had LGBT³⁴ activists talking about homophobia within our

³² Students' Union

³³ The National Union of Students

³⁴ Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender

communities, you had amazing, amazing inspiring speakers... I was like, 'Wow, this is proper sick.' I met lots of other Black students from across the country also involved in radical campaigns and stuff, and it really kind of broadened my network and my understanding that, yeah, it's not just me."

Meeting other Black activists was greatly encouraging for Malcolm:

"At university there weren't really any other radical Black students at all. There were radical Arabs, radical South Asian people, but there weren't any, like all the other Black people, apart from a few things around racism, when they were like, 'Yeah, we need to stop this, cut down racism', they were mainly just like, 'Yeah, I just want to get on, get a job, live comfortably, and not have to put up with racism for the rest of my life.' Which is kind of fair... but that's not me politically, so I was like, 'I need to find people who are more critical and want to go that step further.'"

The NUS Black Students' Conference also gave Malcolm's group an award for their campaign against the Education Officer:

"Even though our campaign failed, they were like, 'It's such an important campaign, you guys worked so hard.' They gave us this award, really nice, we could have it up in the Students' Union back at the university, being like, 'Yeah, fuck you.'"

Since university Malcolm has been involved with writing, and later co-editing, a magazine set up in response to the invasion of Iraq. This started as a "purely anti-war" print publication "dominated by like kind of white activists", but over time has become an online magazine led by "students of colour", broadening to cover discussions of "the politics of race and imperialism and post colonialism". Malcolm's first article was about the extraction of the mineral coltan from Congo and "how it's funding conflict there". He wanted to do "a massive campaign" on this issue, but "not enough people knew about it" so he and his friends began to raise awareness on the university campus:

"We used to do stalls on campus all the time, just raising awareness about where coltan comes from, how it supplies like all of our electronic products, and we're funding it, how our

governments, the World Bank and all that are complicit in it. We made like a massive papier-mâché grenade and got everyone to sign it and stuff, and at little events, whenever there were little events, the NGO events, we'd try to make it a little bit more political."

With friends from the Black Students' Committee, Malcolm was involved with a number of other awareness raising events:

"We used to get speakers to come in, Israeli refuseniks, or speakers to come in and do talks on, I don't know, Marcus Garvey or Black history month, that kind of bate³⁵ stuff, but try to make it a bit more radical than the usual."

He did not engage with the mainstream development NGOs, seeing them as part of the "establishment". This opinion was reinforced by a module exploring the politics of humanitarianism, "which was basically a critique."

In 2008, one of the co-editors of this magazine and another student were wrongfully accused of involvement in terrorism. They were imprisoned and suffered a variety of impositions and sanctions by the police and the university; Malcolm feels they "basically ruined his [the co-editor's] life." Malcolm was "heavily involved" in organising campaigns:

"Protests, getting the word out there, getting media stuff, that kind of stuff... And we had him edit one of the copies of the magazine from jail as well, just like sending back and forth, by letters with his annotations and that kind of stuff all over it, and he wrote like the editorial and signed it from Her Majesty's Prison. So yeah it was all very left-wing and cool."

In 2009, in response to the Israeli attack on Palestine, Malcolm took part in the occupation of a university building led by the "white hippy anarchist groups". He learnt a lot from their approach:

"The way in which things were structured was very non-hierarchical, like consensual decision making, all jobs, we had like little groups where some people would do media stuff,

³⁵ Obvious

some people would do food and that, some people would do like, security... it was all very participatory, very decentralised, that kind of stuff. And like I'd read about it, been familiar with it theoretically, but I think, living in that kind of environment, for a prolonged period of time, and not only watching it operate but being, participating in its operation, really, if you like, spelt out to me, yeah, this is how society should be structured."

He also feels that this experience was significant in developing his "understanding of modern imperialism in the Middle East."

When that occupation ended, with the protestors being "dragged out one by one" by a security firm, Malcolm joined a larger occupation at a northern university, occupying the Students' Union:

"Oh my God! Those guys were so militant man... Occupied the whole building, put Palestinian flags everywhere... they were like, 'The Vice Chancellor is having a big dinner this evening, with loads of the funders of the university, loads of people from the board, that kind of stuff. We're gonna wait til they all get into the meeting, all sit for the big dinner and... we're going to barricade the whole building. None of them are leaving.' So we barricaded the whole building, got like big recycling things, blocked all the exits, so none of them could get out... And they had like a declaration they had to sign to say that the university would divest from Israel. And each person had to show ID before they were allowed to leave... In the end they just sent in the riot police and bare³⁶ dogs, and we just got like, it was madness! That university is just on another level. It was incredible. [Laughs] It was so nuts."

That year Malcolm also took part in the London protests against the G20, which he described as "a bit messy":

"The G20 protest was a turning point in my life, cos then, that's when I realised the police weren't just harassing people on a

³⁶ a lot of

day to day basis and just beating people up here and there, like I realised the police were an army, the police were an organised militaristic army of the state... And I remember just getting licks³⁷ from police, and just like, seeing it, like looking around and just seeing we had an army and they had an army and that was it like, we were against the state... That really kind of brought it home for me. Like, I'd read about the Panthers, I'd read about the miners' strike, I'd read about all that kind of stuff, like, but only when you're there, when you're standing around, and the police... all you can see, you don't even see people, you see visors, blacked out visors and clubs and armour, and you see it coming towards you and you're like, 'This is, yeah, this is what the state is. This is what the state does when it feels threatened.' Your friendly bobby on the beat turns into a mercenary, they're just a faceless army that's just there to destroy you."

Malcolm notes various people who had an influence on his engagement. These included some of his lecturers and, in particular, a Black activist academic he met through the NUS Black Students' Committee:

"He's been involved in a lot of radical stuff... environmental justice, global justice, loads of solidarity stuff. For years and years and years... His knowledge of political history, radical politics, is, I'd say it's pretty much, I'd say it's encyclopaedic, like he's bang on. And when he speaks, he's an incredible speaker. Like amazingly inspiring speaker. And he's very humble as well. We used to get him to come and speak at our events all the time, cos he'd never charge you a penny, and you could get him to speak on any topic. And he wouldn't be someone who just appeals to radical people, because he speaks with such conviction, it's evidence based, and it's very, very compelling I guess.

...

³⁷ Being hit by

He's been quite, he's kind of like... I don't like using the word mentor because it's... a bit hierarchical, and I feel like the kind of youth work I'm involved in is very much an exchange of knowledge. Like yeah, when I work with young people, I learn far more, about class warfare and class politics and race politics, than they learn from me. I might be able to tell them the global historical context, but they know, they're living it every day, I'm a very privileged guy, they're living it. So I wouldn't say mentor, but I see him as regularly as I can, maybe every few months or whatever, and we sit and we just talk for 3 hours, and yeah he's just... I get involved in a lot of his projects and campaigns and stuff.”

Following an invitation from a mature Jamaican PhD student, the realisation that he was “too bogged down” in university politics and a growing awareness of the contrast between the privileged people at university and the poverty of some local people, Malcolm began to volunteer with young people at a youth centre. The centre, which was “basically like a pupil referral unit” working with young people who had been excluded from school, was entirely Black run and based in a “very, very segregated place.” However, it worked across all communities, leading to “really kind of interesting dynamics.” Malcolm “really enjoyed” volunteering there, continuing for about two years, running classes on PSHE³⁸, English, maths and taking young people on outings. He largely agreed with the politics of the staff, although his opinion differed on some issues, such as concerning gender and inter-communal violence. However, he felt it was not his place to challenge these:

“I wasn't really going to parachute in and start wagging my finger at people, do you know what I mean? Like how am I, as a person from a position of relative privilege, and tell these people, who live in relative poverty in comparison with me, and start telling them they're being immoral? It's nonsense.”

³⁸ Physical, Social and Health Education

In the summer between his second and third years of university, Malcolm visited East Africa. He spent three weeks volunteering with a charity in Uganda and then three weeks travelling around. He saw this as a learning experience, giving him a chance to interact with local people and re-enforcing his opinion that NGOs are “problematic”.

Following involvement with a student involved in social enterprise, Malcolm attended an all-expenses-covered conference in Thailand. While it made him feel that “social enterprise and all that stuff is just bullshit”, he met some “interesting people”. Through them he became involved in a programme identifying Black male role models and met a number of what he calls the British “Black political elite”. At the final presentation, Malcolm made a contact who offered him the opportunity of an internship at a think tank. Malcolm was not impressed with his experience of working there:

“I realised that policy is like just nonsense... A White Paper or Green Paper comes in, you analyse it, you look at how it's going to affect different, different like racialised or minoritised communities within the UK, you write a response, and it just goes in a bin somewhere, in the Cabinet Office I assume.”

Having applied for a teacher training programme but been rejected, Malcolm returned to London and completed a Master's in Globalisation and Development. During this time he cut back on student politics and “got involved in more community and more kind of outside-of-university international solidarity stuff.” This included presenting a radio show from a Pan-African community centre and being involved with a solidarity group for a social movement in South Africa. This was supported by War on Want³⁹, who provided resources, including paying for some of the South African activists to visit the UK. Malcolm helped organise speaker tours and protests outside the South African Embassy and Downing Street.

Malcolm's earlier internship led to paid work at a related think tank during his Master's. However this did not go smoothly. Following completing focus groups

³⁹ <http://www.waronwant.org/>, campaign-focused NGO.

with young people, he was expected to write a response to a green paper "which was basically like, lists of responsibilities, things poor people should be doing. So like, not claiming benefits you're not entitled to, reporting crimes, recycling":

"And they [the young people] were all looking at it, and obviously being like, 'What is this nonsense?' And so I wrote the report and they were like, 'Oh no, this isn't right, you've done it wrong, it's too one-sided blah blah blah.' So I did it again, and they kept saying the same thing again and again and again. And I just got really infuriated with them. And in the end I never even got paid for it."

After completing his degree, Malcolm did various jobs and internships at charities and think tanks related to youth and race relations. This included running some workshops about power, race, gender and community activism with young people which he enjoyed. In another internship, this time for local government, Malcolm researched youth violence within the African and Afro-Caribbean populations of London. He felt there was an expectation to produce particular results, for example emphasising the absence of male role models and the negative influence of hip-hop music. However, he used his access to the data to suggest other causes:

"I was supposed to go through the education system and see why Black boys were failing... look at the employment system, look at all these things. But I managed to find enough evidence to basically be like, 'The criminal justice system, institutionally racist. The educational system, institutionally racist'."

Reflecting on his experiences of working with policy and think tanks, Malcolm feels that "they inform me where I don't want to be", showing how people are "co-opted" away from more radical engagement. He also recognises that they have been good for his CV and helped in his PhD application.

Around this time he "took a break from activism":

"I started to get quite introspective, and I read a lot about feminism, I read a lot about Black masculinity. I probably took about 6 months to 8 months working at a kind of race equality

youth charity, which was kind of bullshit job. So I used to just sit around in the office, erm downloading journal articles then pasting them into a word document so it looked as though I was doing work, and reading about feminism and Black masculinity and just like therapizing myself about, deconstructing my identity basically, for about 6 months."

After "emerging" from his "cocoon", Malcolm was involved organising awareness raising events and symposiums about a number of issues, including "about climate change in Africa, and the effects that environmental degradation and climate change were having."

In 2011, following the riots, Malcolm became much more involved with police monitoring:

"August 2011 hit and Babylon was just burning... As soon as it happened it was just, similar to the G20, like the police just became an army, like occupied the hoods. It was like, it was ridiculous. So you just had the police like patrolling constantly... peoples' houses were getting raided on a daily basis, and we just need to defend people... And you had a big coalition of people. Some white anarchists, some pan-African groups, some old school anti-racists, some of the socialists, some of the trade unionists, some people just concerned about their kids, some youth workers, critical youth workers... we'd be trained on what to do, or advise people what to do when their house is being raided, what if they're arrested and questioned, what to do if the police say, 'Yeah, we want to come and have a nice little chat with you.' That kind of stuff. We'd go onto the estates, we'd flyer with like numbers of good lawyers, because the duty solicitors were either rubbish or they hadn't slept in a month."

Malcolm applied for doctoral studies in order to continue to work with and study Black led community organisations, particularly in relation to how they are defending themselves from the police:

"The only reason I wanted to do it is because I was working full time for like some youth charities which politically I wasn't really down with... but I was volunteering in the evening, with other organisations that had no money, that I really believed in politically... After two years I was just like, I was so burnt out, so exhausted, from basically doing two jobs, and maybe if I can do a PhD I can work with these organisations during the day time, and it will be my job to do that."

4.5.3 The story behind Malcolm's story

Malcolm was my 5th and final respondent. I was introduced to him by a member of staff from the campaigning development NGO 'War on Want' after I asked her if she could help me find an activist/educator she wished she had more of.

After speaking on the phone and exchanging emails, Malcolm and I met for his first interview on the 12th of February, 2013 at the London International Development Centre, a building belonging to my university. The first interview lasted around 90 minutes and generated a transcript of just over 12,500 words. I had to ask Malcolm to explain some of the language he used, which he explained was Afro-Caribbean vernacular. I also asked him why he agreed to take part in my research:

"No reason why not... I'm interested in academia. I think academia is very important, I think we should encourage academic pursuits, so I'd be a bit of a hypocrite if I was like, 'Nah man.'"

We also discussed anonymity, with Malcolm asking me to exclude one section from his story due to ongoing court proceedings (this section was about people Malcolm knows, not directly about him).

Following the first interview, Malcolm contacted me to ask for advice regarding his PhD. In response I sent him my draft methodology chapter.

The second interview took place on the 25th of February at the same venue. It lasted only 25 minutes and the resulting transcript is just over 3000 words.

While it felt like a comfortable discussion, it was also brisk and to the point. Malcolm was happy with the account he had given previously and with my transcription; he felt he had little to add.

4.6 Conclusions

This chapter presented my five respondents and their stories. Following the methodological approach set out in Chapter 3, it has presented their current engagement and (co-created) stories of journeys to and within engagement. In addition, recognising the importance of context to narrative research, it has also shared something of the ‘story behind the story’ for each respondent, explaining how they came to take part in the research interviews.

The five ‘journeys to engagement’ are incredibly rich ‘data’, valuable insights into how individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues. However, as important as the stories collected are, narratives “require interpretation when used as data in social research” (Riessman, 2004a:706). The next chapter therefore explores the stories presented above from two perspectives, considering them thematically through the lens of development education (as discussed in 2.4) and separately from the perspective of identity (as discussed in 3.3.3).

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter presents analysis of the previous chapter's stories. As research data, these re-tellings of journeys to and within engagement with global justice issues are incredibly rich. They are detailed and personal stories accessed through narrative research, bringing to life aspects of the generic route-map created from the literature (2.3). This richness of data contains a wealth of themes which could be explored. Pragmatically, this study cannot investigate all of these, limiting itself to analysis as discussed in 3.3.3. The first section, 5.1, considers the role of development education and learning in my respondents' stories. The analysis presented in this section considers the stories thematically, using the exploration of relevant literature set out in 2.4 as a starting point. The second section, 5.2, looks at each respondent's story individually in turn, considering the role of identity in each. This utilises the framework presented in 3.3.3, based on a combination of Narrative Identity, Social Identity Theory and Identity Theory.

Taken together, the two sections present the results of a 'meshwork' of analysis, opening up stories from multiple directions while respecting the teller, telling and context. They are integral to the research's contribution, exploring key questions presented in Chapter 1:

- What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?
- How can concepts related to identity be used to understand individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

5.1 Analysis from the perspective of development education

This first section explores the role of development education and learning in my respondents' stories, based on the review of relevant literature presented in 2.4. This analysis begins by discussing the relatively limited instances of formal development education they mention experiencing. The second section considers the role of respondents' families and the possible influence of faith, both areas which make limited appearance in the literature on development

education. It then continues to discuss various factors influencing respondents' learning, including social learning and learning through exposure visits. Finally this section considers how the five respondents might be understood as development educators themselves, through a discussion of their practices. Together with 5.2, which explores identity in their stories, this section offers an analysis of my respondents' journeys.

