Responding to global poverty: young people in England learning about development

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore how young people learn about global poverty and development. Its focus is on the process of learning, understood here as the way in which individuals respond to opportunities to learn about global poverty and development (e.g. in terms of emotion, cognition and behaviour) and the way these responses interrelate in the construction of understandings.

The empirical element of this qualitative, constructivist research focuses on nine 12–15 year-olds living in the South and South East of England. Their perceptions of learning about global poverty and development, across a range of contexts, were explored through semi-structured interviews. This data was analysed using a model of learning developed by Jarvis (2006). This model was selected because of its resonance with themes within the empirical data and also within literature and research relating to global education, the academic and personal context of this research.

The study proposes a slightly adapted version of Jarvis' model which better reflects the way in which young people in this study learn about global poverty and development. This adapted model emphasises the role of young people's emotional response to learning about global poverty, the relationship of this response to a behavioural or action response, and the significance of young people's reflection on themselves in relation to global poverty and development.

This research is unique in two ways: in applying learning theory directly to empirical evidence of young people's learning about global poverty and development; and in applying Jarvis' theory of learning to young people. In doing so it highlights the merits of drawing on the rich body of learning theory that exists to explore how young people learn about global challenges and contributes to wider debate about the ways young people learn and become themselves in today's world.

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

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Acronyms

BERA	British Educational Research Association	
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development	
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families (now Department for	
	Education)	
DEA	Development Education Association (now Think Global)	
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (now Department for Education)	
DFID	Department for International Development	
LEDC	Less economically developed country	
MEDC	More economically developed country	
NGO	Non-governmental organisation, here used specifically to refer to	
	international development NGOs with their headquarters in England	
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority	

Chapter 1: Framing the research

1.1. Introduction and academic rationale

This study explores how young people learn about global poverty and development. It uses a theoretical framework drawn from learning theory to model the way in which young people respond to global poverty and development and how these responses interrelate in the process of learning.

There is a strong and diverse tradition of global education in England, of which learning about poverty and development has been an integral part in both theory and practice. A range of activities and literature exist aimed to support young people to learn about these issues, and much has been written about intended outcomes and pedagogy of such teaching (see, for example, Andreotti, 2006; Oxfam, 2006; Andreotti and Warwick, 2007; Hicks and Holden, 2007; Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), 2007; Serf, 2008; Temple and Laycock, 2008; Bowden, 2013; Bourn, 2014).

However, to date there has been limited theoretical or empirical focus on young people's learning about these issues in England (Marshall, 2007a; Bourn, 2008). As in the related fields of environmental education and education for sustainable development, "very little is known about what such provision looks and feels like for the learners concerned" (Rickinson, Lundholm and Hopwood, 2009, p.1). Where research does exist into young people's learning about global poverty and development it has tended to focus on specific learning outcomes of education programmes or projects (see, for example, Lowe, 2008; Scott, 2009; Global Student Forum, 2012), a natural consequence of educational researchers' interests and funders' requirements. Internationally, there are increasing exceptions to this: examples of more open and academic research into young people's learning differences in the way German young people learn about globalisation and development through critical and intellectual discussion at school versus volunteering outside of school (Asbrand, 2008); and the responses of young people in New Zealand to NGO imagery (Tallon, 2013).

This research is therefore significant in contributing to a limited body of work focusing on young people's learning about global poverty and development in England, and to a growing international body of research. Building on the work of Cross, Fenyoe, Wagstaff and Gammon (2010), which looks at the role of the media in young people's learning about the wider world, it is also significant in exploring young people's learning across all the contexts in which they perceive themselves to learn about global poverty and development. This includes learning through: formal education; informal, extracurricular, semi-structured learning opportunities in and beyond school; and non-formal, ad-hoc day-to-day interaction with friends, family and the media.

However, where this study is unique is in applying a theoretical framework drawn from experiential, constructivist learning theory to empirical data with the aim of exploring how young people learn. The model used is Jarvis' model of the transformation of the person through learning (Jarvis, 2006, p.23). Its use here addresses a gap, since learning processes in global education have been largely overlooked (Bourn and Morgan, 2010). These processes have been significantly theorised beyond the field of global education, but limited reference or application has been made to models of learning process within global education research. Again, there are exceptions, most notably the application of transformative learning theory to the learning of adults about global issues (Brown, 2013; Martin and Griffiths, forthcoming). Yet process is crucial in global education because "it is in the minds of learners that these things [concepts of global learning] need to come together as the basis for lifelong learning" (Sinclair, 2011, p.8). This research is unique in exploring how young people learn from a learning theory perspective. It is also unique in applying Jarvis' (2006) model, developed to describe all learning but within the field of adult education, to young people's learning. In doing so, this research contributes to wider debates about the ways young people learn and become themselves in today's world (see e.g. Brooks, 2012 and Nayak, 2003).

This chapter frames the research, setting out my personal rationale for undertaking the study; the questions guiding the research; and the way in which key terms are understood here (learning, global poverty and development, young people in England).

1.2. Personal rationale

This research adopts a constructivist approach to knowledge and learning (see Chapter 4). In this light, the contribution to knowledge represented by these pages is understood as the result of my active construction. Understanding the researcher or constructor, and the *"motivational baggage"* I bring (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p.155), is therefore very significant. Here, I explore the context of the research from a personal

perspective, setting out my influences and motivations, with the aim of better framing the research and its findings.

I have been interested in young people's learning about global issues throughout my career: as a secondary school teacher and NGO staff member. I see myself as a global educator, and at points in this thesis refer to 'us' or 'we' as global educators (though I do not see this group as homogenous or claim to represent the views of all global educators).

My interest in issues of global poverty and development was first ignited during my own academic study. As part of my undergraduate programme in biological anthropology, I spent time collecting data at a Medical Research Council field station in The Gambia, based in a rural community of subsistence farmers. Coming from an upbringing in predominantly white, middle-class 1980's Norfolk, it is fair to say that I took to The Gambia something of what Barack Obama, in his autobiography, describes his mother taking from Kansas to Hawaii: "the promise of another life: warm, sensual, exotic, different" (Obama, 2007, p.124). I was interested in a career in development, both worthwhile and exotic. After completing my degree I spent some time volunteering in a mental health support group in a township in South Africa, and went on to study for a Masters in Development and Education. It was here that I first seriously considered post-colonial critiques of the notion of 'development' and the power relations of international politics, trade and knowledge creation (following academics at the University of East Anglia, such as Ken Cole, 1999). I became involved in the work of local NGOs, including Norfolk Education and Action for Development (a Development Education Centre) and Bananalink (an organisation campaigning for a fairer and more sustainable banana trade). Through the educative work of these organisations, in schools and through trade unions, I began to consider the role of education in equipping individuals to have a better understanding of development issues.

My teacher training in 2003 and formative years teaching Citizenship, History and Geography in a rural secondary school was at a time when, under a New Labour government, a curricular 'global dimension' was in the ascendancy. A huge range of teaching resources were available to me: case studies; resources on human rights, debt and trade; campaigning activities such as 'Send my friend to school', part of the Global Campaign for Education; and websites such as those of development NGOs Oxfam and CAFOD, and the Global Dimension portal site, globaldimension.org.uk). This context and my own interest meant that during five years' teaching in schools in

the UK and Switzerland, I was able to develop lessons on a range of global issues including approaches to development, patterns of international migration, international conflicts such as that in the Middle East, and global trade. I was also involved in wholeschool activities including school linking and fundraising for development charities. However, rather than gaining confidence over time about my role as a global educator, I increasingly became aware of tensions apparent within teaching materials, and my own lack of clarity about what I wanted my students to learn. Given the reality of poverty in the world, should my focus be on giving students opportunities to take action to make the world a better place? This approach aligned with my training as a Citizenship teacher, a subject with an ethos and pedagogy of active participation (Brown and Fairbrass, 2009). Or, as an educator, should I instead be supporting students to explore the underlying issues, even if they did not always join up this learning with their everyday choices? Would critically analysing global issues lead students to feel overwhelmed and disempowered? Would changing their thinking lead them to make different choices now and later in life? Which teaching methods and activities were most effective in supporting changes in understanding, relationships, critical thinking or action?

To answer these questions, I decided I needed to understand what was known about young people's experiences of learning about poverty and development. It was in this context that I began my doctoral studies. Just as I did so, I also changed my day-job, moving from teaching to work at Think Global, a London-based national education charity which works to promote and support global learning. During my time at Think Global, I have produced, personally and collaboratively, resources, project ideas and other materials giving implicit and explicit messages about what and how young people 'should' learn about global poverty and development. Throughout my studies I have therefore continued to grapple, both academically and practically, with questions about the aims, process and outcomes of global education. My learning journey over the past seven years has been profound, and I return to the personal outcomes of this research in Chapter 8.

1.3. Research questions

In focusing on how young people in England learn about global poverty and development, this study is guided by the questions in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Research questions

General research question:

How do young people in England learn about global poverty and development?

Specific research questions:

1. How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?

2. How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning?

3. How can young people's learning be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education?

4. What are the benefits, limitations and implications of a model of learning for global education practitioners and researchers?

How the key terms of these research questions are understood here is set out in the rest of this chapter, and summarised in Figure 2.

Voung pooplo	The term 'voung needle' refere to the 12, 15 year olds who teak part in	
Young people	The term 'young people' refers to the 12–15 year-olds who took part in	
	the empirical research. The term is not seen to represent a biological	
	stage, but to be socially constructed in context.	
England	England, and specifically the South and South East of England, form the	
	geographical context of this research. Young people's learning about	
	global poverty and development is not expected to be homogenous	
	across the country or these regions (neither process nor outcomes), but	
	to be affected, in different ways and to different extents, by common	
	factors, including the ways in which government, media and education	
	systems in England engage with development.	
Learning	Learning is understood as an active, individual process, within and	
	influenced by social context. It occurs across formal, informal and non-	
	formal learning contexts. The focus here is on 'how' young people learn	
	about global poverty and development, and in particular on the internal	
	process through which an individual learns. The dimension of learning	
	process on which this study focuses is the way in which individuals	
	respond to opportunities to learn about global poverty and development	
	(e.g. in terms of emotion, cognition and behaviour) and the way these	
	responses interrelate in the construction of understandings.	

Figure 2. Key terms

Global poverty and	The terms 'global poverty' and 'development' are understood in different	
development	ways, and some approaches to these terms are more dominant than	
	others in global education and public discourses in England. This study	
	accepts that there is inequality and injustice in the world and that change	
	is desirable. However, beyond this broad understanding, it does not	
	adopt any specific definition of these terms.	

1.4. What is meant here by global poverty and development?

Our world is one with staggering rates of hardship, suffering and inequality. Over 1.2 billion people live in extreme poverty (measured as living on less than \$1.25 per day and in sub-Saharan Africa this figure is half the population [2010 figures]). An estimated 101 million children under age five are underweight (2011 figures), and in 2011, 6.9 million under-fives died, mostly from preventable diseases. In 2012, the number of people uprooted by conflict or persecution was the highest in 18 years. Around the world, 57 million primary school children are out of school, more of these are girls than boys, and half of these children are in sub-Saharan Africa (2011 figures; United Nations, 2013).

In this context, most, if not all, people would agree that people's lives should improve. However, notions of poverty and development are highly contested. Development commonly implies a process of progress and change, but a huge range of questions are implicit within this statement. What are the end goals of such progress, and who, in a world of power imbalances, makes such decisions? Does development involve a process of modernisation of society, or more effective management of social and economic activity in the general interest? Is poverty simply a lack of economic means? If so, can levels of poverty be seen as a measure of quality of life? Is development a specialised activity practised by particular experts and organisations or an agenda that should be democratically owned?

Development theorists, and their critics, work within distinct and varied theoretical and intellectual parameters as to the nature of progress (Cole, 1999). A range of poststructuralist critiques of development have explored the ways in which development discourses are bound up with questions of power, identity and knowledge (e.g. Sachs, 1992; Escobar, 1995; Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997). These tensions within development discourse are echoed in discourses of global education, highlighting the *"hidden normativity of the concept of development and the relation between development and education"* (Scheunpflug and Asbrand, 2006, p.35).

This research accepts the view that there is inequality and injustice in the world and that change is desirable. It also recognises that people's notions of development may mediate their understanding of the world and their possible roles in it (Smith, 2004b), and that some discourses in development have been particularly influential within global education. For example, the development education movement in the early 21st century can be regarded as teaching the view that the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the globalisation of markets were 'bad' for the poor and should be reformed or even abolished, in contrast to the Department for International Development (DFID) (a funder for many development education organisations at the time) who see economic growth as leading to benefit for the poor (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004). Applications of post-colonial critiques of development to global education practice (Andreotti and de Souza, 2008), educational guidance documents (Andreotti, 2008) and learning outcomes (Tallon, 2013) have highlighted an equation of development with modernisation and superiority. However, despite acknowledging that particular perspectives on development are influential within global education, this research adopts no one definition of poverty or development, nor seeks to understand young people's learning in relation to one approach over others.

Throughout the thesis I use the term 'developing country' as opposed to 'less economically developed county' or 'Global South' (with some exceptions where directly quoting an author or participant). This is for ease of reference. All two world concepts are understood as problematic (Young, 2010), and although more specific geographical locations would be preferable, the nature of the discourses with which this thesis engages serves to make this impractical.

Poverty is inextricably linked to other global issues, such as climate change and biodiversity reduction. Questions concerning the development of human communities and environmental conservation cannot be easily separated on the world stage or in the classroom (Grieg, Pike and Selby, 1987). Debates in development currently revolve around the idea of development being sustainable (Cole, 1999, p.155) and previously distinct education movements on the environment and global poverty are increasingly converging around the theme of sustainable development. Whilst these strong relationships are recognised, and reflected in the data, the focus of interest here is how young people learn about human poverty and development.

1.5. What is meant here by learning?

Learning can be both a gerund (used as a noun: what one has learnt) and a verb (the activity or process of learning), with the process and outcome being closely related. This study is particularly interested in the latter, the process of learning. The process of learning is a broad term, potentially covering social, psychological and neurological dimensions. The term is used here to mean the way in which individuals respond to opportunities to learn (research question 1), for example, in terms of emotion, cognition and action, and the way these responses interrelate in the elaboration, integration, or change of an individual's understandings (research question 2). This study is also interested in the way in which these responses can be visually represented or modelled (research question 3) and the limitations of such a modelling (research question 4). Use of the term 'process' may sound vague, but it is the language used by learning theorists to characterise this hugely important, but unseen dimension of learning (see, for example, Jarvis, 2006; Illeris, 2009).

Learning is understood here as an individual process (Jarvis, 2006; Rickinson *et al*, 2009) but within, and influenced by, social contexts (Bredo, 2000; Burbules, 2000). This is not to dismiss the interest of social constructivist accounts on social context and bodies of knowledge, but to choose to focus on the complexities of individual sense-making as opposed to the emergence of collective knowledge. For more on the epistemological position of this research, see Section 4.2. An interest in individual learning process is reflected in this study's in-depth exploration of the perceptions of a small number of young people (see Chapter 4).

Finally, learning is understood as occurring throughout an individual's life histories and life-world. This approach is informed by theories of global education that highlight the way in which we are all intimately connected to the world around us (e.g. Hicks, 2003; Sinclair, 2008), and by research that points towards the multiple locations in which young people learn about the wider world (Cross *et al*, 2010; Bourn and Brown, 2011). A similar argument has been made in the related field of environmental learning, that it needs to be understood in the context of a wide range of settings and information sources including *"the formal education system, books from both libraries and retail outlets, museums, parks, ecotourism sites, television programming, film and video, newspapers, radio, magazines, the Internet, community-based organisations and through conversations with friends and family"* (Falk, 2005, p.267).This study therefore explores how young people learn about global poverty and development wherever young people perceive that learning to occur (see research question 1). This may be 18

through a range of mediums (including information, images, discussions) and in a range of contexts.

The terms 'formal education', 'non-formal learning' and 'informal learning' are used to describe this breadth of context. Formal education is commonly understood to denote learning within the school or higher education system. On the other hand, the terms 'non-formal' and 'informal learning' are often used interchangeably (Malcolm, Hodkinson and Colley, 2003) to mean either or both of non-curricula and/or non-school-based activities, or learning during leisure time, for example, through friends, family and the media. For consistency (and not from any theoretical position) non-formal education is used consistently here to denote learning in structured or semi-structured non-curricular opportunities at or outside schools, and informal learning is used to denote ad hoc day-to-day learning.

1.6. What is meant here by young people?

The term 'young people' is used here to refer to the nine 12–15 year-olds who took part in the empirical element of this research (see Chapter 4). 'Childhood', 'youth' and 'young person' are recognised as socially constructed and context-dependent (Wyn and White, 1997; James, Jenks and Prout, 1998; Osgerby, 2004; Barratt Hacking, Barratt and Scott, 2007; Weber and Dixon, 2007; Weller, 2007; Brooks, 2012).

Being a 'young person' is not used here to indicate a biological or psychological stage. The experience of ageing is recognised, but as a process through which the meaning and experience of becoming adult is constructed. The extent to which the meaning of being a young person is negotiated by individuals or constructed by social institutions is debated: here it is seen as individual, but within, and influenced by, social contexts. Multiple terms are used to ascribe meaning to the process of growing up (child, youth, teenager, younger people, young adult), each carrying different assumptions and *"baggage*" (Weller, 2007, p.13). 'Young person' is consistently used here, except when a different term is used by another author. It is used in preference to other terms as a reminder that young people are also people, a recognition of the need to prevent the promotion of the *"adult-child binary"* (Weller, 2006, p.99).

This research's interest in the learning of young people, and particularly 12–15 yearolds, reflects a number of factors. Firstly, young people have been the focus of global education policy and practice in England over the past ten years (see e.g. Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and DFID, 2005; QCA, 2007). Secondly, and more broadly, it echoes an increased interested in children's and young people's perspectives in the social sciences (Hill, 2005). Thirdly, and personally, it reflects my interest, as a trained secondary teacher, in this age group. Fourthly, I believed that young people of this age group would be able to articulate their perspectives on their learning in a way that would provide rich material for the research.

This age group was *not* selected because of any assumption about distinct learning processes in this age range. Indeed, this research adopts the position that the learning processes of young people are not qualitatively different from adults, and does not seek to link changes in learning to biological maturation (as, e.g. Piaget, 1977 does). It takes this position to refute the tendency to conflate the social institution of formal education with a developmental stage (Brooks, 2012), instead seeing school (as well as extra-curricular clubs and learning through day-to-day life) as learning contexts rather than typologies of learning (Alheit, 2012). Such an approach shares similarities with critiques of andragogy (the theory of adult learning) (Hanson, 1996), where the key differences between child learning and adult learning are understood to rest in context, culture and power. This is not to refute existing or future evidence that there may be differences in some dimensions of learning between age groups (e.g. in the neurological functioning of young children), but rather to highlight the similarities.

1.7. Where are these young people learning?

This study focuses on young people in England, and in particular those from the South and South East of England where all the research participants were located. Just as young people's experiences of youth are diverse (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Nayak, 2003), young people's learning about global poverty and development is not assumed to be homogenous across England, across regions, or across those participants involved in this study.

However, relevant factors common to many young people in England, though experienced to different extents and in different ways, include: high levels of ethnic diversity in urban areas (with resulting opportunities to learn from or visit family members and friends who have lived or live in a developing country); the highly visible fundraising and campaigning of non-governmental organisations' (NGOs) (see e.g. Dogra, 2012), which offer contradictory messages of Southern empowerment and vulnerability (Smith, 2004a); a public discourse on development about foreign aid as an act of virtue and charity to the less fortunate (Mawdsley, cited in Ham Bevan, 2012, p.33), a discourse which is often echoed in schools (Smith, 2004b, Bentall and McGough, 2013); public engagement with development that is perceived by NGOs and the government as static or even falling and of low quality (see e.g. Darnton and Kirk, 2011); and a strong tradition of global education (led initially by NGOs but with government backing since the turn of the century), which has had an increasing focus on fundraising and advocacy (Weber, 2014).

Many of these factors are part of a broader picture in England and beyond of what has been described by Biccum (2010) as an era of 'new' development advocacy, characterised by increased celebrity and philanthropic involvement with global poverty and government-led efforts to raise awareness and an understanding of development. Also relevant to understand the diversity and specificity of the ways in which young people in England learn about global poverty and development is Nayak's (2003) work on youth culture in North East England. She found that the young people who participated in her study were all negotiating shared social transformations, including labour market restructuring, migration and the cultures of globalisation. However, they responded in different ways, often using signs and symbols from global culture but also reflecting a strong sense of local place in their identity.

The implication of the diverse but specific learning opportunities of the young people in this study for the applicability of the findings of this research to other geographical contexts is explored in Chapter 7.

1.8. Parameters and limitations

In setting out what this study aims to do, it is helpful to be clear about what it does *not* do. As indicated above, learning is a highly complex and multi-faceted process. In exploring how young people learn, this study draws on learning theories which model learning process at an overarching, rather than detailed, level. It cannot explore all learning processes; for example, it does *not* seek to focus on deep neurological learning process.

An understanding of learning process as the way in which individuals respond to opportunities to learn is internal, unseen and unseeable. This research does *not* claim to be able to 'see' this process, but to draw on young people's perceptions of their learning and on learning theory to further our understanding of the way in which young people learn about global poverty and development. Young people's perceptions, reflected in the empirical data of this research, are themselves limited; for example, they do not include learning young people were not comfortable to share in interview,

their incidental or unconscious learning and how learning about global poverty and development relates to learning about other issues. These limitations are explored in Chapter 7.

Within global education, the academic and personal context of this research, there is a range of identifiable trends, for example, a move towards the promotion of social justice over charity (Bourn and Morgan, 2010); a shift from "*the idea that 'global' is seen as if it is some other place*" towards local–global interdependence (Sinclair, 2008, p.3); an increasing focus on notions of global citizenship and social responsibility, with strong links to identity, role and responsibility (Marshall, 2005); and an interest in developing extrinsic values as a way to establish deep positive frames of reference towards development (Crompton, 2010; Darnton and Kirk, 2011; Bowden, 2013). I am mindful of these trends and key themes within global education discourses, but this research does *not* aim to compare learning processes or outcomes between global education activities.

Finally, no theory of learning can reflect the full complexity of learning, and further limitations are placed on this research by the theoretical model chosen to analyse the empirical data. The strengths of Jarvis' model of learning in framing an exploration of learning process, and its weaknesses, are explored in Chapter 3 and Chapter 7.

1.9. Thesis structure

Figure 3 sets out the way in which the research questions of this study are addressed through the structure of the thesis.

Chapter	Chapter title	Short description	Research question(s) addressed
1	Introduction	This chapter has framed the research, setting out the academic and personal rationale of the research; the	
		questions guiding the study; and the way key terms are understood.	

Figure 3. Thesis structure

2	Learning through	This chapter explores the way in	Contributes to
	global education	which young people's learning is understood in global education, the academic and personal context of this research. Drawing on existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development, it highlights the significance of young people's responses in terms of their behaviour, emotion and reflection on themselves.	research question 1
3	Exploring learning theory in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development	This chapter sets out the theoretical framework of this study. It explores the way in which learning theory has been used within global education. Drawing on the wealth of literature theorising human learning beyond global education, it argues that the work of Jarvis (2006) relates to and extends themes already evident within global education discourses and research.	Contributes to research questions 1, 2 and 3
4	Research methodology and methods	This chapter explores the methodology and methods used to answer the research questions of this study. It describes the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of this qualitative, constructivist research; the research tools; and the hermeneutical, cyclical analysis process.	
5	Young people's learning portraits	This chapter describes the data of this research: nine short 'portraits' of young people's learning about global poverty and development. Four of the portraits are included here, along with details of the context in which the data was collected. The chapter highlights three lenses or themes in the data: emotion, reflection on self and action.	Research question 1

6	Applying Jarvis'	This chapter applies Jarvis' (2006)	Research questions
	model of learning	model to the data and presents an	1, 2 and 3
	process to young	adapted version emphasising: the	, <u>2</u> and 0
	people's learning	significance of young people's	
	about global poverty	emotional response; the relationship	
	and development	between emotion and action; and	
		young people's reflection on	
		themselves.	
7	Modelling of young	This chapter addresses the benefits,	Research
	people's learning	limitations and implications for global	question 4
	about global poverty	education practitioners and	
	and development:	researchers of applying and adapting	
	implications and	Jarvis' (2006) model of learning in	
	limitations	relation to young people's learning	
		about global poverty and	
		development.	
8	Conclusion	This chapter summarises the findings	Brings together the
		and arguments of each chapter;	answers from this
		reflects on what this research has	research to all four
		meant for the researcher; and ends by	research questions
		reiterating the distinctiveness and	
		contribution to knowledge of this	
		research.	

Chapter 2: Learning through global education

2.1. Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to explore existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development. Global education broadly, and learning about issues of poverty and development specifically, have only fairly recently emerged as topics of interest amongst researchers. Much empirical research is currently missing in global education, including in the area of learning process (Scheunpflug and Asbrand, 2006). However, a relatively small but growing body of research exists within global education when young people's learning is viewed more broadly, and this chapter explores this research using Rickinson *et al*'s (2009) 'Wheel of learning' as a framework (see Section 2.4.).

Firstly, however, this chapter sets out how global education is understood in this study, and the unique trajectory of the field or movement within an English context (drawing largely on commentary and practice where empirical research is lacking). How learning process is theorised, both within and beyond global education and within this study, is the focus of Chapter 3.

As well as setting the context of the research, this chapter is significant in identifying three themes which are relevant to research question 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development? Firstly, social change or action for change in response to global poverty is identified as a dominant underlying theme within global education discourses. Secondly, within existing empirical research, the centrality to learning of the individual learner and the way in which new learning strongly relates to young people's understandings of themselves is evident. A third theme, also apparent in existing empirical research, is young people's emotional or empathetic responses to global poverty and development. These three themes of emotion, identity and action are identified as significant to any understanding or model of young people's learning process relevant to global educators and researchers (research question 3), and as such are returned to in later chapters.

2.2. What is meant here by global education?

Recent years have seen growing interest in England in developing individuals' understanding of our interdependent world and the global challenges we face. Policy and pedagogical responses have varied, and terminology includes global education, global dimension, global perspectives, development education, global citizenship, and global youth work (Hicks, 2007a; Bourn, 2008). These overlapping approaches to addressing global issues and the impact of globalisation are described here inclusively as 'global education'.

This use of the term in an umbrella sense therefore covers specific traditions which the term 'global education' has also been used to denote. This includes the distinct education field known in the UK during the 1970s and 80s as World Studies (Hicks, 2007b) and work by the German academic Annette Scheunpflug exploring how to equip young people with the knowledge and skills they need to live in a globalised world (Scheunpflug, 2008). Across the broad and conceptually fuzzy field or movement of global education (Marshall, 2005; Hicks, 2007a) educators are encouraged to bring the world into their classrooms by addressing a variety of global issues such as interdependence, diversity, human rights, peace, social justice and sustainable development (Andreotti and de Souza, 2008). Global education is associated with critical thinking, participatory and holistic teaching and learning, values relating to human rights and social justice and issues relating to global interdependence (Marshall, 2007a).

In addition, social change, or action for change, is a dominant underlying theme throughout global education (Bourn, 2008; Brown, 2013), and evident widely within commentary and practice (see, for example, Smith and Rainbow, 2000; Oxfam, 2006; Trewby, 2007; Temple and Laycock, 2008). It has deep conceptual roots stemming from the significant influence on global educators of the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (see, for example, Hicks, 2003; Bourn, 2014; Trewby, 2014), who made the link between critical awareness and social action through the term *"critical consciousness"* or *conscientização* (Freire, 1970, p.17). He believed that through education people are able to actively address their social exclusion. The relationship of action and learning within global education continues to be central, but is much debated and viewed in multiple ways: as the choice of the individual learner (Andreotti and Warwick, 2007); as providing the pedagogical context of learning (Temple and Laycock, 2008); and as prompted by critical understanding (Richardson, 2008), a

sense of personal responsibility as a global citizen (Oxfam, 2006), and/or values of social justice (Haydon, 2005; Marshall, 2005; Scheunpflug, 2008).

Learning about poverty and development has been understood as an integral part of global education in England in both theory and practice. Development education, emerging in the 1970s with a focus on issues of international development and global interconnectedness (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004), has been a significant antecedent and contributing tradition to the broader discourse of global education in England. Since then, influential theoretical and practical guides to global education have incorporated global poverty and development. For example, Hicks (2007b) describes an 'issues' dimension to global education including wealth and poverty as one of four issue areas; Oxfam's (2006) influential guidance on education for global citizenship aims to respond to the widening gap between rich and poor; and the DFID-funded Global Learning Programme aims to *"help pupils gain additional knowledge about the developing world, the causes of poverty and what can be done to reduce it"* (Global Learning Programme, 2014).

2.3. Global education in England

Global education practice in England contributes to an international discourse on global education which varies in emphasis and trajectory (see, for example, Hartmeyer, 2008; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009; Lenskaya, 2009). In this wider context English global education is well-respected and perceived as well-established (European Multi-Stakeholder Steering Group on Development Education, 2010).

Global education's unique trajectory in England is characterised both by the range of overlapping traditions that it encompasses and the significant role in its development of NGOs, initially in place of state involvement (Sinclair, 1994), and, since the turn of the century, in combination with government support. This contrasts with global education in America where the field is led by academics (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009), but shares similarity with the situation in central European countries, where the pattern has been one of contributions from both academics and NGOs (Forghani-Arani and Hartmeyer, 2010).

Bourn and Morgan (2010, p.270) describe the way in which "for decades development education in the UK has generally been the preserve of NGOs" though it was a "marginal activity; marginal on the school agenda, the government agenda and the public agenda" (McCollum, 1996, p.2). This changed from the turn of the century with

increased government support for global education. The government put in train a range of educational initiatives which together provided a more enabling policy environment for the development of a global dimension in schools,¹ and the Department of International Development (DFID) provided significant financial impetus to a range of projects focusing specifically on global poverty and development.²

In practical terms, this has translated into a range of teaching resources, frameworks, award schemes, websites, funding opportunities, and training available to teachers (see e.g. Marshall, 2007a, 2007b; Martin, 2007; and particularly the Global Dimension website [globaldimension.org.uk]. A parallel rise in interest in incorporating global issues into youth work was also evident, although education work with young people outside of schools has never been prescribed in policy in the way that it has in formal education.

Though the policy and funding environment for global education has become less favourable under the coalition government, in autumn 2013, DFID launched a five-year national programme supporting global learning in schools, with a particular focus on learning about global poverty (Bourn, 2014). However, despite this governmental support, and perhaps because DFID has channelled its resources through NGOs, such organisations are still *"often the first point of contact"* (Bourn and Hunt, 2011, p.35) for teachers wanting to explore global issues in their classroom.

Exactly what this historical context means for global education practice today is less clear (Marshall, 2007a), although a growing body of evidence exists providing useful pointers (including Smith, 1999, 2004a; Marshall, 2007a; Bourn and Hunt, 2011; Bourn and Cara, 2012, 2013; as well as Bryan and Bracken, 2011, focusing on the Irish context). However, critics highlight implications of NGO and government funding for global education, and particularly the resulting focus on short-term actions such as

¹ These included: inclusion of a cross-curricular 'global dimension' in the 2007 English secondary school curriculum (QCA, 2007); strategy documents and recommendations such as '*Developing a global dimension in the school curriculum*' (DfES and DFID, 2005, first launched in 2000), '*The global dimension in action*' (QCA, 2007), and '*Top Tips to develop the global dimension in schools*' (Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF), 2008); and duties on schools such as the promotion of community cohesion and the Every Child Matters initiative with opportunities for making connections between communities and for exploring global and development issues through themes such as children's rights and economic wellbeing (Brown and Fairbrass, 2009).

² These have included: grant funding for education initiatives through the Development Awareness Fund, a partnership initiative bringing together educational stakeholders regionally; and significant funding for school linking, partnerships between schools in the UK and schools in developing countries.

fundraising and campaigning activities (Smith, 1999, 2004b; Biccum, 2007; Weber, 2014). Analysis of teaching materials indicates that NGO global education programming in the UK has shifted since the late 1990s towards an emphasis on promoting short-term fundraising and advocacy actions (Weber, 2014). This may be the result of tensions within UK-based development NGOs between their education work and their fundraising campaigns, the latter often communicating a message of a vulnerable, incapable, low-skilled and grateful 'Other' requiring our help (Smith, 2004b; Dogra, 2012). Some see global education as dominated by fundraising activities in English schools (Smith, 1999, 2004b; Jackson, 2010), and Biccum (2007, p.1116) argues that government-funded global education is about the creation of *"little developers … imbued with the capability to go out and do developing*".

The role of funders in global education is revisited in later chapters. In particular, young people's response to NGO imagery (both in the media and classroom activities) is a significant theme within existing research and the new findings of this study. In addition, it is often funders who set the agenda for evaluations of global education projects. The interest of government and NGOs in a pre-determined and relatively narrow set of learning outcomes is reflected in the next section, which explores existing empirical evidence in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development.

Both this section and the last have highlighted the way in which action, understood in different ways, is seen in global education theory and practice as an important response of individuals to global poverty and development. This emanates from global education's conceptual roots in the work of Freire, and from the role of NGOs in global education practice in England. To be seen as relevant or applicable to global educators and researchers, any model which seeks to frame or clarify young people's learning must therefore consider the role of this response (research questions 1 and 3). Action is therefore a theme revisited throughout this study.

2.4. Empirical insights into young people's learning about poverty and development

Whilst limited theorisation and research exist within global education in relation to learning process as it is understood here, empirical insights do exist when a broader perspective is taken on the term 'learning'. The aim of this section is to explore this existing research into young people's learning about global poverty and development, and highlight themes which may be relevant in answering the research questions, and particularly research question 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?

Stepping back to look at learning more broadly, rather than specifically at learning process, presents a challenge in focusing and structuring this section. The term 'learning' can cover so much and to ensure coherence, I sought a framework to guide decisions on what to include and what not to include. This section is therefore structured around a wheel of learning (see Figure 4), incorporating five dimensions of learning. This framework is adapted from Rickinson *et al* (2009) and was chosen here because of its clarity and its successful use by Rickinson *et al* to structure exploration of environmental learning. The simple and high-level theorisation it provides enables some structuring of the exploration of empirical data, whilst still allowing the overview of existing research intended for this chapter. The wheel of learning is revisited later in this study when it is applied to the empirical data of this research and used as a framework to enable data reduction (see Chapters 4 and 5).





Adapted from Rickinson, Lundholm and Hopwood, 2009, p.15

Rickinson *et al* see the five dimensions of learning as particularly important in bringing focus to young people's learning, themselves following authors such as Mezirow (2000).

In this section, I prioritise the findings of empirical research in which English young people aged 12–15 and their learning about global poverty and development are the focus (as in this study). However, where it helps to explain or nuance a finding about young people's learning, or addresses dimensions of learning not covered in relation to the target group, other research is cited. This includes research exploring teachers' viewpoints, research involving young people outside the age range 12–15 (and in one case adult learning), research into learning contexts, and research from other national contexts. Both academic and non-academic research (e.g. evaluations and polling research by charities) is included here.

2.4.1. Who is learning?

There is some limited evidence of variation in young people's approach to global poverty and development in relation to their gender, ethnicity and age. For example, Cross *et al* (2010) point towards gender variation in the global issues young people see as important, with females more likely to focus on issues such as poverty, education and health, whilst males are more likely to prioritise conflict, terrorism and economic issues. One teacher participating in research into the use of NGO material in the classroom (Tallon, 2012a), indicated that the girls in her Year 10 class were motivated by interest to take part in an activity involving writing to a child they had sponsored through World Vision, whilst some of the boys asked if they could receive qualification credits for the activity. This is reflected in the gender balance of students taking the A Level in World Development, offered by the awarding body, the Welsh Joint Education Committee, to students in both Wales and England. In 2008 70.7% of students were female; in 2012 the figure was 61%. This has been attributed to the compassionate nature of the A Level drawing a more empathetic cohort (Miller, Bowes, Bourn and Castro, 2012, p.17).

A survey of the attitudes of 7–21 year-old girls and young women found that girls from ethnic minorities feel particularly strongly about foreign aid, with 77% in favour of more aid, compared with 61% of white British girls (Fagan, 2010, p.2). However, interestingly, in a 2012 survey also commissioned by Girlguiding UK, 55% of white British girls felt they were well-informed about world events, compared with 50% of girls from other ethnic groups, and 65% of boys (ChildWise, 2012). Age also seems to have

an impact on levels of concern about poverty, with levels high amongst 10-year-olds, declining amongst 14–15 year-olds and rising again amongst 16–21 year-olds (Cross *et al*, 2010).

A further question in relation to 'who' is learning about global poverty and development is the numbers of young people who are experiencing such learning. The continuous nature of learning in a globalised world means that the majority of young people are likely to have at least some opportunities to learn about global poverty and development informally, for example, through prevalent NGO television advertising (Dogra, 2012). However, research does not currently exist which would enable us to quantify the numbers of young people who have formal and non-formal opportunities for learning about global poverty and development. For example, in relation to youth work, it is "*difficult to get a clear picture of the proportion of young people who experience youth work*" (Cotton, 2009, p.12), let alone the proportion that have the opportunity to learn about poverty and development in non-formal education contexts. One relevant figure comes from research into young people's experiences of volunteerism in southern countries, part of the gap year phenomenon, and puts involvement of 18–20 year-olds from the UK in short-term (less than six months) placements in developing countries at 10,000 young people per year (Simpson, 2004).

The evidence in this section reinforces a theoretical view (Jarvis, 2006) that characteristics such as socio-economic status, gender, age and role may impact on learning, in this case about global poverty and development. However, the evidence is very limited, and it is worth adding the caveat that, in education research more broadly, there is debate as to whether personal characteristics such as gender relate to common variations in learning. For example, Preece (2012) argues that experimental studies into gender and learning differences have remained inconclusive and gendered positions on learning are not fixed, but mediated by time, space, situation and power relations.

2.4.2. Where are young people learning?

The majority of existing studies which explore learning about global poverty and development tend to focus on learning through specific educational programmes or projects (see, for example, Asbrand, 2008; Lowe, 2008). This is perhaps an inevitable consequence of the pressures of results-based funding as well as interest amongst educational researchers in the outcomes of educational programmes and interventions. However, research indicates that young people's opportunities to learn about global

poverty and development are not confined to educational opportunities designed for the purpose:

"Messages about geographically distant places and people are picked up continuously through general media, formal and informal literature and attitudes and knowledge from family, friends and life experiences." (Tallon, 2012b, p.9)

The multiple contexts of young people's learning about global poverty and development include TV, discussion with family, activities at school, going on holiday, religious institutions, and friends' experiences (Cross *et al*, 2010). This mixture of formal, non-formal and informal learning opportunities resonates with primary school pupils' views on the sources of information that help them understand global issues, including work in school (campaigns, presentations, RE lessons and Assemblies), but also television and radio news, ads on TV and in print, Internet surfing for project work, campaigns/projects with their mothers, books, the children's news programme 'Newsround' and specific websites (CAFOD, 2009). Having said that, 14–20 year-olds who took part in focus group discussions as part of research commissioned by the International Broadcasting Trust, felt that school was central in developing their knowledge of development issues specifically, and spoke of development issues covered in Citizenship and Geography lessons, and through charity fundraising (Cross *et al*, 2010).

Looking first in more detail at young people's opportunities to learn about global poverty and development informally, contact with friends and family members in other countries is clearly a relevant factor. Nayak (2003), talking to a number of students who initially identified as white English, found that in fact these young people had family ties to a number of other countries. Such personal relationships may also come from family members working abroad, for example, serving in Afghanistan. Around 5% of those young people interviewed by Cross et al (2010) cited having family or friends from another country as one factor that has led them to an interest in issues affecting the developing world. A much higher proportion (80%) saw the Internet as a key way of keeping up to date with what is going on in the world (Cross et al, 2010). This reflects broader commentary on social change where young people are often yoked together with new media and communications technologies, and some commentators describe the way in which the Internet has potential to support interaction with and learning about young people throughout the world (Weller, 2007; Kenway and Bullen, 2008). However, it is worth noting that others warn against generalising a generation as savvy 'cyberkids' (Facer and Furlong, 2001) or assuming that young people use social media to make the global connections available to them (Livingstone, 2002; Buckingham, 2008).

Programmes on TV and news are rated as significant factors by young people in motivating their interest in issues affecting the developing world: 66% cited TV news, 42% documentaries, and 26% comedy panel shows such as *Mock the Week* and *QI* (Cross *et al*, 2010). In part, the importance of this last source may relate to a perception of the media as controlling the news agenda in terms of information and perspective, with young people seeking out alternative sources. Other forms of media coverage of development issues include films such as *Blood Diamond* and *City of God*, reality programmes such as *Ultimate Traveller* on T4 or *World's Strictest Parents* on BBC3, dramas such as the BBC's *Wild at Heart*, and most recently a flurry of programmes about the 'real' Brazil in the run-up to the 2014 World Cup. In addition, the public are bombarded by NGO messages *"through our letter boxes, newspapers and television screens"* (Dogra, 2012, p.1). Some of these communications are aimed at adults, the bill-payers and account holders, but may still reach young people; and others, such as high profile events like *Red Nose Day* and *Sport Relief*,³ include young people in their target audience.

Turning to explore where in school young people have opportunities to learn about global poverty and development, dated survey research gives an indication of the extent to which young people experience such learning at school. In 2007, 50% of 11–16 year-old students said they had experienced some form of global education in school that year, such as discussing news stories from around the world from different perspectives or exploring what people can do to make the world a better place (polling research published by DEA, 2008). However, almost one in five (19%) said they had not discussed news stories from around the world at all. Similar survey research amongst 11–14 year-olds found that only 32% of those students questioned had learnt about or discussed poverty and hunger at school (Geographical Association, 2009), but that they were most likely to do so, and most likely to expect to do so, in Geography.

In-depth qualitative research in one English secondary school found that "most students recognised that there was something international in the school's ethos, citing the existence of regular international exchanges and trips, European citizenship

³ Comic Relief is a UK-based charity (www.comicrelief.com), tackling inequality and poverty in the UK and in developing countries. Comic Relief runs two major appeals in alternating years, Red Nose Day and Sport Relief. As the more established of the two appeals, Red Nose Day is sometimes referred to as Comic Relief.

lessons ... and the presence of students and staff from other countries" (Marshall, 2007a, p.367). However, no student talked about any sort of global dimension within their mainstream curriculum subject lessons without first being prompted to do so. Marshall (2007a) draws on the criteria for the British Council's International School Award to detail the range of ways a school can develop a global dimension. In addition to curriculum opportunities, these include activities such as partnerships with schools abroad, offering the International Baccalaureate or other international programmes, international visits and hosting international visitors, Global Days and Weeks, conferences and outside speakers. More recent survey research found that teachers reported school assemblies, curriculum initiatives, out of school clubs, award programmes such as the British Council's International School Award, and visits and materials from non-governmental development agencies as expressions of their school's global dimension (Bourn and Hunt, 2011). However, an emphasis on cultural understanding and awareness was seen as a key theme of their schools' global theme.

A smaller and older study (Smith, 1999) focuses specifically on development issues. It found that teachers in two English schools saw Geography, Music, Art, Drama, History, Religious Education, Personal and Social Education, Science and Languages, as having a role in teaching about developing countries. This resonates with commentary which sees global issues as finding a home at secondary level within subjects such as History, Religious Education, Geography and Citizenship (Darnton and Smith, 2009), and in particular, Geography as playing an important part in furthering the teaching of development issues in English schools (Lambert and Morgan, 2011). However, small-scale research has also indicated that extracurricular fundraising activities are the locus for the communication of development in schools (Smith, 1999) and that a charitable impulse frames teachers' understandings of development (Smith, 2004b). This is reinforced by survey research which shows that 86% of teachers fundraise with their students on a regular basis (Jackson, 2010).

Turning, finally, to non-formal education, limited empirical research about young people's experiences exists. However, a 2009 report identified a range of initiatives and organisations bringing global issues into youth work, including the Development Education Association's Global Youth Action Project, Y Care International (working through YMCAs), Development Education Centres and the East Midland Regional Youth Work Unit's Global Youth network, People and Planet, Envision and the Catholic Overseas Development Agency (CAFOD) (Cotton, 2009). Although the scale of global

youth work is currently reduced, materials and activities of organisations such as Y Care International, Scouts, Guides and Woodcraft Folk offer opportunities for global education (Bourn and Brown, 2011).

This section highlights the multiple contexts in which young people learn about global poverty and development (with the media and school particularly prominent in the research). At the same time, although contextual research exists (e.g. into teachers' views and media coverage), there is limited current research into young people's learning in these different contexts.

2.4.3. What are young people learning?

The outcomes or 'what' of learning about poverty and development has often been the focus of interest for those empirical studies that exist in this area. This is a consequence of educational researchers' interests, and of results-focused evaluation, currently in vogue in many European countries (Nygaard, 2009), which means funders require evidence of the outcomes of the project. A number of themes are evident in the existing research and evaluations of global education, explored further in this section:⁴

- 1. Young people's understanding of poverty and development
- 2. Young people's stereotypes in relation to poverty and development
- 3. Young people's personal responses to poverty and their relationship to those living in poverty

In terms of young people's understanding of global poverty and development, there are indications that many 14–20 year-olds feel that they know a fair amount about global poverty and the lives of those living in developing countries, and particularly about climate change and fair trade (Cross *et al*, 2010). This is reflected in studies which report awareness amongst young people of some of the challenges facing people in developing countries (including disasters, pollution and war) (CAFOD, 2009) and of global interconnection and interdependence (Gayford, 2009; DEA, 2010; Sallah, 2013). However, on the latter of these themes, research amongst 16–25 year-olds in further education (Bentall and McGough, 2013) found that developing a sense of interconnectedness was challenging and mostly only evidenced in students attending

⁴ These themes are unsurprising since they mirror some of the key areas of work within global education which have guided the research and evaluation agendas. For example, a Europeanwide study of actors in development awareness-raising identified three key motivations for organisations involved in development education (Rajacic, Surian, Fricke, Krause and Davis, 2010, p.8):

^{1.} contributing to challenging global injustice and poverty

^{2.} challenging misinformation and stereotypes

^{3.} encouraging active participation

schools with an advanced approach to global education. In evaluation studies such as Bourn and Cara (2013), teachers indicate students' increased understanding of topics such as global environment, life in African and European communities, global poverty and global health. However, these broad brush-stroke understandings are not significantly broken down (e.g. exploring students' understanding of the causes and implications of these situations) here or in other studies.

Exceptions include Miller *et al*'s (2012) study of students taking the A Level in World Development, 61% of whom felt that their study had affected their understanding of issues surrounding poverty, in particular its complexity, the significance of financial poverty as well as poverty of opportunity and its prevalence in less economically developed countries (LEDCs) as well as more economically developed countries (MEDCs). However, even here, one student noted that his or her understanding did not extend to an *"extent where I can understand how poverty impacts on education and healthcare"* (Miller *et al*, 2012, p.30).

Turning to the second category around stereotypes, there is significant evidence of stereotypical views of Africa existing amongst primary school students (Lowe, 2008; Borowski and Plastow, 2009; Elton-Chalcraft, 2009). An evaluation of a project placing university students from Africa in primary schools found a blanket perception of poverty and a focus on African wildlife (Borowski and Plastow, 2009). This is echoed by Lowe (2008) who found perceptions of people in Africa related almost entirely to suffering: poverty, disease, conflict and death. Elton-Chalcraft (2009, p.67) captured similarly stereotypical understandings of what it is like in various countries, including the following unnuanced description of Pakistan:

"The roads aren't properly made. The cars and the vans and buses they are packed of people, and you have to stand up and sometimes you fall down because of the bumps on the road." (Carlo, Year 5, male student)

Both of these studies link such stereotypes with the representation of developed countries on television. Borowski and Plastow (2009, p.7) are highly critical of programmes such as *Wild at Heart*, where *"Africans usually come with thick accents and a willingness to serve while white people nobly rescue beautiful animals"*. They found that primary school pupils reported that their images of 'mud huts' and 'sad faces' came from TV and fundraising campaigns like Red Nose Day (Borowski, 2009). The relationship between portrayals of Africa on television and people's views of the

continent is articulated clearly by one white, female primary school student interviewed by Elton-Chalcraft (2009, p.67):

"everybody always thinks of the dusty roads and small huts and like they have to go and collect water from a well ... They [television and charity adverts] don't tend to mention about all the places that are well off ... you try to help the people that are not well off so you don't really mention the people that are."

The reinforcement of stereotypical views of poverty and development by media coverage is reflected in broader research. Constraints of time, news narratives and story selection make it difficult to cover development issues in depth in news reporting (Poland, 2004), and NGO imagery, used in television adverts and campaigns, can communicate a message of a vulnerable, incapable, low-skilled and grateful 'Other' (Dogra, 2012). The most well-known example of this was in the Ethiopian famine in 1984–5, during which NGOs used powerful emotional imagery of starving children, famously described by Lissner (1981, p.23) as 'pornographic', leading to unprecedented donations (Dogra, 2012, p.5). Use of simplistic and occasionally negative imagery in NGO advertising continues in the present (Shaw, 1996; Shohat and Stam, 1998; Hutnyk, 2004; Dogra, 2012).

A range of research with young people outside of the age-focus of this research highlights that such stereotypical views of developing countries may also be developed or reinforced through other activities, including personal visits (Simpson, 2004; Davies and Lam, 2010) and schools links (Brown, 2006; Lawson, 2006). For example, research with young adults (18–20 year-olds) involved in gap-year volunteer-tourism found that the volunteers often perpetuated a 'poor-but-happy' understanding of the people around them, leaving little space for questions about the nature of or reasons for poverty (Simpson, 2004). First-hand experience of rural Zambia by UK undergraduates augmented their learning through a university-based education module, and in particular led to gains in awareness, understanding and appreciation of Zambian culture. However, the trip also reinforced ethnocentric stereotypes and led students to over-simplify complex issues of inequality (Davies and Lam, 2010).

Research into school linking points to the way in which such links can contribute to paternalistic notions amongst primary and secondary school students towards children in African link schools (Brown, 2006; Bourn and Cara, 2012), and consolidate Northern secondary school students' negative perceptions of material deficit in developing countries (Leonard, 2012). There are also some claims that school links can challenge stereotypes. For example, an evaluation of a primary school's link with a school in 38

Zimbabwe argues that the link *did* challenge children's perceptions of the country. However, it is possible that one set of stereotypes was simply replaced with another: the children interviewed described Zimbabwe as 'nice', the food 'yummy' and Zimbabwean children clever for making their own toys (Lawson, 2006).

Turning finally to young people's personal response to poverty, evaluations and survey research contribute to a broad but shallow picture charting young people's concern about poverty in poor countries (Cross et al, 2010; and, amongst young adults, Bourn and Sharma, 2008), and their awareness of personal routes for action (Darnton, 2008; Gayford, 2009; Global Learning Network South West, 2010; Miller et al, 2012). On this latter issue much of the evidence is narrowly focused on children's awareness of fair trade products and fair trading, and is interestingly contradictory. Gayford's (2009) study found that students, even at an early age, had a simple but clear view of what constitutes fair trade and its importance, whilst a survey in relation to Dubble fair trade chocolate found that awareness increases with age, up to 90% amongst 13-14 yearolds (Darnton, 2008). In contrast, a survey of young people in the South West found relatively little awareness and understanding of fair trade (Global Learning Network South West, 2010). There is also evidence of young people in further education (Bentall and McGough, 2013) and primary school (Brown, 2006) viewing charitable giving as an important response to global poverty, including fundraising (Brown, 2006; Bentall and McGough, 2013) and the creation of teaching guides and illustrated booklets for people in poor countries (Bentall and McGough, 2013).

There are some indications of a more nuanced picture of young people's personal response to learning about global poverty and development. For example, 20% of World Development A Level students reported a significant impact on the conversations they had, their choice of reading material and their future plans (Miller *et al*, 2012). The students were also asked about how the course had changed their perceptions of themselves, and the majority said that it had not. However, the detailed answers of some students, including those who felt they had experienced no change, pointed towards changes such as gaining a sense of their privileged lifestyle, broadening their view of life and becoming more aware of their actions, roles and responsibilities. This study did not, however, provide evidence of significantly increased action for social change.

Tallon (2013) saw Year 10 Social Studies students in New Zealand as having begun to construct, in response to NGO imagery, their identities as superior and lucky in relation

to the developing world, and as possible benefactors. This research echoes studies with young children and young adults in England. Young adults who have experienced poverty in developing countries through gap year programmes were found to have increased appreciation of the modern conveniences in their home settings, and a sense of their own privileged circumstances and luckiness (Simpson, 2004; Beames, 2005). Students in further education have also been shown to feel gratitude about their own situation in relation to fundraising activities (Bentall and McGough, 2013). Tallon (2013) also emphasises an emotional response to NGO imagery, finding that students expressed shock or disbelief at the chaos of life 'over there', followed by a feeling of sadness or pity, followed by a reflective sense of gratitude that they were not in the same situation as the poor 'Other' (Tallon, 2013). This reflects arguments that NGO messaging is specifically designed to manufacture powerful emotions and donations (Lindquist, 2004; Manzo, 2006).

Research and commentary from the United States on social justice education and approaches to critical theory in the classroom highlights the significance of emotional responses to societal inequality and injustice. Exploration of teachers' emotional responses to these issues and to teaching about these issues (Callahan, 2004; Zembylas and Chubbuck, 2009), points towards young people's emotive response to inequality. In this research and related commentary, emotional responses are strongly linked to action, with emotion seen as the vehicle to enable action to reduce social inequality.

Miller *et al's* (2012) and Tallon's (2013) research look beyond a simple sense of concern about poverty amongst young people to a more complex response in terms of young people's identity. In this context, it is worth noting here some of the findings of a large body of sociological literature exploring the ways in which young people's identity construction, what Moshman (2005, p.89) terms their *"explicit theories of self"*. Identities are understood here as inescapably plural (Sen, 2006) and context-dependent, remembering the *"incompleteness, contextuality and limited duration of our multiple identities"* (Warnke, 2007, p.248).

Broader research into the way in which the flows of globalisation impact on young people's identifications are relevant here, whether that be through: Internet communities (France, 2007, p.157; Polak, 2007); consumption in a global marketplace (Wyn and White, 1997; Miles, 2000); mass communication systems (Nayak, 2003); or

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the way flows promote transnational cultural symbols (Jeffrey and Dyson, 2008). Although not directly exploring young people's learning about global poverty and development, studies such as these raise a number of points salient to this research. Firstly, they serve to emphasise the close relationship between learning about the wider world and the construction of our identities. Secondly, these studies point to the way in which young people are active rather than passive in this process of constructing their understandings of self.

This section has explored the 'what' of young people's learning about global poverty and development. Amongst existing evaluations and research it has identified some broad pictures of the way in which young people understand global poverty and development (some understanding of challenges facing people in developing countries and of global interdependence), young people's stereotypes (often of poor children in dusty continents) and of their personal responses (concern, charitable donation and awareness of fair trade products). Some academic studies have started to point to a more complex picture, and particularly to the way in which young people respond to global poverty in the development of their own identities.

2.4.4. Why are young people learning - what are their motivations?

Little academic attention has been given directly to learners' motivation, the purpose or value that they perceive in learning about poverty and development. Survey research indicates that young people think it is important to learn about issues of interdependence and global poverty (without unpicking why this is) (e.g. DEA, 2008; Geographical Association, 2009). Underlying this motivation may be concern amongst young people about the state of the world (Holden, 2006), an interest in issues affecting the rest of the world (Cross *et al*, 2010; Bowes, 2011; Bentall and McGough, 2013) and an awareness that global challenges are relevant to their lives now (Ofsted, 2009) and in the future:

"We will soon be ruling the world so if we don't know about these issues we will not be any good at shaping the future." (12–14 year-old, Devon) (Global Learning Network South West, 2010)

Focus-group research with 14–20 year-olds (Cross *et al*, 2010) reflects the important place of relevance and interest in motivating young people to engage with development issues, but reveals a more complex picture. Not all those who took part felt that global poverty was personally relevant or a concern to them, adopting instead a pragmatic 'that's life' response. Indeed, some of the young people reported feeling disengaged

from development issues, either because of a sense that development is homework, or because of broader barriers that exist amongst the public at large (including perceived levels of corruption, the political and geographical focus of news, and an inherited sense of 'developing world fatigue'). A strong sense of personal choice meant that these young people did not report guilt or embarrassment about a lack of interest or concern (Cross *et al*, 2010).

Other forms of relevance were seen as motivating, including links to popular brands and young people's interests (e.g. the Nike *Lace Up, Save Lives* campaign, and ActionAid's *Bollocks to Poverty* tent at music festivals), and personal connection through young people's individual stories and celebrity campaign endorsements (Cross *et al*, 2010).On this last point, it is worth noting that a significant body of work explores the growing role of celebrity in narratives of development (see, e.g., Bryan, 2013; Brockington, 2011). A breadth of motivations for learning about global poverty and development is reflected amongst students taking the World Development A Level. As their most important reason for taking the course, 33% of male students and 25% of female students ranked 'went well with other subjects'. Other motivations included: friends doing the course (13% of males and 6% of females); and helping their future career (11% of males and 3% of females) (Miller *et al*, 2012).

Acknowledging an emotional dimension to learning, educational research beyond the field of global education indicates the significance of interest and motivations in the learning process. For example, young people learning science in school have been found to disengage from learning activities and tasks if they experience dislike and discomfort with what is being learned (Watts and Alsop, 1997). Whilst young people's motivation for learning about global poverty is often assumed to be concern for others, this section has highlighted that the reasons why young people choose to learn about these issues are more complex and are likely to include a range of motivations.

2.4.5. How are young people learning?

Studies of the 'what' of learning described above imply that certain activities support different forms of learning about poverty and development. For example, media representations of developing countries and development can create or reinforce young people's stereotypes (Borowski and Plastow, 2009; Elton-Chalcraft, 2009), and young people's emotive responses to NGO imagery have been found to relate to their identity construction (Tallon, 2013). Amongst young adults, visiting developing

countries can establish a dichotomy of 'them and us' and reinforce ethnocentric stereotypes (whilst also potentially increasing cultural awareness) (Simpson, 2004; Davies and Lam, 2010). Evaluation of Y Care International's Global Youth Action project (Sallah, 2013) found that the vast majority of young people involved in the project felt that their global behaviour (including buying fair trade products and signing up to charity campaigns) had changed after engaging in the project. Sallah attributes this to global youth work's pedagogical approach, which prioritises learning through doing.

There is also some evidence exploring how young people learn through different activities at school. Young people studying World Development A Level gained an understanding of the complexity of poverty and factors relating to it, as well as a sense of their own privileged lifestyle and responsibilities (Miller *et al*, 2012). At the start of their Global Schools project, Reading International Solidarity Centre audited students' knowledge and attitudes, and found in one school that students placed emphasis on differences between their own lives and the lives of children in developing countries. During the project, teachers focused on similarities between people and places, and when students' perceptions were re-audited they were able to describe both similarities and differences (Lowe, 2008).

Few studies compare learning in different contexts or explicitly focus on how young people learn through different activities. Based on empirical research with German young people, Asbrand's (2008) research comparing the learning of two groups of young people in relation to globalisation and development is an exception. One group in her study learnt through critical and intellectual discussion at school, the other group through volunteering in organisations outside of school. She found that, compared with the learning which took place in a school environment, the construction of knowledge of young people outside school was much more certain and secure. The latter group felt *"certain about their knowledge and there is no consideration of non-knowledge or different perspectives"* (Asbrand, 2008, p.36). They took their knowledge as true and objective, allowing clarity regarding the options of acting in a complex world society, and *"a self-image of being active"* (Asbrand, 2008, p.37).

How young people learn about global poverty and development is the focus of this study. However, unlike any of the studies here, my interest is in young people's learning process, and not in learning outcomes. All of the research identified above explores the way in which different external learning contexts support learning

outcomes, rather than focusing on the internal process through which individuals respond to opportunities to learn.

Some limited empirical research into learning process within global education does exist, but focuses on the learning of adult participants using a theory of adult learning, transformative learning theory (Brown, 2013; Martin and Griffiths, forthcoming). Brown's (2013) research explores the way in which NGO workers in the UK and Spain view transformation and the learning processes of adults participating in their global education activities, and argues that learners do show signs of transformation. However, whilst evidence of critical analysis, reflection and practical action are apparent, the research evidences less clearly the way in which these add up to the structural shifts in understanding described by transformative learning theory. Martin and Griffiths (forthcoming) are less certain whether the changes that took place in the learning of their research participants (UK teachers on study visits to the Gambia and Southern India) can be seen as transformational. They argue that a dimension to learning through these experiences can sometimes be missing (i.e. relational forms of knowledge about culture and identity, self and other), which diminishes the potential for transformational shifts in learning. Research exploring further education students' learning about global issues (Bentall and McGough, 2013) also references the possibility of transformation amongst other forms of engagement, informed by Mezirow's (2000) theory, but found little evidence of it.