5.1.1 The role of formal education

Section 2.4 suggested that, due to the constraints of funding and the ease of access, schools are often seen to be a main site of development education within the UK. How is this reflected in my respondents' stories? There is very little mention of formal development education in this context and only a limited number of stories which might hint at its influence. Leena felt that her formal education, through school, college and undergraduate studies, had little effect on her involvement with global issues. Instead she talks about her family and visits to India (discussed below). Malcolm suggests that his engagement did not begin until starting at university, with learning before that limited to his own experiences of the injustice of racism. This, however, does not perhaps fully explain his reasons for choosing to study politics at degree level. He makes clear that at this stage of his life his friends were not "politically engaged", so perhaps his experiences of injustice and his family combined play a part in sparking his interest in reading "radical texts" and applying to study politics? Rebecca remembers her emotional response to watching films about the struggle against apartheid and Gandhi: it "moved" her "so much" and she became "really passionate about Gandhi". While she goes on to tell stories of actions she took around this age, these largely took place outside of school, through her church and friendship groups.

Ayo, on the other hand, perhaps surprisingly given her current critical position regarding development NGOs, tells a story of her and a friend organising a fashion show at school to raise money for a charity, "the Red Cross or something", in response to "something quite big" that had happened (see p.122). She makes clear that what was unique about this is that it was initiated by the

students rather than staff, showing both learning and action, crucial elements of development education.

A number of observations can be made about this. Firstly, it does not make clear how Ayo and her friends became aware of the “something quite big” that had taken place. It may be that they formally learnt about this at school and/or that news of it reached them through the media. Secondly, while at one level this story is an example of learning ‘for charity’, as Ayo’s aim was to raise money, its significance in Ayo’s journey appears to be more in terms of her growth in her power to take action. While fundraising for charity was a common practice at her school, Ayo and her friends took agency, breaking away from the norm to be the first to choose the charity supported for themselves. It appears as if this impacted both on the school, in terms of “how they felt pupils should engage with charitable donation”, and Ayo herself, giving her the confidence in her power to make things happen. She showed herself that she could be successful even in the face of opposition, learning that would be built upon in her later confrontation about the school’s heating. Finally, she is clearly working from a different perspective at this stage to that of today, where she has made a “very clear choice about not supporting” mainstream aid and development NGOs.

A second example of learning and action taking place in school can be found in Jules’s story. After becoming aware of instances of homophobia at school, he decides he needs to “speak up” about it, organising an assembly and class discussions. Here, although he is not directly linked to the gay community in any way, Jules acts to challenge and educate his peers about discrimination against homosexuals. He explains that he did so as a result of the holocaust education he had received at school, home and temple. Jules learnt about other groups that were persecuted under the Nazi regime and then demonstrates that what he had learnt was in some way transferable, inviting a gay rights activist and a holocaust survivor in to challenge discrimination in his school. This has echoes of other examples of respondents ‘sidestepping’ across the movement, for example Malcolm learning about anti-capitalism through taking action about Israel-Palestine, Jules’s later involvement in Occupy “opening him up” to environmental issues and Ayo’s work helping her to see links between different

groups experiencing injustice (see discussions of 'broker issues' below and in 2.1.2). Although Jules's experience and response to holocaust education is not obviously an instance of development education, it is built upon relevant values, which are reaffirmed through the apparent success of the initiative. In addition, similarly to in Ayo's fundraising story above, it also serves to empower; he shows himself (and others) that he has the requisite power and abilities to identify and act upon an issue. The way in which he responds is also significant; he opts for an educational initiative based on multiple perspectives and dialogue. This approach is one he returns to throughout his journey.

Commitment to learning, both in groups and individually, is a recurring theme throughout my respondents' stories. All respondents other than Rebecca have completed Masters' degrees, with Jules and Malcolm respectively now considering and embarking upon PhDs, and Rebecca showing a commitment to ongoing learning about global justice through reading and attending events. It is interesting to observe that while all of my respondents have been educated to at least undergraduate level, none of them placed particular emphasis on formal education in telling their stories. This does not mean that their education was unimportant; it may have had significant subtle impact that they did not notice or acknowledge. It certainly opens a question beyond the scope of this thesis concerning the correlation between tertiary education and engagement (see, for example, Hillygus, 2005; Lopez and Elrod, 2006). It seems possible that McAdam's concept of biographical availability (McAdam, 1986:70) may play a role here – perhaps my respondents' availability to engagement is mirrored by their availability to pursue learning? This could be true with respect to related factors such as class, funding and finance, time available, and expectations and responsibilities from families and peers. From a narrative perspective, it is also important to consider why mention of education may be largely absent from their stories. Remembering that my respondents have shared their stories from the perspective of their present day situations (Bruner, 2001:28), it could be the case that they wished to show themselves as some way 'self-made' or to place emphasis on other influences (such as family).

Having said this, the absence of more school-based stories might suggest that this is not the most significant site of learning for engagement with global justice

issues for my respondents. However, two other contexts, family and faith, both almost completely absent from the development education literature reviewed, are given far more prominent positions in their stories.

5.1.2 The role(s) of family and faith

Although the importance of the family as a site of learning is recognised in other areas of literature concerned with learning, it makes limited appearance in the literature on development education. Within my respondents' stories, their families appear to play multiple important roles. They bring the global into the local (or indeed, the familial) and are mentioned in terms of providing examples of commitment to engagement, learning and education. In some ways at least, they provide a setting for developing values and laying foundations for ongoing journeys to and within the Global Justice Movement. At the same time, they are clearly not sufficient in themselves, as at least three of my respondents refer to siblings they consider to be non-engaged.

All of my respondents have early experiences within their families that might help situate them as 'global citizens'. Leena, growing up in London, has parents who have moved to the UK from Kenya and India, speaking multiple languages at home. Malcolm's mother came to the UK as a child from the Caribbean. Jules was brought up in Canada by British parents. Ayo came from Nigeria to a boarding school in the UK when she was ten years old. When Rebecca was five her family spent two and a half years living in Kuwait, and she feels this influenced her later love of "tolerance between different groups of people".

Multiple respondents have family examples of commitment to service or action on behalf of others. While these vary in terms of practice, they may all serve to witness to the importance of similar values, perhaps helping to build preconditions for engagement (introduced in 2.3). Jules remembers his parents' involvement with helping to support Soviet Jews. In addition, his mother ran a pre-school group, which may have had some influence on Jules's ongoing commitment to education. Both of Malcolm's parents had jobs that involved service of those in need, as a social worker and a psychiatric nurse, and were engaged with global justice issues when they were younger. Ayo draws

attention to the multiple charitable works done by her family, including a school set up by her grandfather, her grandmother's care for children in the community and her father's giving of free legal advice. She makes clear that she feels these practices have influenced her, saying that "it would be very weird in my family to have no sense of social justice" as "there's a real sense of feeling that you need to serve the community that you're part of" and that there is a "responsibility to help other people who were poor". She suggests that her family's actions are in part motivated by faith. For Rebecca's parents, service and faith are also intertwined, with her mother working as a chaplain to women and juveniles in prison and her father serving as a deacon at the church.

Religious faith appears not to be of particular significance in Leena or Malcolm's stories. While Leena says that religion is part of everyday life for her and her family, she does not mention it in relation to learning or engagement. Malcolm states that he has "no faith" and instead prefers to "pursue philosophy". It is an open question as to whether this might have a similar effect in terms of nurturing relevant values. Faith, which like family is given limited recognition as a place of learning in the literature (rarely mentioned except in passing, for example in Della Porta, 2005), appears to play a significant role in Rebecca's, Jules's and Ayo's stories. It appears to provide space for the telling, re-telling and hearing of public narratives (Wuthnow, 2004), including those relevant to engagement with justice issues.

Rebecca sees her faith as an integral part of who she is, and this is reflected both in her weekly attendance at church and her engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement via faith-based NGOs such as Christian Aid and, in particular, CAFOD (the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development). She sees her relationship with CAFOD as "special" because she is Catholic. Her life-long commitment to the practice of her faith has given her multiple opportunities to learn and reaffirm values that may serve to nurture commitment. This includes school, church (including regular appeals from CAFOD volunteers) and Catholic and broader Christian chaplaincies at university. The parallel commitments to faith and charitable engagement are strengthened by emotional reactions and positive feedback, such as the bookmark she was given after donating her Grand National winnings (see p. 112). At a later stage Rebecca tells of

attending a service for 'Make Poverty History' at her local cathedral when she was aged 16: "I just cried so much throughout it, it was just so moving."

Ayo also links her faith with action, describing herself as a "social action Christian" and saying that her faith "doesn't really make sense without having action with it." Although she identifies as Christian, her faith-learning as a child is influenced by both Islam and Christianity as her father is Muslim and her mother is Christian. For example, she mentions both the Muslim commitment to Zakat and the Christian concept of tithing as influencing her personal commitment to charitable donation. Jules was brought up in the Jewish faith and also discusses the impact of religious values on his journey. In particular he notes the role of the concept of Tikkun Olam, which he understands to mean "repairing or healing the world" and as being linked to social justice and charity.

While these examples suggest that faith can provide a significant context for learning, and in particular for developing and nurturing values relevant to engagement with social justice issues, this is not always the case. The practice of faith can be a helpful influence, but can also act to hinder or limit. It is diverse, crossing various political spectrums. A significant moment in Jules's learning comes when he finds himself questioning what was being said at an Israel advocacy conference. He found himself speaking out in opposition to the dominant 'faith' teaching. This in turn contributed to his ongoing explorations of other perspectives through dialogue and educational initiatives. In sections of interview transcript omitted in telling their stories, Malcolm talks of his mother leaving her church because of racism and him stopping believing in God due to "legacies of enslavement". Ayo stops attending a particular parish in London because she feels the practice of faith there is "individualistic" and too distant from "social action". Religion can provide helpful learning experiences, but this cannot be assumed.

5.1.3 The action-learning debate

In 2.4 it was noted that there is a debate within the literature concerning the place of action in learning for engagement with global justice issues. Does action follow learning? Or is there some kind of spiral relationship of action and

reflection (Hayes and McNally, 2012:105)? My respondents' journeys provide a number of examples of 'learning through doing', spread across the life course, in which when telling stories of actions they have taken they noted the learning that took place, either simultaneously or following reflection.

Rebecca told of organising a cake sale at her church to raise money for CAFOD when she was 17. She reflects that this encouraged her to become more involved, as "after that experience I learnt that's something that I could do, and I enjoyed doing it"; it increased her belief in the possibility of future engagement as well as providing a positive experience. Rebecca talks again about learning following participation in her first campaign march. This is explored further in 5.2 (comparing it to McAdam's account of a low cost/risk engagement). Similar examples include Leena feeling that she "learnt a lot" through volunteering at the Asian Foundation for Philanthropy (AFP) office and Jules emphasising his growing understanding of environmental issues through his involvement with Occupy. Malcolm provides a number of particularly clear examples. His involvement with the campaign against his Student Union Education Officer taught him about "the logistics of running a campaign" and "how to subvert resources from the Students' Union, who don't want you to do what you're doing". He feels his experience of occupying a university building with "white hippy anarchist groups" gave him a practical understanding of participatory approaches: "Like I'd read about it, been familiar with it theoretically, but I think, living in that kind of environment, for a prolonged period of time, and not only watching it operate but being, participating in its operation, really, if you like, spelt out to me, yeah, this is how society should be structured". Taking part in the London protests against the G20 provided a particularly vivid example, as he came to a new understanding of the role of the police, an understanding that heavily influenced his future engagements. He says that "the G20 protest was a turning point in my life" because "that's when I realised the police weren't just harassing people on a day to day basis", but "an organised militaristic army of the state": "we had an army and they had an army and that was it like, we were against the state... That really kind of brought it home for me."

An extract in which Ayo reflects on attending her first campaign march brings a different perspective to exploring learning through action. She describes it as a

“scary” experience in which she was kettled and charged by horses, and which “all got a little bit out of control” (see p. 126). Here the learning that takes place does not lead simply on to further engagement; in fact it can be argued that it had the opposite effect, leading to her avoiding this form of engagement “for quite a while”. On the other hand, Ayo makes clear throughout her story that her emotions, and anger in particular, are significant motivators for her. This experience may have led to an increase in commitment or engagement by other forms.

Considering the place of media in my respondents’ stories brings a different perspective to bear on exploring the relationship between action and learning. While explicit mentions of the media are rare, it is clear that it plays a number of significant roles. It appears as a source of information, for example resulting in Rebecca’s preconceptions of the climate swoop or leading to Ayo’s fundraising fashion show. It is something they react to and/or against, taking part in events due to advertising or criticising NGOs’ use of imagery. Most interestingly, all respondents also talk about ways in which they have made use of the media – it offers multiple opportunities for forms of engagement, although usually in-line with Castell’s observation that such use is multi-modal, with both the physical and virtual playing a role (2012:221). These range from Ayo threatening to tell her heating story to local journalists, Jules’s use of press releases and interviews to publicise Occupy, and multiple respondents using ‘new media’ (see discussion in 2.4.6) to publicise events and write and share their own communications. ‘Media’, therefore, is seen to straddle the divide, being in some ways a tool (and site) both for learning and action.

Much of the learning described in the stories above takes place in groups. This is an area which will be explored from multiple perspectives, including when considering the role of groups in identity (5.2). From an educational perspective, it highlights the role of social learning, explored below.

5.1.4 Social learning

Theories around social learning suggest that there is an intimate connection between knowledge and activity, with relationships playing a crucial role in

encouraging and strengthening learning. For the purposes of this analysis it is enough to note the many instances of respondents learning with others, through personal contact, in contrast to the limited explicit reference to group learning in the development education literature.

Examples can be found in a variety of settings, from the formal, where groups exist with the purpose of learning, to the more informal. Rebecca notes the importance of friends to her learning from school onwards; “they encouraged my faith and also encouraged me to think about putting my faith into action.” She reflects that it’s always been her friends who have “encouraged me and made me question and think about what I’m doing.” Her friends have supported critical reflection, while also helping her to “get engaged”, for example in organising the fair trade fashion show. At university she surrounded herself with a friendship group she describes as “hippyish” (discussed in 5.2), continuing this process of supported/encouraged learning. Her networks included others engaged through global justice organisations (such as People and Planet), who spent time together learning “to grow more confident with arguing and debating about different issues.” Her reaction to the absence of such groups after university draws attention to their importance for her learning and ongoing engagement: “I feel I’m slipping and I’m not as awake and aware as I would have been before around more people who are similar, similar mind-sets.”

Malcolm’s stories emphasise a similar contrast regarding group learning, this time between his teenage years and being a university undergraduate. When he was younger he noted that as none of his friends were interested in reading or were “in any way politically engaged” he wasn’t either. At university, on the other hand, he met like-minded and engaged people, for example at the NUS Black Students’ Conference, which he says “really kind of broadened my network and my understanding that, yeah, it’s not just me.”

Examples of groups with a formal purpose of learning can be found in Leena’s and Ayo’s stories. Leena participated in a series of training sessions in order to become a Development Ambassador for AFP. She found the social learning aspects particularly helpful, noting that: “You’re not just sitting and listening, you’re taking part, you’re doing group discussions. And everyone has opinions.

And you learn a lot from your peers.” After moving to London for university, Ayo joined an Afro-Caribbean society with the purpose of exploring “Black identity”. This group was both social and political, doing things together, including dancing, club nights, discussions and attending demonstrations. She felt the group was “a place where people of colour go and talk, and it sort of festers all of that kind of anger and sense of justice and sense of injustice”.

More informal learning through group membership can be seen in Leena’s discussion with the British Indian lady who had just returned from volunteering in India through AFP. They met and talked during a “night out” following introductions from mutual friends. Similarly, Jules recognised that being challenged about sexism in sport by another counsellor, “active in terms of feminist issues”, during a summer camp led to “an impact” on his thinking and values. These examples are different from the previous set in that the groups were not formed with the express purpose of encouraging learning. Instead, the learning which takes place is incidental, but still would not be possible without the group.