No empirical research to date explores the way in which *young people* respond to learning about global poverty and development, and the way in which these responses interrelate in the process of learning, and this is the gap in evidence this study addresses.

2.4.6. Overview of existing empirical research

The sections above have explored existing research into young people's learning about poverty and development, and the key themes highlighted by this body of research are summarised in Figure 5.

Dimension of learning	Key themes emerging from empirical research
Who is learning?	The individual, bringing their experiences, values, opinions and
	interests, some of which may be influenced by age, socio-
	economic status and gender.
Where are they learning?	In a range of contexts across formal, informal and non-formal
	settings, but particularly:
	 At school (in a variety of spaces)
	• Through the media (including the Internet, television and
	NGO advertising)
What are they learning?	About global poverty and life in developing countries
	Stereotypes in relation to poverty and development
	About themselves, their identity, and their actions in relation
	to poverty and development (feeling concerned, feeling
	lucky, routes for personal action)
Why are they learning?	Concern about and interest in poverty and development
	• Links between poverty and popular brands, other interests,
	celebrity endorsements
	• For reasons unrelated to global poverty, for example
	because they like the teacher
How are they learning?	Different learning opportunities support different kinds of
	learning. No existing empirical research directly focuses on
	young people's internal learning process.

Figure 5. Empirical insights into young people's learning about global poverty and development

Looking across the research explored in this section, two themes are potentially relevant to answering research question 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development? These themes are particularly evident in, and drawn from, the academic research explored in this chapter.

The first is the significance of the individual learner, both in the way he or she brings previous learning to each new learning opportunity, and in the way new learning relates to the self or identity. This identity construction can draw on both young people's emotive responses and action they take in relation to global poverty and development. The 'who' of learning section highlights ways in which the learners' gender, age and other characteristics may affect the way they approach global issues. The 'what' of learning section identifies ways in which young people relate their learning about global poverty and development to themselves. World Development A-Level students found

their learning led them to gain a sense of their privileged lifestyle, broadened their view of life and gain greater awareness of their personal actions, roles and responsibilities (Miller et al, 2012). Young people in research by Simpson (2004), Tallon (2013) and Miller et al (2012) all saw themselves as fortunate or lucky in relation to people living in developing countries. Tallon goes further in describing young people's identity construction as superior in relation to a suffering, vulnerable 'Other', and as possible benefactors, highlighting the significance of emotion in this process. Another way young people understand themselves in relation to learning about global poverty and development, evident amongst German young people in Asbrand's (2008, p.37) research, is "a self-image of being active". The existing empirical evidence indicates that not all young people identify with these self-images of being lucky or active; some report a strong sense of personal choice to 'look away' from issues of poverty and development (Cross et al, 2010). The significance of self in learning about global poverty and development is resonant with broader sociological literature. As described above, there is significant evidence that young people's experiences of globalisation and the wider world relate to their active construction of theories of self and identity construction.

The second theme evident throughout this chapter, though much less strongly than young people's sense of self, is the place of empathetic or emotional responses within learning. Looking at the 'who' of learning Miller *et al* (2012) attribute a gender-bias towards females in students taking World Development A Level to the empathetic response of female students and Holden (2006) identifies concern about the state of the world as motivating learning. More recently, young people responding to NGO imagery were found to express shock or disbelief at the chaos of life 'over there', followed by a feeling of sadness or pity (Tallon, 2013). Literature exploring the role of emotion in social justice education and critical theory in the classroom (Callahan, 2004; Zembylas and Chubbuck, 2009) points towards emotion as a significant way in which young people respond to inequality.

The relevance of identity and emotion in learning are potentially relevant to answering research question 1 (How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?)

2.5. Summary

Global education in England, the personal and academic context of this research, is part of an international discourse on global education, but with a specific national trajectory, including a long history, strong NGO role, and more recent government support. Global education has only fairly recently emerged as a topic of interest amongst researchers, and much empirical research is currently missing, including in the area of learning process.

Having said that, there is a small and growing body of research (both academic and non-academic) which contributes to our understanding of different dimensions of young people's learning about global poverty and development: where, what, how and why young people learn about global poverty and development, and what factors contribute to the individual learning process. However, this chapter has done more than set the context and re-iterate the relevance of this research. It has identified a number of themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty Drawn from global education discourses and existing empirical research relating to young people's learning, these are: the role of action and behaviour change, the significance of emotion, and the way in which learning relates to identity in young people's responses to global poverty and development.

This chapter has explored existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development. The next chapter turns to focus on the ways in which learning process is theorised both within and beyond global education.

Chapter 3: Exploring learning theory in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development

3.1. Introduction

Learning is increasingly recognised as a highly complex process. There are many different theoretical approaches that try to explain elements of the process, from neurophysiological theories that focus on the biological mechanisms of learning, to psychological theories with a focus on mental functions and behaviour, to those which examine the social contexts in which learning takes place. All theories of learning are incomplete in that they examine only limited elements of the process of learning, approach the whole person from different perspectives, and are the product of particular historical, political and cultural contexts. The nature of learning theories in throwing only limited light on the whole, and the complexity of the process, means that we may never fully understand let alone capture it (Jarvis, 2006). All learning theories therefore have some merit in highlighting and emphasising different elements of the learning theories therefore have some merit in highlighting and emphasising different elements of the learning process, and all can be critiqued.

This chapter sets out the theoretical approach to learning process taken in this study. Acknowledging existing theorisation of learning within global education, and drawing on broader literature on education and learning, it sets out an argument that the work of Jarvis (2006) relates well to assumptions made in this research and extends themes already evident within global education discourses.

In doing so, this chapter helps to answer research questions 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development? and 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning? Jarvis' (2006) presents his learning theory visually, as do many learning theorists. This chapter is therefore also relevant to research question 3: How can young people's learning be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education?

3.2. Theorisation of learning process within global education

Learning process (understood here as the way in which individuals respond to global poverty and development and how these responses interrelate in the construction of

understandings) is not significantly theorised within global education. There are a range of theoretical approaches to global education pedagogy, from loose descriptions of learning through global education activities (see e.g. Andreotti and Warwick, 2007; King, 2012; Bowden, 2013), to fully worked theories and frameworks (mostly significantly Freire, 1970; but see also Hicks, 2007b; Bourn, 2014). Research also exists into the conceptions of pedagogical approaches held by global educators (Marshall, 2007a; Brown, 2013). However, whilst assuming a close relationship between the two, this research and theory focuses on teaching, not on learning.

Two authors (Trewby, 2007 and Coakley, 2013) draw on theories of learning process to make strong theoretical arguments for specific pedagogical approaches. Trewby argues for mapping experiential learning cycles onto pedagogical interventions within global education. He uses Ricketts and Willis' learning cycle (cited in Trewby, 2007, p.25, itself derived from Kolb's learning cycle, 1984) to propose training for people who have returned from extended visits to developing countries. Trewby argues that such training would allow learners to reflect on their experiences and continue a learning cycle of action, experience and reflection, with the aim of ensuring their ongoing involvement in campaigning and development education. In a recent Master's dissertation at the Institute of Education, Coakley (2013) applied the developmental milestones of Demetrio, Spanoudis and Mouyi to explore what we can expect of learners at different key stages.

As indicated in Chapter 2, transformative learning theory is the only theory of learning process which has been applied to empirical data within global education in England (Bentall and McGough, 2013; Brown, 2013; Martin and Griffiths, forthcoming).⁵ Brown's (2013) and Martin and Griffiths' (forthcoming) studies relate to the learning of adult research participants, NGO workers in the UK and Spain in Brown's research, and UK teachers on study visits to the Gambia and Southern India in Martin and Griffiths' research. Bentall and McGough (2013) reference the possibility of transformation in their research with 16–25 year-olds. Transformative learning theory also appears in theoretical work in global education (see Morgan, 2007; Bourn and Issler, 2010).

The limited theorisation of learning process in global education mirrors the situation in the field of environmental education, in which there have been few attempts to develop models of learning due to an apparent reluctance by environmental education

⁵ It has also formed the theoretical basis of global education studies in Canada: Nazzari, McAdams and Roy, 2005; Chaput, O'Sullivan and Arnold, 2010.

researchers to engage with learning theories (Dillon, 2003). Within global education this limited theorisation of learning process is likely the result of a number of factors, including the interest of funders on the outcomes of learning (see, e.g. evaluations including Lowe, 2008; Scott, 2009; Global Student Forum, 2012), and a strong pedagogical tradition through which the theorisation of teaching, and the way it directs learning, has perhaps obscured a more open exploration of learning.

Influential authors in the field have begun to point towards the complexity of the learning process in relation to global poverty and development, and the need to understand it further. Scheunpflug and Asbrand (2006), for example, emphasise the individual, autopoetic process of learning and its unpredictable nature, and the implication of this, that the assumption that educational activities can directly cause learning processes in terms of changes in attitude and behaviour, be treated with reserve. Bourn (forthcoming), in his book on development education, points to the complexity of learning processes. In addition, there is evidence from interview-based studies of global educators seeing complexity in the learning process (Marshall, 2005; Brown, 2013).

Looking beyond global education to education and learning more broadly, there is a wealth of literature expounding theories of human learning. The remainder of this chapter turns to such theories and, within this broader context, sets out the relevance of Jarvis (2006) to this study.

3.3. Identifying learning theory relevant to this research

The aim of this research is to extend understanding of the process through which young people learn about global poverty and development, through the application and extension of theory. One of the activities of this research, therefore, was to identify learning theory that would be accessible and useful in extending discourses around learning in global education and in exploring empirical data on young people's learning about global poverty and development. Looking across a range of learning theories, I found experiential, constructivist learning theory, and especially the work of Jarvis (2006), particularly relevant in doing so. Jarvis' model of learning shares themes and resonances with existing evidence and discourses in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development, as well as the assumptions and aims of this research. Set out in Figure 6, and explored further below, these include an approach to learning as actively constructed by the individual in a range of contexts, and including personal and emotional, as well as cognitive, dimensions to learning.

Whilst other learning theories share one or more of these themes, Jarvis' (2006) model is significant to this research in sharing all these themes, and particularly an interest in emotional, behavioural and reflective responses to learning. In addition, Jarvis' clear visual modelling of learning process (see Figure 8) is relevant in addressing research question 3: How can young people's learning be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education? For these reasons, Jarvis (2006) seemed to offer an approach to theorising learning process that would be relevant to global education practitioners and researchers and to this research.

Jarvis' (2006) work is described here as an experiential, constructivist approach to learning theory, along with theorists such as Kolb (1984) and Illeris (2009): experiential because of their focus on the learner's response to experience; constructivist because of their understanding of learning as actively constructed. However, this is for ease of reference; it does not to assume that any groupings of learning theory are clearly delineated or homogenous groups, and acknowledges that learning theory can be grouped in many different ways (see e.g. Illeris, 2009; Wenger, 2009; Rogers and Horrocks, 2010). Although Jarvis refers to his own work as experiential (Jarvis, 2006, p.184), and he strongly argues for the construction of personal knowledge, he may not see himself as constructivist, and certainly does not see reality as constructed as some constructivists do.

The relationship between global education and experiential learning is perhaps not surprising given that some see Freire's (1970) work, influential in the development of global education, as experiential (Le Cornu, 2005). It has been argued that global education in England has moved, in recent years, to be more associated with dialogic and experiential learning (Brown, 2014).

It is important to note that, whilst this research draws particularly on the work of Jarvis (2006), it does not assume that all other theories are incompatible. Nor is it purist in excluding the insights that elements of other theories may provide. As a result, the strengths of other theories in sharing some of the three themes of Figure 6 are outlined below, and various theories, including Wenger (1998), Mezirow (2000) and Illeris (2009) are returned to throughout this thesis.

Figure 6. Shared themes between Jarvis (2006), global education and this research

	Theme in the work	Theme within global	Focus of this
	of Jarvis (2006)	education	research
1. Active	Experiential,	Freire's work, significant within	This research is
construction of	constructivist	global education, frames	interested in the way
understand-	learning theories	learning as a process of	in which individuals
ings by the	focus on individual,	reflection and practice (praxis)	construct their
individual	active construction of	through which the learner	understandings and
learner	understandings	constructs understandings. A	takes a broad
	through lived	range of intended and actual	approach to the term
	experiences. These	outcomes (including those to	understandings.
	understandings are	the left) are evident in global	
	understood broadly	education discourses and	
	to include opinion,	empirical research into young	
	attitudes, values,	people's learning.	
	beliefs, emotions,		
	and identity.		
2. Learning	Learning seen as a	Interdependence and the	This research is
context:	continuous, recursive	global connections throughout	interested in young
learning as	process across a	our lives are themes within	people's learning
continuous	range of contexts.	global education, providing	wherever it occurs,
process		multiple opportunities for	including in formal
		learning. Existing empirical	education, non-formal
		evidence into young people's	education, or
		learning about global poverty	informally in their
		and development highlights	broader lives.
		the range of contexts in which	
		they learn about these issues.	
3. The role of	Learning involves a	Action and behaviour change	Through this research,
emotion,	complex combination	is a theme within global	I aim to further
action and	of reflecting on,	education discourses. There is	understanding of
identity	emotionally	evidence of responses in	young people's
	responding to and	terms of emotion and identity	learning process in a
	acting on the new	within existing research into	way that is relevant
	impulse that results	young people's learning about	within discourses of
	from an external	global poverty and	global education.
	interaction. Learning	development (see Chapter 2).	Incorporating the
	is the construction of		themes of action,
	an individual's		emotion and identity is
	biography.		therefore important.

The following section details each of the three themes in Figure 6 in more depth. Before doing so, it is important to note that whilst the process of exploring theoretical literature began in the early stages of the research process, it was not completed until the later stages of data analysis (see Chapter 4). Therefore, although my theoretical approach to learning is set out here, before my methodology, I did not set out to evidence Jarvis' (2006) model through empirical data collection, as the order here perhaps implies. Although my early reading highlighted the relevance of Jarvis' model to this research and themes within global education, I kept an open mind to the question of the theoretical framework for analysis. The relevance of Jarvis' model to the empirical data of this research, an important reason for its selection, is explored in Chapter 6, and the following section focuses on the theoretical relevance of Jarvis' model.

3.3.1. Active construction of understandings by the individual learner

As described in section 4.2., the epistemological position of this research is that knowledge is constructed by the individual, within, and informed by, a social context. Experiential theorists such as Jarvis (2006) are therefore relevant to this research as they are arguably constructivist: they see the process of learning as one through which *"the learner him- or herself actively builds their learning"* (Illeris, 2003, p.401), and continually adapts to the world (Kolb, 1984). Individuals make these changes as they discover that their existing understandings are not sufficient to give meaning to the new experience or information (they experience 'disjuncture') (Jarvis, 2006).

An approach to knowledge as *"made rather than found"* (Bredo, 2000, p.131) is far from unique to experiential learning theory. Constructivism refers to a group of theories across various disciplines (Riegler, 2005, p.2), and, for example, the work of Piaget (1952) and Vygotsky (1978) were significant in the emergence of constructivism within education. Their work is sometimes grouped as constructivist (Wenger, 2009) (though neither use the term, Davis & Sumara, 2002), or cognitive (Jarvis, 2006). Vygotsky (1978) is significant in constructivist discourses because of his focus on the role of the parent or teacher through notions such as scaffolding and zone of proximal development. His interest in 'tools' such as language and culture in the construction of knowledge and identities means that his work is commonly associated with social constructivism (Davis and Sumara, 2002). This interest in the social construction of knowledge and learning as social participation is not the focus of this study. On the other hand, Piaget's (1952) work can be seen to inform subject-centred or individual constructivist approaches to learning, and therefore to share the first theme of Figure 6

with this study. Davis and Sumara (2002, p.413) describe Piaget's understanding of learning as one in which the individual learner is *"constantly updating and revising explanations and expectations to account for new experiences"*. That is not to say that he denied the influence of context and language, but that he did not see these collective phenomena as having a determinate influence on individual learning (Davis and Sumara, 2002). Freire (1970), a significant influence on global education, also understood learning to be a process of construction of understandings, through reflection and practice (praxis). However, like Vygotsky (1978), Freire can be described as a social constructivist: he believed that through learning people develop awareness of socially constructed relations of power and inequality.

Different terms are given to the outcomes of learning, the constructions individuals develop (e.g. conceptions, perceptions, conceptualisations). However, in general constructivist literature the term 'understandings' is used, often synonymously with 'constructions' (Bentall, 2003). Starting from the premise that knowledge is constructed, constructivist literature focuses on understandings as constructed knowledge. However, contemporary approaches to constructivism recognise a broader approach to understandings, since *"understanding and evaluating new ideas and skills ... requires interpreting them in the light of one's existing understandings and abilities"* (Burbules, 2000, p.327).

In this research, the focus is on learning process, not outcomes; important studies already exist exploring the outcomes (intended and actual) of young people's learning about global poverty and development. For example, Andreotti's (2008) work applies a post-colonial theoretical framework based on the work of Bhabba and Spivak to a UK curriculum document and Tallon (2013) has explored the understandings young people develop through the use of NGO images in the classroom. However, it is nonetheless relevant that the approach to learning outcomes taken by experiential, constructivist theorists chimes with the broad approach to outcomes adopted in this study and reflected in global education practice. Illeris (2009) and Jarvis (2006) see content of learning to incorporate a range of elements including opinion, insights, meaning, attitudes, values, beliefs, emotions, identity. The distinctions between these various categories are much debated, and understood here as interrelated and integrated. Within global education learning outcomes are also understood broadly, including action (e.g. Richardson, 2008), skills (e.g. ActionAid, 2003; Andreotti and Warwick, 2007); emotion (e.g. Tormey, 2005), values (e.g. Bowden, 2013; Scheunpflug, 2008), and identity (e.g. Oxfam, 2006). For illustrative purposes, these examples simplify the way in which the authors understand the outcomes of global education activities; there is much overlap, with many authors describing multiple learning outcomes.

3.3.2. Learning context: learning as continuous process

Context is key within experiential, constructivist learning theory, the work of Jarvis (2006), and indeed, arguably, all learning theory (Scott, 2013). It is through experiences, in any context, that individuals are understood to learn and learning is therefore a continuous, recursive process (Bentall, 2003; Jarvis, 2006). Context is also key within constructivism more broadly, since *"our efforts at understanding the world always occur at a distinct time and place and under a set of circumstances that motivate and influence our choice of questions, methods, and reference groups for cross-checking our understandings"* (Burbules, 2000, p.323).

A recognition of multiple learning contexts is also apparent within global education discourses. It is a premise of global education that we are all intimately connected, and dependent on, the world around us (see, e.g. Hicks, 2003). As a result of these interconnections, individuals have opportunities to learn about development and poverty not only through formal and informal educational opportunities, but informally through windows provided by globalisation's flows of media, technology, ideologies and ethnicities (Appadurai, 1996), as highlighted by Cross *et al* (2010) (see Chapter 2).

It could be argued that, in seeking to generalise about learning, much, if not all, learning theory takes an approach to learning intended to be relevant across a range of contexts and is therefore pertinent to second theme in Figure 6. However, some learning theories are more tied to specific learning contexts than others. For example, Vygotsky (1978) focused very much on learning within an educational setting, and Gagné's (1985) theory of learning is really a theory of instruction in which the teacher guides the learner through various steps in a hierarchy of skills. Wenger (2009) does see learning as occurring throughout our lived experience, and also includes a significant focus on doing or action and on identity (important elements of the third theme of Figure 6). However, Wenger's focus is on learning as social participation, and this participation, and not individual learning, is the primary focus of his theory.

As set out in Chapter 1, this study is interested in young people's learning about global poverty and development wherever that occurs (formal, informal or non-formal). It does not seek to link distinct types of learning process to specific contexts or types of education, nor, in relation to this, to specific life phases. The idea that progression

through stages of intellectual development linked to biological maturation means that children are unable to cope with abstract ideas and multiple perspectives before secondary school age has been challenged, both broadly (Donaldson, 1978) and specifically in relation to global education (Martin, 2007). Jarvis' (2006) theory is of lifelong learning, not specifically adult learning, and he holds the view that "*we should not seek to regard children's learning … as necessarily different from adult learning*" (Jarvis, 2006, p.4). This is at odds with developmental theories of learning (such as Piaget, 1952; and Demetrio, Spanoudis and Mouyi applied by Coakley, 2013). For example, Piaget (1952) suggested that a child's cognitive structure develops through a series of distinct stages. He saw these stages as relating to biological development, though children are active in this process and their development is not inevitable with age.

3.3.3. The role of emotion, action and identity

Action, emotion and identity are important themes within global education discourses and existing research into young people's learning about global poverty and development (see Chapter 2). These themes are reflected in experiential, constructivist research, particularly Illeris (2009: emotion) and Jarvis (2006: emotion, action and identity).

Illeris (2009) sees learning as involving two related elements. Firstly, there is an external interaction between the learner and his or her social, cultural and material environment (represented by the vertical arrow in Figure 7). The second dimension is an internal psychological process of acquisition or elaboration in which new impulses are connected with the results of prior learning (represented by the horizontal arrow in Figure 7). Illeris (2009, p.10) understands the horizontal arrow, the internal process of construction, as an interplay between the development of content (what is learned, the endeavour to construct meaning) and incentive (which "*provides and directs the mental energy that is necessary for the learning process to take place*". Illeris argues this incentive function has a strong emotive content, comprising "*elements such as feelings, emotions, motivation and volition*" (2009, p.10). The double-ended arrow indicates that these two poles of content and incentive are always involved and integrated. The "*learning content is, so to speak, always 'obsessed' with the incentives at stake – e.g. whether the learning is driven by desire, interest, necessity or compulsion*" (Illeris, 2009, p.10).

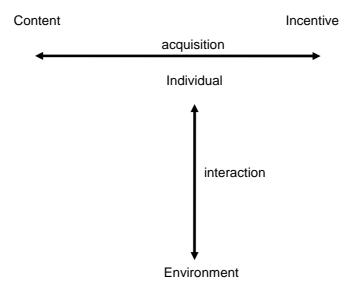


Figure 7. Illeris' (2009, p.9) fundamental processes of learning

Jarvis (2006) also proposes two processes of learning, the transformation of the sensations of the external world into an experience, and then changing the experience into an element of our biography. He presents a model which elaborates further on this second process, characterising it as involving a complex, progressive combination of reflecting on, emotionally responding to and acting on the new impulse that results from an external interaction. According to Jarvis (2006), these three dimensions of emotion, thought/reflection and action interact, often simultaneously, feeding into each other in multiple ways in the process of learning. For Jarvis, identity is also a key dimension of learning, since the process of learning results in the *"transformation of the person"* (Jarvis, 2009, p.29) and the construction of the individual's biography (Jarvis, 2012b).

Jarvis (2006) is far from unique in focusing on emotion, action, reflection/cognition or a combination (see e.g. Piaget, 1929; Skinner, 1953; Rogers, 1969; Bandura, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978; Mezirow, 1998; Wenger, 2009). However, what is different about his approach is his interest in all three of these responses. For example, behaviourist theories of learning such as Pavlov (1927) and Skinner (1953) offer an emphasis on behaviour change also evident within global education discourses. Such theories see learning as a change in observable behaviour as a result of stimuli from an objectively 'real' world (Mezirow, 1998; Merriam and Caffarella, 1999). Skinner's (1953) operant conditioning used reinforcement to shape changes in behaviour gradually, by breaking complex behaviour into smaller steps and rewarding any change in the right direction.

However, through their focus on behaviour change, and their limited interest in internal concepts such as thought, belief and feelings to explain behaviour, these theories offer little insight into the way young people think about complex, contested global issues, and their attitudes and viewpoints.

Cognitive or constructivist learning theories, are useful in exploring the domain of thinking and knowing, the internal structures and rules individuals develop as they learn, and changes in values and understandings. In particular, Mezirow's (2000, p.8) approach to learning involves a deep structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feeling *and* action:

"... the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of minds, mindsets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action."

Indeed, this understanding of learning as transformation towards a value-laden set of outcomes (Tusting and Barton, 2003), including more open and inclusive frames of reference and resulting points of views (values, beliefs, attitudes and value judgements) (Mezirow, 2000), is highly resonant with themes within the aims and processes of global educators including critical thinking and values relating to human rights and social justice (see e.g. Oxfam, 2006; Marshall, 2007a; Andreotti and de Souza, 2008; Bowden, 2013; Bourn, 2014). Mezirow also had an interest in the relationship of learning to action, seeing action as arising naturally from reflection on biases and assumptions. It is perhaps for these reasons that transformative learning theory has been the first learning theory to be significantly explored within global education. Brown (2014) clearly states that it was because of Mezirow's interest in generating change in learners that she draws on transformative learning theory in her study of the pedagogical conceptions of NGO staff.

I have found Mezirow's work useful in understanding changes in values and attitudes, and his notion of 'points of view' to describe values, beliefs, attitudes and value judgements is returned to in Chapter 6. However, in exploring young people's learning about global poverty and development, Mezirow's work has a number of problems. Firstly, Mezirow saw it as a model of adult education, the implication being that the learning process in childhood is qualitatively different from that in adulthood (Mezirow, 1991; Morgan, 2007). Mezirow questions whether young people are able to achieve the critical reflection of their own assumptions required for transformation (Mezirow, 2000). Secondly, the very nature of transformative learning as involving deep, structural shifts means that it cannot account for all learning, and it certainly does not describe all of the learning described in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5. Thirdly, Mezirow's theory is heavily reliant on rational thought and the deep exploration of epistemological and ontological issues in the process of learning. Mezirow's work, does not, for example, explore the role of identity (Dirkx, Mezirow and Cranton, 2006), or emotion (Dirkx, 2006; Taylor, 2007), though academics working in the field of transformative learning theory *have* since recognised the importance of the latter (Dirkx *et al*, 2006; Brown, 2013).

Figure 6 sets out three approaches to learning which are significant within global education or the assumptions of this research: learning as a process of active, individual construction; learning as occurring across a range of contexts; and learning as a process including emotional, behavioural and reflective responses. As illustrated by the examples used here, it is clear that Jarvis' (2006) model of learning theory is not the only theory of learning which takes one or more of these approaches. However, Jarvis' model is particularly relevant because it incorporates all of these themes. It is also consistent with other assumptions of this research, such as a broad approach to learning outcomes, and a view of learning as not tied to biological development. As a result, his model is particularly applicable in extending existing theorisation of learning within global education discourses and the exploration of young people's learning about global poverty and development in this study. Jarvis' (2006) model is explored in more detail in the next section, and used as a frame of analysis for the empirical data of this research in Chapter 6.

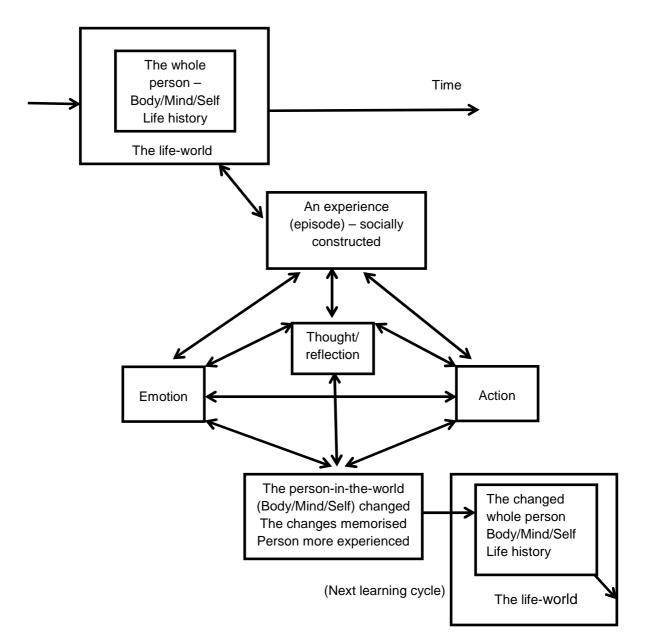
3.4. Jarvis and the transformation of the person through learning

Jarvis takes a multi-disciplinary approach and attempts to develop what he describes in his 2006 book title as being *'Towards a comprehensive theory of human learning'*. Jarvis first published his model of learning process in 1987, but it has undergone many revisions since (1995, 2001, 2004, and the version in Jarvis, 2006 and 2009, largely referred to here). He draws on the work of a range of experiential theorists in his serious attempt to *"schematise and systematise the specific components of the learning process"* (Le Cornu, 2005, p.166).

This section turns to explore in more detail Jarvis' work on learning process, what he calls the *"transformation of the person through learning"* (2006, p.23), and its resonance with themes within global education. Jarvis uses the term 'transformation' to cover iterative changes in an individual's understandings as opposed to the 'shift' of

transformative learning. Figure 8 depicts Jarvis' understanding of the learning process, the way in which a person is transformed through learning. Jarvis sees this model as being at the heart of his theorisation of learning (Jarvis, 2006, p.22). He understands learning as a process through which we, as whole people (both body and mind) in our life-worlds (our reality), are changed through cognitive, affective and practical processes. According to Jarvis, these three dimensions of emotion, thought/reflection and action interact, often simultaneously, feeding into each other in multiple ways in the process of learning. Learning is prompted by an individual's experience of a situation or event. The result is the changed person and life history, through memories which are integrated into our biography.





It is relevant to this study that Jarvis (2006) describes our life-worlds as having been expanded by mass media to a world beyond our daily experience. Also, in describing the whole person, Jarvis (2001, p.32) refers to McAdams' work on personhood. McAdams argues that the study of personhood involves a range of factors including both local and global concerns.

In his model, Jarvis places thought and reflection as the central response to a learning experience. Although reflection on self was identified as a significant theme within existing research into young people's learning about global poverty and development, a broader approach to reflection or thinking is also relevant to global education. For example, Andreotti's resources and support for teachers emphasise reflection on multiple perspectives and cognitive processes of developing critical literacy and independent thinking (see e.g. Andreotti and Warwick, 2007). This reflects Freire's understanding of learning as a process involving both reflection and action or practice (praxis) through which the learner develops understandings (Richardson, 1990).