Two other forms of social learning are highlighted in Malcolm’s story. He combines discussing the influence of a particular Black activist academic he met through the NUS Black Students’ Committee with talking about how he (Malcolm) learns from those he works with (see p. 162). Although Malcolm avoids calling this academic his mentor, he clearly privileges this relationship. At another point he describes him extremely positively, using words such as “inspiring”, “humble” and “compelling”, and emphasising his length of commitment to “environmental justice, global justice, loads of solidarity stuff”. At the same time Malcolm also makes clear his own commitment to learning from those he is ‘educating’. This reflects the practice of participatory and critical forms of education and youth work, perhaps influenced by the work of Freire. Malcolm recognises that although he has things he can teach young people, he can and should also learn from them and their experiences.

Although learning in groups appears significant (see above), some of my respondents also tell of ‘seasons’ of reflection and individual learning. In these ‘seasons’ they took a step back from ‘action’. For Leena it was while studying

for her MA in Anthropology, a time in which she asked critical questions about development and its potential to do harm. Twice in Jules's story he mentions "checking out" or "taking a step back", usually after a period of intense engagement. When discussing engaging with a potential new project he reflects: "A lot of me would like to drive it forward, I'm trying to figure out how much time, how much I'd really want to, I guess create something new. It could be incredible and exciting, but it also can take a hell of a lot out of you." It seems that he is familiar with a pattern of intense work, burn out and recovery. Malcolm "took a break from activism" for about six months after completing work at a think tank after university. In this time he "started to get quite introspective", reading about feminism and Black masculinity and "just like therapizing myself about, deconstructing my identity basically." He then speaks of "emerging" from his "cocoon", and re-engaging with global justice issues. This language is powerfully symbolic, speaking of a time of growth and transformation. Learning is therefore seen to have taken place at different times both through personal commitment to reflection and in groups.

5.1.5 Learning through visits overseas

My earlier research (Trewby, 2007) focused particularly on the educational possibilities of overseas volunteering. This research project chose five respondents with a commitment to engagement and education in order to look in detail at their stories, in part to consider how people might come to engagement other than through experiential learning in a developing country or elsewhere. However, all five of my respondents mentioned some kind of exposure visit as being significant to their learning. These are by no means all the same; they take place at various different points in peoples' journeys and appear to play different roles. In some instances they lay the foundations for future engagement, while in others they encourage immediate commitment to action or are themselves a response to previous learning and engagement. They can be seen to encourage individuals who are already committed to global justice issues but also raise questions and complicate engagement.

As discussed above, Rebecca credits her early experience of living in Kuwait with influencing her "love of tolerance between different groups of people." Her

visit to India as part of her university degree challenged her belief that she could really 'make a difference' (see p. 116): "in those moments I felt helpless... and I... I felt like quite disempowered actually." Rebecca then goes on to question her particular forms of engagement: "Why was I doing this, shouldn't I be doing something better, something that's going to make more of a difference?" This visit therefore served to challenge her, destabilising, and perhaps eventually deepening, her commitment to global justice. Learning here is shown to be much more complex than the relatively simple model proposed by Trewby (2007); it is not simply experience-reflection-action, but instead experience leading to challenging and messy questions forcing reflection on both global justice issues and her responses to them. Malcolm's reflections on his visit to East Africa similarly challenge a simplistic understanding of experiential development education. While he states that he valued the opportunity to interact with local people, the learning he emphasised was the re-enforcing of his opinion that NGOs are "problematic". It therefore appears not to have affected his ongoing commitment (positively or negatively) other than in terms of form, strengthening his commitment to educative initiatives and engagement based in solidarity, social movements and Black groups.

Leena had childhood instances of experiential learning, visiting India with her family. She said that the trips helped her to understand something of the similarities and differences between life there and her life in the UK. She noted that learning differed according to age, with her relative maturity during later visits helping her to make a more nuanced comparison: "The older you get, the more you realise that the life you lead in London is nowhere near in comparison to your cousin in India who, I've got one cousin who got married at the age of 17. When I went to see her, my third visit, she had her second child, at the time I was I think 16. And then you just realise you're so similar, but you lead such different lives." Leena described her return to India as a volunteer as "the best four months I've had in my life", emphasising various things she learnt from the experience. These included learning about development and life in India. In particular, she notes being inspired by individuals she met there.

Jules tells of a number of overseas visits which can be understood as experiential learning. The first, when he was 16, was also an instance of group

learning, as he travelled with other young people to visit concentration camps in Poland before spending a week in Israel. He saw this as a particularly significant learning experience in terms of developing Jewish identity and “a vigilance of discrimination”, perhaps having some influence over his decision to ‘speak out’ against homophobia (discussed above). The second came after university, when he returned to Israel to spend a year in a fellowship programme. He feels his most significant learning in this time came through volunteering with an NGO taking international groups on tours of the separation barrier. Here, as in other points in all respondents’ stories, he himself learnt through the process of educating others. Some years later he spent two “eye-opening” days in Gaza that had “a real impact” on his continuing involvement with global justice issues. He said of this visit that “there's no substitute for seeing things with one's own eyes, and having, getting beyond the, especially when something becomes so taboo, like a stereotype of it builds up quite quickly.” Experience can serve to break through preconceptions, with “everyday” life experiences in particular “shattering” simplistic understandings. Each of these three instances of experiential learning plays a different role in Jules’s journey. The first built a “particular form” of Jewish identity and encouraged him to challenge discrimination. The second played a significant part in challenging this first Jewish identity, particularly when seen alongside other learning taking place in his journey around that time. Through these experiences Jules’s began to question the identity of an ‘Israel advocate’ and build a new identity open to multiple perspectives on Israel-Palestine. By the time of Jules’s visit to Gaza he has fully embraced this more critical perspective and is educating others to/in it. The visit therefore serves not to challenge him or change his practice, but to reaffirm his engagement.

Experiential learning via visits overseas also plays a significant role in Ayo’s story, but with a significant difference from the stories above. Ayo was born in Nigeria into a relatively wealthy family, coming to the UK when she was ten and moving between the two countries many times. A particularly significant moment of experiential learning in her story occurs after she leaves her boarding school to attend university in London. Here she discovered poverty and experienced racism, exposing her to injustice: “I’d never seen people who had nothing, who basically were living, like on benefits, in a room somehow with

the rest of, I'd never seen that, I didn't know people lived like that." This had a significant impact on her, "opening up her world view" and providing her with a sense that "this isn't right and you should do something about it." It also led her to see Nigeria with "new eyes", becoming angry about other peoples' lack of access to power: "I kind of realised actually you can't forget about these people, they're like everywhere, they're poor, they're struggling, they're angry, I guess, because I realised I was quite angry about not having access to things and maybe for me it was the first time in my life that I wasn't part of the powerful group." Although she had seen 'the poor' of Nigeria many times previously, and in fact been active in a number of charitable initiatives with her family, her experiences in London provided her with a new perspective and empathetic understanding of injustice leading to new learning. At a later stage this learning was widened further to include people in other contexts who suffer from a lack of power: "Look at that group of traveller kids, it's the same story, look at a group of white working class kids in some crappy estate in East London, it's really the same issue."

Ayo's experiential learning described above can be seen to mirror some of the learning experiences of people from the UK visiting 'developing' countries, and experiential development education models explored by Trewby (2007), Simpson (2004) and others. It raises important questions about the power of 'distanciation' and the 'exotic' in learning, and emphasises the potential impact of education practices which act to develop feelings of empathy.

5.1.6 Respondents as development educators

In telling their stories, my respondents have made reference to a huge variety of learning experiences, demonstrating a range of different media used, a plethora of contexts for learning and a wide breadth of educational practice and approaches. This final section exploring the role of development education in my respondents' stories considers the development educators they have become (and are becoming). It includes discussion of their educational practice in terms of the methods they use to engage others with global justice issues and the particular areas or issues they focus on. Finally it considers their place

within development education with respect to criticality, referring back to Andreotti's (2006a) suggestion that there is a spectrum from 'soft' to 'critical'.

Rebecca is in some ways the most 'NGO-led' development educator amongst my respondents. Although she has engaged with global justice issues through a range of organisations, she is primarily committed to working through and with mainstream development NGOs. Involvement with these NGOs is coherent with her conscious decision to be more of a "fluffy activist" than an "angry anarchist" (explored further in discussion of identity in 5.2). Given her faith commitment, history and participation in their gap year programme, it is fair to say that CAFOD holds primary place amongst these NGOs; indeed she notes that she sees her relationship with CAFOD as "special", and a member of the Education Team there suggested her involvement with this research. Perhaps in some ways she reflects the kind of supporter/promoter they wish to encourage? Rebecca's role in the gap year programme involves working in a local school to encourage campaigning and engagement with global justice issues, predominantly via CAFOD. She reflects that "the things I've been doing so far have been myself learning about campaigning and doing campaigning, but now, doing this placement, I feel like I'm teaching others about campaigning." Her journey has taken her from charitable work kept to herself (for example, "I hardly told anyone that I was volunteering in a charity shop"), through public fundraising, organising and promoting awareness raising events and inviting others to campaign, to a point where she now feels that, within the context provided by CAFOD, she can "teach" people about campaigning. Although her visit to India (discussed above) led her to feeling some disquiet and beginning to think critically about campaigning and her forms of engagement, she states that "because she was already so involved" she "just got straight back into it straight away" after returning to the UK. While she is extremely committed, her practice cannot be said to be particularly critical or radical, rarely straying from pre-planned NGO campaigning and education resources.

Ayo was asked to take part in this research in part because of my interest in her distrust of mainstream development NGOs. Although early in her journey she tells of fundraising for "the Red Cross or something" (discussed above), she now states that she has "definitely made a very clear choice about not

supporting them”, “objecting” to disempowering images and “poverty porn”. Ayo’s educative practice runs counter to those she criticises; she attempts to promote “positive stories from Africa”, works with and through diaspora communities and encourages participation and critical thinking. Her focus on sharing ‘positive’ images of Africa may serve to “correct misconceptions, negative stereotypes and prejudices” (Wurie Khan, 1999:10). Professionally, she sees herself as a “facilitator, trainer educator” rather than a “traditional educator”, perhaps echoing a Freirean understanding of liberatory education versus a ‘banking’ system which simply deposits knowledge in learners (Freire, 1972). In her own time she remains committed to encouraging education and “young people’s engagement to bring about ‘societal change’”, making use of social media tools such as the internet, Facebook, Twitter and blogging. In terms of Andreotti’s (2006a) framework, Ayo can therefore be understood to be a relatively critical development educator, although she would be unlikely to accept the word ‘development’ in this title, having “an issue with the process of development and development aid” (echoing voices such as Joseph, 2000:6). Ayo has been largely motivated by her connection to Africa, suggesting that “it’s difficult to be any African in the diaspora and not feel a sense of duty to the country which you’ve come from.” She feels her use of social media allows her to have an educative presence in both the UK and Nigeria, which she sees as “kind of the ideal role for someone from the diaspora to have, to speak back and also to speak forward about their connection.” The term ‘diaspora’ is often built on an understanding of some other ‘home’. In some conceptualisations this refers not simply to a place, but to a group of people belonging to a socially constructed ‘imagined community’ (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008:16). Support or development of this ‘home’, therefore, could equally refer to supporting these people wherever they are found; “the performance of Bali dances in London and the collection of money to improve health care in Cameroon are simultaneous and inseparable manifestations of the diasporic condition” (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008:7). It is possible that Ayo’s work with disaffected youth in the UK, many of whom were from the ‘African diaspora’, along with her own experiences of injustice in London (discussed above), may have acted to encourage her to broaden her locus of concern to wider groups of “disempowered” people, now reflected in her educational practice.

Leena's involvement with this research, like Malcolm's and Rebecca's, came about through an NGO. A member of staff at the Asian Foundation for Philanthropy (AFP) suggested that she might be an interesting respondent and facilitated contact. This might imply that AFP perceives Leena to be an example of the kind of educator they value. Her engagement with global justice issues appears to almost entirely take place through AFP, as volunteer and voluntary 'Development Ambassador' (DA). It therefore is largely limited to their focus on India. Like Ayo, she is critical of large, mainstream NGOs, seeing them as a "white middle-class construct." While both Ayo and Leena make negative appraisals of images used by NGOs, they come from different perspectives. Ayo's criticism is of "poverty porn", focusing on the stereotypical and negative perceptions of Africa which may be perpetuated. Leena, on the other hand, appears to be questioning the absence in the image of 'people like her' in the UK engaging with OXFAM (see p. 139). She feels that mainstream NGOs do not want, need or expect her engagement. Perhaps as a result, Leena's engagement and educational practice has been exclusively through AFP, and she urges her family not to support "the larger NGOs, but look at the smaller NGOs, the slightly grassroots-orientated ones."

While Leena has made use of social media for educational purposes as a volunteer in AFP's office, her main education role has been in the DA programme. This has involved giving presentations at events, for the most part to Indian diaspora groups. These presentations, aimed at "educating, engaging and empowering" her audience, have focused on her experience as a volunteer in India. She shares "why I was interested in development, and how my personal development and my professional development, and how what I've learnt about development issues in India are tied into some sort of MDG framework." They do not appear to be particularly critical in perspective. By the time of my second interview with Leena, she has completed her "quota-full" of talks and started a new job. She no longer sees herself as a Development Ambassador; "I think as soon as I started work my ambassador role kind of stepped to the side." While the impact of the job gives an example of a change in biographical availability (a concept discussed in 2.3) leading to a change in engagement, it is significant to note that she appears to have stepped back from even an occasional educational role: "I think if people ask me then I'm

happy to engage in conversation, but I don't see any need for me to seek people out." Although there is no question that Leena is committed to challenging injustice and poverty, with a particular focus on India, it is not clear whether she has taken on the identity of an educator as much as it appeared at her first interview. While taking part in the DA programme she did what was expected of her, but now she appears to see herself as being an engaged individual with no particular responsibility or commitment to engage others through education. While in some ways this makes her inclusion in this research questionable, it raises important issues. Her commitment to being an educator appears to have been temporary, contingent on time and membership of a particular programme. Her experiences as a volunteer with AFP, in India and the UK, her 'global' upbringing and her formal development education in the DA programme have resulted in a commitment to global justice, but seemingly limited to engagement with one organisation and not in the form of an ongoing commitment to educating others.

Jules's engagement began as being focused on Israel-Palestine but via 'broker issues' (Della Porta, 2007:16) encountered, for example, at Occupy, later widened to include other global justice issues. While Rebecca can be seen as an activist who is becoming an educator, Jules appears to have made a clear commitment to being an educator and using education as a tool for change. This began early in his journey, for example in his initiative against homophobia at school and his role as a camp counsellor, and continued through a mixture of 'professional' and 'voluntary' initiatives. Throughout his story there are two, related, recurring themes in his discussion of his educational practice: providing multiple interpretations or perspectives and making use of dialogue. These reflect his experience of coming to critically reflect on Israel-Palestine issues, for example following seeing demonstrations organised by Palestinian groups and wanting to "open up channels of communication."

This commitment to multiple perspectives and dialogue can be seen many times in his journey, for example in the interfaith conference he organised while at university and in the film exploring peoples' attendance at two opposing rallies in London. However, Jules has not always found dialogue to be an unproblematic tool; various instances show him being forced to engage critically

with it. One particularly challenging example was his attempt to encourage public discussions after performances of a play he was co-directing. The play, 'Reading Hebron', explored the reactions of a non-Israeli Jew to a massacre of Muslims. Jules asked a Muslim acquaintance who grew up in the West Bank to lead the discussions. After one successful night the acquaintance did not return, sometime later explaining he felt he could not continue as he felt dialogue was "normalizing a relationship that's not normal, and not addressing the power dynamics." This upset Jules and required "some time" of reflection; he feels this challenge "definitely made an impact" on him and his practice. Stories such as this suggest he is coming from a critical perspective, an understanding re-enforced by his hope that his current education initiative will lead to participants "developing a critical consciousness that asks why this is so, how it could be different." Alongside his use of dialogue, Jules has also utilised a range of media. This has included film, creating and promoting resources and getting stories about engagement into the press. This latter method can be seen most recently in Jules's role as a media spokesperson for Occupy London, but happened at least once earlier in his journey, when the interfaith conference he co-organised "got some good media coverage", with Jules and a friend taking the lead "doing more of the media interactions and speaking." This could be an example of an early low cost/risk engagement foreshadowing a later deeper engagement (see discussions in 2.3 and 5.2).

Malcolm makes use of a vast array of media in his practice as an educator. These include 'hands on' initiatives with young people, such as workshops and events, as well as more 'remote' activities including presenting a radio show and writing and editing articles. His story presents him as committed to using education as a tool for justice, which first becomes evident after his arrival at university. When he wanted to organise "a massive campaign" about conflict and the extraction of coltan from Congo he realised that "not enough people knew about it." In response he and his friends began to raise awareness on the university campus through stalls, articles and campaign stunts. This commitment continues and is evident in the time he puts in, for example into the online magazine. Like Rebecca and Leena, Malcolm became a respondent in this research following a referral from an NGO. The NGO, War on Want, differs from CAFOD and AFP in that it explicitly frames itself as a campaign

organisation and focuses on political causes of poverty. By distancing itself from notions of 'charity' it frames itself as 'radical' in comparison to other, more mainstream, NGOs. While Malcolm considered himself to have only a very loose relationship with War on Want (through solidarity work with a South African social movement), they put him forward as an example of "a male activist/educator" the member of staff responsible for education "wished she had more of". His educational approach reflects their more radical perspective. He appears to practise the more critical form of development education discussed by Andreotti (2006a). In all his work he appears to be coming from a justice perspective, never mentioning fundraising or charity. He states that he avoids engaging with mainstream development NGOs, seeing them as part of the "establishment". His areas of focus are varied, covering a wide range of issues. Examples of topics he has been involved with educationally include imperialism and neo-colonialism, climate change, conflict and exploitation in Africa, and injustices around power, gender and race. Similarly to Ayo, his work does not appear to be simply geographically bounded; he is using education in order to challenge injustice facing 'the oppressed' both in the UK and overseas, placing value on solidarity between social movements.

5.2 Analysis from the perspective of identity

In contrast to the more thematic approach of 5.1, this section explores each of the five stories presented in Chapter 4 individually. Based on a combination of Narrative Identity, Social Identity Theory and Identity Theory as discussed in my methodology chapter (3.3.3), it considers the various identities claimed and/or presented by my respondents. This involves exploring the roles they have played, their group belongings (mentioned and implicit) and the various sources of narrative available to each of them over the course of their journeys to and within engagement. Together with 5.1, which explored the role of development education in their stories, this section offers an analysis of my respondents' journeys. It does not (and could not) claim to definitively explore their identities. Instead it presents analysis from one perspective (mine), within a particular methodology, using their stories as (partial) ontological narratives.

5.2.1 Rebecca

In telling her story, Rebecca explicitly claims a number of identities. These include the faith identity discussed above and an identity as someone 'engaged' with social justice issues as a campaigner and activist. This engaged identity is reflected through her story, in the roles she plays, the group memberships she claims and the narratives drawn upon.

Rebecca's early engagements appear to be limited to fair trade, ethical consumerism and donation. However, as her story progresses she presents herself as taking on a number of different roles, sometimes concurrently. These include promoter, learner, organiser, leader, activist, and, finally, educator. The changes in role in Rebecca's journey to and within engagement reflect an increasing responsibility to others: from simply turning up, to having to organise and have knowledge to share. As she takes on roles that entail responsibility she increases her commitment to the movement in a variety of ways. In particular, she develops what Klandermans (2003) describes as continuance commitment, through increasing what she has staked in relationships with others and therefore the risk of loss with disengagement.

The move to engaging in "activism" and "campaigning" is critical in understanding Rebecca's identity, particularly given the importance she places on these identities during the interviews. For example, she refers to herself as a "fluffy activist" and a "campaigning machine", and says that social justice "was my life and, like, campaigning was the reason why I was in uni." Rebecca presents a number of stories which can be seen as in some way foundational for her campaigning/activist identity. Significantly, they take place after leaving home and beginning undergraduate studies at university, a time and place where students try on and develop new identities. They are also related to her engagement with People and Planet, a student network campaigning on issues to do with global poverty, human rights and the environment. This organisation played an important role in her story; she says it was "a massive part of my life throughout uni."

Rebecca tells how she came to join People and Planet at freshers' fair (see p. 113), an event she describes as not "like a sudden thing that changed my life", but an "inevitable thing that I was looking for that I didn't know I was looking for." She explains that she was both drawn in and scared away by them appearing "hippyish".

A number of observations can be made about this story. Rebecca claims that she was "looking for" "something missing" and that it was "inevitable" that she would find it. It is important to remember that she is telling this story from the vantage point of her current identity. At the time of the interviews her commitment to the Global Justice Movement is, for her, such a significant characteristic that it would be (almost) unthinkable for this not be part of her story; she makes meaning of her past in the light of her present. In addition, on starting university Rebecca was already engaged with various fair trade clothing organisations and been "inspired" by stories of Gandhi's use of non-violent direct action. People and Planet offered forms of engagement different to those she had already experienced, while campaigning against sweatshops, an issue closely linked to her previous interests and engagement. This allowed her to experience something new while not requiring a huge shift in how she saw herself. Rebecca's use of the word "hippyish" is interesting. At this stage in her story she is unsure whether or not she wants to be associated with it, questioning how she might be perceived; she says she "went with people who probably weren't interested in campaigning and so that almost stopped me from going over, thinking what they might be thinking of me." The only other time she uses the word is later, when describing herself and her group of friends at university, all of whom share a commitment to engagement with global justice issues. In this instance it is used proudly, situating her in-group (see further discussion below). At freshers' fair she takes a significant step towards this friendship group, choosing the "hippyish" people at the stall over her then companions.

A second story which Rebecca uses to show her 'becoming' an activist is her description of attending a Free Tibet march in London (see p. 114). One of the key concepts explored in 2.3 was McAdam's distinction between low and high cost/risk and the suggestion that for many activists an initial low cost/risk 'taste'

of engagement can act as an important stepping stone to later high cost/risk engagement. In his example (McAdam, 1986:69), a young man attends a peace rally, where three things happen. Firstly he broadens “his range of movement contacts”. Secondly, talking to others and listening to speakers he “may well develop a better and more sympathetic understanding” of the movement. Finally, he may feel encouraged to ‘play at’ being an activist. Rebecca’s story is strikingly similar to this example. She refers to meeting people, says she gained understanding and felt like she “was in”, that she belonged in some way. McAdam goes on to suggest that “it is precisely these tentative forays into new roles that pave the way for more thoroughgoing identity changes ... playing at being an “activist” is a prerequisite to becoming one” (McAdam, 1986:69), and that an experience of low cost/risk engagement may lead to a higher one at a subsequent stage. In a later analysis he observes that “people commit themselves to movements in stages, each activity preparing the way for the next” (McAdam, 2003:61). Moving through Rebecca’s story this appears to be the case. This march helps her to claim the identity of engagement for herself and proves to be the first of many.

The above examples in some way highlight the importance of Rebecca’s agency in her creating her identity. However, as a preamble to recounting her experience of the march she tells a story about her mother encouraging her to attend. This story echoes an earlier one, in which Rebecca’s mother encouraged her help with a CAFOD cake sale after Rebecca said she wished she could do something in response to an appeal at church.

Both of these stories follow the same formula: Rebecca expresses the desire to engage; her mother challenges her to do so; Rebecca engages; her mother complains about the extent of engagement; Rebecca shares the responsibility for her engagement with her mother. At one level, the “Why don’t you?” question can be understood as a ‘direct challenge’ or invitation (as discussed in 2.3). It encourages Rebecca, showing her that she is able to engage, highlighting the absence of barriers. After the march this story formula does not occur again, perhaps suggesting that from this point on Rebecca has sufficient belief in the possibility of her engagement (see discussion in 2.3). Such an understanding presents Rebecca as having less agency, requiring an external

motivator before engagement. An alternative perspective can be seen by placing emphasis on the second half of the stories. Now they are stories about the extent of Rebecca's commitment, the way she presents herself and how her family sees her. She is so "involved" that her mother "groans" and "moans" and Rebecca has to part-justify her engagement by sharing responsibility. This understanding of the story emphasises Rebecca's 'engaged' identity, and perhaps might be told to make clear to me, as the interviewer, as well as to any imagined audience, the strength of her commitment, even in the eyes of her family.

A story Rebecca tells about going out for a meal rather than to a talk about Zimbabwe presents another angle on her identity (see p. 114). In this story Rebecca goes beyond telling of her belief in the value and possibility of engagement. Through the language she uses she shares something of her belief in the duty of engagement. Even though she does not "have to" attend a meeting she feels it is "morally right" to do so, particularly when contrasted with going out for a meal. Her engagement is presented as being more than simply an "interest", and instead is a core part of who she is, with a salience greater than her commitment to the social occasion with her flatmates.

Considering Rebecca's group memberships gives further insight into her identity. As discussed in 5.1, she sees her friends as having been important in her journey to and within engagement with global justice issues. She describes them as "ethical" and "hippyish" and labels herself as a "fluffy activist". There are various clues in her stories she tells which give some clues as to what these words mean to her.

According to SIT, the process of 'creating' identity is made up of two steps, categorization and self-enhancement/comparison. The first stage, categorization, involves an individual separating the world into in-groups and out-groups. In her story Rebecca makes clear the groups that she is not part of: the angry, violent, non-engaged and mainstream. Her in-group is defined as being not those; the words "hippyish" and "fluffy activist" situate her in-group as distinct from those out-groups. The next stage involves a comparison of the in-group with others, building a positive perception of the in-group, sometimes

involving belittling out-groups. This can be seen to some extent Rebecca's description of anti-fascists; she uses many positive words to describe her group and suggests that their chants were "just the same thing as a fascist would say".

Other, largely unspoken, group memberships and (intersectional) belongings such as gender, class and race, certainly play a role in Rebecca's story. She has the opportunity to attend university, a key context for her development in becoming a "campaigning machine" and making her biographically available to multiple sources of public narrative. She has the freedom, for example from financial pressures or familial expectations, to attend events, take part in marches and so on.

Rebecca's division between "angry-" and "fluffy-" engagement echoes a debate in the social movement literature. Is the UK Global Justice Movement about 'protesting against' or 'campaigning for'? Are these two extremes within one movement or two (or more) separate movements defined "not by social location, nor by political belief, but by forms of practice - forms of doing" (McDonald, 2006:95)? Identity is supported by shared reference to and understanding of forms of engagement (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:97-98). These 'forms of practice/doing/engagement' can be understood as examples from within the "repertoires of contention" (Tilly, 1987:227) mapped by the 5 continuum lines introduced in 2.2.

Further consideration of belonging and difference brings new perspectives to bear. Tilly and Tarrow note that identities of relevance to individuals' journeys within engagement "always involve plurals, especially 'us' and 'them'" (Tilly and Tarrow, 2005:13). Rebecca's activism appears to generally take part with the "us" of her "hippyish" friends, the "fluffy" side of the UK Global Justice Movement, on behalf of a distant "them", the people on whose behalf she campaigns. Unlike Malcolm she does not clearly identify a "them" she is protesting against (see later discussions about the "establishment"), and unlike all other respondents it does not appear that she ever places herself in the groups she is acting for. In this she fits clearly within Kennelly's understanding of a "good citizen", working "for and on behalf of others" (Kennelly, 2011:64) (see later contrast with Malcolm, a "bad activist"). This in some ways echoes

earlier discussion (5.1.6) regarding Rebecca as a practitioner of 'soft' development education.

Rebecca's separation from those she campaigns for appears to be challenged by her visit to India (see 5.1.5). Perhaps direct encounter complicates the border between "us" and "them"? Two other areas of significance to Rebecca, her campaigning around climate change and her faith, could also act to blur these boundaries, potentially resulting in an "us". However, while climate change impacts globally, Rebecca's lenses on this issue are predominately provided by development NGOs, resulting in a focus on "them" overseas. Her Catholic faith potentially opens up concepts of solidarity, the common good and an "us" as God's creation. Although this was not apparent in her story, it may have been assumed, particularly as she knew something of my background and faith involvement.

Rebecca's friendship group, her faith engagement and the vast array of NGOs with which Rebecca has been involved, have all acted as sources of public narratives. Her exposure to faith narratives, especially those connected to CAFOD, is particularly interesting as it has continued throughout her journey, from her earliest engagements to her current role in the CAFOD gap year programme. She also mentions two magazines, the Big Issue and the New Internationalist, suggesting that these may have had an influence. Events, such as her attendance at the Free Tibet march described above, have also exposed her to narratives connected to engagement with global justice issues. Rebecca's visit to India, discussed in 5.1, provided new and perhaps more critical narratives, causing her to question the stories within which she had created her identity; she talks about feeling "disempowered" and it being a "shock to her system". However, on returning to university she says she "just got straight back into it straight away". She says this may have happened because she "was already so involved in People and Planet"; her continuance commitment (Klandermans, 2003) led her back to the story which fitted the surrounding public narratives.

5.2.2 Ayo

In Ayo's story she identifies herself in a number of different ways, through the way she describes herself, the roles she takes on, the groups she joins, the stories she tells and the language she uses. Some elements of her identity remain constant, while others change over her life course. The paragraphs below explore her story from the perspective of identity.

Ayo frames herself as a leader amongst her peers, both in the present day and as she was growing up. Although she does not make the link herself, there appears to be some precedent in her family, with her father (and grandfather) having influence and power (including within government). This raises questions about belonging, particularly with respect to class. Her family's status in Nigeria, and their financial situation, appears to have resulted in Ayo growing up in an affluent situation, giving her status in some situations and, for example, having led to the possibility of private schooling in the UK. Ayo attributes her being a leader, in part, to her education at a British boarding school. She felt that her school encouraged its students to grow as leaders: "I think we all came out, probably quite engaged, quite bolshie, that's the word my brother uses." She tells two stories which serve to illustrate this. The first, in which Ayo and a friend organise a fashion show to raise funds for a charity, has been discussed in 5.1. Its significance here is the weight she puts on them "taking control of the process"; in the past teachers decided what to raise money for, whereas this time Ayo and her friend made decisions. The success of their efforts may have led to an increase in Ayo's belief in both the value and possibility of her engagement (concepts introduced in 2.3). The second story, in which she successfully campaigns to get the school heating turned on, is particularly 'tellable' (see p. 123).

A number of observations can be made about this story. It feels particularly well told, with no hesitations or deviations, following a clear structure. It has a beginning, with the students revising in the cold, a middle, in which Ayo agitates for change, and an end, in which the situation is resolved. It may be that it is a story Ayo has told before, perhaps as an ontological narrative used to 'tell' herself. It shows her as someone who cares about justice with a sense of her own power and how she can use it to bring about change. It also clearly frames Ayo as a leader amongst her peers. She is shown to have the agency to

instigate change, with others and on her own. Her leadership is highlighted particularly by the way she tells of the gradual reduction of her schoolmates' involvement. At the beginning "everyone" was with her. These then drop away one by one so that by the time she reaches the headmistress she is on her own, standing out amongst her peers. In addition, through threatening exposure in the media she shows an understanding of the power of information, perhaps foreshadowing her later use of social media. Finally, it is useful to consider why Ayo might have chosen to tell this story, both to me and any "imagined audience" (Andrews, 2007:17). It is a story which shows her in a good light and is extremely 'tellable', identifying her as an interesting respondent who is worth listening to. She is proud of her part in what happened and enjoyed sharing it. As discussed in 3.2.2 and 3.3, my respondents' stories cannot help but be co-constructed, influenced by my presence and reaction. I enjoyed listening to this story immensely, and I have no doubt that this was apparent to Ayo, perhaps encouraging her in her story-telling.