Jarvis' (2006) model is significant in giving a place to emotion in the learning process, since constructivists have tended not to concern themselves with the role of emotion in learning. However, emotional commitment is increasingly understood as having a powerful role in the process of learning from an experiential perspective (Jarvis, 2006; Illeris, 2009). This growing interest in learners' emotional responses is echoed in global education. Tallon's recent work (2012a, 2013) has highlighted young people's conflicting emotional responses to the use of images of development in the classroom, and Leonard (2012) argues that we should not ignore pupils' emotional attachment to fundraising link schools.

Jarvis also highlights action as a significant element of the way in which a learner responds to an experience. This is relevant to global education discourses, where, as highlighted in Chapter 2, the place of action is a significant debate (see e.g. Temple and Laycock, 2008; Bourn and Brown, 2011). In particular, the place of NGO fundraising and campaigning actions is contentious, understood by some as providing the best context for learning (Temple and Laycock, 2008), and by others as representing quick-fix responses to global poverty (Tallon, 2012a), which prevent young people from fully understanding the problem or challenging their own assumptions (Bryan and Bracken, 2011).

Jarvis' (2009) model places the learner at the beginning and end of the learning process. He explains that "*the crucial philosophical issue about learning is that it is the person who learns*" and it is "*the changed person who is the outcome of the learning*" (Jarvis, 2009, p.24). He goes on to argue that to understand how the individual learns as a whole person, we must therefore bring together theories which focus on elements of learning such as personal and cognitive development (Erikson, 1963; Piaget, 1929), moral development (Kohlberg, 1981), faith development (Fowler, 1981) and the development of social identities (Wenger, 1998). Learning is what the learner is becoming; it is the construction of their own biography (Jarvis, 2012b).

The relevance of the learner and his or her identity to learning about global poverty and development is also apparent in global education discourses. As highlighted in Chapter 2, there is a growing body of empirical research in which young people are found to reflect on themselves and their roles in relation to global poverty (e.g. Simpson, 2004; Asbrand, 2008; Miller *et al*, 2012; Tallon, 2013). In addition, notions of global citizenship, which have been prominent in global education in recent years, explore the extent to which people have or should see themselves as members of the human race, with associated responsibilities (see e.g. Noddings, 2005; Appiah, 2007; Sen, 2006). Finally, commentary and research on global education drawing on post-development critiques explore the way in which young people draw on learning about global poverty and development to construct notions of themselves and their place in the world in relation to the deficiencies of the 'other' (Smith, 1999; Todd, 2003; Tallon, 2013). In his clear modelling of learning process, Jarvis therefore attends to responses relevant to global education (reflection, including on self; emotion; action) and the complex relationship between these responses.

No learning theory completely reflects the complexity of learning and there are, of course, critiques of Jarvis' work (e.g. Le Cornu, 2005; Jarvis, 2006). These include: Jarvis' broad and imprecise use of terms such as reflection; the limited attention his model gives to the social dimension of learning and to socially constructed bodies of knowledge; the way in which the model suggests learning is essentially reactive and sequential; and Jarvis' holist approach, meaning he fails to attend to different elements of learning process fully. These challenges to Jarvis' model are explored further in Chapter 7 in direct relation to this study.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has explored the way in which learning process is, and could be, theorised within global education. It first outlined the existing use of learning theory within global education, and most significantly the application of transformative learning theory to adult learning. It then turned to argue that experiential, constructivist learning theory, and especially the work of Jarvis (2006), is particularly relevant to global education and to this research. This study focuses on the processes through which individuals construct their understandings across a range of contexts, and this sits well with Jarvis' understanding of learning as being an individual, recursive process, across an individual's life-world. Jarvis' focus on learning responses of reflection, action and emotion and his premise that it is the changed person that is the outcome of learning corresponds well to the themes of action, identity and emotion, identified within global learning literature and research in Chapter 2.

Jarvis' clear visualisation of the transformation of the person, described in the latter part of this chapter, is useful in drawing on the themes of action, identity and emotion to model the way in which learning processes interrelate. This chapter has therefore made a significant contribution to answering research question 3: How can young people's learning be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education? In doing so, it provides the theoretical framework for this study, and helps to answer research questions 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?, and 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning? Jarvis' learning theory is revisited in Chapter 6 where it is applied to new empirical data on young people's perceptions of their learning about global poverty and development.

Chapter 4: Research methodology and methods

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the methods that I used to answer the research questions of this study. This research is constructivist and qualitative, and the empirical element focuses on nine young people's perceptions of learning about global poverty and development, explored primarily through semi-structured interviews (with a small number of accompanying research tools). A hermeneutical, cyclical approach was taken to analysing and inscribing meaning to both existing literature and new data. This chapter firstly sets out the epistemological and ontological positions of this research. It then turns to a detailed description of the empirical element of the research, before finishing with as transparent a description as possible of the analytical process. In doing so, I draw on a range of research literature and particularly the work of Brown and Dowling (1998). I found these authors provided clarity of approach to the research process which can sometimes be represented somewhat opaquely.

Figure 9. Research questions

General research question:

How do young people in England learn about global poverty and development?

Specific research questions:

1. How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?

2. How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning?

3. How can young people's learning be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education?

4. What are the benefits, limitations and implications of a model of learning for global education practitioners and researchers?

Throughout, I seek to make clear why the research methods were chosen as the most appropriate, within stated logistical constraints, to answer the research questions, set out again above. The fit of the research methods to the research questions pivots around the way in which learning is understood in this study: as a complex process of individual construction taking place continuously and in multiple contexts. This understanding of learning had implications for the research tools selected, how these were used, and for the analysis process, detailed in this chapter.

4.2. The epistemological and ontological position of this research

The epistemological, ontological and methodological positions of this research are summarised in Figure 10, and described below.

	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
How is the	Theory about the nature	Theory about the nature	Theory about the
term	of being, of what 'is'	of knowledge and how it	procedures, practices
understood		can be acquired	and principles for
here?			obtaining knowledge
			about the world
What	Is there an external reality	What can I know about	What principles guide
questions	of young people, global	young people's learning?	my process of
does this raise	poverty and learning		obtaining knowledge
for this	processes?		about young people's
research?			learning?
Answer	There is a real world	I can know the	I can obtain
adopted in this	which this research seeks	understandings I	knowledge
research	to understand.	construct through this	hermeneutically
		research, as knowledge	(explicitly
		is made through	incorporating my
		interaction with the world	perspective in
		(an individual	rendering of
		constructivist, dialectical	meaning);
		position).	dialectically (through
			dialogue with
			research
			participants); and
			critically (through
			questioning of the
			context of my own
			and others'
			viewpoints).

Figure 10. Epistemological, ontological and methodological positions of the research

The understanding of learning in this study is that it is a complex process of individual construction, within a social context, taking place continuously and in multiple contexts. 65

This understanding informed, and was informed by, the choice of an experiential learning theory as the theoretical framework of the research (see Chapter 3). Experiential learning theories focus on the way in which individuals respond to experiences in the process of knowledge construction. As such they are arguably constructivist (Le Cornu, 2005). The term 'constructivism' covers a numerous and diverse range of approaches to knowledge and learning (Schunk, 2009), which are often broadly divided into two camps (Philips, 2000; Davis and Sumara, 2002): individual, subject-centred or psychological constructivist approaches; and social constructivist approaches. However, these groups do not have to be viewed as mutually exclusive, but rather as attending to different things: the former to the processes through which the individual student learns; the latter to the social creation of bodies of knowledge and ways in which the world is framed (Cobb, 2013). The approach taken in this study is best described as subject-centred and dialectical. It is subject-centred because of its interest in the learning process of the individual, as opposed to the social construction of knowledge. It is dialectical in understanding knowledge as deriving from interactions between the individual and their environments, "neither invariably tied to the external world, nor wholly the workings of the mind" (Schunk, 2009, p.238).

The most obvious implication for this study of a constructivist approach to learning is clearly at an epistemological level. Meaning, here, is understood as inscribed in the research process itself (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2008). However, this in turn has both methodological and ontological implications. The procedures, practices and principles for obtaining knowledge about the world that make up the methodology (Gallagher, 2009) are guided by an understanding that the knowledge of this research was constructed in the research process. The entire research effort is therefore a balance between exploration of diverse understandings through interrogation of literature and dialogue with participants, with an acknowledgement that the findings of the research represent the researcher's understandings as she continually creates images for herself "and for others; images which selectively highlight certain claims as to how conditions and processes ... can be understood, thus suppressing alternative interpretations" (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000, p.6).

This process brings together dialectical, hermeneutical and critical approaches to research. A dialectical approach to research involves interaction between and amongst investigators and respondents (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). This approach had methodological implications, for example, semi-structured interviews with a small

66

number of research participants were selected as best supporting this form of dialogue. A hermeneutical approach produces meaning via participation in a circle of readings and interpretations, comparing and contrasting divergent constructions, for example, interpreting a text (Schwandt, 1998), and incorporating the readers' perspective within the rendering of meaning (Danaher and Briod, 2005). As such, it is the art of "clarifying and mediating by our own effort of interpretation what is said" by others (Gadamer, 1978, p.98). This approach is reflected in the iterative and cyclical approach to data collection, analysis and writing that I took (Cresswell, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1984) (see Section 4.9.). For me, the assertion that knowledge is constructed by the researcher, within a social context, also has the corollary of requiring questioning of the "experience, situations, relations" (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000, p.6) that have contributed to any viewpoint. This approach is informed by the critically reflective approach of global education (Bentall and McGough, 2013) and citizenship teaching (Brown and Fairbrass, 2009), itself influenced by Freire (1970) and the post-colonial analysis of Andreotti (2008). This methodological approach is reflected, for example, in the way in which I have sought to outline and re-visit my personal context and influences (Sections 1.2. and 8.2.). The implication of an experiential and constructivist approach to learning on the detail of research methods and tools is explored further in Section 4.5.

A key debate within constructivism surrounds the ontological implications of a constructivist epistemology, whether reality itself is found or made. For some constructivists (often those who view themselves as 'real' constructivists) "objects are in some sense humanly made and have an internal relation to use or to our activity" (Bredo, 2000, p.131). From this perspective, constructivism is concerned not only with the social construction of knowledge, but also with the social construction of reality. At the other end of the spectrum are constructivists who hold that "cognition is the process by which learners eventually construct mental structures that correspond to or match external structures located in the environment" (Cobb, 1994, p.1049).

The ontological debate interacts with a second key debate within constructivism, the role of society in knowledge construction. As described above, the perspective I adopt in this research is that construction is individual but within, and influenced by, social contexts. An individualistic psychological constructivism (such as von Glasersfeld's, 2001), which sees the learner as a closed and inaccessible system creating his or her own reality, is problematic because of the place of social influences, such as language, in the construction of knowledge (Bredo, 2000; Burbules, 2000). However, whilst

denying the influence of social and political influences on the construction of individual understandings is one sort of mistake, giving them *"determinate weight and force is another"* (Burbules, 2000, p.322).

This debate on the role of society in individual knowledge construction is significant here because of its ontological implications. Adopting any kind of social perspective on knowledge construction, as here, commits one to *"some implicit view of shared reality"* (Burbules, 2000, p.322). The very premise that we all construct different understandings of the world around us rests on a presumption of potentially shared experiences that may or may not provide a basis for agreement. For this reason, and also because of a personal belief in the reality of global suffering which has motivated my work as a practitioner and researcher in global education, the ontological position of this research is that there is an objective, commonly shared reality. This position draws on the critical realism of Bhaskar (2008), whose work offers a theoretical argument for distinguishing between ontological and epistemological questions, and justifies adoption of a constructivist epistemology with a realist ontology.

An individual constructivist approach to learning has both methodological and ontological implications, as have been outlined in this section. It also has significant implications on how my research, and the claims it makes to present 'new' knowledge, will be perceived. I turn now to address this question of the claims of this research.

4.3. Claims of this research

A constructivist perspective, that knowledge is created in the research process, still leaves me *"fully accountable to readers for their data-gathering and interpretative procedures"* (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p.22). However, a positivist criteria of validity (that the research accurately measures the world) and reliability (that another research would come to the same conclusions) in justifying the claims of research are not applicable here. From a constructivist perspective, a different researcher would find different knowledge (since the researcher themselves constructs meaning through the research process).

In justifying the claims of my research I must search for a voice, text or attitude with which I feel at home in this regard (Danaher and Briod, 2005). Figure 11 sets out the criteria against which I wish my claim that this research represents a knowledge contribution to be judged. I also indicate the actions I took in the research, analysis and writing processes to meet these criteria.

Criteria	Relevant authors	Implications for research
		process
Credibility – the extent to	Lincoln and Guba (1985)	Research participants were
which participants in the		given the opportunity to read
research recognise the		and comment on the
analysis to be true		'portraits' of their learning
		developed as part of the
		analytical process and
		presented in Chapter 6.
Dependability (clear audit trail	Lincoln and Guba (1985)	This thesis seeks to clearly
documenting the research		document and justify the
process) and confirmability		choices and selections made
(the extent to which findings		in this research, both in
can be confirmed as		analysis and other areas of
reasonable with reference to		methodology
the data and audit trail)		
Plausibility of the relationship	Brown and Dowling (1998)	I have sought to provide a
between theory and data		detailed and transparent
(through clarity, explicitness		account of the data analysis
and plausibility of the		process and of the
argument linking the two)		relationship between
		categories in theory and in the
		data.
Experience of the reader – the	Polkinghorne (1983)	I aim at a genuine account
vividness (the feeling of		and clear writing style
genuineness); accuracy (how		throughout this thesis. In
believable the account is);		particular, young people's
richness (the depth of		portraits in Chapter 5 are
description) and elegance (the		intended to provide the reader
simplicity and clarity of		with vivid, rich and elegant
expression) of the text		accounts of their learning.

Figure 11. Criteria for judging the knowledge contribution of this research

4.4. Literature selection and analysis

A description of the empirical element of this research forms the majority of this chapter. However, throughout this thesis, I draw on existing literature and research, and it is therefore important to outline the approach taken to selecting and analysing this material.

Global education discourses and practices were seen as an important contributing area of literature, due to my personal context in this area of work, and the implications I draw from this research for global education practitioners and researchers. The focus of this study on learning process meant that learning theory was another important area of literature. However, throughout this thesis, I also draw on other literature, for example, from the fields of psychology and sociology. Human learning is hugely complex, and as such understanding learning process must be an interdisciplinary effort. My approach to including literature from these fields was not systematic, but reflects my attempts to enrich my understanding of young people's learning process.

My approach to literature sampling was most analogous to snowball or chain sampling. Over the period of research, a number of methods of locating new pockets of relevant literature were pursued: searching likely hubs of relevant literature (e.g. the *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*); following recommendations from colleagues, my supervisor etc; library and Internet searches (the latter using Google Scholar). However, the most common way of locating a new text was through a reference in a text I was already reading; and literature new to me was largely selected in an outwards chain or network. The approach aimed for a rich network of sampled data, providing a range of interpretations and approaches.

The constructivist approach to meaning making adopted in this study has important implications for my approach to the way in which evidence from existing literature was analysed within this study. Analysing and writing about existing research, theory and commentary was understood to involve the same hermeneutical, cyclical process of interpretation as new data. I understood the exploration of existing literature and new data as being part of the same analytical process through which I inscribed meaning. This analytical process is further described in Section 4.9.

4.5. Implications of learning theory for data collection

An understanding of learning as being a complex, individual process in multiple contexts has two important implications for the empirical element of this research. These were the focus on young people's perceptions of learning about global poverty and development wherever these occurred, and the selection of a small number of research participants.

Firstly, a continuous understanding of learning meant that in exploring learning process, I felt that it was crucial to explore young people's learning wherever it

occurred. Existing empirical research confirms the view that young people's learning about global poverty and development is likely to occur throughout their lived experience, by highlighting learning through media consumption and interaction with friends and family, as well as explicit learning opportunities in formal and non-formal education (see Chapter 2). In understanding young people's learning process in relation to global poverty and development, it therefore seemed significant to access young people's understandings of all these learning opportunities.

I felt that exploring a single learning opportunity, such as a lesson, TV advert or trip, whilst fascinating in itself, was not the right approach for this study, as it would not be open to the complexity of learning and its recursive nature. Instead, research participants were asked to reflect on all the times and ways they felt they learnt about global poverty and development. I found that this approach also enabled me to better focus on process rather than outcomes, since the outcomes of specific learning opportunities were often difficult to discern. Jarvis (2006), whose work is highly significant in this research, explicitly asks research participants to explore their learning process. I did not follow this approach for two reasons. Firstly, my focus on learning process (as opposed to other dimensions of learning) was not refined until my research interviews had begun. Secondly, at this stage, I considered more explicit questioning on process, but, given the challenges I already faced in encouraging dialogue (see Section 4.7.2.), I felt that asking research participants to reflect in this conceptual way would not be productive.

It is important to note that, whilst research participants were asked to reflect on their learning across contexts, they were accessed in a particular learning environment, their schools. This decision was made on pragmatic and ethical grounds. Accessing young people in their homes, leisure activities and online presents challenges of access and ethics. Accessing young people in contexts where they meet together, rather than individually in their homes, was more appropriate and practical. School provides the most obvious site for a number of reasons. Firstly, school is an obvious place to access young people as they spend large amounts of time there together. Secondly, the research project was found to be valued by teaching staff, the key gatekeepers in schools, thus supporting access. Thirdly, as a school teacher, I was familiar with accessing and navigating this environment. Fourthly, this context made it possible for me to observe lessons and clubs in which students were learning about issues relating to poverty and development, prior to interviews. This shared experience provided a

stimulus and shared starting point for discussion about young people's learning more widely.

I initially hoped to also include at least one youth club or informal education setting as a context within which to select research participants. However, as I began dialogue with educators in these settings, it became clear that factors such as high student turnover rates and the informal nature of groups would make it difficult for me to meet with the same students on more than one occasion, making repeat interviews, and an in-depth exploration of their perceptions of learning difficult.

A second significant implication of an experiential and constructivist approach on my research design was the selection of a small number of research participants. Through focusing on a small number of young people's perceptions of learning, I was able to build a rich picture of that learning. Eleven young people were originally involved in the empirical element of this research, and data from nine young people reported here (those with whom follow-up interviews were possible). In focusing on a small number of young people and their perceptions of learning, this research shares similarity with both case study and phenomenological research, but is neither. Like a case study approach, focusing on a small number of young people allows "particularity and complexity" (Stake, 1995, p.xi), and aims to allow expansion and generalisation of theory through building rich pictures of the learning of individual young people (Yin, 2003). However, unlike much case study research, this research does not explore multiple perspectives of a single case (e.g. teachers' and parents' perspectives as well as young people's own). Involving interviews with small groups of participants this study shares methodological similarity with Cresswell's (1998) description of a phenomenological study. However, it differs in its epistemological underpinning since it does not share phenomenology's claim to be searching for the essential, invariant structure or essence of the experience.

4.6. Selecting research participants

A pragmatic approach to the selection of participants was adopted, with the aim of finding young people able to articulate their perspectives and with whom I was able to meet over a period of time. This approach can best be described as opportunity sampling (Brown and Dowling, 1998), but with some factors beyond opportunity contributing to selection. For example, existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development indicates that individual characteristics such as age, gender and socio-economic background may influence their experiences

of some dimensions of learning (see Chapter 2). In providing rich, vivid accounts (one of the criteria on which the knowledge claims of this research rests), I therefore sought to include young people from a range of backgrounds, and I hoped that in doing so the picture of learning I developed would be richer. In addition, I did not want to limit the potential application of my findings because of my work being viewed as only relevant to, for example, the white, female research participants I had selected. Of course, a focus on opportunity sampling meant that I was not able to entirely remove these concerns. For example, white young people from middle-class backgrounds still form nearly half of the sample. However, focusing on opportunity sampling allowed me to carry out this research whilst also working and caring for my young daughter.

The first stage of selecting participants involved finding teachers who would allow access to students in their class. Teachers were approached for involvement who met all the criteria in Figure 12, which also outlines the reason for these criteria.

Criteria	Reason
Secondary school teacher	To provide access to students aged 12–16 (Key
	Stages 3 and 4). I wanted to involve students of this
	age group in the research because:
	• They are well beyond the age when Jarvis (2006)
	implies learning is largely initial and non-reflective
	• Their growing independence in their teenage years
	means they will be exposed to a greater range of
	learning opportunities
	They are able to articulate their viewpoint
Teaching a lesson or running a	To provide an opportunity for me to observe a lesson
session involving global learning (e.g.	or session involving research participants which could
Geography teacher, leader of Global	act as a shared reference point in interviews
Awareness club)	
Being interested and willing to take	Taking part in the research involved a reasonable
part in the research, and able to gain	commitment of time and it was important that teachers
agreement from the senior leadership	felt able and motivated to do this. Without permission
team of the school	from school leaders, it would not have been possible
	for me to carry out research in each school
Teaching in a school which it was	Ensuring the research was possible within time and
practical for me to travel to for	financial constraints meant I sought schools it was
interviews	possible to travel to and from within a day from my
	home or the homes of my close family

Figure 12. Criteria for approaching teachers for involvement in the research

Being a 'warm' contact of mine or my	Working in education, both my supervisor and I have a
supervisor	range of contacts in schools, and it was from this group
	that I sought teachers. This is because I was more
	confident that these existing relationships would mean
	that the teachers were more likely to be interested in,
	and motivated to take part in, the research.

Initial contact was made with six teachers, and I selected three teachers and one project coordinator working in a school (for ease, the term 'teacher' is used to refer to all four throughout much of this section). I chose these four teachers because of their level of engagement (which I gauged through the speed and enthusiasm of response to the initial request and through other initial email correspondence) and because of the variation in type of school in which they worked (which I hoped, in turn, would increase the range of young people involved in the research). The four schools varied in geographical location (two in central London, one in a town on the outskirts of London, and one in a provincial town) and the type of school (one single-sex state school, two co-educational state schools, and one co-educational independent school).

I asked each teacher to select a Key Stage 3 or 4 class or group which they saw as involving global education. Their choices were: a Year 10 Geography class; a Global Awareness club; the student council; and students known to the external project coordinator through his work in the school. In each school, I was introduced to the identified group and spent between 10 and 20 minutes introducing myself and my research to the group, and explaining what involvement in the research would mean for students. Students were invited to volunteer to take part in the research.

I aimed to select two or three students for participation from each school. Within the time constraints of the research, this number was felt to allow a balance of depth and breadth of young people's perceptions of their learning. It also allowed for the predicted reduction in participants during the course of the research: it was not possible to reinterview two of the original participants. In only one case did more than three students volunteer to take part in the research (five volunteered), and I then selected students in discussion with the teacher, in the following way:

 One student seemed very shy and uncertain in my presence, and I chose not to include this student in line with BERA guideline 20 (British Educational Research Association, 2011) which recognises that research can cause discomfort to participants.

- The teacher reported that one of the students was frequently absent from the club, and I chose not to include this student due to the decreased likelihood of repeat interviews.
- 3. Two of the remaining three students seemed, based both on my observations and on the advice of the teacher, very well able to articulate their viewpoint. As with all research into individual perspectives, the ability of participants to express themselves and provide rich pictures of their perspectives was crucial, and so I was keen to involve these students in my research.

I made choices at each point in the selection process to make the research more logistically possible, and to involve diverse students able to articulate their viewpoint. There are of course potential challenges to my approach to sampling, and particular factors which worked to reduce the diversity of the students involved in the research. These included:

- Self-selection by students: white, middle-class students may have felt more willing to take part in research carried out by a white, middle-class woman.
- Group selection and advice on student selection from teachers: whilst teachers
 were essential gatekeepers in allowing me access to students in schools, it is
 possible that their choices of groups and advice about student selection
 reduced diversity in the students involved in my research. For example,
 teachers may have been more likely to pick groups where students' behaviour
 and attainment were higher, and advocate for involvement in the research,
 students with whom they had stronger relationships (which may in turn be those
 whose behaviour is unchallenging).

Figures 13 and 14 give thumbnail descriptions of the schools and students selected. These descriptions are drawn from school websites, Ofsted reports, communication with students and the contact teacher in each school.

Figure 13. Schools and teachers involved in the research

1	An independent school, of just under 1000 students between the ages of 11 and 18.
	Previously a boys' school, each year group is now co-educational, but girls form
	slightly less than a third of current intake. The school has its roots in a Benedictine
	Priory established in the 11 th century, and a Church of England tradition. GCSE
	(General Certificate of Secondary Education) and A Level examinations are far above
	the national average achieved by students in state schools and above the average of
	those in independent schools. One student has a statement of special educational
	need (SEN) and is supported within the school. Approximately 8% of students new to

the school in 2011 were from minority ethnic back the centre of a regional city. The key contact person at the school was the He selected from the teacher's Year 10 Geography of were involved in the research.	
The key contact person at the school was the He selected from the teacher's Year 10 Geography g	ad of Geography and students were
selected from the teacher's Year 10 Geography g	ad of Geography and students were
were involved in the research.	group. Two students from this school
	had (nooth) 1000 students and 11
 2 School 2 is a large secondary comprehensive scl 18) situated in a town just outside London and ne 	
third of students come from a range of minority et	·
students with learning difficulties and/or disabilitie	
examination results at GCSE and A Level are we	-
proportion of students known to be eligible for fre	•
socio-economic status) is well below that found n	
The school has had a specialism in technology si	ince 1998 and a second specialism
in the humanities since 2006. It has been linked w	with a secondary school in Cape
Coast, Ghana for 9 years, funded the constructio	n of an infant school in Volta region,
Ghana, and continues to pay the salary of a teac	her in the infant school there.
The key contact at the school was a Modern Fore	eign Languages teacher and Global
Awareness coordinator. Students who attend the	Global Awareness Club were
selected, a weekly lunchtime forum for pupils from	n any year group to work on their
own campaigns. Two students from this school w	vere involved in the research.
3 A small comprehensive school for girls (nearly 80	00 students aged 11–18), located in
the centre of London. Founded as a grammar sch	hool with a Christian ethos, it admits
students from a range of faiths. The majority of st	tudents are from minority ethnic
backgrounds, with many students of African herit	age, and around fifty different
languages are spoken across the school. Many s	tudents are from lone-parent or low-
income families and the proportion eligible for fre	e school meals is over twice the
national average. A higher proportion of students	than the national average have
learning difficulties and/or disabilities. The school	has a specialism in Science.
The key contact was initially the Headteacher, wh	no referred me to a Citizenship and
R.E. teacher. Participants were drawn from the se	chool council. Two students at this
school were involved in this research.	
4 A large specialist school for the arts, with a second	nd specialism in science. There are
nearly 1200 students on the roll. The proportion of	of students entitled to free school
meals is below average, as are the numbers with	special educational
needs/disabilities. Most students are white British	n. The school is located in a small

town in a rural county. Contact was through a project coordinator at a local Development Education Centre. This charity provides information and resources on development and environmental issues such as trade, debt, food, human rights, gender, racism and multicultural education to schools, colleges, community and youth groups. The organisation has three years' funding to run a project in secondary school English departments, working to improve students' speaking and listening skills whilst exploring global issues chosen by them. Three students from this school were involved in this research.

Pseudonym	Age at end of interviews	School	Sex	Ethnicity identified by student
Boris	14	1	Male	White British
Kran	14	1	Male	White British
Nina	15	2	Female	British Asian (parents Kashmiri)
Jon	14	2	Male	White British and Asian 'mixed'
Deborah	14	3	Female	Black African (parents Ghanaian)
Amy	13	3	Female	British Asian (parents Vietnamese)
Tom	12	4	Male	White British
Kay	14	4	Female	White British
Flo	12	4	Female	White British

Figure 14. Summary of young people who participated in this research

4.7. Data collection

Data⁶ collection was carried out flexibly, in response to the practicalities of each setting, drawing on the increasingly popular trend of flexible and creative qualitative methods in social research (Gallagher, 2009). Informal semi-structured interviews formed the core tool, due to their potential to provide rich data and enable a dialectical approach to knowledge creation between researcher and participants without significant violation of privacy (McCracken, 1988). Lesson observation, questionnaires for young people and teachers, and mind-maps were used to inform the interview and elicit discussion. This is a form of 'mosaic' (Clark and Moss, 2001) multi-method approach to data collection,

⁶ Brown and Dowling (1998) argue that we should talk about 'information' rather than 'data' before any kind of theoretical framework is applied. This distinction is important in this research because Chapter 5 illustrates the data of this research, after a framework of dimensions of learning has been applied to it. However, the term 'data' rather than 'information' is used here because the term 'information', rarely used in research, is potentially jarring on the reader. 77

though in this case a range of methods were used to inform the interviews rather than being analysed separately or seen as methods of triangulation.

4.7.1. Interviews

I invited research participants to take part in a series of semi-structured interviews, which formed the main data collection tool. Each participant took part in two or three semi-structured interviews. The first was carried out in a small group, with all participants from that school. The second and third interviews were carried out individually. The exception was one participant in school 4 who was not part of the group interview but was interviewed individually twice. Each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. Interview times were arranged with the teacher and agreed with the young person, and usually coincided with a lesson taught by the contact teacher or a lunch break. Figure 15 gives a summary of the interviews each participant was involved in as well as the lesson observed in each school (see Section 4.7.2.).

School	Lesson or	Participants in First individual		Second	
	session	group interview	interviews	individual	
	observed			interviews	
1	Geography	2 (Boris and	Boris and Kran	Boris and	
	lesson, part	Kran)	One month after	Kran	
	of a unit on	Two days after	group interview	Six weeks	
	water	observed		after first	
		lesson		individual	
				interviews	
2	Global	• 3 (Nina, Jon	Nina and Jon	Nina and Jon	
	awareness	and Meriam)	Two weeks after	One week	
	club	Same day as	group interview	after first	
		observed	Meriam was not at	individual	
		session	Global awareness	interviews	
			club on this day and		
			was not re-		
			interviewed		
3	Meeting of	• 3 (Deborah,	Deborah and Amy	No second	
	the school	Amy and	Two months after	interview took	
	council	Danielle)	group interview	place	
		Three weeks	Danielle was not at		
		after observed	school and was not		
		session	re-interviewed		

Figure 15. Su	immary of intervi	ews carried out
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4	Lesson on	•	2 (Flo and	•	Kay (not in initial	•	Kay, six
	injustice		Tom)		group interview),		weeks after
	facilitated	•	Three months		same day as		her first
	by local		after observed		observed lesson		individual
	Develop-		lesson	•	Flo and Tom, two		interview
	ment				weeks after their	•	Flo and Tom,
	Education				group interview		two weeks
	Centre						after their first
							individual
							interview

An initial group interview was chosen both to save time over three separate iterations of this initial interview, and because it was felt that such a context would provide an extended warm-up period to interview (Brown and Dowling, 1998), create a safe peer environment (Mauthner, 1997), and allow participants to feel more comfortable with me. It was also hoped that the students would feel encouraged to give their perspective through hearing others do so (Hill, Laybourn and Borland, 1996).