From the perspective of intersectionality, Ayo's story contains a number of examples reflecting how her different group belongings enabled or constrained opportunities. At various times Ayo loosely links her identity as a "leader" and "engaged" to her having power and affluence, for example saying that it "might be a luxury of being a middle class child" that she gets frustrated if she is "doing stuff that doesn't reflect who I am or the world that I want to create." During her time in a girls' boarding school, a context in which gender is in some way assumed, she felt her status (class) over-powered any potential for racial prejudice; her stories about the heating and the fashion show make clear that she had power. However, as discussed in 5.1, she reflects that some significant moments of learning took place at times when this power was taken from her. This includes her experience of racism in London, where she felt her identity was diminished to being solely "a Black person". Here race may have become the dominant category, as outside of 'her' context Ayo's status was non-apparent/non-powerful. She goes on to reflect that this may have helped her better understand the relationship between poverty and power, encouraging her engagement. A second experience of feeling powerless, while volunteering with a law firm in the USA on death penalty issues, had an opposite effect. Here her belief in the value of her engagement is diminished. The word "broken" is

particularly strong, suggesting that she was demoralised to the point where she “did not work” and perhaps doubted her understanding of who she was.

The contrast between the moment of disillusionment described above and her other, positive, stories of engagement is stark. In a later story she explains something of how she understands the challenges of engagement, seeing it as “a simple and hard thing ... it’s a constant seesaw I guess.” Ayo therefore situates her engaged identity as being on this seesaw, as attempting to feel “balanced” in who she is, what she believes and what she does. For example she says that she left her law career to work for an NGO as “I still believed that the world needed to be changed and what I was doing wasn’t changing the world.” Although at times in her journey she questions the value of her engagement, she never appears to doubt her duty to engage, citing faith, family and being in the diaspora as motivating factors.

As discussed further in the exploration of identity in Leena’s story below, “diaspora” identity is complex. Ayo presents herself at various different points within her interviews as Black, Nigerian, African and a member of the African diaspora. Each of these situates her slightly differently, locating her in different groups and identities. Of particular interest to this discussion is the observation that there are times at which these identities are forced upon her and times at which she proactively claims them for herself. For example, until the age of 10 she was (simply) a Nigerian living in Nigeria. Being sent to a predominately white boarding school in England complicated her identity as others labelled her as Black and African. However, up to this point she felt there was no connection between these identities and injustice or power (perhaps as a result of her status, as discussed above). This changed on moving to London for university where others’ understanding of her identity affected her negatively. She experienced racism, having power taken from her as ‘Black’. Partially in response to this Ayo made a choice to explore her own understanding of her ‘Black identity’, by joining an Afro-Caribbean society: “there was a sense that I come from a very white background, and definitely wanted to fit in with Black people.” She suggests her experiences in the USA further strengthened this identity. Now she explicitly labels herself as belonging to the African and Nigerian diaspora, for example when speaking about her use of social media:

“to speak back and also to speak forward about their connection.” This makes clear she feels a sense of belonging to Nigeria; it is somewhere she can speak “back” to. Having said all of the above, it is also significant to remember that Ayo told her story to me, a white research student. She knew that I was particularly interested in her story because of her diaspora identity and engagement, and thus may have emphasised these. This does not invalidate the identities she presented, but cannot help but have influenced the telling.

Considering the various groups Ayo has belonged to reveals more about her identity. Some of the identities discussed above and in 5.1 can be understood both as personal identities and as groups. For example, Ayo frames herself as a “social action Christian”, which is an identity, but one which might be understood as locating her within a faith community. Similarly, she sees herself as a “member of the African diaspora.” Within this broad diaspora there are more specific in-groups she claims membership of, including the Afro-Caribbean societies and the networks with which she is currently engaged. As discussed above, Ayo’s understanding of herself as being active and engaged is important to her in terms of feeling “balanced”. This is reflected in her group memberships, as she associates with others who share similar values through her work, volunteering and trusteeships. These contrast with her colleagues at the law firm, where “everyone was trying to get as much money as they could get, it was all quite shallow”, and with her non-engaged friends, who thought she was “completely insane” for leaving her law career to take up the job at a community-based human rights organisation.

There are both similarities and differences with Rebecca in terms of belonging. Like Rebecca, Ayo does not explicitly present a “them” she is protesting against. Unlike Rebecca, Ayo sometimes identifies herself as belonging to the groups she campaigns for. For example, in her early stories of engagement during schooling, she both raises money for a distant “them” and campaigns (for the heating) for an “us” which includes herself. This “us” identification continues into her adult life, through her engagement as diaspora (see discussion in 5.1.6), her experiences of racial prejudice and her suggestion that the “disempowered” face “the same” problems.

There have been a variety of sources of public narrative available to Ayo over her life course, including those associated with her engagement with faith (both Christian and Muslim), academia and work, as well as those concerned with race and prejudice discussed above. The influence Ayo attributes to her family might suggest that they are an in-group with particular significance, especially as a source of narratives. As discussed in 5.1, she feels that their attitude towards “helping the less well off” was key to her later engagement with global justice issues. A more nuanced understanding might be that she makes sense of her current identity through this particular telling of her past. While there is no reason to doubt that her family were committed to helping the poor, there are little suggestions that if Ayo’s current identity were different, she may be able to tell a different story of their influence. For example, at one point she mentions that her father stopped talking to her “for about a year and a half” when she ended her law career to take up the job at a community-based human rights organisation, a story which might be understood to contrast with the other family narratives she presents.

In Ayo’s interviews there is a clear family narrative of “pulling themselves out of poverty”. This first appears in her discussions of her grandparents. She suggests there is a family feeling that “poverty was something that people overcame through hard work”. This opposes the “disempowering” public narratives she ascribes to development NGOs, with unhelpful aid being imposed from external sources and in which the portrayal of development reinforces the image of Africa and Africans as hopeless and dependent. Ayo’s reference to “poverty porn” echoes narratives within the literature on Black and diaspora engagement (for example, Mahadeo and McKinney, 2007; Manzo, 2006). Finally, at the time of the interview there was public debate about the future of the UK’s aid budget, with people arguing in the media for its protection in law or its reduction. This may be reflected in Ayo’s comment that “it’s not a hatred of aid... I have an issue with the process of development and development aid.” She is making clear that while she opposes a particular paradigm of development, she is not against all development, as is apparent from her engagement with the movement.

A metanarrative that appears to have influenced Ayo, particularly given her work within an NGO, is post-colonialism, “a theoretical framework which makes visible the history and legacy of European colonialism, including the ways in which the wealth of the global North has been acquired and maintained through a history of exploitation, and examines how it continues to shape contemporary discourses and institutions” (Bryan, 2008). This context appears to frame her understanding of concepts such as poverty, development, charity and injustice and provides her with a repertoire of public narratives.

5.2.3 Leena

Leena identifies herself and her family as “British Indian”, and differentiates what she describes as her “ethnic minority” background from that of the “white, middle class ladies” she sees in mainstream NGO publicity. At first glance this may appear to be a clear-cut identity, but it masks complexity. While Leena’s father has migrated to the UK from India, her mother was born and brought up in Kenya amongst the Indian diaspora. The language spoken at home is a variant of Gujarati, but some Swahili is also used. Ionescu, from the International Organization for Migration, purposely makes use of the word ‘diasporas’ rather than ‘diaspora’ to reflect the complexity of this concept (Ionescu, 2006:13). An individual can belong to a number of different diaspora groups, even at the same time; one individual “may consider herself to be part of a global Hindu population or a dispersed community of Swaminarayanis (sect), Indians (nation-state), Gujaratis (state or language), Patidars or Patels (caste and sub-caste), Suratis (dialect and region), or villagers” (Vertovec, 2005). In addition, each of these can be active or dormant at any given time or any given context. While Leena clearly presents herself as “British Indian” to me, she does not always conform to the expectations and dominant narratives surrounding her (see later discussion of the public narratives she draws upon). Leena’s visits to India appear to have influenced her understanding of what it means to be both British and in the Indian diaspora, largely framed around difference. She therefore sees a difference between life “there” and “here”, and is able to imagine how that might have impacted her if she was not British. In this way her identification as “British Indian” serves to separate her from both white British and Indians in India.

Leena's commitment to "telling others about development" and supporting AFP is clear. However, unlike other respondents, she does not explicitly label herself as a campaigner, activist or educator. In fact she goes as far as to disassociate herself from certain identities. For example, she makes clear that she does not usually take part in protests as they are "not necessarily my thing". While this statement may simply reflect a personal preference, it is likely that at least in part it is influenced by Leena's biographical availability to public repertoires (discussed below). This cannot help but be a consequence of her "situated and multi-layered" (Yuval-Davis, 2011:vii) belongings. As a female, British Indian, adult but unmarried and living in her parents' house there may be some narratives which are difficult to tell (Zingaro, 2009:18) or hear (Buitelaar, 2006:261; Selbin, 2010:29)

In addition, although she was fully engaged with the Development Ambassador programme, she rejects the label: "I just don't like the word 'ambassador' so I never really call myself an ambassador", instead referring to herself as a DA. Similarly, although she recognised that she was volunteering, she felt uncomfortable with the label 'volunteer', saying "I never call myself a volunteer. I have a real problem with it sometimes." Considering the public narratives available to Leena gives some insight into these disassociations.

Leena made clear that she feels her formal education, through school, college and undergraduate studies, had little effect on her involvement with global justice issues. It is perhaps significant to note that although she has completed education to a high level (Masters' degree), her experience of tertiary study has an important difference from that of the other four respondents. Each of the other four moved away from home for university (with Jules and Ayo both studying overseas), in some way moving away from familial and local expectations, responsibilities and 'rules'. Through 'distanciation' they may have had a greater freedom to 'try on' new identities. While it is not known why Leena stayed at home for university, it seems possible that it may be related to her various, intersectional belongings; class, gender and culture may have all played a part in the decision to continue living in the family home.

She later states that her involvement with AFP was “the only time I actually learnt about what the MDGs were.” There appears to be an absence of narratives related to engagement in her childhood. This is the case in spite of her childhood visits to India, although looking back from the present she attributes her desire to volunteer in India to these experiences (also see discussion of her learning in 5.1). Leena presents her wish to volunteer as being in direct opposition to family and cultural narratives, suggesting that, in her community, the gap year is seen as “a white middle class construct” that “just didn’t exist in my culture. They just didn’t exist.”

The weight of these narratives can be seen in Leena’s parents’ reaction to her eventual decision to go to India as a volunteer (see p. 134), with them not understanding her motivations. This reveals something of the public narratives surrounding Leena and her desire to volunteer. The way she presents her parents’ opposition to her volunteering suggests that she sees them as being influenced by wider cultural narratives, such as those concerning gender, relationships and marriage. Her desire to “go back” to India makes no logical sense to them in this context; they cannot understand the reasons she presents and therefore look for other explanations. Leena links these to cultural expectations concerning marriage and “the natural life cycle”. She places herself in opposition, linking her decision to volunteer to “independence”, the “need for independence” and wanting “some capacity of independence”, and thus placing emphasis on autonomy and acting in a way which counters the expected norms. She does not wish to be treated as an “object” and therefore frames herself as rebelling against the dominant cultural narratives. Having said this, Leena did not take the step to apply to AFP completely independently. Like Rebecca, who told two stories about her mother encouraging her before she took certain actions, Leena mentions an external motivator. She applied to volunteer in India only after a friend told her: “You just have to do it, stop thinking too much about it and just do it.” This can be seen as an example of a direct challenge to engage as discussed in 2.3. It would be interesting to know whether or not this friend shared Leena’s British Indian background; is she external to the community or internal and providing an alternative voice which opposes the dominant cultural narratives?

While, as discussed above, Leena's story may counter some cultural narratives, those relevant to "volunteering" appear still to have influenced her rejection of the label "volunteer". Various themes emerge from her discussion of volunteering in AFP's office in London (see p. 138). She positions herself as not doing so for any kind of reward, instead doing so because she has free time (see discussion of biographical availability in 2.3) and wants to "help out". Perhaps cultural narratives concerning volunteering play some part in Leena's apparent disassociation from being seen as a "volunteer"? While she is happy to describe herself as "helping out" and "being engaged", the term "volunteer" might situate her too far from (comfortable) cultural narratives, in terms of what can be said, heard or understood (Buitelaar, 2006:261; Polletta, 2006:28; Selbin, 2010:29).

In addition, Leena emphasises the private nature of her volunteering. While not questioning the strength of her feelings, it is interesting to compare this with her later statement that she focuses her presentations as a DA on her voluntary experience, and indeed with her willingness to take part in the research interviews, telling me (and a wider, imagined audience) her story. In a later extract, after she has stepped back from engagement as a "Development Ambassador", she contrasts her more private nature with the requirement as a DA to talk about development. Leena frames herself and her relationship with development as being private and personal, an identity that in some ways counters the public and communicative identity she sees as required by the DA role. What is she telling her imagined audience? Perhaps she is identifying herself as engaged but not necessarily as an educator; she is not the DA role, it was only a temporary position in her story.

Considering Leena's affiliation to groups presents an alternate, or perhaps complementary, understanding of her rejection of labelling herself as "volunteer" or "development ambassador", and of her apparently loose commitment to educating others around global justice issues (discussed in 5.1). She mentions few sources of public narrative which appear favourable to engagement. They seem to be limited to the British Indian returned volunteer who encouraged her to apply to AFP, her experience of volunteering in India, and, in particular, AFP, the only NGO with which she mentions engaging. While, as discussed in 5.1,

Leena enjoyed the social learning aspects of engaging with the DA programme, the group she learnt with (referred to by her as her “peers”) is only mentioned in passing. She does not present them, or any other group, as a particularly important “in-group” or source of significant public narratives. The absence of strong group memberships from Leena’s story contrasts with other respondents, most of whom appear to associate strongly with particular in-groups and related sources of public narratives. It is possible that this lack of an engaged network, and the related limited exposure to public narratives about engagement, may have resulted in Leena having less continuance commitment (Klandermans, 2003). This, in turn, may have made it easier for her to reduce her engagement after changing jobs.

Returning to Tilly and Tarrow’s observation of the importance of “us” and “them” with respect to engagement, there are a number of areas to be explored. Leena’s main audience for her talks are British Indians. In some ways she clearly identifies herself with this group. However, in presenting her story to them she separates herself, situating herself as one with something significant to say. She has “gone back” to India with a culturally unusual role, as a volunteer. At the same time she is speaking for the concept of development on behalf of a “them”, poorer Indians in India. There is a blurred boundary here as through diaspora membership (see earlier discussions) this “them” is also in some ways an “us”, both for Leena and her audience. In these ways Leena’s belongings contrast with both Rebecca’s and Ayo’s. There is more of a sense of “us” than Rebecca’s distant “them”, but unlike Ayo there is no hint at a wider group than the immediate “home” culture.

Leena’s change in circumstances between interviews may also be significant from the perspective of identity. At the time of the first interview she is not in paid employment, spending a significant amount of her time “supporting” AFP as a volunteer and DA. This is revealed to be a particular role, “acted out” during a particular time and in a particular context, as by the second interview she has started a new job and reduced her involvement with AFP. The position from which she tells her story has changed. Narrative analysis recognises that this change in her present may affect the way she understands and tells the past, “since the nature of narrative is that parts and the whole are constantly in

dynamic interaction” (Kanno, 2003:121). As Leena’s life changes she is exposed to new sources of public narrative, and perhaps comes into less contact with the individuals and narratives which previously supported her engaged identity.

It is possible to speculate about Leena’s “stepping back” from engagement with respect to identity and belonging. Unlike other respondents, her parents are in ‘working class jobs’. Is it possible that there was an expectation that she would bring a wage into the family home? It is unclear from her story whether time spent at AFP was during the ‘working day’ or in other free time. This concept of ‘free’ time could certainly be explored further: What other expectations are there of Leena’s free time in relation to gender, race, age and place in the family? How much power or influence do others (for example, her parents) have over this time?

It is also possible to tentatively say something about Leena’s identity by considering the stories she does not tell, perhaps reflecting a lack of exposure to certain sources of public narratives. In contrast to the other four respondents, Leena never uses the word ‘justice’ in her interviews, nor refers to any other concept of a similar nature. She instead focuses on “development”, talking about “engaging with development”, “learning about development” and so on. It seems likely that this reflects the public narratives she has been exposed to, specifically through AFP. It may also suggest that she has not had the exposure to justice-focused narratives the other four respondents have experienced. However, this final suggestion may be incorrect; she may have heard and rejected justice-based perspectives, perhaps in relation to what can be said, heard or understood (Buitelaar, 2006:261; Polletta, 2006:28; Selbin, 2010:29) in Leena’s particular intersectional position.

As observed in 4.3.3, Leena was noticeably more reluctant to ‘tell me her story’ than other respondents. Her interviews were shorter and involved less ‘independent’ storytelling and more question-and-answer than the others. It is therefore open to debate the extent to which ‘Leena’s story’ reveals something of her ontological narrative; how much has she truly told her story? At the same time, as shown in the discussions above, she does not identify particularly

strongly with the UK Global Justice Movement, limiting herself to involvement with AFP, nor present herself as an activist/educator, particularly by the time of her second interview. As explored in 5.1, Leena is not particularly critical or radical in her engagement and she has not strongly situated herself as standing for or against any particular position. This makes identifying a relevant metanarrative difficult, although perhaps the importance of the cultural narratives within her British Indian identity, both in terms of her opposing and using them in telling her own story, suggests that they may have particular significance. Having said this, it has still been possible to analyse her journey from the perspective of identity, exploring various roles, groups and corresponding public narratives which may have affected her journey.

5.2.4 Jules

As has been discussed in 5.1, Jules's story makes clear his commitment to using education as a tool for justice. At the same time it also appears to reveal his identity as a 'lifelong' learner; throughout his story there are examples which highlight his commitment to his own ongoing learning. Linked to this there is evidence of Jules's own reflection and analysis of his story. For example, when talking about his experience of taking part in an educational visit to a concentration camp he says: "It just informed me of gross injustice and the need to speak up... sort of like, a vigilance of discrimination, xenophobia, that was definitely planted." While there is no reason to doubt Jules's commitment to learning, it is important to consider the context within which he told his story. At the time of his interviews he was in the process of applying to become a doctoral student. It was suggested in 3.2.2 that narrative research techniques give a glimpse into the past in the light of the present, with one eye on the future. Jules told his story to me, a research student, and perhaps to a wider imagined (academic) audience, at a time when he was likely to be thinking 'analytically' and with a focus on learning. The extract above is unlikely to reflect the voice of the 16 year old Jules. Instead, it can be understood as a 33 year old aspiring PhD student making meaning of his past in the light of a particular present and hoped for future. This does not negate its importance; it gives a valuable glimpse onto his ontological narrative at this particular moment of his life.

The two identities introduced above, Jules as learner and Jules as educator, appear to be strongly linked. In particular, they share a focus around the concept of “widening perspectives”. This appears to be a recurring theme throughout Jules’s story, identifiable in his own learning, his approach to educating others and in the language he uses. His experiences as a teenager, including the visit mentioned above, exposed him to what he described as “a certain form of Jewish identity”. His later experiences, including studying history and contemporary studies at university and seeing pro-Palestinian demonstrations, led him to search for a broader understanding: “we’d been given very simple narratives about the founding of the state, and the reality is a lot more complicated.”

From this point in his story on there are numerous examples of Jules consciously exposing himself to a range of perspectives, including his year spent in Jerusalem, his Master’s study in which he consciously attempted to “broaden beyond Israel-Palestine” and through his use of dialogue (discussed in 5.1). Some of the language he uses to describe his learning emphasises this point further. This includes his use of the word “broaden” in the previous extract and multiple instances of describing particularly significant learning events as “eye-opening”, for example: “It was really eye-opening for me, because I’d spent a lot of time, lived in Israel for a year, spent time there, but visited places and got to see day to day life, and hear from people in a way I hadn’t before.” At another point, when talking about instances of experiential learning, Jules talks about the importance of “seeing things with one’s own eyes”. The use of words related to seeing and the visual strengthens the suggestion that Jules links learning with exposure to multiple and broad perspectives. This is true also of Jules in his role as an educator.

There are a number of examples of Jules as an educator emphasising the importance of him providing multiple perspectives to those he works with. One of the earliest occurs when he was a counsellor for young people on a trip to Israel. He recalls “starting to think about ... how do you expose people to multiple interpretations of things?” Other examples include his engagement around free speech issues, the various dialogue-based initiatives explored in

5.1 and the film he co-created presenting views from both sides of two opposing rallies in London.

Considering Jules's group memberships again draws attention to the importance of multiple perspectives, as throughout his story he aligns himself with others who share this emphasis. These include the other students with whom he organised the anti-homophobia activity at school, his co-counsellors at camp and the people he met through Occupy with whom he is developing the political economy education programme. It also includes examples in which Jules collaborated with only one other person, such as the film-maker friend or the philanthropist with whom he developed "a new charity to work on Israel-Palestine work". These 'groups' all share the desire to educate by providing multiple perspectives.

Jules's discussion of his visit to Gaza provides an example of him emphasising this shared characteristic by comparing it favourably with out-groups who limit themselves to one perspective: "With Gaza it's either the George Galloway, like there are heroes and just like starving, I think sort of exoticised... 'We're on your side' versus anti, it's all a hot bed of terrorists, everybody's almost guilty by association for living there." Here Jules situates himself in opposition to people limited to a 'stereotype' rather than a broad understanding, almost satirising what he sees as their limited perspective. This can be understood to reflect SIT's understanding that part of creating an in-group is comparing it to out-groups, building appreciation of the first at the expense of the second. Jules's in-group is identified in part through its difference from those who are limited to an overly simplistic understanding.

The examples given above show that Jules has had a large number of collaborators; he appears to be someone who opts to work communally. At the same time, in contrast to other respondents, many of these in-groups were temporary, with their existence time-bonded to particular projects. Jules does not mention any particular long term commitments to groups nor indicate particular friends or colleagues that worked with him in multiple initiatives. Instead he appears to enter each project alone and work with those he finds there. Jules's temporary membership of in-groups in some ways reflects

Bauman and Vecchi's 'cloakroom communities', "patched together for the duration of a spectacle and promptly dismantled again once the spectators collect their coats from the hooks in the cloakroom" (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004:31). However, in Jules's story this does not seem to lead to the shallow commitment which might be expected, perhaps hinting at intrinsic motivations. He remains engaged even when continuance commitment (Klandermans, 2003) might be expected to be low. This may suggest that, in marked contrast to Leena (discussed above), Jules has truly taken on the role of engaged educator, making it a fundamental part of his identity.

While there are few explicit groups Jules campaigns against or for, there does appear to be a clear focus on educating the groups that surround him, particularly with respect to challenging injustice and broadening perspectives (see 5.1.6). In some ways it appears that rather than campaigning on behalf of some distant "them", Jules engages in order to present multiple perspectives to the "them" surrounding him, perhaps in the hope that they may join him in as 'enlightened' (or broad-minded) "we".

A variety of sources of public narrative have become available to Jules over his life course. These have provided a range of material for use in creating his ontological narrative. The earliest he mentions are those connected to "Jewishness", although, similarly to Leena, Rebecca and Ayo, it is difficult to separate public narratives associated with faith from those connected to family. Jules states that he sees the Jewish faith as a "significant identity" in his life. In particular he highlights events that exposed him to public narratives linking faith with social justice. These change over the course of Jules's story. In his childhood he recalls his parents' involvement with supporting Jews suffering persecution in the Soviet Union, his visit to concentration camps and Israel and his involvement in summer camps organised by a "progressive labour Zionist youth movement". Describing these he speaks of "a sense of purpose, an urgency", "moral purpose" and "a vigilance of discrimination". As he grows older he begins to question the limitations of the narratives available to him and supplements them by placing himself in situations where he is exposed to more critical public narratives, eventually leading him to consciously rejecting a particular form of Jewish identity, that he describes as "Israel advocate". He did

not, however, completely reject Jewish identity, instead looking for other in-groups and sources of public narrative, saying, “If this isn’t a vehicle through which I can express my connection and concerns for that region, what is?” His time in the fellowship programme in Israel, and especially with the NGO providing tours of the separation wall, exposed him to multiple perspectives (see discussion above) and a broad array of public narratives related to Israel-Palestine issues. At a later stage he identified an organisation he was co-creating, and by extension himself, as “basically pro-Israel, pro-peace, progressive left-wing, for lack of better words.” This complex combination of identifiers gives a glimpse into the various public narratives influencing Jules’s ontological narrative.

Jules’s tells of his involvement with the social justice protests in Israel influencing his participation in Occupy (see p. 151). His experience of the Israeli protests, as well as communication with other contacts, may have exposed Jules to new narratives concerned with protest, leading to his “excitement” about this form of engagement and his participation at St Paul’s. Each of the various engagements on his journey is likely also to have provided new sources of public narrative. This is made explicit in Jules’s reflection on his involvement with Occupy when he says, “I just wasn’t active on economic environmental issues as such, and in Israel and getting involved with Occupy, it opened me up to those issues, I just learnt a lot more about them and the interconnection between various injustices.” A final source of public narratives which appears particularly significant for Jules comes through his academic engagement. This includes his undergraduate degree in history and contemporary studies, his Master’s in Human Rights and his current thinking around beginning doctoral studies. Some of the language Jules uses reflects academic narratives, for example references to “political economy” and “critical consciousness”. This may suggest exposure to narratives influenced by Marxist or Freirian thought.

With the exception of Leena, all respondents have had the experience of studying away from home, with the related opportunities to explore and ‘try on’ identities away from the norms of home, family and locality. Jules in particular has had multiple opportunities to travel and to study, including studying overseas. This has presented him with a variety of sources of public narratives.

Clearly he has been biographical available to take these opportunities, suggesting a certain freedom from financial, familial and other responsibilities. This may reflect his (intersectional) belongings, for example in terms of gender, class and age.

Considering all of the above, exploring Jules's identity through roles, group membership and sources of public narrative, it is possible to make some tentative comments regarding the metanarrative(s) within which he creates his story. His use of "pro-Israel, pro-peace, progressive left-wing" suggests that it is unlikely that there is any one single metanarrative at play. This complex set of identifiers brings together a range of different narratives that have influenced his identity. Jules's use of "pro-Israel" and "pro-peace" together locates him as being both connected to a very particular (faith) community and critical of certain narratives that are found there. Finally, the academic references and his many uses of dialogue in his educational practice suggest that he may be heavily influenced by critical pedagogy.

5.2.5 Malcolm

Malcolm identifies himself as a Black activist, student and youth worker, and multiple times uses the words "critical" and "radical" to qualify his practice. Examples can be found throughout his story, for instance: "At university there weren't really any other radical Black students at all. There were radical Arabs, radical South Asian people." By using the word 'other', Malcolm makes clear that this is how he sees himself. This extract also shows that his use of the word "Black" is not a broad descriptor for all people "of colour" (his words), but instead limited to people of Afro-Caribbean descent. Malcolm goes on to demonstrate that he sees belonging to networks and groups with others 'like him' as important, saying "I need to find people who are more critical and want to go that step further." He later speaks about "our communities" when discussing the NUS Black Students' Conference, implying that he feels a sense of belonging to Black communities, which is reflected through his group memberships. Malcolm further emphasises his identification as Black by making a point of noting when his journey involved engagement with/alongside people of other racial groups, for example taking part in an occupation led by "white

hippy anarchist groups” or the online magazine being originally “dominated by like kind of white activists” but later being led by “students of colour”.

Malcolm’s discussion of his engagement with global justice issues while an undergraduate student helps illuminate his understanding of what it means to be “radical” and “critical” (see p.160). He describes how he and his friends attempted to make NGO events on campus “a little bit more political” and would organise speakers that were “a bit more radical than the usual”. In both examples Malcolm and his friends are in some way supplementing a pre-existing initiative to engage people. However, their “critical” identity involves them striving to make things “more”. They aspire to push the agenda, drawing people away from the mainstream (and the “established”, see below) towards a new and more challenging understanding.

The word “critical” can be understood to carry with it a suggestion of being in some way opposed to or standing against something. As discussed in Chapter 3, SIT suggests that the creation of an in-group involves identifying and differentiating from out-groups. In Malcolm’s story his identity as “critical Black activist” is situated as different to, and indeed sometimes in opposition to, a number of other groups. Through identifying these out-groups it is possible to deepen understanding of Malcolm and his identity. From his story, they include the non-engaged, such as his brother who is “not really involved in any global justice stuff” and “just likes to party”, the non-radical, such as other Black students who he sees as only engaging around racism and whom he refers derogatorily to as the “Black elite” and “bourgeois”, as well as a number of other groups and organisations. Many of these appear to fall into what Malcolm sees as “the Establishment”. There is a huge diversity in his understanding of the membership of this out-group, ranging from systems which allow the perpetuation of “institutional racism” and injustice, to perhaps more surprising inclusions such as NGOs, think tanks and a youth organisation that Malcolm is not “down with” politically. A number of times during Malcolm’s journey he is in opposition to the police, another face of the establishment, for example during the London protests against the G20. SIT suggests that the second stage of creating an in-group is comparing it to out-groups, building appreciation of the first at the expense of the second. This may involve belittling other groups. This

is reflected in some of the negative language Malcolm uses to describe “establishment” organisations. For example, NGOs are described as “problematic”, his university Student Union was “backward” and policy work at a think tank is “nonsense” with people who work there having lost agency through being “co-opted away from more radical engagement”. The language used to describe the police is particularly vivid: they are “an organised militaristic army of the state” and “a faceless army that's just there to destroy you”.

In a statement describing his secondary school, it appears that Malcolm makes clear his position as being outside a number of groups, saying that “all the rich kids went to the private schools, all the smart kids went to the grammar schools, all the religious kids went to the faith schools, all the stupid, poor godless people came to my school.” While he is being humorously derogatory about himself and his background, it also serves to further separate him from ‘the Establishment’. While he makes clear that he is not from a wealthy background, for example in his surprise at meeting so many “posh” students when starting university, at other stages in his story he recognises his “relative privilege”. This is true both in terms of wealth and education, for example, when he is talking about working with young people: “I might be able to tell them the global historical context, but they know, they're living it every day, I'm a very privileged guy, they're living it.”

Reflecting on who Malcolm identifies himself as engaging for, with and against, highlights the contrast between him and some of the other respondents. Unlike all of them, he places himself clearly in a particular “us”, “critical” and “radical” activists, in opposition to a specific them, “the Establishment”. In doing so he draws upon a repertoire of stories concerned with being ‘against’ or ‘anti-’, situating himself in the group Kennelly describes as “bad activists” who confront the state, contrasted with “good citizens”, such as Rebecca (Kennelly, 2011:64).

Similarly to Ayo, Malcolm claims some membership of groups on whose behalf he engages, for example through race and shared oppression. However, he recognises that this belonging is not comprehensive, that elements of his identity such as class and education can act to separate him from others.

Analysis of Malcolm's story presents a number of sources of public narratives which may have been used in the creation of his ontological narrative. As a child and young adult he experienced racism, including at his first job. The area Malcolm grew up in had a significant BNP presence and he describes it as "quite racist" so he would have been exposed to narratives and counter-narratives around race and inclusion. As discussed above, Ayo was also exposed to racism. Her reaction to this experience appears to differ significantly from Malcolm's, leading her to immediate engagement. Malcolm, on the other hand does not engage with justice issues until a later stage in his life, after reaching university. Perhaps this reflects the consequences of their different experiences? Ayo did not encounter racism until leaving her boarding school and had already been involved in organising events and the 'campaign' to get the school's heating turned on. She had developed some level of belief in her own power to affect change. Malcolm, on the other hand, although he had been exposed to some counter narratives through his parents, who had been involved in anti-racism, gender and global justice activities "when they were younger", presents himself as being without similar experiences. While these family influences may have played a part in Malcolm's later narrative and engagement, he notes that until he went to university he was in no way "politically engaged or interested in learning about political issues." He says that this was because "no friend around me was in any way politically engaged." This might suggest that the public narratives around him, and particularly the influential ones shared by his peers, were not weighted sufficiently towards justice-orientated perspectives for this to become a significant part of his ontological narrative, perhaps in part influenced by Malcolm's (intersectional) belongings in terms of gender, age, class and race.