Each participant took part in one or two subsequent interviews individually. These interviews allowed the perspective of individual participants to be explored in greater depth, and, as reported in the literature (see e.g. Gallagher, 2009; Banks, 2007), enabled different techniques and methods to be adapted and explored in line with what worked for the individual. The number of subsequent interviews depended on the length and depth of the first individual interview and logistical considerations (e.g. in one case the young person was only in school on two of my visits).

Interview guides using open-ended questions and planned prompts were developed as *"rough travel itineraries"* (McCracken, 1988, p.37). Greene and Hill (2005) note that within the interview setting there is scope for different tasks and activities to be used to intersperse the question-and-answer format, and in this spirit a number of activities as well as verbal prompts were used to stimulate discussion (see Section 4.7.3. on stimulus material), particularly in the initial group interview. The group interview schedule which all group interviews followed is included in Appendix 1, (though this was slightly adapted in each context, and this represents its refined form over time).

In developing this group interview schedule, I carried out a pilot interview, involving three 12–14 year-old female students. This took place in School 3, but with different students to those who participated in the full research, and a full year beforehand. This

interview made me particularly aware of the need to 'frame' the issue under discussion. My use of the broad terms 'poverty' and 'development' were clearly not well understood by the young people, and the discussion included students talking about poverty in England. As a result of this, in the main research interviews I was keen to attend a lesson or group relating to global education which could provide a shared reference point, and I also experimented with using photographs as shared reference points (see 4.7.3.). I also learnt to make sure all students sat close enough to the microphone to be heard when it was played back for transcription.

The individual interviews did not follow the same schedule. For each one, a set of questions and prompts were developed, covering some or all of the following that I wanted to explore further:

- Statements the young person made in previous interviews
- Data from other collection tools (e.g. responses to the questionnaire)
- Themes from literature and initial analysis (this included the analytical lenses I developed, see Section 4.9.2.)

I fully transcribed interviews as soon after the initial research as possible (see Section 4.9. on analysis).

4.7.2. Encouraging young people to share their perspectives in

interview

The challenge of research with young people can be described as how to "maximise children's ability to express themselves at the point of data-gathering; enhancing their willingness to communicate and the richness of the findings" (Hill, 1997, p.180). This was more pertinent than ever here, because I wanted young people to reflect on opportunities to learn not only outside of the current school context, but also not within a set timeframe (i.e. reflection could include activities or opportunities from several years ago). I took a range of approaches to try and ensure that interviewees felt able to share their perspectives on their learning about poverty and development, and to enable rich pictures to be built. The use of stimulus materials, and the use of additional methods of data collection to shape questions asked, are outlined in Sections 4.7.3. and 4.7.4; here strategies relating to the environment and my behaviour are described.

Before the first group interview, I attended a lesson or session taken by the contact teacher in each school and from which participating students were selected. In this lesson, I introduced myself and my research but took a discreet, passive role in the

classroom for the majority of the lesson, keeping notes during and after the observation in a research journal (see Section 4.7.4. for more details on my research journal). This gave the young people and me the opportunity to become more familiar with each other.

Throughout all interviews I tried to ensure that the young people knew, by using eye contact, open posture and smiles, that I was enjoying the interview and was genuinely interested in their views, rather than simply wanting to extract information from them. In the group interview, I used a flip chart as a way to provide a visible record of what interviewees were saying and hence to indicate that I valued their contribution (Gallagher, 2009). Each interview included a short preamble at the start, describing the format of the interview, providing a warm-up period and helping participants feel at ease (Brown and Dowling, 1998). The end of each interview was clearly marked, with time taken to thank participants for taking part.

I sought to find appropriate locations for interview, though I was reliant on the teacher to a great extent to provide empty classrooms or offices. I emphasised the need for a quiet, private setting, and bore in mind the need to avoid locations that may have negative associations, such as places where children are sent when disobedient (Gallagher, 2009).

Young people in school are used to an 'IRF' classroom discourse format (teacher Initiates discussion, student Responds, teacher Feeds back) (Westcott and Littleton, 2005). Locating the interviews in school meant it was important to work to counter young people giving answers determined by their perceptions of what I was looking for (Brown and Dowling, 1998; Greene and Hill, 2005; Westcott and Littleton, 2005). Participants were assured in the written information leaflet about the research and at the start of each interview that there are no 'right' and 'wrong' answers (Punch, 2002), and I was careful to respond positively and to indicate interest in all responses and not to make any comment that might be seen as a correction. However, the context of information collection is understood as affecting the dynamic of information collection in a way that cannot simply be removed (Brown and Dowling, 1998), and this needs to be transparent and acknowledged. This also applies to young people's response to my own characteristics, for example, my being a white, middle-class female in her thirties (see e.g. Maynard and Purvis, 1994; Francis, 2000; Nayak, 2001; Davey, Dwyer and McAlister, 2009).

Finally, a logistical necessity, in the form of my baby daughter attending many of the interviews, had benefits in terms of putting students at ease. With many of the participants, her presence contributed to the building of rapport between me and participants, which can be a challenge in research with young people (Punch, 2002), establishing that I was 'human' and prompting discussions about the young people's own siblings, friends and relations. She also reduced the intensity of the interview experience, providing a point of focus when the participants or I needed a moment to reflect and bringing humour to the process. Of course, her presence also presented challenges for transcription, and on some occasions diverted my attention in a way that affected the quality of questioning. However, these were less significant than I feared and more than countered by the unexpected benefits.

4.7.3. Stimulus material

The relatively short time available and the age group selected meant that it was necessary to be creative about stimulating discussion and encouraging research participants to explore their perspectives in interview. Using task-based methods in interviews can help overcome young people's lack of experience of communicating directly with unfamiliar adults (Punch, 2002). To this end, a number of strategies were used to provide visual or written stimulus. However, Backett-Milburn (cited in Gallagher, 2009, p.80) perceptively observes that there can be a tendency amongst researchers to hide our insecurities as adult researchers behind structured techniques. This was borne in mind in the development of interview schedules. Stimulus activities were only used where they were felt to aid the quality of discussion and help overcome the challenge of limited time. In particular, in the group interview they were helpful in providing a focus as the relationship between me and the participants became more developed and comfortable. The group interview included a selection or ranking activity (though this was dropped after two interviews, as described below) and a mind-mapping exercise.

As described in Section 4.7.1., the pilot interview I carried out led me to seek ways of more clearly framing for students the issues I was interested in exploring with them. In the first two group interviews, I used a photo selection activity, in which students were asked to identify together which of four photographs best illustrated for them the term 'development' and which one best represented for them the term 'poverty'. There was no right or wrong answer: images can be interpreted in multiple ways, and I emphasised this. The photographs were all of children in different countries around the world, involved in different activities, and amongst them were visual themes that could

be associated with development such as well-being, sustainability and having basic needs, such as those of food and water, met. The photographs I used can be found in Appendix 2. Banks (2007) indicates how such use of images can invoke discussion by providing specific examples which can form the basis for a discussion of broader abstraction. In each case, participants were asked to briefly explain their choice. I wrote words and terms used by participants up on a board or flip chart, and explained that I was interested in their perspective on their learning on these themes.

However, after the first two group interviews, I chose to drop this activity. This was partly because I did not find their use invoked significant discussion. In both cases I found I had written few terms on the flip chart and not achieved the shared understanding I had hoped for. I found that starting by talking to students about the lesson or session I had observed, and what the terms 'poverty' and 'development' meant in that context, was more effective. Secondly, I struggled with this activity from a theoretical perspective. Post-colonial critiques emphasise the potential of some forms of global education to reinforce stereotypes of developing nations, or replace one stereotype with another (see e.g. Andreotti, 2008). This research focuses on learning process, and so very deliberately does not adopt a particular definition of the terms poverty or development, or address critiques of development (such as Sachs, 1992; Escobar, 1995; Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997) (see Chapter 1). However, I felt uncomfortable in using the stimulus photographs because I felt that they did reinforce stereotypes, and introduced a new learning stimulus rather than supporting participants' reflections on past learning. I tried to seek out different images (e.g. of more urban settings), but finding none without challenge, I chose instead not to include this activity.

A second activity was the creation of a mind-map of times, places and spaces in which young people see themselves as learning about global poverty and development. The young people were firstly asked the open question 'Where else do you think you learn about poverty and development?' Suggestions of settings made by participants were recorded on a flip chart by one of the participants who volunteered to act as scribe. A number of planned prompts (McCracken, 1988) were subsequently used. Each time a participant mentioned a new time, place or space where he or she encounters issues of poverty and development, this was noted on the flip chart, and he or she was prompted to say more. I offered prompts by encouraging participants firstly to consider all their learning in school and then out of school, drawing on a list of learning contexts created from information from pilot interviews and drawing on relevant literature. This list can

be found in the group interview schedule in Appendix 1, though it was tailored in each school with any detail I had gleaned from the lesson observation or teacher questionnaire (see Section 4.7.4.). This list was not shown to participants, but if they did not mention a particular setting, I asked if this particular space, place or time was relevant to them. The mind-maps created by participants in each group interview are reproduced in Appendix 11.

This mind-map activity was important as a focus to elicit discussion, and particularly important in extending young people to talk about learning beyond the school setting they were in. However, it is possible it led students to feel that the 'right' answer was to discuss their learning in these contexts, even if this learning was not significant to them. I tried to counter this by avoiding repeating possible contexts or pushing for them to expand where they responded with answers such as 'maybe' when asked about a particular context.

During later individual interviews, two further stimulus activities were used. Again, one was successful, the other not. The first was based on a method of photo-elicitation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In the group interviews in two of the schools, each young person was provided with a 12-exposure disposable camera, and asked to carry it with them for a week, taking pictures when they felt themselves to be learning about poverty and development. A label was attached to each camera ('Use me to keep a visual diary of when and where you find out about global poverty and development'), to act as a reminder to young people of what they had been asked to do. A research tool like this was used successfully by Sharples, Davison, Thomas, and Rudman (2003).

Asking young people to actively participate in information collection in this way draws on emerging literature around 'young people as researchers' (see e.g. Kellett, 2005; Kirby, 1999; Fielding and Bragg, 2003). However, it is important to acknowledge that within the limitations of a PhD thesis, the contribution of which is understood as the construction of the author, the research has limited potential to transform power relationships through knowledge-making, the driving aim of much 'young people as researchers' practice (see e.g. Fielding, 2001).

The aim was to use the developed photographs as prompts in later interviews. However, this was not found to be an effective tool in this case. No research participant returned their camera in time for the photos to be developed. They reported finding it difficult to remember to take photographs at the point they saw or read something relevant, or that the learning opportunity (e.g. seeing an advert for a development NGO on television), was over before they found their camera.

A final stimulus was in the form of a narrative of each participant's learning about global poverty development. The transcriptions of the group interview and first individual interview, augmented with details from the research journal and questionnaire (see Section 4.7.4. on additional information collection), were collated by participant and a simple narrative shaped for each young person (see Section 4.9.1. on the initial stages of analysis). These 'portraits' were presented to the young person to read in the second individual interview or, in two cases, by email. Participants were asked if they felt the descriptions represented what had been discussed in interview and if they felt any changes were necessary to better reflect their learning. Two participants asked me to change small factual details.

4.7.4. Additional information collection

Students' and teachers' time was under pressure, and so interview time with students was precious, and conversation time with teachers limited. Consequently, both teachers and participating students were asked to complete a short (one side of A4) questionnaire. The main aim was to better inform the questions I asked young people in group and individual interviews, though the responses were, in a few cases, also used directly during analysis. A copy of both questionnaires is included in the appendices (teacher questionnaire, Appendix 3; young people's questionnaire Appendix 4).

The student questionnaire aimed to contribute to a picture of the young people themselves. This included basic information about age, year group, and subject options as well as open questions about their interests in their free time and how they would describe themselves. The questionnaire for teachers asked for more details on the lesson or session observed, contextualising it as part of a longer unit of work or project, as well as asking for details of other opportunities for learning about global poverty and development that the teachers felt students may have at school. Both provided useful verbal prompts in individual interviews when I was able to make reference to something a student had written, or use information provided by the teacher to pick up on a school activity a student mentioned in passing. They were particularly useful in providing factual information such as students' GCSE subject choices and their ages. However, the data provided was much less rich than that provided during the interviews. For example, had I asked students in interviews to talk about how they would describe

themselves, I may have gained a much more nuanced picture than the five words they were asked to choose in the questionnaire. This would have been relevant given my eventual analytical focus on identity. I think the worksheet format, and the timing of when I asked students to complete the worksheet (at the end of the group interview, so that answers could inform later interviews, but before my relationship with them was established individually) meant that answers were not particularly insightful.

Throughout the information collection phase I kept a research journal to record informal conversation and observations of time spent in school, and initial steps of analysis (in the form of comments and ideas on observations). A simple notebook was divided into two columns, one column chronicling events, the other a space for comments and questions (Brown and Dowling, 1998). These were used to inform the development of interview schedules and at subsequent iterations of analysis.

4.8. Ethics

The research was ethically approved by the Institute of Education, in line with the British Educational Research Association guidelines (BERA, 2011). Drawing on these, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and guidelines specific to working with children, particular attention was paid to informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (Tisdall, Davis and Gallagher, 2009).

Written voluntary informed consent was sought from all young people before their first interview. In each school, information about the research was presented to a class of students, and those interested were given information and consent forms (see Appendices 5 and 6). The information forms included details of the aims of the research, the time and commitment required, information about how the data would be used, and details of opportunities for feedback to the researcher and of the confidentiality promised (Hill, 2005). My approach was to seek parental approval if the young people seemed unsure about the nature of the research (BERA, 2011, guideline 18) or if this was requested by their teachers. The latter was the case in one school, and parental consent was sought using the form in Appendix 7.

The relationships between adults and young people in schools can disrupt the giving of voluntary consent by children (Woodhead and Faulkner, 2000; Barker and Weller, 2003; Tisdall *et al*, 2009) and there is evidence that young people's decisions are often shaped by their peers and by adult gatekeepers such as parents and teachers (Hood,

Kelley and Mayall, 1996; David, Edwards and Alldred, 2001; Hill, 2005; Tisdall *et al*, 2009). Since I was introduced by the teacher, I may have been seen as an ally of that adult (Tisdall *et al*, 2009) and as a teacher myself (David, Tonkin, Powell and Alderson, 2005). Young people may have felt pressure to consent to be involved in the research for these reasons. Whilst acknowledging that informed consent may function in an awkward, compromised way with young people (Tisdall *et al*, 2009), I sought to reduce the likelihood that consent reflected implicit or perceived coercion resulting from adult–child relationships in schools.⁷ I made efforts to engage in ongoing discussion and dialogue with the young people involved in relation to their consent (Morrow, 1999; Fraser, 2004; Alderson and Morrow, 2004), for example, by explaining that I would like to record the interview because it is difficult to listen and write an accurate record at the same time, and asking for young people's consent to do this. Although written consent was obtained prior to interview, seeking consent was seen as a continuous process, with consent requested verbally at the start of each interview, with opportunities to withdraw clearly given at each stage (Harker, 2002).

Written consent from the contact teacher in each school was sought to observe their lesson and involve their students in the research. It was hoped that this would contribute to ensuring that my research was accepted, and the level of commitment understood. Remembering the consent of gatekeepers is important, because they are actively involved in facilitating interactions with young people and are thus research participants (Tisdall *et al*, 2009). The consent form used, and information sheet provided, are included in Appendices 8 and 9.

Neither incentives nor expenses were given for participation in the research. However, drawing on the idea of engaged ethnography and reciprocity in research (see e.g. Mathers and Novelli, 2007; Cresswell, 1998) I was keen to give something back to those involved in the study to reciprocate their time and energies. To the teachers and group leaders involved the offer was made to run assemblies, lessons or staff training on global issues, drawing on my experience as a teacher and current work at an education charity. In fact, this was never taken up. I think this may be because the energy and motivation required to engage with the research process was not the same as for bringing an external speaker into school, which may also have different barriers.

⁷ It is also worth noting that the presentation of adult–child relationships as characterised by domination and subordination is seen here as overly simplistic, failing to recognise a whole range of nuanced issues in relation to power, for example, instances in which young people may have power over the researcher or over one another (Tisdall *et al*, 2009).

While the research topic (learning about issues of poverty and development) is not generally considered to be ethically controversial nor does it involve lifestyle questions, some related topics (e.g. the consequences of poverty for individuals) may be sensitive. I was therefore mindful of interviewee's emotional responses and made it clear, in accordance with BERA guideline 15 (BERA, 2011), that they were entitled to withdraw from the research at any time, for this or any other reason. All participants were treated with the utmost respect and consideration (BERA, 2011, guideline 9). The interviews were conducted one-to-one without another adult present, and I gave particular attention to ensuring that the young people felt comfortable with the environment and questions (BERA, 2011, guideline 20), for example by assuring them that there is no 'right or wrong answer' to more conceptual questions. I had full clearance by the Criminal Records Bureau, as well as being a teacher by training, and so was extremely mindful of respectful and appropriate behaviour towards participants.

All findings were kept anonymous and pseudonyms are used for all interviewees, schools and groups in all analyses and data reporting (BERA, 2011, guideline 25). The young people involved in this research were offered the opportunity to pick their own pseudonyms (Davey *et al*, 2009) They were told that anything they discussed would only be shared beyond the room in this anonymous fashion, unless not sharing what they said would pose risk of harm to them or others. It can be difficult to communicate to young people precisely what kinds of harm researchers are referring to when informing them about the limits of confidentiality (Alderson and Morrow, 2004). However, rather than providing specific examples, the term 'harm' was used broadly and without specific definition so as not to predefine issues that young people might raise and set inherently false boundaries on confidentiality (Davey *et al*, 2009).

Other potential limits on confidentially were considered and discussed with the young people. For example, the group interview presented a challenge, since full confidentiality could not be promised. However, this interview was kept general, with participants able to contribute at different levels. Before the start of the interview, participants were also asked to be respectful of each other and not to share what each other had said beyond the interview. A second challenge to confidentiality related to the feeding back of findings to the contact teachers. In line with guideline 31 of the BERA (2011), I intended to feed back the conclusions of the research to the contact teachers. However, this was problematic since, with a maximum of three young people participating from each school, it was felt likely that teachers would be able to identify

individual young people. This challenge was discussed with young people at the end of the second individual interview, and their permission sought (and in each case given) to share a summary report of the research with their teacher.

All interview information and data was backed up and stored securely on a password protected computer. Where personal information was collected about participants (e.g. their ethnic origin) it was anonymised as quickly as possible and destroyed as soon as it was no longer needed.

Hill (2005) indicates that ethically, research should contribute to young people's wellbeing. This research hopes to do so indirectly, by increasing adult's understanding of young people, specifically their perception of their learning about global poverty and development, so that their interactions or interventions are more sensitive to children's wishes and needs. This thesis also aims to present young people as experts on their own learning, and to avoid perpetuating the portrayal of young people as vulnerable or marginalised (Alderson and Morrow, 2004).

4.9. Analysis

In seeking to meet the criteria of dependability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and plausibility Brown and Dowling, 1998), two of the criteria on which I wish the knowledge claims of this research to be judged, it is essential that my explanation of the analysis process is transparent. This section forms my attempt to *"get at one's own thought processes"* (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p.84).

4.9.1. Initial stages of data analysis – portraits of young people's learning

Data collection, analysis and writing are understood as intermingling processes that occur iteratively and cyclically (Cresswell, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1984). As a result, analysis was understood not as a separate phase after data collection, but as present throughout the research. This was most obvious in the form of the research journal kept throughout data collection in which initial thoughts and ideas were recorded. Another clear example of analytical choices being made while data collection was in progress was in the transcription of the interviews, which I carried out as soon after each interview as possible. Transcription was seen not as a technical detail prior to the process of analysis but as the first steps in the process of analysis itself, with the convenience of the transcripts in full form as an added bonus rather than sole point of the exercise (Silverman, 2001). In transcribing, I used a set of transcription symbols,

adapted from Silverman (2001; see Appendix 10), which derive from conversation analysis, where the focus is on understanding the role of speech in forming orderly social interactions. I felt that, in balancing time cost against richness of transcription, some of Silverman's symbols were unnecessary for this study. For example: gaps left in speech by the participant were noted to the second rather than the tenths of a second; the symbol '(.)' to indicate a tiny gap in speech of a tenth of a second was not used; and the symbol 'hhh' was used to denote both an inbreath and outbreath, without distinguishing between the two as Silverman does. In this way, I made decisions about how data was construed and represented even at the transcription stage.

Data reduction (Miles and Huberman, 1984) began midway through the data collection phase, when data from the interview transcripts to date, along with details from the research journal and questionnaires, were considered together on a young-person-by-young-person basis. From this data, a short but rich description or 'portrait' of each participant's learning about global poverty and development was created. This was a clear 'staging post' in the analytical process. This approach to data reduction draws on narrative research methodologies (see e.g. the work of Somers, 1994). Although the portraits do not represent the findings of this research, as they might in purist narrative research, broad understandings of narrative research include stories as a method of data collection and analysis (they were used for both here) (Trewby, 2014).

The theoretical framework used in this stage of data reduction was the wheel of learning, introduced in Chapter 2. This framework identifies five dimensions of learning (the who, what, where, how and why of learning), which are seen as particularly significant to learning (Rickinson *et al*, 2009; Mezirow, 2000). The unit for representing the data was the young person, such that each participant's perspective could be heard. The five dimensions of learning were used to structure and to aid decisions about what to include and what not to include. Use of the wheel of learning here aided data reduction and analysis in the stages of research before Jarvis' (2006) learning theory was selected as a theoretical framework. It is similar to Jarvis' model in taking a holistic approach to learning, but its simplicity means that its use is not at odds with Jarvis' more complex model.

Brown and Dowling (1998) see this application of a theoretical framework to read interview transcripts and other forms of information as the way in which information becomes data. By using the wheel of learning to structure and focus the reporting of the information gathered through this research, a rich but readable description of each participant's learning about global poverty and development was created. Although they are readable and do not draw on literature, these portraits are not simply descriptions of the information gathered through this research, since they represent a categorisation and interpretation of that information. Numerous decisions about what to include and not to include are informed by the framework chosen and, no doubt to some extent, by the author's own perspectives, explored in Chapter 1. Clearly, not all the information collected is represented here. In some cases a slight reference is made to an element of a young person's learning in their portrait which is drawn out further in Chapter 6.

A balance was struck between representing the young person's perspective in their own words and providing a clear, readable description. This description was given to the young person in the second individual interview, and participants were asked if they felt it represented what had been discussed and if they felt any changes needed to be made to better represent their learning. Giving the research participants time to read and comment on their 'portrait' was important in two ways. Firstly, it supported data collection itself as the portraits acted as a stimulus for discussion. Secondly, it established the credibility of this research (the extent to which the research participants recognise the analysis to be true) (see Section 4.3.). The timings of the research (particularly its progression over six years) and the nature of a thesis document made it impractical to share the full thesis and its theoretical findings with participants, but presenting young people with this mid-stage of analysis meant they were able to comment on its credibility.

The inclusion of four of these portraits in the main text of the thesis was seen as important in supporting the claim of the research to represent new knowledge (see Section 4.3.). They do this in two ways. Firstly, they support the experience of the reader in providing a vivid, accurate, rich and elegant description (Polkinghorne, 1983) of young people's learning. Secondly, the plausibility (Brown and Dowling, 1998) and dependability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) of the research rests on a clear and transparent account of the research, and particularly the analysis process. Through the development of the individual portraits included in this chapter came the identification of the theoretical categories explored in Chapter 6, and I felt that illustrating this process for the reader was important.

4.9.2. Later stages of data analysis: lenses to framework, and writing

The breadth of the data in Chapter 5 is wide in terms of what young people say about their learning relating to global poverty and development. It became clear very quickly that to theorise the space (Brown and Dowling, 1998) and make claims from the data, it would be necessary to make choices about where to focus detailed analysis.

In exploring the complex and rich data collected, initially I identified a number of lenses relating to young people's learning about global poverty and development. I saw these lenses as conceptual devices for looking at or for certain aspects of learning, and diverting the gaze away from others (Rickinson *et al*, 2009). As with microscope lenses, one can look at data through a number of different lenses, each offering a different view, but none providing a complete picture. In that sense, they are a pragmatic tool, a practical, functional way of managing the data. Lenses were developed through an iterative process, informed by issues of relevance and interest to me, themes in the relevant literature and themes apparent in the data. Throughout the research process, during phases of literature review and data collection, I made notes in my research journal about possible areas of focus. I re-visited these in parallel with the transcription of interviews, and this helped to inform the focus of interview schedules in later interviews. Through this process, I identified three lenses: emotion; reflection on self; and action (see Section 5.11.).

I initially understood these lenses as different from theories: they were not intended to make claims about the world, but to provide a frame for making choices about what to look at and what to look for. My intention was to separately apply theory to each lens. However, over time I began to question this decision, particularly in relation to my reading and thinking around learning theory which became more intensive at this point in the research process. In iteratively revisiting relevant literature and particularly theories of learning, it became increasingly clear that the identified lenses also represented theoretical categories in Jarvis' (2006) work on learning theory (as set out in Chapter 5), which sees the internal construction of learning as one in which emotions are transformed, and beliefs, attitudes and values are affected, and even acted on. These three dimensions of emotion, thought/reflection and action interact, often simultaneously, feeding into each other in multiple ways in the process of learning.

At this point in the analysis process, my approach therefore changed, and moved to applying Jarvis' learning theory to the data. Through further readings of learning theory, global education literature and the data, I aimed to explore the extent to which the theory can be affirmed and refined in relation to the empirical data (Brown and Dowling, 1998).

I initially hoped to be able to explore the roles of emotion, action and thought/reflection about self as both part of the learning process (including as incentive functions within the process) and also as outcomes of learning, to understand the relative importance of each. For example, is emotion most significant as an outcome of learning or as an element of transformation in the learning process? However, it became clear that this was both an unhelpful question and one which this research could not contribute to answering. This is, firstly, because learning does not occur in 'neat', distinct cycles. Secondly, my approach to data collection had deliberately made no attempt to enable division of learning into episodes. The retrospective nature of interviews in exploring a number of years previously making it difficult to understand where an emotion, for example, was an outcome, or a stage in an incomplete learning cycle. Instead, I focused on exploring the extent to which emotion, reflection and action were present in the data, and where they appeared to drive or lead to another of these three dimensions. I coded the interview transcripts according to the three categories of emotion, reflection and action, using colour to highlight statements indicating when one of these dimensions appeared to motivate or lead to another.

These dimensions of learning are still relatively broad categories, and I found much variation within each coded category. In deciding how to present and explore each category, I revisited literature on global education and learning theory and sought to find resonances which might help highlight, structure and make relevant to global education practitioners and researchers, elements within these broad theoretical categories. Jarvis (2006) himself does theorise within each dimension of learning, and these insights are drawn on too, although his discussion is not always relevant to global education discourses or the level of detail available within the empirical data. For example, he categorises behavioural responses in the learning process into categories that are too granular to accurately apply to the data in this research. His categories include: non-action (anomic, and preventative non-response); action (experimental/creative, repetitive, presumptive, ritualistic, alienating); and reaction (retreating and rebellion) (Jarvis, 2006). This process was a loose form of the network analysis as described by Brown and Dowling (1998), seeking categories (in this case, sub-categories) within the data and within relevant literature, and working dialogically between categories in the data and in theory to progressively reduce the gap between the two.

The application and exploration of Jarvis' framework was not shared with the research participants in the way that the initial descriptions of their learning had been. These analytic outcomes were relatively abstract categories at some remove from young people's own words. It seemed reasonable to rely on the internal integrity of links between claims and evidence rather than asking young people to confirm or reject abstract propositions derived in part from an academic literature with which they were not familiar (Hopwood, 2007).

The result of data analysis, Chapter 6, is the product of this analytical process. It describes the application and exploration of Jarvis' model of learning process to the data, and uses other theory and research from global education, and other fields including psychology, to bring meaning to the data within each broad category.

4.10. My positionality

In section 1.2. I set out my personal rationale for this research, and in Section 8.2. I explore the implications of this research for myself. Here, I visit again my own positionality, directly exploring my motivations and agendas in relation to data collection and analysis. How did my identity and social location as a teacher, global educator, white, middle-class, woman and mother shape the knowledge I constructed through this research? How and why do I respond emotionally to global poverty and development and how might this have shaped data collection and analysis? I can identify three main processes through which my identity and emotions shaped this research: through the sampling process; through what young people shared in interview; and in the data analysis process.

Firstly, the sample of schools and young people I selected to take part in this research was likely strongly linked to a number of facets of my identity: my role as a teacher; my social networks; and my presentation as a white, middle-class woman. The teachers I approached for involvement in the research were all in schools within travelling time from my home or that of family members in the South and South East of England. They were all known to me or my supervisor (a white, middle-class man) through networks of friends, colleagues and acquaintances. I asked young people to volunteer to take part in my research, and as highlighted in Section 4.6., it is possible that those sharing or feeling more comfortable with aspects of my identity put themselves forward. Certainly, half of the participants of this research were white and middle-class and I believe that this relates, in part, to my own identity.

As highlighted in Section 4.7.2. I put considerable thought into how to encourage young people to share their perspectives with me in interview, and I was able to collect rich data. However, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge that what young people chose to share with me may well have been determined, in part, by my own identity. I am a teacher by training, still classroom-based at the start of this research, and used to a relatively formal student/teacher relationship. I am confident in interacting with young people in this way (though not necessarily in other contexts, for example talking to the teenage children of friends in a social context). I did not introduce myself to participants in this research as a teacher, and often had a small baby with me. However, because I was an adult in the school context, perhaps presenting as a teacher in some mannerisms, young people may have conformed to the patterns of a student/teacher relationship. This may have meant that they were more likely to share what they felt I wanted to hear (perhaps how 'well' they were learning about poverty and development) and less likely to share personal situations, uncomfortable feelings or learning through any context which might be seen as unacceptable by a teacher (for example, films classified for 15 or 18 year olds). In addition, my identity as a white, middle-class female may have shaped the perspective young people shared with me. African American female teachers in the United States have been found to respond more directly and openly to African American students and with more emotional restraint to white students (Winograd, 2009). In the same way, participants in my study may have been more likely to mirror my manner, which, influenced by my cultural identity, tends to be slightly detached and emotionally restrained.