This changes after Malcolm reaches university. Like all respondents other than Leena, Malcolm studied away from home. Here he met new people and joined new groups, which, in turn, provided new repertoires of public narratives. This, along with the relative weight of people and groups presenting pro-engagement narratives, might be understood to give Malcolm the materials and support required to begin to alter his own story. New sources of narratives that become available to Malcolm from this point forward include those made available through academia, such as via his multiple politics-based degrees, personal

reading and relationships with academics. From his undergraduate days onwards, Malcolm shows a commitment to reading “radical” and “critical” material, no doubt providing and strengthening narratives that influence his engagement. The organisations and networks Malcolm engages with through his journey are also significant sources of public narratives reflected in his ontological narrative. This includes his co-editors with the magazine, acting as a dispersed network of peers using and writing stories concerned with the “politics of race, activism and imperialism”, and the various “radical” groups with whom he has been involved in taking direct action. These include War on Want, the “white hippy anarchist groups” who led the occupation of the university building and the array of groups involved in the defence from the police. Amongst these it appears that public narratives connected to radical Black networks may have had particularly significant influence, as is evident in both his story (as seen above) and language. He uses a number of words he describes as being Afro-Caribbean vernacular. In addition, he begins recounting his experience of the London riots: “August 2011 hit and Babylon was just burning.” The reference to “Babylon” may be significant; within Black culture in the UK, ‘Babylon’ can be understood to represent both a city of injustice and a system of oppression, being found in multiple sets of public narratives, including Rastafarian and hip-hop. The off-hand way in which Malcolm uses it suggests that he may have been exposed to and assimilated some of these narratives, most likely through his engagement with radical Black networks. Each of the many groups Malcolm engages with provides a set of public narratives, including some that could be understood as “radical” and “critical”, which may have been influential in Malcolm’s creation of his own story.

The context within which Malcolm is telling his story may be significant to the story he tells, particularly with respect to the London riots and youth-“Establishment” relations. Many stories in the media had presented young people, and particularly Black young people, as being instigators of violence and criminal activity. Youth were described using words such as ‘angry’, ‘out of control’ and even ‘feral’. By telling his story to me (a white, middle class, older researcher) and any imagined audience, Malcolm offers a counter-narrative, presenting an alternative perspective. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is important to note that the story Malcolm presents is told in light of the present; he tells a

story coherent with his current engagement and identity, in the context of an interview he knows to be motivated by his current engagement with global justice issues. It cannot help but retroactively make sense of the past through who he is today and how he wants to be understood by the audience (me as the interviewer as well as any “imagined audience” (Andrews, 2007:17)).

Both Malcolm and his story are situated within a present influenced by broader metanarratives. It is possible to speculate about these. The prominence of the “radical” and the “critical”, as well as the strong sense of being “against” things, might place him amongst anti-capitalist and anti-establishment narratives. However, through his political- and ethnicity-based engagements there are also post-colonial narratives, although always coming from a “Black British” perspective. A metanarrative that might be understood to be a context for all these is anti-imperialism (see, for example, Phillips, 2011). Although Malcolm does not explicitly identify as “anti-imperialist” at any point in his story, there is no doubt that it is a significant identifier for him. When writing this section I typed “anti-imperialist narratives” into an internet search engine. Incredibly, within the first set of results I found an article written by Malcolm. Following the link revealed that he has written many of his online articles under a pseudonym very closely associated with anti-imperialism. While it was no surprise to find that he uses the internet as a site of engagement (as self-reported in his story), it was encouraging to see that the suggestion from my analysis that “anti-imperialism” may be a relevant metanarrative is supported by his self-identification.

A final observation of identity in Malcolm’s story concerns a story he does not tell, brought to light through reflection on the most recent stage of his journey. When discussing his motivations for beginning doctoral studies he makes clear there is a financial motivation (see p. 167). This reveals something of the importance of opportunities for funding in his journey to and within engagement. There is an element of this in all five respondents’ accounts; there is a story behind their told stories, one that places less emphasis on their agency and more on the various opportunities which were available to them. Other examples might include Leena’s biographical availability to volunteer when not working, Jules’s step back from Occupy “to take a break and just go back and

make some money” and Ayo’s various moves between jobs. This influential story is told ‘in between the lines’ of their accounts, but becomes clearer through Malcolm’s reflection, as he explicitly states the pragmatic decision behind his most recent engagement. The stories told to me emphasise my respondents’ roles and choices. This is unsurprising, as I asked them to tell me their stories, rather than (coldly) investigating lives that took place around them; they present themselves as ‘actors on’ their stories rather than simply ‘actors in’ bigger stories. It is difficult to quantify the importance of these factors on their journeys. On one hand they are in some way limited by the opportunities open to them and they have less agency than they present; external factors matter. On the other hand, there will have been many other untold stories, opportunities they choose not to pursue and identities they did not take on. To some extent at least they have made their own stories and created their own opportunities. This is clear in Malcolm’s extract. He decides on the outcome he wants, the way he wants to spend his time, and then finds and secures an opportunity which will bring about this outcome.

5.3 Conclusions

This chapter presented a two-part analysis of my respondents’ stories. The first section, 5.1, explored the role of development education and learning through all five respondents’ stories. It began by discussing the relatively limited instances of formal development education in their stories and the apparent comparative importance of friends and family. It then considered various factors which appear significant with respect to my respondents’ learning, including social learning and learning overseas visits. Finally it explored the extent to which each respondent might be understood as a development educator themselves.

The second section, 5.2, considered each respondent separately and analysed their story through the lens of identity, using the approach constructed in 3.3.3. This included discussion of the roles they have played, their various group belongings and the sources of narrative available to each of them over the course of their journeys to and within engagement.

The two sections interlinked in a variety of ways. This is no surprise as respondents were chosen because of their commitment to engagement and engaging others. Their identities are therefore in many ways related to concepts which underpin development education and their engagements take place in the contexts of their lived identities. There are significant implications to be drawn, for example regarding the importance of friends and family in learning and as a source of narratives. The next chapter builds upon the above, and all previous chapters, to suggest implications for researchers and development education practitioners. In doing so it makes clear the contributions and limitations of this research.

Chapter 6: Implications

The overall research question presented in Chapter 1 was:

- What can be learned through exploration of individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement?

In the previous chapters this question has been explored from a number of different angles. Chapter 2 began with the relevant literature and investigated the context behind the question, including the 'how, what and why' of individuals' engagement and an exploration of the practice and critiques of development education. Chapters 4 and 5 approached the question through empirical research, rooted in the method and methodology presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 told the stories of five people's journeys to and within engagement. Chapter 5 analysed these accounts, putting emphasis on two perspectives, development education and identity.

This chapter draws implications through consideration of previous findings as presented in the literature, my arguments and theories related to these, the current context as discussed in Chapter 2 and the new thinking created in this PhD research. All the implications presented should therefore be understood in the light of previous chapters; they build on the frameworks and concepts introduced and developed, contributing to ongoing debates.

Following earlier discussions of epistemology and methodology (Chapter 3), including my recognition that I cannot produce a single and absolute 'truth', that my reading and presentation of the literature comes from a subjective perspective and that I have made use of a research methodology which "allows wondering, tentativeness, and alternative views to exist as part of the research account" (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006:25), it is clear that the implications presented below cannot claim to be anything other than tentative suggestions. However, my exploration of individuals' stories and the contexts which surround their journeys opens windows onto larger stories and provides new insights. I therefore suggest, given my immersion in the relevant literature and context, the valuable new data presented in Chapter 4, the research methodology followed,

and my building on the work of others, that the implications presented below may be useful to those who wish to engage individuals with global justice, research related areas or make use of similar research techniques. Although in many ways the implications are relevant to multiple audiences, in order to provide structure they are presented in two sections: (6.1) Implications for researchers, and (6.2) Implications for those with an interest in development education and related practices.

6.1 Implications for researchers

This research has relevance to a wide range of areas in social practice. In particular, it may be of interest to researchers exploring learning, engagement, activism, identity, narrative, development education and public perceptions of development. The sections below place emphasis on two areas. 6.1.1 considers the value of the methodology used, noting the significance of research which embraces the complexities of engagement amongst a literature largely based in quantitative approaches. 6.1.2 draws attention to new concepts and frameworks presented in this research, including both those already being used by researchers and practitioners and those ripe for further development.

6.1.1 The value of a narrative approach

In Chapters 1 and 2 it was argued that much existing research considering engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement comes from a ‘top down’ perspective, focused on policy and practice. This is particularly true with respect to the literature concerning development education; Baillie Smith therefore suggested that “we lack accounts of the complex and contested ways individuals and groups in the global North engage with development” (Baillie Smith, 2012b:3). Much of the existing literature has tended to focus on exploring learning within specific education programmes (see, for example, Asbrand, 2008; Lowe, 2008). This research is therefore particularly valuable due to its methodology. It approaches debates about education and engagement with global justice from an alternative perspective, beginning with committed individuals and their life stories. As with most narrative research it therefore

argues that there is much to be learnt from looking from the 'bottom up', taking time to explore the fragmented nature of real stories over time.

Narrative research gives importance to stories, recognising that they have value in and of themselves. In addition, since the reading of a story depends upon the position of readers, who "enter the narratives imaginatively and participate in constructing their meaning" (Riessman, 2002b:205), the analysis presented in Chapter 5 can only ever be my analysis, written at a particular time in my life course and dependant on my "intellectual biography" (Elliott, 2005:154), the narratives from which I build my identities. The life stories presented in Chapter 4 are therefore a valuable resource and 'contribution to knowledge', even apart from my analysis. They can be analysed again from different perspectives, by others or even by me at a later point in my own story (Andrews, 2008).

Chapter 3 drew attention to the various levels of interpretation that take place in collecting and presenting data; "a researcher does not simply 'give voice' in a straightforward way" (Lewis, 2008:563). For example, interviews were seen to be co-constructed and influenced by context (Mishler, 1986:55; Riessman, 2004b:709; Van Enk, 2009:1266) and it was argued that transcription is "part of the analytic process" (Elliott, 2005:51). The transcripts and recordings behind the life stories are therefore also a resource which could be utilised by future researchers.

It can be argued that the above contributions are made by most narrative research. This research, in addition, has presented an approach to analysis using concepts related to identity alongside thinking and contextual frameworks related to development education and engagement. This has brought to light a range of observations which may well have not been evident from other perspectives. In doing so the research lends weight to the contention that identity "*requires narrative*" (Freeman, 2009:1), that a person can be understood both as constructed from story, and, "essentially a storytelling animal who naturally constructs stories out of life" (Sparkes and Smith, 2007:295).

6.1.2 New concepts for further use and development

A PhD thesis is by its very nature limited in what it is able to explore. There have therefore been various ideas, suggestions and concepts introduced and/or developed which may prove useful for other researchers and benefit from further exploration and development. Two of these, the framework for forms of engagement (introduced in 2.2) and the route map of 'Journeys to engagement' (2.3) were developed during the literature review. These have already proven themselves to be valuable contributions to existing thinking around how individuals engage with global justice issues, having been presented in academic conferences, given positive reception in workshops with development and campaigning NGOs and utilised in research (Bourn, Forthcoming 2014) and policy, including in internal working documents of the European NGO confederation for relief and development (CONCORD, 2013). While I hope that they continue to be used, I also recognise that they have scope to be critiqued and improved; they are useful conceptual frameworks which can be built upon.

Other concepts introduced in this thesis have not had the same level of development, being mentioned only speculatively and in passing. However, they may bear fruit if explored in greater depth. Three ideas in particular may be of interest to researchers investigating related areas. The first, 'sidestepping' across the movement, was introduced in Chapter 5 with regard to the way in which respondents appear to move their engagement from issue to issue (and movement and movement). Examples included Jules's holocaust education leading him to educate his schoolmates against homophobia, and his engagement with Israel-Palestine issues eventually bringing him to anti-capitalism and Occupy. The idea of 'sidestepping' is linked to Della Porta's concept of "broker issues", issues which tie together "concerns of different movements and organizations" (Della Porta, 2007:16). Her concept can be understood as describing how issues can act as intersections between multiple movements. 'Sidestepping' goes one step further, suggesting that, perhaps via a "broker issue", an individual can then move their area of engagement. It also reflects Lewis's analysis of the ways in which individuals in his research move between public and private sector roles while continuing to engage with the same issues (Lewis, 2008; Lewis, 2011). Investigating how individuals

understand the relationships between the various intersecting movements and move between them could be of great value, particularly in the light of research focused on the shared values which underpin social movements, such as Crompton (2008) and Darnton and Kirk (2011).

A second concept which may benefit from further research, 'seasons of engagement', was introduced in 5.1. Following analysis of respondents' stories, I suggested that there appears to be something interesting happening regarding contrasting 'seasons' of action with periods of more disengaged reflection. This was most evident in Jules's accounts of "checking out" and "taking a step back" after periods of intense engagement, but examples were also cited from Leena's and Malcolm's stories. It seems likely that these seasons are linked to respondents' sense of their biographical availability and scope for action, particularly after high cost engagements (concepts explored in 2.3). Future research investigating the ways in which individuals' levels of engagement fluctuate, as well as any relationship between this and periods of reflection and learning, could bring new perspectives to bear in considering engagement/disengagement, the importance of reflection or possibly even make suggestions about how dormant activists could be 'reactivated'.

A final, and potentially related, concept which may benefit from further research was introduced towards the end of 5.2, during discussion of the role of identity and narrative in Malcolm's story. It was suggested that there exists a 'story behind the story', one concerned with opportunities and funding, resulting in part from assumed and intersectional belongings such as gender, age and class. This is told 'in between the lines' of the accounts given by respondents. This hidden story, influenced again by biographical availability (McAdam, 1986:70) and related to Freeman's thinking around the 'narrative unconscious' (Freeman, 2002:210), becomes partially visible by focusing less on respondents' individual agency or choices and more on the options they had available to them at various key points in the life course. It involves exploring how life happens to them, seeing them to some extent as 'actors in' bigger stories limited by opportunities available rather than 'actors on' their individual lives having complete agency and freedom. In addition it takes into account Brockmeier's observation that autobiographical narrative tends to miss aspects of human life

related to chance; “the uncertainty and arbitrariness of life seems to be absorbed, and the plurality of options, realised and not, which is so characteristic of human agency, is inevitably reduced to a simple chain of events” (2001:253). Further investigation in this direction might involve a more speculative style of research, stepping back from my chronological, narrative approach in order to explore the possible untold stories contained within key moments, the paths their journeys could have followed (and those not open to them) and the motivations and opportunities which led to the life they lived.

6.2 Implications for those with an interest in development education and related practices

This research is also relevant to a variety of actors outside academia. For example, there are implications of interest to policy makers concerned with public support for development (including those at national and European levels), NGOs and social movement organisations, and educators in a range of areas. As discussed above and in 1.2.2, the methodology used in this study makes it distinctive within the field; it approaches questions around learning and engagement from the new perspective of narrative. Areas of value to these practitioners include much of what has been discussed above. For example, NGOs could use the framework for forms of engagement (2.2) to reflect on which forms they invite their supporters to utilise (and perhaps more helpfully, identify which forms they do not offer, in order to strategically select partners within the movement or target supporters more accurately). The paragraphs below highlight additional implications relevant to those with an interest in development education and related practices. The three sections discuss: debates concerning learning; the roles of formal education, faith and family; and, understandings of learning through visits overseas.

6.2.1 Debates regarding learning

2.4 introduced various ongoing debates found in the literature concerning development education, including Andreotti's critiques of 'safe', charity-focused education in favour of more justice-orientated 'critical' practice (Andreotti,

2006a), and questions concerning the relative positions of action and learning. These are important considerations but perhaps risk becoming overly simplified dichotomies, action vs. learning, education 'for charity' vs. education 'for justice', 'safe' vs. 'critical'. My research reveals complexities which suggest a more nuanced understanding might be necessary.

For example, while it may be the case that engaging young people in fundraising and other 'safe' activities might have negative effects, perhaps acting as a barrier to more justice-orientated engagement, my respondents' stories showed other beneficial outcomes. Low cost/risk engagements might play a part in developing commitment, and in particular, empowering individuals to feel they can engage. Referring back to concepts introduced in Chapter 2, these engagements may build belief in the possibility and value of engagement (removing perceived barriers to biographical availability and emphasising scope for action). Development educators may therefore find it useful to encourage successful low cost/risk engagements, such as raising money or organising a fair trade fashion show, to allow individuals to 'try on' engaged identity, experience success and come into contact with engagement-orientated public narratives. Rather than simply critiquing such approaches as being nothing but a 'safe' education 'for charity' it may be helpful to consider them as part of an education 'for engagement' or 'for participation'. Having said this, for many this would not be considered a successful 'end point', and an ongoing journey to a more justice-orientated engagement cannot be assumed (Crompton, 2008).

Finally in this section concerning learning, we consider the implications for development education of 'sidestepping across the movement' (discussed above). Four of my five respondents have clear examples of having engaged with a range of issues, campaigns and organisations, moving across the movement in some way. Their commitment does not appear to have been diminished by this; in fact, it may have played a role in strengthening engaged identity through exposure to a wide array of public narratives, and their learning appears often to have been transferable. We can therefore speculate whether development education and related disciplines might benefit from encouraging and supporting the broadening of engaged individuals' experiences, encouraging 'cross-pollination' across the movement. Coalitions around "broker

issues" already act as natural meeting and pivot points; examples would include Make Poverty History or the recent work challenging the lobbying bill. Moving towards such a joined-up approach would not be an unproblematic suggestion; some (in) NGOs place importance on developing and maintaining a 'branded' relationship with 'their' supporters or constituency, particularly with respect to fundraising. However, my research suggests that this relationship may already be further from 'exclusive' than is presumed. Individuals appear to engage in different (and multiple) ways with different organisations and issues at different points in their lives, and exploring approaches which acknowledge and support this may encourage deeper learning and stronger commitment.

6.2.2 Formal education versus family, faith and the informal

The almost complete absence of reference to formal education in the five stories is interesting, especially when contrasted with the focus on schools observed in 2.4. We must be careful not to jump to conclusions; absence from respondents' stories does not necessarily reflect absence from their experiences. Formal education may have played a subtle but crucial role in their later openness to engagement. However, the fact that my respondents did not place emphasis on it might hint at the importance of other educational contexts. A number of significant references are made to the roles played by faith and family, two areas currently given limited attention by practitioners. Narratives from these sources appear to have had particular influence, perhaps in part due to their (relatively) consistent and continuous presence in respondents' lives. It was noted earlier that in neither area is it possible to assume the existence of a justice-orientated narrative; both faith and family are shown to have the possibility of supporting and/or countering the preconditions helpful to engagement. There may, therefore, be value in exploring the possibilities for development education and related practices in these areas. Is it possible to influence the significant public narratives found within families and faith communities and thus (positively) impact individuals' identities? In particular, might development education play a role in identifying, enhancing and supporting existing narratives helpful to "critical"- and justice-focused perspectives? Darnton and Kirk (2011) made similar suggestions in their influential paper 'Finding Frames', suggesting a movement wide attempt at

encouraging pro-engagement values, but there is certainly scope for further experimentation within practice.

6.2.3 Learning through visits overseas

Both analysis of respondents' stories and exploration of the literature reaffirmed the suggestion that learning through visits overseas can have a powerful impact (for example, Baillie Smith and Laurie, 2011; Simpson, 2004; Trewby, 2007). However, the effects of this learning are shown to be nowhere as simplistic as I previously suggested (Trewby, 2007). Experience does not lead 'cleanly' to action; the different respondents, at different stages of their journeys, reacted in very different ways. Some visits appear to provide this basic foundational experience leading directly to action, while others act to re-confirm or deepen previous learning, encourage critical reflection or even result in cynicism. Ayo's experience of injustice in London resulting in her seeing Nigeria with "new eyes" is particularly interesting. It raises questions about the role played by social distancing and the 'exotic' in learning, and emphasises the potential impact of education practices which act to develop feelings of empathy. These observations suggest that the current trend towards experiential development education (for example, the learning-focused approach of the International Citizenship Service, partially influenced by this research) is worth continuing, but perhaps with more thought being put into building learning programmes for individuals rather than groups. The learning which takes place is individual and builds on previous experience hence it might be worth prioritising quality over quantity in terms of helping individuals experience and process these visits for greater ongoing impact.

6.3 Conclusions

The question behind this research was:

- What can be learned through exploration of individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement?

This chapter has highlighted a number of key learnings which have resulted from attempting to answer this question, drawing upon all presented in previous

chapters, including the literature review, methodology and empirical research. Implications were suggested in the light of understandings of relevant contexts (policy, practice and academic) developed over the course of the research.

The chapter was divided into two sections. The first emphasised implications for researchers, including frameworks developed in the literature review already being used up by others, as well as new concepts which might benefit from further development. The second focused on implications for those with an interest in development education and related fields, including debates about learning, the roles of formal education, faith and family, and understandings of learning through visits overseas.

The next chapter is a conclusion of the study. It is made up of three parts: a chapter-by-chapter summary of the entire thesis; a discussion of contributions, limitations and possibilities for future research; and, a personal reflection on my journey through the PhD.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Chapter summaries

The overall question examined in this research was:

- What can be learned through exploration of individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement?

The first chapter considered motivations for researching this area, presenting two separate, but connected, rationales. Since this research focuses on life stories, I began by sharing my journey to and within engagement with global justice issues. This section explored my personal motivations for undertaking a PhD in this area, my desire to develop understanding around how people come to engagement. The second section used relevant literature to argue that there is a need for research in this area; that there is a lack of knowledge about engagement and of journeys to and within commitment to global justice issues. In particular it suggested that there is a need for “accounts of the complex and contested ways” in which people engage (Baillie Smith, 2012a:3), starting with the stories of those already committed to global justice issues.

The second chapter reviewed existing literature to investigate the context of my research, providing partial answers to two of the key questions posed:

- How do individuals in the UK engage with global justice issues?
- What role do development education and related practices play in individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

The first question was broken down and explored in three parts. The first considered what it is that people engage with, critically considering the literature regarding social movements and related areas in order to construct a working definition of the UK Global Justice Movement, the context within which this research is based. The second section explored literature concerned with the ways in which people in the UK engage with global justice issues. It did so by introducing a number of existing theories about forms of engagement, and then combining these in a conceptual framework. The third section approached the question of 'how' people engage from a different angle, exploring what the

literature presents about 'journeys' into engagement. The findings were summarised in a diagram, the 'route map' of journeys to and within engagement. The fourth section of this chapter focused on literature relevant to the second research question, considering the role of development education and related practices in individuals' engagement with global justice issues. Development education was shown to be a broad field, with practice ranging from 'safe' to 'radical', both supporting and challenging dominant discourses concerning poverty, justice and charity.

While it was recognised that the review of the literature presented in this second chapter could not offer a definitive understanding of relevant contexts, it was argued that it provided foundations for both the empirical research and suggested implications which followed.

The third chapter presented my methodology. Following the narrative approach of the whole thesis, it told the 'story' of my decisions with respect to methodology. It began with my epistemological position and introduction to narrative research, explored how I understand narrative, and then worked through methodological decisions I had to make before, during and after interviewing respondents. For each choice, for example, concerning sampling, ethics, transcription or analysis, it made explicit the literature and thought processes that led me there. Towards the end of this chapter I described how my initial analysis led me to begin exploring concepts related to identity, eventually developing a flexible framework for analysis which draws on a variety of identity theories. This motivated the final key question:

- How can concepts related to identity be used to understand individuals' engagement with global justice issues?

Following Chapter 3's exploration of method and methodology, the fourth chapter presented my respondents' (co-constructed) stories. These were given significant space in the thesis, reflecting their importance to the research and methodology. For each of the five respondents there were four sections: a summary; an introduction to the respondent and their current engagement with global justice issues; their life story with respect to engagement; and a short section telling the 'story behind the story', situating the interviews in context.

The fifth chapter presented a two-part analysis of respondents' stories using the framework developed in Chapter 3, further exploring the role of development education and how concepts related to identity can be used to understand individuals' engagement. The first section explored the role of development education and learning across all the stories. It began by discussing the relatively limited instances of formal development education and the apparent comparative importance of friends and family. It then considered various factors which appear significant with respect to my respondents' learning, including social learning and learning through visits overseas. Finally it explored the extent to which each respondent might be understood as a development educator themselves. The second section considered each respondent separately and analysed their story through the lens of identity. This included discussion of the roles they have played, the in-groups (and out-groups) mentioned and the various sources of narrative available to each of them over the course of their journeys to and within engagement. The two sections of analysis presented in Chapter 5 interlink in a variety of ways, providing a 'meshwork' of analysis, opening up respondents' stories from multiple directions while keeping in mind the teller, telling and context.

The sixth chapter drew upon all preceding chapters in order to present a number of implications, focusing on those relevant for research and development education. The first section focused on theories and concepts from the thesis which might have value to future researchers. This included frameworks developed in the literature review already being used up by others, as well as new concepts which might benefit from further development. The second section discussed implications for those concerned with development education and related fields, including debates about learning, the roles of formal education, faith and family, and understandings of learning through visits overseas.

Finally, this chapter has presented a summary of all previous chapters. It concludes, below, with a reiteration of contributions, limitations and areas for future research and a personal reflection on my journey through the PhD.

7.2 Contributions, limitations and areas for future research

As highlighted in the previous chapter, this research has made a number of contributions to knowledge about how individuals engage. First and foremost this comes through applying narrative research techniques in areas and contexts which have often failed to give sufficient weight to individual stories, in part due to research funding being focused on quantitative approaches. This research has shown that there is great value in listening in-depth, to approaching from directions other than from the 'top down'.

New perspectives bring new learning, things that may not have been visible from de-personalised data. This includes original concepts and frameworks (such as the 'route map' of journeys into and with engagement and the framework for engagement introduced in Chapter 2, both already being utilised by others), the in-depth life stories presented in Chapter 4 and the new thinking generated through analysis of these stories in Chapter 5. Of particular significance in this analysis are contributions to debates found in literature concerning development education, including those concerned with the 'criticality' of learning (6.2.1) and the places in which development education happens, be it in formal education, within families and friendship groups or through visits overseas (6.2.2 and 6.2.3).

This research was shown to have made a particular contribution to literature exploring areas such as learning, engagement, activism, identity, narrative, development education and public perceptions of development.

The major research question explored in this thesis was:

- What can be learned through exploration of individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement?

The answer(s) presented can only ever be partial, as the question can be approached with such a wide variety of approaches and perspectives. As discussed in Chapter 3, this thesis opted to use narrative research, choosing 'quality' over 'quantity'. From a practical point of view this necessitated limiting the number of respondents and the scope of analysis. No doubt there would be

further learning from a larger research project, increasing the number of individuals interviewed without sacrificing the richness of their stories or the depth of analysis. It could also be valuable to broaden the sample, collecting stories from respondents utilising different forms of engagement, from different backgrounds and so on.

Any exploration of how and why individuals engage with social action can never truly be 'complete'; there is always more to be learned. There are therefore a number of areas for possible future research. These include the possibility of re-exploring Chapter 4's stories from a new perspective, for example using a different form of analysis or at a different point in my "intellectual biography" (Elliott, 2005:154). Recognising the importance of time upon identity (see, for example, 3.3.3) and that "participation is a process" (Klandermans and Smith, 2002:6), it could be valuable to re-interview these respondents to explore how they re-present themselves at a later stage. In addition, there are various concepts introduced in the thesis which may prove useful for other researchers and benefit from further exploration and development (discussed in 6.1.2).

In conclusion, this research has presented significant contributions to knowledge through exploring individuals' journeys to and within engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. In doing so it has considered how such engagement takes place from a range of perspectives, including investigating the roles of development education and identity. Taking its place within the literature, this research has developed a number of new concepts and made contributions to ongoing debates on which future research can build.

7.3 Reflections on my journey

Unsurprisingly, this PhD has been a very personal 'journey'. My story, as set out in Chapter 1's rationale, has been crucial to my commitment to global justice issues and to this piece of research. This personal approach has been enhanced by the use of narrative, allowing me to make my passion and subjectivity a strength rather than a weakness in the research process. In line with this approach it seems appropriate to end the thesis with a brief reflection on the implications of the research journey for me and my ongoing commitment.

While undertaking the PhD I have continued to work in development education in a range of contexts. My research and practice have therefore been in continuous dialogue, both in my own personal reflection and through sharing my work. I have had a number of opportunities to share my thinking with others, in person and in print, including both academics and practitioners (of development education and related fields, in NGOs, in papers, workshops and at conferences). These opportunities to test my work by presenting it for the scrutiny of others have been invaluable, challenging me to think practically while at the same time encouraging the required theoretical foundations and academic rigour.

As I write this I have begun a new job as a 'Justice and Peace Education Worker'. I have had the good fortune to have played a significant part in devising this role, allowing me to incorporate much of my thinking from the research. As part of this work I am therefore exploring a number of the ideas suggested in Chapter 6. In particular, I am currently experimenting with: creating learning opportunities for families; activities which strengthen the relationship(s) between faith, learning and engagement; educational interventions which recognise and support the ways in which people learn, engage and move across the various related areas which make up the UK Global Justice Movement; listening to and working with diaspora communities; and, purposely relating low cost/risk activities to opportunities for reflection and ongoing, 'deeper' engagement.

Completing the research has been a process, and this thesis is only one manifestation of the learning which has resulted. In particular, it cannot capture the impact upon my attitudes towards research, learning and knowledge. As I continue to attempt to encourage engagement with issues which I feel are important, I do so from a much humbler position. I have an understanding of relevant research (and a far wider understanding of which research is 'relevant'), a fascination with peoples' stories and the valuable insights they contain, a strong commitment to my own ongoing education, and a belief in the importance of collaboration, experimentation with new approaches and shared reflection.

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Appendix

Research information and consent form (2 pages)

Involvement in Global Issues: Journeys to Engagement
James Trewby, PhD Research at the Institute of Education,
University of London

Brief Project Description

This research aims to examine the relationships between experience, learning and engagement with the UK Global Justice Movement. It will begin with a sample of those who are 'engaged' and use narrative research techniques to investigate the experiences which brought them to this point.

The interview will begin with questions designed to obtain basic biographical information (name, age etc). I will then ask about how you originally became engaged with issues related to global justice and ask you to tell your story from that point up to the present day.

Confidentiality and use of data

My hope is that the stories I collect through this interview will be used in my work (papers, presentations and so on) as data. Depending on your wishes, I will either hide your name and the name of any organisations you have been engaged with or I will use them.

Reporting of results

If you are interested in hearing directly back from me with the results of the study, please provide contact information. Please note that this work may take years to complete, but I hope to have chapters or working papers available prior to the finished work.

Research participant information

Please feel free to ask me if you have any questions.

James Trewby
jtrewby@gmail.com
07930608626

You can also contact my supervisor:

Dr Doug Bourn
Development Education Research Centre,
Institute of Education
D.Bourn@ioe.ac.uk
020 3073 8309

Participant Consent Form

Voluntary participation

Do you understand that your participation is voluntary? **Yes / No**

Consent to use name

Would you mind your true name being used in any oral presentations or written documents resulting from this research? **Yes / No**

Signature _____ to agree to name use:

Consent to record interview

May I record this interview? **Yes / No**

Signature _____ to agree to recording:

Consent to quote from interview

I intend to quote from this interview in the presentations or articles resulting from this work. (A pseudonym will be used in order to protect your identity, unless you specifically allow me to identify you by your true name, as specified above.)

Do you agree to allow me to quote from this interview? **Yes / No**

Consent to follow-Up interview(s)

I may wish to contact you in the future in order to clarify items and ask for further information. This may also be done by phone or email.

Do you agree to allow me to contact you for a follow-up? **Yes / No**

Please read and initial the following statements:

_____ I understand that this interview is intended for the study being conducted by James Trewby, investigating personal narratives of those engaged with the UK Global Justice Movement.

_____ I understand that the interview will take up to four hours and that I can withdraw at any stage. In the event that I withdraw from the interview I understand that any recordings made of the interview will be deleted, and no transcript will be made of the interview, if I should so request.

_____ Subject to the confidentiality conditions, I authorize James Trewby to use this interview for the purposes of research, which may be published.

Signature

Date

Printed Name