As outlined in Section 4.2., I believe the knowledge presented in this thesis to be the result of my own process of construction. But how did my identity inform the way in which I analysed data and identified findings? My focus on young people's learning and particularly their process of learning was certainly informed by my experience as a teacher and global educator. I also think that my own process of learning about global poverty and development made me more receptive to certain themes within the data. Through this research I have become more aware of the strength of my own emotive response to suffering, and also of a sense of guilt at the suffering of others in contrast to my material affluence and privilege. This is a common emotional response to being part of a dominant societal group (Callahan, 2004). I remember experiencing such a response whilst taking part in fundraising activities at school, and as a young woman visiting developing countries for the first time. How to live in a world of suffering, as a white, middle-class woman is an unresolved question for me. As a young person, my

feel sad, guilty and/or a sense of injustice. In response to post-colonial critiques of actions such as fundraising, as a young teacher I was strongly influenced by pedagogical approaches to global learning which focused on critical thinking (for example, Andreotti and Warwick, 2007). Through data collection and analysis I was therefore particularly receptive to young people's descriptions of their own emotional responses, and how they dealt with upset and guilt. I tried hard to listen to all of young people's perceptions of how they felt about learning about global poverty and development, but it is certainly possible that I heard 'loudest' those relating to sadness and guilt, and found it harder to 'hear' other emotional responses. My own experiences of learning about global poverty and development, mediated by my identity and upbringing, certainly informed my theoretical interest in emotion, sense of self and action.

4.11. Summary

This chapter has set out the methodological approach of this research, and detailed the research tools and analytical techniques used in answering the research questions. The research approach can broadly be described as qualitative, constructivist research, using both new empirical data (based on interviews with nine young people) and existing evidence and literature, to explore young people's learning process in relation to global poverty and development.

An individual or subject-centred constructivist approach to knowledge and learning was significant in shaping the empirical research methods and tools selected, and the way in which they are described in this chapter, in a number of ways:

- Firstly, an epistemological position which sees meaning inscribed in the research process by the researcher, but through interaction with research participants, necessitates the opportunity to construct meaning through dialogue with participants (an opportunity provided by interviews) and detailed and transparent description of the way in which that meaning was constructed.
- Secondly, an experiential and constructivist understanding of learning as a complex, personal process led to the selection of a relatively small number of research participants, allowing in-depth exploration of their perceptions through interview.
- Thirdly, an experiential understanding of learning as continuous means I have sought, through interview and related stimulus activities and data collection tools, to understand a range of contexts in which young people learn about global poverty and development.

 Fourthly, the constructivist approach of this research informed the hermeneutical approach to analysis of both existing literature and new data in this study. This meant that I took an iterative, cyclical approach to data collection, analysis and writing, and produced meaning in a circle of readings and interpretations.

The other significant contributing factor to the shape of the empirical methods and tools used were logistical and practical, taking into account my needs and those of the students who participated, and supporting them to share their perceptions. In this chapter I have tried to be as honest as possible about these issues, and the challenges and successes I encountered. Finally, I believe that this research represents a contribution of new knowledge. I set out in this chapter the criteria by which I think this knowledge claim should be judged, and the ways in which I have sought to meet these criteria.

Chapter 5: Young people's learning portraits

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes and contextualises the new data of this research: short 'portraits' of young people's learning about global poverty and development. This data is drawn from a series of interviews with these nine young people, and accompanying research tools (as described in Chapter 4). The four portraits in this chapter represent a mid-point between raw data (or information) and the analysis of this thesis in Chapter 6. Some collation and structure is provided by theory enabling a vivid, readable narrative for both participants and readers of the research.

The theoretical framework used in this stage of data reduction was the wheel of learning, introduced in Chapter 2, and illustrated again in Figure 16. By using the wheel of learning to structure and focus the reporting of the information gathered through this research, a rich but readable description of each participant's learning about global poverty and development was created. The portraits created in this way are presented here with greater detail of the context in which this data was collected, drawn from my research journal.



Figure 16. Wheel of learning

Adapted from Rickinson, Lundholm and Hopwood, 2009, p.15

As described in Chapter 4, it felt important to present the data at this mid-point stage for two reasons. Firstly, doing so contributes to my aim of being as transparent as possible about the analytical process. It was through the production of these portraits that I identified the analytical lenses, described at the end of this chapter, and which I later came to see as theoretical categories. Including examples of the portraits here seemed important in being transparent about that process. The second reason for presenting the portraits here relates to the claims of the research, which in this study partly rests upon the experience for the reader. I wish to justify the claims of this research through the vividness (the feeling of genuineness), accuracy (how believable the account is), richness (the depth of description) and elegance (the simplicity and clarity of expression) of these portraits in the main text was found to detract from the readability of the thesis, and so four are included here, the remainder in Appendix 11.

The four portraits included here, from Amy, Boris, Flo and Nina, were chosen to illustrate the breadth and richness of the data collected. Represented within these four portraits are: all four schools involved in the research; both male and female participants; participants of varied ethnic background; and who offer different perspectives on learning about global poverty and development. Those selected are highlighted in Figure 17 (which also acts as a reminder of the details of all participants, as found in Figure 14, Chapter 4).

Pseudonym	Age at end of interviews	School	Sex	Ethnicity identified by student
Boris	14	1	Male	White British
Kran	14	1	Male	White British
Nina	15	2	Female	British Asian (parents
				Kashmiri)
Jon	14	2	Male	White British and Asian 'mixed'
Deborah	14	3	Female	Black African (parents
				Ghanaian)
Amy	13	3	Female	British Asian (parents
				Vietnamese)
Tom	12	4	Male	White British
Кау	14	4	Female	White British
Flo	12	4	Female	White British

Figure 17. Summary of young people whose portraits are included in Chapter 5 (shaded)

Each portrait is introduced with details of the context in which the data was collected: the school, the lesson or session I observed, and the other young people involved in the participant's group interview. This supports the claims of this research by adding to its dependability (a clear audit trail documenting the research process), and helps to enable transparency about the way in which this context may have shaped the perspectives participants shared with me. The portraits, and details of their context, are provided in alphabetical order.

The chapter finishes with a description of the three themes or lenses which I identified in the data, ways in which young people respond to learning about global poverty and development. In doing so, this chapter addresses research question 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development? There are also clues within the portraits that contribute to answering research question 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning? These interrelationships are addressed more clearly in Chapter 6.

5.2. Amy

5.2.1. Context of data collection

Amy attended School 3, a small comprehensive school for girls in the centre of London. The majority of students were from ethnic minority backgrounds, and the proportion eligible for free school meals was over twice the national average. The school website described the way in which the school community has shared values rooted in its Christian faith, and how students learn to value themselves and others, to become participants in a greater community.

My initial contact with the school was via the Headteacher, who put me in touch with a Religious Education and Citizenship teacher, a female teacher new to the school that year. She was also the liaison teacher to the School Council, and suggested I attend a meeting of the council to introduce my research. The school council included student representatives from each class, and met together monthly, during Personal, Social and Health Education class (which took place at the same time each week across the school). The contact teacher felt that this activity would be the most relevant to attend, because of the activity of the Community Committee as part of the School Council. She felt that this would be more relevant than a lesson of hers because Citizenship was delivered across the curriculum, and as she was new, she had not yet had the opportunity to develop global citizenship as much as she would like to. The Community 100

Committee of the School Council was formed of a small group of school council members. Its role was to plan events that bring the school and the community together. The contact teacher explained that this included fundraising events for international and development charities.

The School Council session I attended was facilitated by the contact teacher, and focused on a questionnaire on school food which was being carried out by the catering company used by the school. Much of the session was a discussion of problems with the logistics of lunch-time and with the food, and some students expressing doubt about the likelihood of change. The only issue related to global poverty and development mentioned was a reminder by the teacher about a sponsored walk the following month, raising money for the schools link school in Zimbabwe. The session also involved my introducing my research and asking for volunteers, and Amy, Deborah and Danielle all came forward. Both Amy and Deborah were described to me by their teacher as confident and capable students.

Amy was involved in one group interview and one individual interview. Two other students were involved in the group interview: Deborah, whose learning portrait is included in Appendix 11; and Danielle, who was not present in school when I carried out the individual interviews, and so was not further included in this research. Deborah was a 14 year old female who described her ethnicity as Black African. Danielle was 11 and described herself as Black African. The three students were drawn from different age groups, and knew each other only through the student council. Their behaviour in the group interview would corroborate this, as they did not initially chat with each other. This may have affected how comfortable they were with sharing their perspectives in the group interview.

School 1 was the school I first visited, and at this stage I planned to open the group interview by building a shared understanding of the terms 'global poverty' and 'development' using a photo selection activity (see Appendix 1 and section 4.7.3.). This was also necessary here, as the School Council session had provided limited discussion of these issues. After introductions and ethical issues, I therefore opened the session by asking Amy, Deborah and Danielle to pick an image that they felt best represented firstly global poverty and then development, and in each case asked them to explain why. At the end of the discussion, I had written the following terms and ideas on the board:

- Global poverty: not enough food; travel for water; less economically developed country;
- Development: modern day technology; better buildings; helping make a change; more food.

Based on these terms, I moved on to the second part of the interview, asking students to identify times and places where they learnt about these issues of global poverty and development. I prompted the group using the list of contexts in Appendix 1. I also used activities I had learnt about from the teacher questionnaire, including: school links (though the teacher was unsure where these link schools were); school council; weekly fundraising in assembly with some of the funds raised going to development charities; and Religious Education lessons. Appendix 12 reproduces the mind-maps of learning contexts created by Deborah, who offered to scribe. It is worth noting that although the contact teacher had identified the School Council as a useful place for me to observe students learning about global poverty and development, this was not strongly evident in the council session I attended, not identified as a learning context in the group interview, and only mentioned briefly (on my prompting) by Amy in her individual interview.

At the end of the group interview, Amy was given a 12-exposure disposable camera, and asked to carry it with her for a week, and take pictures when she felt she was learning about global poverty and development. I asked her to return the camera to the contact teacher before the end of term, but the teacher emailed me to say that none of the students had done so, and that she felt they had not found it easy to carry out the activity.

Amy's only individual interview took place two months after the group interview, with the school Christmas holiday in between my visits. I found that making logistical arrangements with the contact teacher in this school was slow and time consuming, she was clearly very busy and perhaps had limited enthusiasm for the research. The latter may have been because my initial contact point was the Headteacher who passed me to the contact teacher, who may have found it difficult to refuse to participate in the research. This, and the rich data I collected in the group and first individual interviews, meant that I chose not to return to the school for a third visit, as I felt it would put unfair pressure on the contact teacher. Instead, when I had completed Amy's learning portrait, I gained permission from the contact teacher and from Amy to email the portrait to Amy's personal email address. I had this address because the contact teacher emailed me, Deborah, Amy and Danielle about arrangements for the individual interview. Amy sent back a short email saying that she could not see any mistakes. I felt that a better discussion, exploring not just perceived 'errors' but ways in which I had nuanced and weighted what I had written, would be more possible in interview, and aimed to include this stimulus activity in future individual interviews wherever possible.

5.2.2. Amy's learning portrait

Who?

Amy attends an Inner London girls' state secondary school. She is 13 and in Year 9. Both her parents are from Vietnam, from the *"richer parts"*. Amy says that Vietnam is quickly developing. She was born in the UK. She describes herself as talkative, intelligent, funny, weird and crazy. At school she is in the badminton club and takes part in school drama productions. She is on the community committee of the student council, which plans events to bring the school, and community outside school, together. Amy enjoys dancing, reading, drawing, listening to music, making clothes and earrings, writing blogs, and fashion photography.

Where?

At school

In Year 9 Religious Studies, Amy's class looked at the emotional and moral side of poverty, particularly in Africa, through a photograph activity exploring "*who suffered the most, and which one shocked us the most*". In Geography she learns about the *"factual side*" of poverty, for example the impact of earthquakes and floods in developing countries.

Assembly, or thought for the day when there is no assembly, is based around a topic each week, and includes video clips and stories. Poverty "comes up about once a year" and often includes the school's link schools (one in Zimbabwe and one "somewhere else" in Africa). For example, sixth formers who visited the school speak in assembly and "talk about the money they have raised and there are like pictures of them and the children they have helped and the classrooms". Amy says the school has "lots of charity events", including raising money for their link school in Zimbabwe, Comic Relief, Children in Need and a sponsored walk.

Outside school

Amy talks about charity adverts on television, although she doesn't see watching these as learning. She also talks about a programme associated with the Comic Relief campaign, and two *Panorama* documentaries. She says that on Internet pages like Facebook, there are often adverts for development charities in the corner of the screen, but that she doesn't notice them that much because she is always *"going on to something else"* and concentrating on communicating with other people and on other people's statuses.

Amy visits Vietnam frequently with her family, normally every two years. She says that she doesn't learn about poverty there because they stay in the wealthier areas and concentrate on the holiday. Sometimes they might see the rural or slum areas, but *"we just walk past because we have other places to go"*. However, she also says that *"you can't just walk past the fact that there is still poverty"*.

Amy says that she doesn't talk to her parents much about poverty because *"they don't know much about poverty".* However, she does hear from them about their lives in Vietnam (her dad fought in the Vietnam War, and her mum worked at Amy's age) and also about the way in which Vietnam is developing.

What?

Amy knows that students in her school's link school in Zimbabwe "have to walk miles to go to school" and that "they started growing vegetables so they can feed themselves". She knows that sixth formers from her school went and taught some of the children in the school, and that they all raised money to buy laptops for the school so students there can study.

In Years 7 and 8, Amy took part in a sponsored walk, *"where you have to walk like ten bridges for ... schools in Zimbabwe"*. She said they were given a 5–10 minute briefing on what the school they were raising money for was like, *"but it wasn't very informative I'd say"*. When poverty comes up in assembly and as part of fundraising, Amy says that *"they [teachers] say something about love and how we should love our neighbour ..."*

In Geography, Amy learnt about the effects of earthquakes and floods, including statistics on the impact, for example, the effects of the 2004 tsunami on Thailand and the earthquake in Haiti. She describes this as *"factual"*, in contrast to individual stories. She also learnt about China's one-child policy, how this was implemented to tackle

China's growing population, and the infanticide it has led to. Learning about China's one-child policy has made her feel grateful that although in the UK there can be overcrowding, *"we are blessed that we're not getting killed"* to prevent this.

Through visiting Vietnam, Amy has learnt about the social divide in the country. She describes two 'sides': middle-class Vietnam where there are houses; and the 'other' side where there are just huts. When she visits again this summer, she is expecting to see big changes: *"everyone's saying it's so different now. Before there was just dust and soil and everyone says now there's like houses".*

Amy remembers watching a *Panorama* documentary about children working to harvest cacao with machetes, despite the chocolate industry making billions of pounds a year, and another about girls working in clothes factories getting low wages and living in slums. However, this wouldn't make her think differently about the clothes she buys because *"you're just going around thinking about the clothes, thinking about the discounts and you just want to shop".*

Amy doesn't feel that she learns much from charity adverts on television. She gives an example of an advert about a girl who doesn't have water. Amy says, *"it doesn't really show anything it's just like happy and sad faces"*. She says their message is *"give two pounds and they will be happy*". She learnt more from a BBC programme, part of the Red Nose Day appeal, in which a number of celebrities went to Kenya and lived on two pounds a day. The actors *"experienced the life of the people who lived in the slums"* and they, and the audience, saw details of these lives. Amy particularly mentioned *"the jobs they have to take, like prostitution or whatever"*. Amy thought *"that was much better"* than adverts from aid agencies, because it was reality, it wasn't *"just like happy and sad faces"*.

However, Amy says that although both television adverts and the Red Nose Day campaign say how donations will be spent, she doesn't learn "what actually happens, like if it was successful or not". She sometimes feels angry and confused that such large amounts of money raised don't seem to make a difference. As a teenager she doesn't have much money, and it makes her think that what she could give is not going to help. She says she doesn't see the governments of developing countries doing things to help and that maybe they are "not using the money efficiently". Asking teenagers for a few pounds, when billions has not made a difference she sees as "manipulative".

Why?

Amy watches programmes on BBC iPlayer,⁸ one of which she remembers being about poverty and development, because she gets bored easily and so looks for things to watch.

There are things that Amy feels it is important for her to know more about. She thinks that Geography at school only teaches what happens, not why it happens. It makes her angry that *"we don't learn about the reality of what's outside in the world"*.

Amy would like to do more fundraising, as an opportunity for fun and to make clothes and jewellery. She would like to run a non-competitive fashion show which would show people at school her skills that *"school doesn't really know about"* and perhaps reveal other people's hidden talents. She also says that knowing that, through fundraising, you are helping keep someone alive is a *"really great feeling"*.

Amy describes an 'emotional' side to learning about poverty, and has an emotional response to some of the images she has seen in lessons. For example, she was shocked by a picture of a girl baby left on the road in China, an image which has remained with her. However, she is also clear that charity adverts that try to make her empathise and feel pity so that she will give money are manipulative and not effective. She sees such adverts as *"predictable and not informative, so I just change channel"*.

Amy says that when she doesn't do her chores, her mum will talk to her about her life growing up in Vietnam and that she used to have to work as a child. Amy says that sometimes she feels that *"it's not my fault you had to live in poverty and it's trying to make me feel guilty and it's just not working sometimes."* She says that she's *"got to get on with my life*" rather than learn about her parents' lives in Vietnam.

How?

Amy talks about a number of photographs and images she particularly remembers. For example, as part of a photograph activity in Religious Studies she remembers a picture of a thin, starving child watched over by a vulture.⁹ She found this picture the most shocking and felt that the child in it was suffering the most of all the people in the

⁸ BBC *iPlayer* is an online service which allows you to play TV and radio programmes 'on demand' from the past week.

⁹ In 1993, while on a trip to Sudan, the South African photojournalist Kevin Carter photographed a starving toddler trying to reach a feeding centre with a hooded vulture nearby. The photograph appeared in the *New York Times*, and won Carter the Pulitzer Prize for Feature Photography in 1994.

¹⁰⁶

pictures. Amy also remembers a photograph her class looked at in Geography when they studied China's one-child policy. It was "a baby just like dead on the side, and there was a man walking past it". She also talks about a video she watched in assembly about a 13-year-old girl who "went in front of the government and she said about global warming", she said "if we can't fix things in the world, why do we break it?" Amy gives two reasons for particularly remembering these images. She says that a photo is more believable than a 'fact' because you "know it's real". She also says that she has a "more visual mind", so she doesn't remember a piece of text, but she can picture the book it was in. Although Amy has mixed feelings about how much she learns about poverty through her holiday trips to Vietnam, she does say that "by going there you do experience it".

5.3. Boris

5.3.1. Context of data collection

Boris attended School 1, an independent co-educational secondary school in the centre of a regional city. The school campus contains a number of historic buildings, and has its roots in a Benedictine Priory established in the 11th century. All interviews took place in a building which had previously been a boarding house, when the school took boarders, but was converted to classrooms and offices.

My initial contact with the school was via one of the Assistant Heads, who put me in touch with the Head of Geography. He selected one of his Year 10 Geography lessons for me to attend. This lesson was on the work of the charity WaterAid¹⁰, forming part of a unit about water, which in turn was part of the GCSE syllabus. The lesson was based on group work, and was an extension of an activity started in a previous lesson. Groups of 2-4 students worked together to research and present the work of the charity in the form of a poster. Some students were carrying out Internet research, whilst others were creating their visual presentations, covering topics including:

- Figures relating to numbers of people around the world lacking safe drinking water or adequate sanitation, and the results of this;
- How hand pumps are sited and built;
- Details about WaterAid, for example its size and the types of work it does;
- Case studies of individuals and communities.

¹⁰ WaterAid is an international NGO with the mission of transforming lives by improving access to *safe water, improved hygiene and sanitation* in the world's poorest communities (www.wateraid.org).

The teacher explained that this task was about supporting independent research and analysis by students. Water shortage and water access are important issues in the unit of work on water, and this exercise was intended to illustrate one form of response to the challenge of water access. He explained that it also linked forward to a unit on development the following term, where students would learn more about the role of different organisations in the development process.

I explained my research towards the end of this lesson, and Boris volunteered to take part. The only other student volunteering to take part was Kran, another white, male student. Boris and Kran seemed to be friends, sitting next to each other in the lesson I observed, being keen to take part in the research together, and interacting comfortably in the group interview. I also attended a Year 9 lesson on plate tectonics, exploring the impact of natural disasters such as earthquakes. I introduced my research and sought further volunteers for involvement, but no student expressed interest at the time or subsequently to their teacher.

Boris was involved in one group interview (with Kran) and two individual interviews. In the first activity in this group interview I asked Boris and Kran to select an image from a number of photographs which they felt best represented the terms global poverty and development and to explain why (see Appendix 1 and section 4.7.3). I also asked Boris and Kran how they thought the lesson I observed on WaterAid related to these terms. I wrote terms and phrases they mentioned on a flip-chart with the intention of building a shared understanding of global poverty and development:

- Global poverty: poverty around the world; struggling; developing countries; unfair; can't access clean water and sanitation;
- Development: providing help; improving things for the better e.g. water pumps; people make better lives; get an education, jobs.

I then asked Boris and Kran to build a mind-map of the times and places where they feel they learn about these kinds of issues. Appendix 12 reproduces the mind-map of learning contexts created by Kran, who offered to scribe. Water was included as one topic in Geography through which Boris and Kran felt they learnt about global poverty. However, Boris did not talk about the lesson I had observed in any more detail.

At the end of the group interview, Boris was given a 12-exposure disposable camera, and asked to carry it with him for a week. I had written next to the viewfinder 'Use me to take pictures of times and places you learn about global poverty and development'.

asked Boris to return the camera to his teacher a week later, but he emailed me to say he had not been able to find enough things to take pictures of, and to ask to keep it for a bit longer. I asked that he bring it to the first individual interview. He did not, and said that he had forgotten it, and had not managed to take many pictures. He said that often he would see something on television but not be able to take a picture in time, or not feel that he could use the camera in class. Given this, I felt that pushing him to return the camera would be unlikely to provide useful images and may have been uncomfortable for Boris.

Boris' first individual interview took place a month after the group interview, and the second individual interview a further six weeks after the first. In the second interview I shared the portrait I had developed of Boris' learning about global poverty and development with him. I gave him time to read it, and asked in a number of ways if there was anything he would like me to change. He did not ask me to change anything, and said it was *"about right"*.

5.3.2. Boris's learning portrait

Who?

Boris lives in a village outside a regional city. He attends School 1, an independent coeducational secondary school in the historic centre of the city. Boris is 14 and in Year 10. His GCSE option subjects are Geography, History, Design Technology and French. Boris describes himself as white British. He says he is not involved in extracurricular activities at school, but outside school he enjoys sailing. Boris describes himself as nice, relaxed, happy, careful, caring and curious.

Boris has visited India twice with his parents, and would like to go back to India again, as well as maybe having a gap year between school and university in a developing country.

Where?

At school

In Geography, Boris has learnt how poverty grows when natural disasters occur. In Religious Studies in Year 9 he learnt about *"the religious side of poverty"*, how different religions respond to poverty. Boris is aware that sometimes there are announcements in assembly about bake sales and other fundraising activities for aid charities, and about school trips to developing countries.

Outside school

Boris says that television adverts for aid charities are *"on quite a lot"*, and he sometimes clicks through to adverts for aid charities on Internet pages. Boris has also watched bits of television documentaries, for example, one about where the clothes we buy come from and another on water.

Boris has been to India twice with his parents on holiday: once to the north of the country and once to the south. There he *"saw for himself"* what life is like there, but also learnt about the country through talking to his parents and their friends. After his return from India, Boris did some Internet research about India.

What?

Boris has learnt how natural disasters in developing countries can cause huge damage because "the housing is just terrible, it's sheets of corrugated iron just resting on each other, there's no reinforcements, in India anyway, so if a hurricane or monsoon came there is nothing that they could do, it would all just get pushed away and it would collapse". He says that this is a combination of what he learnt in Year 8 Geography, and what he has seen for himself in India.

He also remembers learning in Year 8 Geography about sweatshops in developing countries and the conditions there. He recently watched a documentary about where many of the clothes we buy are made, and this reminded him of how *"bad the conditions in those kind of countries"* are.

Another documentary Boris watched was about access to water in Africa and India. If people are really poor, they don't have access to water and people can become ill through drinking dirty water. Boris says the programme explored *"how we can kind of sort that out"*.

Through visiting the North of India, Boris learnt about people's lives there. He describes poverty there as "so thick it was just really depressing. 'Cos you'd see poverty on one street, then you'd turn the corner and you'd think there couldn't be any more worse, but then there is." This made Boris feel lucky about his own life.

In Delhi, Boris also learnt about the inequality in the country. He described central parts of the city cordoned off to beggars that are beautiful, and then slums at the edge of the city that are *"a complete mess"*. This was particularly clear in the contrasting view he

had from one of the hotel rooms they stayed in, which was very high up. He said it made him feel "bad that some people's lives are like that".

Boris learnt from family friends in India that beggars work in groups, and that if you give one person some money, more people will arrive and surround you, asking for money. The same friend also told him that such gangs can deliberately injure a child so that their begging potential is higher. In Delhi, the car Boris was in was approached by a boy with an amputated arm, and Boris's dad said that *"you can tell if someone looks as if they should have something amputated, and he didn't look as if he has"*. Boris has also seen a similar situation in the film *Slum Dog Millionaire*,¹¹ and says *"there is a rise of that kind of ghastly stuff happening in India"*. He says it *"kind of scared him"* to see this horrible thing for himself. However, deciding not to give to beggars wasn't an easy decision for Boris, he *"felt bad"* that he wasn't giving anything.

On his return from his first trip to India, Boris also carried out some Internet research to learn more about the inequality in Delhi. He found a map of Delhi showing *"the wealthier places and the poorer places"* and a *"pictorial diagram showing how different the lifestyle is for the poorest and the wealthiest"* through looking at the food different people eat. This made him feel lucky to live in a country without such inequality because it *"made it [poverty] worse*".

Boris's experiences in India on his first visit also led him to start donating to a development charity each month – though he doesn't know which one, as his dad set up the direct debit. He says that this makes him *"feel better"*. He also now thinks more about what he buys: he doesn't want to have so much stuff when other people have so little. He says that although in some ways going to India was *"bad*" because of what he saw, in some ways it was *"good"* because now he does some things differently.

On his second trip, two years later, to the South of India, Boris found "so much less beggars and poverty". He says that this is because people in South India are wealthier due to the land and water resources they have. He described how they grow rice and build walls of mud in the fields to flood them and then breed fish, which they can sell and which fertilise the fields. This means there is a continuous cycle, "so when it's out of the rice season there's always the fish". Boris said it "feels good that the whole of India isn't like North India, it would feel really, really depressing to see if the entire country was that not well off".

¹¹ The 2008 film directed by Danny Boyle and set in India.

Boris would like to do some charitable work in a developing country later in life. He thinks Africa would be best *"because there isn't that much you can do in India because ... there's just so many people and it would be so difficult to sort out everyone at the same time, there isn't that much space to build stuff".* In Africa, there is space to put up buildings for communities. For example, a group in Year 12 at his school helped build a school in Africa.

Why?

Boris describes himself as a curious person, and also as interested in poverty and development specifically. This means he wants *"to find out about stuff"*.

He found the inequality he saw in Delhi confusing because it was very different from his experience of inequality in England where he says *"there's not that much difference between the population"*. He didn't understand how there could be such a difference between the wealthiest and poorest in India. This led him to carry out Internet research to try to find out more about the inequality in Delhi.

Boris also says he feels "sorry for them" (people living in poverty) and that he thinks it is important to know more. This also leads him to want to help, for example, by donating money to a charity, which has made him "feel better". He says that "that's how we are in my family, we want to help". He says that his parents "say the same stuff as me", for example, how they wanted to do something about the poverty they saw in India but didn't think they could by giving money to beggars while they were there.

Boris says he'd like to do some kind of charity work in his gap year, partly to help people and partly because *"I'm still kind of benefiting because you get a kind of buzz out of it"*.

How?

Boris felt that his visits to India were the most important way in which he had learnt about global poverty and development; what he saw there has really stuck with him. This is because *"you see it for yourself"*. He contrasts this with seeing something on TV, *"because sometimes on TV you don't really believe everything on TV, but as soon as you've seen it in real life you know that it's all real"*.

Visiting Delhi he found particularly memorable because of the scale of poverty he saw. It was an intense experience: *"everything is there that you can think that is bad, because there are so many people that live on the streets, because we went round it at night because we walked to a restaurant and you had to literally step over the people to get back to where we were, it was just a really sad sight."*

He says that this "does make you think a lot more about what you do". His visits to India have motivated him to carry out more research himself, to try to consume less and to donate money to a charity. He says that if he hadn't gone to India he wouldn't have started donating to charity, because you feel like you are actually helping someone in the situations you have seen. Conversely, by not donating, you "feel slightly bad that you're not doing anything about it".

Boris also talks about two examples of his learning, where more than one experience or activity has contributed towards what he knows. He now feels like he doesn't want to own so much *"stuff"*. He says this is partly because of learning about the conditions in sweatshops in developing countries in Year 8 Geography, and again through watching a television documentary, and partly because of his experiences in India seeing people living on so little. He also talks about the damage that can be caused to homes in developing countries by natural disasters, and says that he has partly learnt this through Year 8 Geography, and partly through what he has seen of the way houses are built in India.

5.4. Flo

5.4.1. Context of data collection

Flo attends School 4, a large comprehensive in a town in a rural county. Most students at her school are white British, and the number eligible for free school meals is below the national average. The school campus is large and relatively modern. Access to the site was closely monitored: this school required the most rigorous checks on my identity, for example taking a photocopy of my Criminal Records Bureau check.

My initial contact with the school was through a member of staff at a Development Education Centre located in a nearby city. This charity provides information and resources on development and environmental issues such as trade, debt, food, human rights, gender, racism and multicultural education to schools, colleges, community and youth groups. The centre had funding to run a project in five secondary schools in the area, aimed at raising students' achievement in speaking and listening through engaging with local and global issues.

The project coordinator suggested I attend a Year 10 lesson, the third he had led for the group. In the first lesson he had carried out a baseline assessment for the project and in the second he had explored the ground rules of the project with the group, and developed shared definitions of the terms inequality and injustice. In the third lesson, the group would be selecting the issue that they would subsequently focus on and make a short film about. The project coordinator had warned me that, because the project was intended to be student-led, and students could select from both local and global issues, it was quite possible that this and subsequent lessons would not significantly relate to global poverty and development. The lesson included group and participatory activities in which students were asked to list issues of injustice of which they were aware, and then to build consensus around a single issue they wanted to find out more about. Issues relating to international poverty and development were initially listed, including sweatshops and trafficking, but the issue selected by the group for further research was the evictions at Dale Farm. Dale Farm is a plot of land in Essex which travellers had occupied over a period of nearly thirty years. At the time of this lesson, following a long legal battle, the local council sought to evict the travellers. A demonstration followed, attended by supporters as well as residents, riot police were present and some residents were forcibly removed. Students saw both the eviction and use of force as unjust.

Three students volunteered to take part in this research. The project coordinator was concerned about taking multiple students away from the class, and the time commitment over multiple interviews. This may have been about him needing to reach project targets, and about the removed nature of the relationship (I was his visitor, himself a visitor in the school). Therefore I initially carried out two individual interviews with a single student, Kay. However, I developed a relationship directly with the class English teacher, and she gave permission for me to return to interview Flo, including a group interview with Flo and Tom (a white, male student), and two subsequent individual interviews with Flo.

Flo and Tom's group interview was therefore nearly three months after I had initially observed the lesson. By this point in data collection I had decided that I did not feel comfortable with the photo selection stimulus activity (see Section 4.7.3). I therefore opened the group interview by asking Flo and Tom to describe what the terms global

poverty and development meant to them, and wrote the following words and phrases on a flip-chart:

- Global poverty: don't have much food; disease; LEDCs, but not everyone there poor; hard lives; people in poverty; all over the world;
- Development: making things better; making economy better; a change; people can do more with their lives.

Based on these terms, Flo acted as the scribe to develop the mind-map of learning contexts in Appendix 12. Flo was not given a disposable camera because students in the first two schools I visited had taken few pictures of learning contexts, but all, including Flo, had been confident in contributing to the mind-maps of learning contexts.

Flo's first and second individual interviews took place within the period of a month. In the second interview I asked Flo to read the portrait of learning about global poverty and development that I had developed about her. She asked me to make two small changes, one to the activities she was involved with at school, and one to the wording of a charity advert she saw on a train.

5.4.2. Flo's learning portrait

Who?

Flo lives and goes to school in a small town in a rural county. Flo is 12 and is in Year 8. At school she is involved in hockey, basketball and netball, and goes to art and textiles clubs.

Flo lives with her mum, dad and two younger sisters and near her grandma. Her dad is an art teacher in another local school. Out of school, Flo enjoys art and craft activities like sewing and drawing, sport and music. She went to a music festival for the first time last year, and really enjoyed it. Flo identifies herself as white British. She describes herself as fairly confident and friendly.

Where?

At school

Flo feels that school is where she learns most about developing countries. She says "we don't usually have a particular lesson in which we learn it, but we usually touch on it in other lessons". This is particularly the case in Geography, because "we're learning about different countries".

In Geography in Year 7, Flo's class learnt about life in Kenyan shanty towns, and in Year 8 they are learning about global overpopulation and *"how this will cause poverty"*, and the impact of global warming on life in different parts of the world.

Outside school

Flo used to go to a club in the local Methodist Church. It was really fun with lots of different activities and there was *"a focus on giving to other people and people in poverty in any country"*.

Flo uses the music website Spotify and "every couple of songs there's an advert, and some of those are about poverty and giving to other people in other countries". Flo doesn't tend to click through because her family donate in other ways, but "you kind of see that and go 'ooh' and you remember".

Flo says she sometimes sees adverts for development charities in the *Guardian* and the *Sunday Times* magazines at her grandma's house. She also clearly remembers seeing an advert on the tube on a visit to London.

Flo's family donate to charities like Send a Cow,¹² for example, as Christmas presents for family friends. Flo talks to her mum and dad if she sees something on the news she doesn't understand. She gives the example of the war in Afghanistan.

What?

In Year 7 Geography Flo learnt about shanty towns in Kenya. She says there are lots of really poor people living there, it is quite crowded. The water is not clean, with streams of sewage running between houses and *"they had to travel a long way to clean water and they had to travel a long way to get to school, and in fact not all of them could afford to get to school so it was just the lucky people who could, and even then it wasn't really a good school, it was really overcrowded"*. Some people make a living from collecting and selling things from the rubbish. It would be quite dangerous to go there without a tour guide. However, there are also wealthier city-dwellers too.

In Geography in Year 8, Flo is learning about the impact of population growth on access to resources. She says "the more people there are in the world needing resources ... like water, if there's not enough water then some people in Africa they

¹² Send a Cow (<u>www.sendacow.org.uk</u>) is a UK charity working with poor African farmers to promote self-sufficiency.

have to walk really far to get the water they need, whereas we have it all the time." Her class watched a short video about Mexico City, where "they haven't got that much water at the moment". People living there have to rely on emergency water and collect rain water. Flo says that in the future "wars will be fought over water not oil, because of water shortages".

In Year 8 Geography, Flo also learnt about how global warming means that "some parts of the world have become harder to live in and the crops won't grow and animals and plants will become extinct if the temperatures rise, and with the greenhouse effect and stuff and so some people won't be able to live in those places and they will have to move but they can't really go anywhere".

Flo says that learning about life in other countries makes her feel really sad and also "a bit angry that it's happening and that the people in those situations can't do anything about it". She feels "really lucky that I live here, so I don't have to worry about those things". She sometimes feels guilty when she feels grumpy or fed up because "there are other people in the world who are <u>really</u> fed up".

Flo says the learning about development in class can also sometimes make her feel a bit powerless: *"because I'm only one person it would be quite hard to make a big change*" However, from taking action with her family like filling shoeboxes at Christmas Flo says she learns that you can make a difference really easily yourself.

Why?

Flo says that overall she really enjoys learning about life in other countries, for example, the topics she has studied in Geography, because she finds it *"really interesting"* and eye-opening. However, she says that sometimes she doesn't like learning about it because it makes her feel sad, but that this doesn't stop her wanting to learn more because *"in my case I'm probably more interested in finding out more about it*".

Flo has never been outside the UK, but is really interested in different people and places, about places that are *"not like it is at home at all"*. She is interested in understanding the different ways people do things and adapt to different places. She says that *"me and my friends really want to travel a lot when we are older, so finding out about other places we all find that really interesting"*.

Flo says when she reads or hears something about the lives of people living in poverty, she first feels interested, and then *"the impact comes and I feel sort of sad, and guilty and a bit angry and then I normally start thinking of, well learning more about it so I'd know what to do".* She says that might mean paying more attention in class, or asking to watch a documentary at home. She says when she's watching a video about development issues *"in that moment I am really into it and I can't really remember my life other than that video"* and she feels strongly motivated to do something to make a difference. However, she says that *"when the video is over and I'm going home and I'm thinking about the things I've got to do that day and I forget, I forget a little bit and it doesn't seem, I don't feel so motivated when I get home".* She says she *"never really gets round to thinking, well what shall I do?"*

Flo is involved in actions such as giving to charity with her family, but she says that she does it *"without really thinking about it too much, it's just a normal thing"*. She says, for example, that filling shoeboxes with gifts for children abroad at Christmas is *"a tradition"*, it's something her family have always done and *"it wouldn't be the same if we didn't make a shoebox one year, it's kind of part of what we do at Christmas ... We always know in November time it's shoebox time and we always go around the shops looking for nice things for the shoeboxes."*

When she talks about actions her friends take in relation to global poverty, Flo also emphasises the importance of what their parents do: *"I think most of my friends and their families think it is really important [to support development charities] as well, I can't really think of anyone who doesn't think it's important. I know a couple of people at my school who have their families as well really support it."*

Although she feels like the charity actions she takes are motivated more by family tradition than by learning about poverty, for example at school, she says that taking these actions helps her feel good because "Once I've learnt about it I think, that's really bad, then I think, well we've done this in the past and um, it helps".

Flo says that, in class, another motivation for learning about global poverty is wanting *"to do well at school and the assessments and things and kind of getting a good mark".*

How?

Almost all of the examples of activities and information that stick in Flo's mind come from pictures or videos she has seen. For example, she clearly remembers an activity in Year 7 Geography where her teacher asked the class to close their eyes and visualise and then draw what she described to them. The teacher started by describing their own school, and then a school in Kenya, and then finished by showing them pictures of a school in Kenya.

"And I remember there was one picture that really stuck in my mind, there were loads of benches just crowded in and the walls weren't painted and there were just things falling off, and there were so many people just crammed onto one desk, it was like they couldn't possibly all fit on, and that really stuck in my mind."

Flo remembers another picture as part of the same unit on shanty towns in Kenya, which showed *"all the houses in a row and they had to cross a stream of like all the sewage and the rubbish and everything"*. In Year 8 Geography she remembers a picture on a PowerPoint presentation, of a bus crowded with people, *"and they couldn't all fit on this bus, and there were like people hanging on the ends"*.

Flo says that seeing pictures, and watching short film clips, *"really sticks in your mind"*, especially if you also write notes about it. She says they do a lot of work from the textbooks but that doesn't really stick in her mind.

Flo does say that she remembers clever use of words, and also that she can learn from taking action, but in both cases she relates this to 'visualising' what she is reading or doing. For example, she talks about an advert on the tube with a picture of a young girl who looked quite 'normal' but the words "Do you remember your first, your first husband, or your first period?" and then she read that the girl does but she is "only twelve or whatever". She says that remembering this, she is picturing the words in her mind. Flo says that through giving to a charity like Send a Cow she feels it is easier to learn that you can make a difference because "it's actually kind of doing something yourself, like paying to plant a tree somewhere or paying to give a village a water pump and you can kind of visualise it more".

Flo has never been abroad, but she would like to visit a developing country and thinks she would learn much more about life there through visiting. She says she would like to see for herself and to be able *"really know how it feels, empathise"* with people living there, which she says is difficult to do *"while you live in a country that is developed and has all these sort of things"*.

5.5. Nina

5.5.1. Context of data collection

Nina attended School 2, a large secondary comprehensive school in a town outside London and near an international airport. Around a third of students came from ethnic minority backgrounds. Examination results were above average, and the proportion of students eligible for free school meals was well below average.

My contact with the school was via a Modern Foreign Languages teacher, also the Global Awareness coordinator. This teacher was very welcoming to me, and was himself very engaged in both global education and global issues more broadly, though critical of much global education practice. Of all the teachers who participated in this research, he was the only one who really challenged me about the aims of the research, and how it would help to improve the teaching of development in schools. I did not see him advocate his views in front of students, but became aware of them through discussion with him and detailed completion of the teacher questionnaire. For example, in response to question 3 of the teacher questionnaire (see Appendix 3), he wrote:

"I have noticed that there are no opportunities within the school to learn about key development issues such as microcredit, appropriate technology and other Southern solutions. Oxfam, Comic Relief, the English bloke who came up with Peace One Day etc are taught as being the solution to poverty, but the role of Southern Governments, organisations such as BRAC¹³ ...are unheard of. There are also opportunities to learn about the Fairtrade organisation, but again, the pupils are encouraged to believe that this Western solution is perfect and unblemished, when it is in fact deeply compromised and negligible in its effect" (Teacher questionnaire).

He was the only teacher in the research to use the back of the questionnaire to provide further information, including:

"I feel that teachers are hopelessly unprepared to understand and make others understand about why so much of the world lives in poverty today. Their lack of understanding is helping to produce young adults who believe that poverty will be

¹³ BRAC is the largest development NGO in the world and is based in Bangladesh, it has Western offices, but their role is in fundraising (<u>www.brac.net</u>). 120

solved through donations to Western NGOs. I believe that the net result of what schools do in relation to development perpetuates rather than reduces poverty. I feel that this will be understood in years to come when future generations look back, in the same way that today we look with shame at those who tolerated and thus perpetuated slavery" (Teacher questionnaire).

The teacher invited me to attend Global Awareness Club, a weekly lunchtime forum for pupils to work on their own campaigns. He explained that "*I facilitate this, but don't bring any campaigns of my own. We tell each other about what we are involved in and see how others can help. We also tell each other about activities and opportunities we have heard about*" (Teacher questionnaire). At the time of the research, members were working on campaigns involving: anti-bullying, anti-whaling, environmental activism and endangered animals. The session I observed took the form of an informal group discussion, covering:

- Updates from students on their own campaigns, including one student reporting that she had been contacted by a television researcher who had seen her antibullying website;
- The teacher and students letting each other know about websites or upcoming activities to look out for, including activities relating to Black History Month,¹⁴ and an anti-whaling website;
- Discussion of the problem of the school blocking YouTube on site;
- Agreeing who would represent and explain Global Awareness Club at the school open day.

I explained my research towards the end of the club, five students volunteered to take part including Nina, and I selected three of them as described in Section 4.6. Nina was involved in a group interview and two subsequent individual interviews. Her group interview also involved two students in the year below her: Jon, a white British, male student and Meriam, an Algerian female student. Nina was very warm and confident, the oldest student in the group interview, and also volunteered to scribe. This could have meant that she dominated the discussion, and although she certainly put forward her viewpoint, she also left space for the other two students to contribute, perhaps mirroring the democratic group discussions I had seen in Global Awareness Club.

¹⁴ Black History Month is an annual observance, in October, for remembrance of important people and events in the history of the African diaspora (www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk). 121

In the group interview I explained that we would start by developing a shared definition of the terms poverty and development. I asked what these terms meant at Global Awareness Club. The group explained that their understanding was not just developed in that context, because the club covers a whole range of issues. They came up with the following terms and phrases:

- Global poverty: People don't have opportunities; injustice; suffering; living with nothing; not enough money;
- Development: change things; justice.

This set of terms and phrases focused less than in any other group interview on a material deficit when defining poverty, and did not include a suggestion of modernisation in the description of development. This may have been the result of the global education provided through the Global Awareness Club. Perhaps also influenced by her teacher, Nina was clearly highly active in her community, although she attributed this to learning from her family. However, unlike her teacher she talked about feeling *"sorry for people"* living in poverty, and did not talk about institutional or governmental change, but about how she can help (see her learning portrait, Section 5.2.2.).

Scribed by Nina, the group created a mind-map of contexts in which they felt they learnt about global poverty and development (see Appendix 12). Through the teacher questionnaire I had learnt about the school's link with two schools in Ghana, but the participants discussed this without my prompt.

Nina's two individual interviews took place within a month. In the second interview I shared with her the portrait I had developed of her learning about global poverty and development. She did not ask me to make any changes to it and said she felt that it was *"really great"*. Nina was perhaps the most confident student I interviewed, and this response (along with the fact that only small factual changes were requested by any student), made me question whether I had really enabled students to challenge my interpretation of their learning. It may be that they were not easily able to digest the written and relatively dense format in the time available. In addition, it is possible that despite my efforts to encourage participants to share their viewpoint (see Section 4.7.2.), the adult/child relationship dominant in schools meant that participants perhaps found it difficult to critique my work.

5.5.2. Nina's learning portrait

Who?

Nina is a 15-year-old female. She describes herself as proud to be both British and Kashmiri: she was born in Britain but still has extended family in Kashmir. Nina says that her whole family *"believes in change for the better"*, and remembers being young and making flags with her cousins and siblings to go on a march with her aunt.

Nina lives in a town just outside London. Nina says *"it's amazing we have such a diverse community in (our town)"* and is very active in the community. She is an elected member of the Borough Council¹⁵ youth council, a volunteer at film screenings, theatre and other events during Black History Month, and goes to events as part of the local 'Mela', an annual festival of international arts and culture. Nina is a local government Youth Champion, which means she works with trustees to hold them to account to the Children and Young People's Plan.¹⁶ She did her work experience with the Borough Council's Community Development department, on a scheme supporting young people to teach older people computer skills.

Nina goes to School 2, a large secondary comprehensive school, and is involved in a range of activities at school. For example, she has sold badges for the Peace One Day¹⁷ march, organised by the Citizenship department, and goes to Global Awareness Club. Nina is also an air cadet and after leaving school hopes to study at a Royal Air Force defence college. She describes herself as independent, passionate and confident.

Where?

At school

Nina's school has a link with a school in Ghana, and each year members of the sixth form go to visit the school, and students and teachers from the school in Ghana visit this country. Nina describes this link as a *"whole school thing … you get it in your lessons, assembly, Citizenship, Mr H he teaches it in his French lessons"*. Nina particularly remembers learning about Ghana and the link school in Year 7 Citizenship. Through fundraising the school has paid to build and equip a primary school in Ghana.

¹⁵ London boroughs are the thirty-three principal subdivisions of the administrative area of Greater London and are each governed by a *borough* council.

¹⁶ A strategic, overarching plan for all local services for children and young people.

¹⁷ Peace One Day is a non-profit organisation with the objective to raise awareness of the International Day of Peace that occurs on 21 September each year (http://peaceoneday.org/). 123

In English, she learnt about a photograph taken during a famine of a vulture waiting for *"this really like skinny, skinny child to pass".*

In primary school, Nina remembers a lot of charity work, including sponsored silences, and taking in toys for a sale to raise money for people flooded in Bangladesh.

Outside school

Nina's dad has been very important in her learning about global poverty, both through conversations, when he has told her about his experiences or answered her questions, and through learning from his example.

Nina feels she has learnt about life in developing countries through living in a diverse community. For example, she learnt about life in Mauritius through talking to the three Mauritian students in her class in primary school. Nina has visited Kashmir to visit her extended family there. She has visited three times, once when she was very small, once when she was 6 and once when she was 12.

Nina learns *"quite a lot through looking up on the Internet"* including the websites of Amnesty International and the BBC news, reads the *Independent* newspaper, and also researches through books and the library. On television *"they have a lot"* about issues to do with development, for example on *Panorama, Despatches* and documentaries by Louis Theroux.¹⁸

What?

In Year 7 Citizenship Nina learnt about the link school in Ghana, "what they have in their schools and what they have in Cape Coast and around Ghana and what we have and what (similarities) we have and what differences, and through that ... to do with droughts and things".

Through studying the photograph 'vulture child', Nina learnt about famine in Sudan in the early 1990s and that the child in the picture was *"one child out of so many that that could have happened to"*. She also thought about the role of journalists in reporting on human tragedy, and learnt how in this case the photographer *"later committed suicide because he realised what picture he took"*.

¹⁸ *Panorama* and *Despatches* are current affairs documentary programmes (on the BBC and Channel 4 respectively); Louis Theroux is a British journalist and broadcaster well-known for his documentaries.

Nina learnt from her dad about his experiences of voluntary aid work. For example, during the Bosnian war in the early 1990s he *"went to Bosnia to help with people to give aid and things like that"*. He also tells her about *"how this happened in the past, and how this has happened, and he told me about the Rwandan genocide and how that happened because they were controlled by the Belgians"*.

When she was younger Nina would ask her dad questions about the adverts from international aid agencies on the television: "I'd be like 'why is it like that', and 'why is it like this', and he'd be like 'yes, because they don't have what we have and um sometimes some people give money but some people don't".

Through her own research Nina has found out about *"what's going on currently like in Somalia and Sudan".* In this way, she has also learnt what action people are taking in different places (on issues that concern her broadly), and that *"there are actually people who feel the same way as me".*

In Kashmir, Nina has learnt about life in a developing country first hand, and talks particularly about beggars, the waste everywhere, the effect of flooding during the monsoon season, the dangerous roads and how people in the mountains craft their floors out of mud. She also talks about how beautiful and mountainous it is, and how *"random people that you don't know will like offer you, will ask you to come in and have tea".*

Through talking to her Mauritian classmates in primary school, Nina has learnt that Mauritius is beautiful, but *"not exactly the safest place in the world"*, where people don't have many opportunities.

Why?

Nina talks about feeling bad and sad and *"sorry for these people"*. This has made her realise what she sees as a stronger feeling, which she describes as both a responsibility and a passion to do something:

"... you're so shocked and sad, but then in a way it drives you, so it makes you focus on helping them, making a change for the better, so I kind of feel sad but it drives me forward."

As a result, she is motivated to "get online, find out about kind of different global issues to do with poverty" and to take action as well "so do things in school, do things around the community" and join lots of "groups and forums". Nina describes other factors that contribute to her wanting to take action, including seeing good in people. For example, talking about Mauritians she says, "the reason why you want to help these people is because they have such an amazing like sense of family and community". She feels that through her family in Kashmir she has "a connection with a developing country". Taking action also "makes you feel good".

Nina says that *"injustice anywhere is an issue*" but is particularly passionate about global poverty because *"it's like we're in the 21st century and people are living like this, why?"*

How?

Nina describes her dad as extremely important in her learning about global poverty and development, and "he's very clever the way he does it". He has "been around the world and he knows", but he "never pushed anything on me", he never said "you sit down and listen". As a result, her interest "really came from me". It is also from her family that Nina learnt to value personal action. She learnt by example by following the way her dad goes about things, such as helping people cross the road, as well as hearing from her dad, aunts and grandparents about the volunteering they have done.

Nina talks about the importance of 'visual' learning, giving her visit to Kashmir, video reports by journalists and the 'vulture child' photo as examples. Learning through what you see hits home because *"you could touch and just be sure that it was there"*. She says she's the kind of person who knows global poverty is *"true, it's everywhere, but then when you see it's like you actually believe it and you're like, it's more vivid"*.

5.6. Learning experiences and lenses

Figure 18 summarises the learning of the nine young people who participated in this study against the five dimensions of learning explored in each portrait. In doing so, it naturally loses the rich description of the portraits themselves, but identifies some of the common themes. Comparing it to Figure 5 on page 45, which summarises what is already known about young people's learning about global poverty and development from existing empirical research, a more detailed and nuanced picture emerges.

Against the backdrop of previous research and global education discourses, nothing here is unexpected. For example, the participants' learning took place in a range of contexts (a reflection, though a more detailed one, of Cross *et al*'s 2010 study), and with both school and media being particularly significant contexts (as in Figure 5). Images, both moving and still, provided particularly significant and memorable learning opportunities, as identified in studies of NGO imagery such as Tallon, 2013.

Dimension of learning:	Key themes emerging from empirical research	
Who is learning?	Individual learners, with different experiences, values,	
	opinions and interests. 12–15 year-olds, both male and	
	female, from a range of socio-economic and rural and urban	
	settings.	
Where are they	• In the school curriculum, Geography lessons are	
learning?	particularly important, but Religious Studies, History,	
	English, Citizenship, Science, Technology, Philosophy	
	and Ethics are also mentioned.	
	School assemblies (e.g. about school links) and	
	fundraising events (such as sponsored walks and non-	
	school-uniform days).	
	• Television, including news, adverts from aid charities,	
	documentaries and Comic Relief.	
	 Internet sites such as the BBC website and 	
	WikiAnswers, and Facebook.	
	Visits to family and friends in developing countries.	
	Conversations with parents.	
	Other places of learning included: Clubs/groups at	
	church (e.g. Sunday School) and at school (e.g.	
	Philosophy club); adverts for aid charities in newspaper	
	magazines; fundraising with family; books;	
	conversations with peers and friends.	
What are they learning?	• About the difficulties of life in developing countries, for	
	example, lack of clean water, lack of cleanliness, lack of	
	solid houses.	
	• The negative impact that natural disasters, population	
	growth and the effects global warming can have on	

Figure 18. Empirical insights from this research into young people's learning about poverty and development

	people's lives.
	• Levels of inequality and the stark difference that can
	exist between rich and poor in developing countries.
	 About the unfairness of this suffering and inequality and
	how 'lucky' they are to not live in this way.
	 Two participants spoke of the kindness and ingenuity of
	people in developing countries.
	 About elements of the role of NGOs, governments and
	commerce (including sweatshops, fair trade and
	tourism) in development.
	 Scepticism about NGO fundraising adverts and
	campaigns such as Comic Relief.
Why are they learning?	 Interest and curiosity about people's lives in other
	places, the reality of the world and why it is as it is, and
	situations outside of their own experience.
	Concern for or sense of duty towards people; feeling
	that it is important to know and do more.
	 One participant said that her learning is motivated by her
	personal connection to people in a developing country.
	 Another participant explained that seeing suffering is
	depressing and leads her to <i>not</i> want to learn more.
How are they learning?	• Seeing it for yourself: visits to developing countries
	(particularly where this experience is new); and images
	(photographs and film).
	 From behaviour and opinions modelled by parents.
	Through iterative learning opportunities (e.g. learning at
	school and then a personal experience).
	• In the context of school, a range of other factors seemed
	to contribute to a memorable learning experience,
	including the young person's relationship with the
	teacher, participatory and group-work, and novel
	activities.
	• Fundraising activities and fundraising adverts were cited
	by some participants as places where learning does not
	happen, due to repetition and lack of information.

The process of developing the portraits illustrated in this chapter, against the backdrop of exploration of the literature of global education and learning theory, led me to identify three lenses or themes in the data (see my approach to analysis, Chapter 4). These lenses were intended to provide a frame for making choices about what to look at and what not to look at. These provide, I think, a more interesting approach to the data than the summary of Figure 18, allowing a return to a closer and richer look at young people's learning. They also address research question 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and non-formal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?

The three themes I identified, strongly foregrounded in the exploration of global education literature and research in Chapter 2 and Jarvis' (2006) learning theory in Chapter 3, were emotion, reflection on self and action (see Figures 19, 20 and 21). As described in Chapter 2, these responses to learning about global poverty and development have been identified in previous research. For example, Tallon's (2012a) research with young people in New Zealand highlights the way in which NGO imagery can place emotional demands on students. She describes the way in which the words most commonly used by students in completing written questionnaires about their impressions from studying developing countries were not descriptions of the place or the people, but an emotion they feel (Tallon, 2013, p.92). Research about another global issue, climate change, also points to the role of emotion in learning: highlighting the way in which Australian young people can feel helpless or pessimistic in response to learning about climate change (Connell, Fien, Lee, Sykes and Yencken, 1999), and that for young people in Sweden a sense of hope is important if they are to engage positively (Ojala, 2012). Research with young people in Germany focused on their knowledge about the world and how this relates to their ability to act, and their identity as active (Asbrand, 2008). What is unique here is the evidence of all three responses to learning: emotive, reflective and behavioural.

The significance and scope of each of these lenses is briefly identified below. Much more in-depth discussion of each theme, in relation to relevant existing research and theory, follows in Chapter 6.

Emotion

An emotional dimension to the process of learning was very apparent in the participants' descriptions of their perceptions of learning about global poverty and development (see Figure 19). In this figure, I include any feeling where the participant

talked about 'feeling' or something they 'feel'. Emotions mentioned as adjectives were not included (e.g. 'it can get annoying' (Deborah)) unless it was very clear that the participant did feel this emotion. Negative emotions (feeling bad, feeling sad, feeling sorry) dominated.

Figure 19. Emotions described by participants in relation to their learning about global poverty and development

Participant ¹⁹	Emotion	
Amy	Angry; Feel great; Shocked	
Boris	Feel bad; Feel good; Sad; Scared	
Deborah	Angry; Shocked	
Flo	Angry; Happy; Feel better; Feel good; Feel nice; Guilty; Sad;	
	Shocked	
Jon	Feel good; Feel sorry; Feel sympathy	
Kay	Angry; Disappointed; Shocked; Upset	
Kran	Guilty; Feel sorry	
Nina	Feel bad; Feel good; Feel sad; Feel sorry; Passionate; Shock	
Tom	Feel good; Feel sad	

Reflection on Self

All participants reflected, to some extent, on the implications of their learning about global poverty and development for themselves. Fairly little reflection that was not explicitly related to self was evident, and young people moved quickly from reflecting on poverty and development to the implications of this situation for themselves. The main forms of reflection on self, apparent in the data, are summarised in Figure 20.

Figure 20. Forms of reflection on self described by participants in relation to global poverty and development

Form of reflection on self	Young people reflecting in this way
'Lucky', 'grateful', or 'blessed'	Amy, Boris, Flo, Kay, Nina, Tom
'We take action on these issues, it's what we	Boris, Flo, Kay, Nina
do as a family'	

¹⁹ It is tempting to look for patterns in the emotions participants described in relation to characteristics such as gender, age or socio-economic status. Hopwood (2007) found that two of the girls in his study focused on people and their feelings in their descriptions of their learning experiences, much more so than the boys. However, not only are such strong patterns not obvious in this study, but, as in Hopwood's view, it is ill-advised to draw conclusions from such a small sample, and such generalised conclusions detract from the nuanced analysis that is this study's approach.

'Being human means I should take action to	Jon, Kran, Nina
help'	
'I'm the kind of person who wants to find out	Amy, Boris, Deborah, Jon
more'	

Action

Action is also evident in all the participants' perceptions of learning about global poverty and development, both as a learning context (e.g. school fundraising events), and as part of the learning process. The participants in this research describe a range of actions they have *chosen* to take, would *like to* take as a result of a learning opportunity in relation to global poverty and development, as well as some they have chosen *not* to take.

Figure 21. Forms of action described by participants in response to learning about global poverty and development

Form of action	Participants identifying this action
Further research on an issue	Boris, Deborah, Flo, Kay, Nina
Talking to parents	Deborah, Flo, Jon, Nina
Donating or volunteering	Boris, Jon, Nina
Future intended donation or	Amy, Boris, Deborah, Jon, Kay, Nina
volunteering	
Chosen inaction	Amy, Deborah, Kay, Kran, Tom
Other	Commenting on Facebook (Jon); choosing to
	consume less (Boris)

5.7. Summary

This chapter incorporates four portraits of young people's learning about global poverty and development. Along with the portraits in Appendix 11, these form the data of this study, using information from interview transcripts with each of the nine young people who participated in this study, and from supporting research tools. Presenting examples of the portraits here, along with details of the context in which this data was collected, aims to support the knowledge claims of this research, through contributing to its richness and elegance, dependability and plausibility. Although providing a detailed and nuanced picture of young people's learning in relation to global poverty and development across all the learning contexts they identify, there is nothing significantly unexpected in the portraits, when compared to existing global education discourses and research.

The process of developing young people's learning portraits, against the backdrop of existing discourses and research of global education and learning theory, led me to identify three lenses or themes in the data: emotion, reflection on self and action. These three ways in which young people respond to learning about global poverty and development offer an answer to research question 1. They are also resonant with discussions on global education and existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development (Chapter 2) and experiential learning theory (Chapter 3). The next chapter further explores these themes and their interrelationships within the data of this study, no longer as lenses, but as theoretical categories within Jarvis' (2006) model of learning.

Chapter 6: Applying Jarvis' model of learning process to young people's learning about global poverty and development

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, three responses to learning about global poverty and development were identified as themes or lenses within the empirical data of this research: reflection on self, emotion and action. Chapter 2 highlighted these themes as also evident within global education literature and research. As described in Chapter 4, this chapter moves from viewing these three themes as lenses, to using them as categories in an analytical framework, through the application of Jarvis' (2006) model of learning to the data. In doing so, it directly addresses research question 3: How can young people's learning processes be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education?

Jarvis (2006) views learning as a process through which responses of emotion, thought/reflection and action interact, often simultaneously, feeding into each other in multiple ways (see Chapter 3 and Figure 22). I first explore in greater depth young people's responses in terms of reflection, emotion and action (research question 1: How do young people perceive themselves to respond to formal, informal and nonformal opportunities to learn about global poverty and development?) In doing so, I draw on Jarvis' own theorisation within each category as well as using theory from a range of other sources where they are useful in highlighting patterns within the data. This includes global citizenship, psychology and post-colonial theory. The second part of the chapter looks at the relationships between each of these three categories, and the extent to which research participants' emotion, reflection and action fed into each other and drove their learning process (research question 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning?). In relation to Figure 22, this means exploring the relevance of the doubleheaded arrows linking emotion, reflection and action in a cyclical, complex feedback process.

Jarvis' model has been applied to empirical data elsewhere, to the learning of trainee nurses (Pedley and Arber, 1997). Jarvis (1992) has himself been very interested in the way in which trainee nurses and teachers learn. However, I am not aware of any 133

published work applying his model of learning to young people's learning. Jarvis (2014) is also unaware of any such research.

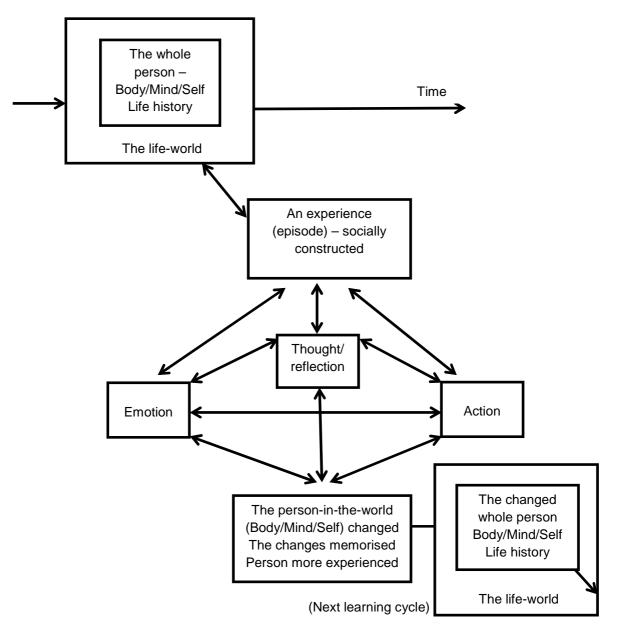


Figure 22. The transformation of the person through experience (Jarvis, 2006, p.23)

Jarvis' (2006) model describes a single learning cycle, but he stresses that episodes of disjuncture and learning are not fixed moments in time. However, his critics argue that the left-to-right orientation of his model, indicating progression through time, suggests that learning has a clear 'start' and 'end'. This in turn implies that learning is fundamentally reactive and essentially sequential, following varied, but always single (not parallel) tracks around the model (Le Cornu, 2005). Learning is not understood here to occur in 'neat', easily distinguishable cycles, and nor did the data collection of

this research focus on individual learning events. I therefore avoid modelling single learning events, both because this is difficult within the available data, and because, from a theoretical perspective, I wish to avoid suggesting that learning occurs in neat cycles, or that the interaction between learning responses is necessarily sequential.

6.2. Emotion

6.2.1. Emotion and learning

Learning to feel is an underplayed dimension in our understanding of human learning (Jarvis, 2012a). Having had an experience, we may respond to it emotionally as part of the learning process, and part of our learning may be this transformation of our emotions:

"We are rarely such 'cold fishes' that our thinking is not in some way infused with our emotions about what we are thinking." (Jarvis, 2006, p.7)

Jarvis (2006) sees emotion as inherent within the learning process, since disjuncture, and the potential to learn that it brings, occurs when we feel dissonance or unease in relation to our life-worlds (Jarvis, 2006). Research from different disciplines strengthens the case for the role of emotion in learning. For example, stressful emotions such as fear and anxiety have been found to block learning to make way for the fight-or-flight mechanism, whilst positive emotions have been found to be conducive to learning (Rudd, 2012). Neurological research indicates that emotions and cognition are interconnected during the learning process, influencing motivation, learning disorders, memory, self-discipline and academic problems (LeDoux, 1998). Emotion has received increasing attention in educational research (see e.g. Boler, 1999; Evans, 2000; Pekrun, 2005; Sansone and Thoman, 2005; Schutz and Zemblyas, 2009; Kenway and Youdell, 2011) and there is evidence about the way emotions and values shape the process of conceptual development and change (Pintrich, Marx and Boyle, 1993; Sinatra and Pintrich, 2003; Watts and Alsop, 1997). Watts and Alsop (1997, pp.355-356) stress the importance of considering "not only what conceptual systems learners seem to hold and the status which can be attached to them, but also how they feel about this knowledge as well".

Emotions are understood in different ways (see e.g. Kenway and Youdell, 2011; LeDoux, 1998). For some, emotions are bodily responses that developed as part of our evolutionary struggle to survive. For others, the term 'emotion' refers to mental states that result when bodily responses are 'sensed' by the brain. Some make a distinction between 'affect' (the bodily response) and emotion (expression of the bodily sensation 135

in language). For example, Hickey-Moody and Malins (2007, p.8) describe Deleuze and Guattari's (2008) understanding of affect as a "visceral impact on the body", and emotion, which comes later, as "a classifying and stratifying of affect". Others see emotion as incorporating responses in both body and mind. It is interesting to note that neurological evidence indicates that there is no such thing as an emotion faculty and no single brain system dedicated to emotion, therefore findings about different emotions need to be understood separately (LeDoux, 1998, p.16). A completely different view is that emotions are in fact social constructions, formed and produced by emotional economies (Ahmed, 2004), and flow between people (Kenway and Youdell, 2011). In terms of the feelings which the word 'emotion' covers, there are again different perspectives. A narrower use of the term covers emotions with better-known physiological roots (e.g. fear, anxiety, desire, anger and pleasure) (LeDoux, 1998), whilst a broader understanding extends to feelings such as guilt, distrust, selfishness, apathy, boredom, cynicism and interest (Tallon, 2012a), or indeed "any agitation or disturbance of mind, feeling or passion; any excited or mental state" (Goleman, 1996, p.289).

The approach taken here, reflecting my approach to learning more generally (see Chapter 3), is to understand emotion as being individual but informed by social context. I make a working assumption that both mind and body are involved in emotions (Jarvis, 2006; Cell, 1984). I am agnostic on the significance of each element and the extent to which affect and emotion can be separated. However, the data collection approaches taken in this research and the broad focus on learning (as opposed to emotion specifically) mean it cannot look to access the bodily element of emotion, only the way in which these feelings are expressed in words. The research also takes a broad view on what 'counts' as an emotion, and does not try to discern emotions by the existence or extent of their physiological roots. Jarvis (2006) argues that emotions have three different elements (a judgement, a feeling and an action tendency) and I return to both the judgement and action tendency dimension in later sections.

6.2.2. Emotions as part of learning about global poverty and

development

An emotional response to learning about global poverty and development was very apparent in the data of this research, and was dominated by negative emotions. All but two of the participants talked about feeling sad, or sorry, or bad, or upset as part of their learning about global poverty and development. In most cases, these emotions were in response to learning about the difficult lives of people living in poverty. For example:

"... it also makes you feel a bit sad ... because you get all these stories about oh how the world is not that good." (Flo)

"... you see these children that haven't eaten for ages which is really sad" (Tom, talking about watching Comic Relief coverage on television)

Flo, Boris and Kay talked about feeling sad, bad or upset when they weren't able to do anything to make a difference. Boris explains that he *"did feel a bit bad when I wasn't giving anything when I was in India, and wasn't giving money to anyone we saw"* and Kay said that she feels *"upset and a bit disappointed that you can't help them [people you see in pictures in the media] because you want to*".

Flo and Kran both talked about feeling guilty, Flo when she feels "a bit grumpy", knowing that there are people in the world "who are really fed up", and Kran when he feels happy and knows others are not. Some of the participants used stronger terms to describe how they felt when learning about poverty, including shock and even feeling scared. Amy, Kay and Nina all talk about being shocked by seeing the 'vulture child' picture for the first time. For example:

"We just talked about who suffered the most and the one [photograph] we found most shocking, I think it was the vulture child Quite shocked how thin they were and the story behind it like how the mother had to leave the baby" (Amy, talking about an activity in Year 9 Religious Studies)

Deborah describes an activity in a Year 9 Geography lesson where they played a game on the interactive whiteboard guessing the wealth of different countries. She was shocked to find out the scale of the difference between more and less economically developed countries. Boris said he felt scared that horrible and unpleasant things can happen to people living in poverty, echoing the reflection of a young person in Bentall and McGough's (2013, p.61) study in further education who found learning about climate change *"a bit scary"*. The example Boris gave was, on one of his visits to India, seeing a boy begging, who he thought had maybe had his arm amputated deliberately to increase his income from begging.

The strength of these negative emotional responses may relate to their roots beyond immediate distress or concern for individuals living in poverty. Commentary applying a psychodynamic model of human development to global education suggests that exploring global issues such as development and climate change stir up in young people unresolved anxieties about their parental figures (Sander and Conway, 2013). As babies, we manage our total helplessness and dependence by having a sense of omnipotent control over our mother (or other primary care-giver) (Winnicott, 1960). As we grow we begin to learn that 'mother' is not infinite but can be depleted, depressed, tired, unavailable and preoccupied with other things. This brings with it ambivalence, desire and guilt that the *"one we love and adore is the same one we have treated with ruthless greed"* (Sander and Conway, 2013, p.3).

Sander and Conway (2013, p.2) suggest that learning about global poverty can provoke just such anxieties because *"at some level we know our own interests and even survival is at stake and dependent on forces largely outside ourselves, just like the infant in the hands of its primary carers".* This deep-rooting of an emotional response which involves feeling sad, bad, and guilty means that it can be used as a powerful coercive tool by NGOs producing development imagery (Tallon, 2013).

Year 10 students in New Zealand used the word 'sadness' most frequently to describe their impressions on learning about developing countries, and a quarter of students said NGO images were too shocking and made them feel bad (Tallon, 2013). Tallon goes on to term feeling sad, bad, upset and shocked the hegemonic emotional response to development issues and imagery, and to argue that exploring emotions beyond this hegemonic response is important. In the research reported here, this included feeling angry, happy and good.

Amy, Deborah, Flo and Kay all talked about feeling angry. Deborah and Flo talk about feeling angry about the unfairness of the world and that people live in difficult situations, and all four talked about feeling angry that not enough is being done by others to make a difference to these people's lives. These others included *"some people"* (Flo) and anyone else (Kay). Arguably, however, this anger could be seen as another manifestation of the feelings of sadness and guilt described above, since anger can be one way we defend against guilt (Cohen, 2001; Tallon, 2013).

Two-thirds of the participants also associated positive emotions (feeling happy, good or great) with their experiences of learning about global poverty and development. In all cases, this related to feeling people's lives being better, or an action to make them better taken by the participant or by someone else. For Flo, Jon, Amy, Nina and Tom,

these positive emotions were associated with taking an action to bring about change, generally fundraising. For example:

"But I always like to donate because it makes us feel good." (Flo)

"... thinking how many lives we, we saved with that money, that felt really good." (Jon)

This reflects research in Northern Ireland in which young people reported undertaking charitable activities for fun (Niens and Reilly, 2012). Flo also talked about feeling happy, nice and better to know that other people want to do something to make a difference and donate to people in other countries. Boris talks about how it feels good just to know that not all of India is as poor as the North. Again, it is not clear that this moves beyond a hegemonic emotional response (Tallon, 2013) to global poverty since these young people feel 'good' or 'better' having taken action on poverty which they also describe as making them feel 'sad' or 'guilty'.

A number of participants commented on the way in which the strength of emotional response they felt was related to how 'real' the experience was. For example, Boris talks about how seeing the poverty in India for himself means it really stuck with him, and Deborah explains that her Year 9 Geography teacher made learning about poverty "more realistic" and helped her empathise with people living in poverty. This proximity can be brought about through images: photographs and film. For example, Flo described feeling overwhelmed by, and really remembers, seeing an advert on the tube with a photo of a young girl and the words "'Do you remember your first husband, or your first period', and then it was the girl and she was only twelve or whatever"; Kay describes how pictures are "more emotional" because you "actually see what goes on". and Nina talks about the 'vulture child' picture as a very sad picture and an example of a "visual kind of thing that you could touch and be sure that it was there". In contrast, Kran explains that when learning about sweatshops in Geography, he "felt quite sorry", but that there was not enough about specific people to see what it was really like. The emotive and psychological power of images has been debated for some time (Barthes, 1977; Sontag, 1977), and is the focus of Tallon's (2013) work on young people's responses to NGO imagery.

An absence of an expected emotion was also commented on by some participants. For example Amy described how, when her mum tries to get her to do her chores by saying *"I used to do this, I used to do this [during her childhood in Vietnam]*", she thinks *"it's*

not my fault you had to live in poverty and it's trying to make me feel guilty and it's just not working sometimes". As with this example, where participants in this study refuted a perceived expected emotional response, it was as a way to refute an expected action, and this relationship is explored further in Section 6.5.1.

Emotion is clearly a significant way in which the participants in this research study responded to learning about global poverty and development. As argued here, such a response may have deep psychological rooting, and can be especially elicited by 'real life' experiences or images. All of the emotional responses of the young people in this study could be argued to fall within or relate to a hegemonic emotional response to global poverty (feeling sad or guilty) (Tallon, 2013), though it is also possible that not all the anger and positive emotions that young people in this study felt related to their feelings of sadness and guilt.

6.3. Reflection

6.3.1. How is reflection understood here?

Thought/reflection is the diagrammatically central element of Jarvis' (2006) model of learning. This is because, when we think about and give meaning to an experience, our attitudes and values change (Jarvis, 2009). Jarvis argues that this thinking may involve two directed forms of thought, looking back and reflecting, or looking forward and planning (both what we anticipate will happen and what we would like to happen) (Jarvis, 2006). Other terms might be involved in this reflection, including development of opinion, insights, meaning, beliefs (Illeris, 2009; Jarvis, 2006). This section seeks to explore this reflection, a challenging task since young people's attitudes, values, opinions and insights could be seen to be reflected in all that they say. Indeed, Jarvis' model has been critiqued for his broad and imprecise use of the terms 'thought' and 'reflection' (Le Cornu, 2005). In framing this discussion therefore, I draw on Mezirow's (2000) term 'point of view' under which he groups all these cognitive responses, and limit my focus to young people's points of view in two areas: reflection on global poverty and development; and reflection on self (justified and explained below).

In her work, Le Cornu tackles the imprecision of Jarvis' use of the term 'reflection', by posing that reflection *"must be understood as the gradual transformation of knowledge into knowing, and part of that transformation involves a deepening internalisation to the point that people and their 'knowing' are totally integrated one with the other"* (Le Cornu, 2005, p.175). The advantage of her approach over my adoption of Mezirow's term 'points of view' is her focus on process rather than outcomes, but the deep 140

internalisation process she describes is not one it is possible to explore through the empirical data of this research.

What is meant here by 'points of view'?

Knowledge, attitude, value, opinion and belief are overlapping terms understood in multiple ways. Values can be seen as our guiding principles (Darnton and Kirk, 2011) and attitudes our tendency to respond to something in a consistent way Fisher (1982). How, though, is opinion different from attitude, and if knowledge is understood as personal and subjective, what is the difference between knowledge and belief? Theoretically defining the difference, for example, between an attitude and a belief, or an opinion and a value, is beyond the scope of this research. Even if this were possible here, applying such categories to phrases in the empirical data would be difficult.

As a result, these terms such as 'knowledge', 'attitude', 'value' and 'belief' are avoided entirely in the subsequent analysis, except where used by participants themselves. Instead, drawing on Mezirow's (2000) theory of transformative learning, this research refers to the way in which participants reflect on their 'points of view'. Mezirow, a key proponent of transformative learning, uses this term to describe clusters of values, beliefs, attitudes and value judgements that accompany and tacitly shape our interpretation of an experience. These points of view are, in turn, an expression of a set of assumptions and codes: socio-cultural, such as ideologies and social norms; epistemic, such as learning styles and sensory preferences; psychological, such as personality traits (Mezirow, 1998); logical; ethical; political; ecological; scientific; and spiritual (Mezirow, 2000).

Why a focus on points of view on poverty and self?

This section covers young people's reflection in relation to two closely related issues: their 'points of view' on global poverty and development; and themselves in relation to these issues. Of course, the thinking and knowing which young people explored in interview was much broader than these two areas of focus. For example, several participants reflected on past involvement in the organisation of fundraising events or future planning of fundraising or volunteering they would like to take part in. The limited space and the tight focus of a thesis mean that it is not possible to include the breadth of such reflections here.

The focus of this study is young people's learning about global poverty and development, and so this section focuses firstly on young people's views about life in

developing countries and approaches to change. A strongly related area of reflection explored here is young people's points of view about themselves in relation to global poverty and development. This was an area which was very apparent in the data and within existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development (see Chapter 2). This reflects theoretical approaches that through learning, we are constructing our own biography (Jarvis, 2012b); and that young people today are so engaged in their process of identity formation they approach any learning experience with the, conscious or unconscious, questions *"What does this mean to me? or What can I use this for?"* (Illeris, 2009, p.18). As indicated by the relative length of the next two sections, young people's points of view about global poverty and development were closely related to their reflections on themselves. Relatively little reflection that was not explicitly related to self was evident, and young people moved quickly from one to the other. For example:

"With China ... they were explaining about how it was getting overcrowded I was thinking like in this country it is kind of overcrowded and we are blessed that we're not getting killed. So I was grateful for that." (Amy)

6.3.2. Points of view on global poverty and development

All of the young people participating in the research described, to greater and lesser extents, the way in which life can be hard in developing countries. Particular reference was made to material deficit in relation to living conditions: lack of clean water, lack of cleanliness, lack of solid houses. For example:

"... like in the slums in Brazil. I don't remember very much, but they didn't have very nice living conditions." (Kay)

"I think we talked most about India, or somewhere in Asia, and how like even, the smallest things, like if you get money there the money smells and stuff." (Deborah)

This second comment, generalised as it is, reflects the stereotypical perceptions of developing countries found in other studies (see Chapter 2). For example, an evaluation of a project placing university students from Africa in primary schools which found primarily mental images of 'mud huts' and 'sad faces' amongst the primary school students (Borowski and Plastow, 2009). Similarly, Lowe (2008, p.62) found that primary school students (from six English primaries) commonly had perceptions of Africa including: *"I would expect to see a very dusty place"; "people suffering because of droughts and you would try to help them" and "they have houses made of straw".*

Four participants talked about factors that increased these problems: natural disasters such as hurricanes and monsoons which destroy housing in slum settlements (Kay and Boris), and the way in which global warming disproportionally affects developing countries (Flo and Tom). For example:

"We were given like a map and it had the increases in death toll and the whole of Africa, although they weren't making so much pollution, they were getting the worst of the consequences, like disease and famines and droughts." (Tom)

A number of participants reflected an understanding that not everyone lived in extreme poverty in developing countries. Amy, Deborah and Boris all talked about inequality and the often stark difference between rich and poor in countries they had visited:

"But you can't, when you walk past there's like two sides, there's like my side where there's like middle class in Vietnam and there's like houses, and the other side there's just huts and you can't just walk past the fact that there is still poverty" (Amy)

"Because the people in South India are just more well off than in North India, because there's just more land and water around them in South India." (Boris)

Nina and Tom's points of view on people living in developing countries were more positive. Nina spoke about the way the landscape and people in Kashmir, where her father is from, and Mauritius, where some classmates in her primary school were from, are *"lovely": "it's just amazing when you go on walks [in Kashmir] it's so beautiful, and like random people that you don't know will like offer you, will ask you to come in and have tea"* (Nina). She also describes how people are quick to talk about poverty in Africa, but *"forget about the people, the culture, the traditions, and it's such an interesting place"* (Nina). Although a more positive view of life in a developing country, Nina's viewpoint could be seen as a stereotype in itself, similar to the 'poor but happy' stereotype of people in developing countries reflected in research into the experiences of UK gap year students (Beames, 2005).

Tom spoke about people in urban Lagos and rural Zimbabwe in a much more active light. In both cases, he explained that the most significant thing that stuck with him about learning about these places at school was that although people have very little *"they seemed to be coping"*. In rural Zimbabwe, this is because *"it's all a community working together farming the land, like all a group working together"*, and in a shanty town in Lagos it is because they:

"... reused, all the rubbish that they used, what they did is they put it, they made an island out of it, they had islands and then they covered it in sand and sawdust, they had timber saws and they cut it up into sawdust and they would use it to make new land to make new houses to live on." (Tom)

Deborah, Flo, Kran and Tom all reflected that *"it's not fair that some things are worse for some people than they are for us"* (Deborah). For Tom this unfairness relates to the way in which *"we are causing the problem"*, but others are affected by the results, and Kran refers to a Biblical sense of human equity: *"So like in the Bible it says that God loves us all equally, so it doesn't really seem fair that some people should be better off than others"*.

In terms of the process of change or development, participants talked about the roles of NGOs, government and commerce, including fair trade and tourism. Tom described advantages and disadvantages of tourism in Kenya, and the multiplier effect of tourist money spent in local businesses, and Kran explained how fair trade "pays the fair amount that farmers need to grow their crops and live, rather than the cheapest amount they can possibly get for the crops". Kran also talked about the challenges WaterAid face in building wells in villages; Boris explains that charitable work in India cannot do much because of the number of people and scale of the problem, whilst in Africa "they [charities] build stuff in communities". Amy and Nina questioned the difference that donations to development agencies makes, Amy because she cannot see that any difference is being made, and Nina because she questioned that all 'foundations' used donations as they said they would. In particular, Amy questioned why the millions of pounds raised for Comic Relief do not seem to make a difference. She feels that the "problem should have got better, and I don't think it has". The millions raised should "be a little bit of clean water for some people, and then like over the years it would like add up to billions". For Amy and Deborah, this lack of change links to a scepticism about development NGO advertising:

"... you see the same charities over and over again showing us the same pictures ... like for WaterAid charity it shows a little girl pumping the water at the end for like two seconds, but in the beginning it's like ten whole seconds of people who are hungry and it has that voice at the back just saying things that you already know." (Deborah)

This awareness and scepticism of NGO messages is shared by other participants, including Tom and Kran (see Section 6.5.1.).

Jon, Nina, Deborah and Amy all talked about the role of governments in development.

Nina and Jon referred to the role of decision-makers in our country. Nina said she felt that members of the UK government and other Western governments should be *"really getting out there, instead of just sitting behind a desk, and making these decisions"*, and Jon said he thought British doctors who *"don't work weekends, they should go out to Somalia for a year and help or something"*.

Amy and Deborah both talked about corruption in developing countries, explaining that *"maybe they [developing country governments] are not using the money efficiently"* (Amy), that *"Africa is quite corrupt"*, undemocratic, and *"people are too selfish"* (Deborah). Research amongst adults shows that Amy and Deborah's views are common in the UK. For instance, 57% of respondents to a DFID survey agreed that *"the corruption in poor country governments makes it pointless donating"* (DFID, 2010, p.25).

As explored in this section, participants' reflections on global poverty and development focused on: material deficit and inequality in developing countries, factors that exacerbate this, and the unfairness of this situation. Some participants also considered the role of NGOs, government, commerce and people in developing countries in the development process.

6.3.3. Points of view on self

In this chapter, I use the terms 'reflection on self', 'point of view on self', 'understanding of self' and 'identity' interchangeably. This presupposes a specific understanding of identity, one where the term 'identity' describes an individual's conscious understanding of themselves, an "*explicit theory of oneself as a person*" (Moshman, 2005, p.89). Identity is a complex concept, used differently in different fields and in different ways over time. For example, Hall describes the way in which identities have changed from being understood as set and focused on roles, to being multiply constructed and *"in late modern times, increasingly fragmented"* (Hall, 1996, p.4), and drawing on a "*dizzying array of signs and symbolic resources dislodged from their traditional mooring*" (Dolby and Rizvi, 2008, p.ix). As Piaget (1968, p.18) put it, *"nothing remains less identical than the concept or the notion of identity*". To situate the way in which the term is used here, it is also necessary to say that identity is not seen here as singular and fixed, but as incomplete and context-related (Warnke, 2007), and dynamic, created and re-created in interactions between the self and the social world (Wenger, 1998).

A range of different theories of identity exist, each focusing on different dimensions of identity. For example, theories of identity that focus on social group see identity as "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, p.292). Alternatively, identity can be understood as relating to the roles individuals take on in particular situations or relationships and the meanings and expectations for behaviour these roles bring. People "have as many identities as distinct networks of relationships *in which they occupy positions and play roles*" (Stryker and Burke, 2000, p.286). In contrast, narrative identity is built on the premise that identities arise from the narrativisation of the self (Somers, 1994, p.606). 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, p.625).

There are strong arguments that it is not helpful to view theories such as these as exclusive to each other, but that together they can cast greater light on identity (see e.g. Hogg, Terry and White, 1995; Stets and Burke, 2000; Stryker and Burke, 2000; Trewby, 2014). Certainly, in exploring participants' understandings of themselves in relation to learning about global poverty and development, looking at group, role and the way in which people build stories about themselves and their actions may all be helpful, as drawn out below.

Participants' reflections on themselves

In reflection on themselves in relation to global poverty, a sense of participants exploring their social identity, what they "have in common with some people and what differentiates [them] from others" (Weeks, 1990, p.88) was very much apparent. For six of the nine participants, learning about poverty in other countries led them to identify as 'lucky' people who live in relative wealth as opposed to those living in poverty in developing countries. For example, Boris and Amy felt lucky in particular contexts: Boris when he walked through Delhi at night, virtually stepping over people begging and sleeping on the streets; and Amy felt "blessed" and "grateful" for living in England when she learnt about the infanticide in some areas of China resulting from the country's one-child policy. This reflects research amongst young adults involved in gap year programmes, whose reflections on their experiences focused on their own comparative fortunate position and their feeling of luckiness (Simpson, 2004, p.689).

There is significant academic discussion of the way in which young people, and adults, in 'the West' construct an understanding of themselves in relation to an unfortunate, poor, distant 'Other' (Smith, 1999; Todd, 2003; Tallon, 2013). Young New Zealanders used the far removed world of NGO imagery to help construct their own world and their place in it (Tallon, 2013); and Smith (1999) asserts that through this process of construction of reality, the 'self' is empowered in relation to the deficiencies of the 'Other'. Indeed, where the educational goal of an activity relating to global poverty and development is to imagine the suffering of the 'Other', this 'Other' is in fact not really part of the equation at all (Todd, 2003). Instead, the aim is to imagine how we would deal with a situation, and the empathy generated is for our own self-interest, our own learning about ourselves.

The 'Other' was not the only group young people talked about themselves in relation to. Other significant groups which participants identified with through learning about global poverty included friends and especially family. For example, Flo associated her interest in learning about global poverty and development with her friendship group, all of whom want to travel when they are older: "so finding out about other places we all find that really interesting". In exploring their involvement in campaigning and fundraising activities aimed at alleviating poverty, four of the participants explained that their approach was shared across their family group - 'this is what we are like/what we do': "Like that's how we are in my family, we want to help" (Boris); "Because my mum already does that, she gives money to charities, because we're quite into that kind of thing, that's what we're like" (Kay); "And when there's a chance at school, we [Flo and her sisters] always take in money to donate" (Flo); "... it's kind of a family thing, my whole family are like this, so pretty much we all do things like that, we all believe in change for the better" (Nina). This strong identity with the family group may express a "desire for security" which is a strong element of human identity (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004, p.29). Perhaps the role of child (son or daughter) or sibling (brother or sister) can be significant here too. Kay talks about donating clothes to charity because her mum does it, and "she sort of helps me". Kay says her sister enjoys getting involved in this kind of activity too, but "I enjoy it more because I'm obviously older, so I know more about it".

For three of the participants, identifying as a human was an important factor in motivating their involvement in fundraising or campaigning in relation to global poverty. Jon and Nina describe feeling a 'duty' or 'obligation' (Jon), or a 'responsibility' to give money, or take other action. Jon describes how this obligation is something he feels in

himself, he says "... at the end of the day we're all human, so shouldn't we have an obligation to help each other?" Nina says that she feels that everyone should care about global poverty because people living in poverty are "part of your world". For Kran, his sense of the unfairness of inequality between people is influenced by his family's Christianity (his dad is an Anglican priest): "So like in the Bible it says that God loves us all equally, so it doesn't really seem fair that some people should be better off than others." These sentiments are resonant with the broader theoretical literature on global citizenship. Our role as global citizens calls us to take "an interest in, or concern about, the welfare" of the world's people (Noddings, 2005, p.2), as evidenced by the extensive identity felt by those drawn by a sense of belonging and injustice to take part in antiglobalisation protests (Sen, 2006). Sen argues that it is "hard to miss the powerfully inclusive idea of belonging that moves so many people to challenge what they see as unfairness that divides the world population" (Sen, 2006, p.124). It is interesting to note, though, that this conception of a moral obligation based on being a member of the human race can be argued to lack the "psychological energy" of in- and out-groups, which feeds social identity (Appiah, 2007, p.98). The literature on global citizenship explores the contested area of the extent of a global citizen's moral obligation (see e.g. Dower, 2002; Unger, 1996; Appiah, 2007; Waks, 2008). Flo describes being caring about other people as a big part of who her family is. However, she clearly also grapples with this issue of the extent of her and her family's moral obligation. She says "we are caring, but that isn't all we do, we don't devote our life to it, we've got to do other things". Flo's sentiments reflect new cosmopolitanism's rejection of 'incredible' moral claims: "they do not think that everybody's life projects should be put on hold while we devote ourselves to 'saving the children" (Waks, 2008, p.209).

A number of participants in this study talk about the 'kind of person' they are in the context of learning about global poverty and development. Deborah describes herself as the 'kind of person' who, if she sees something on the Internet that interests her, will research it straight away. For example, she described how she became interested in, and researched, the political system in Egypt. Amy says she tends to get bored easily, and likes to search for programmes on BBC iPlayer. She also talks about how she makes clothes and jewellery at home, but that not many people in school know this about her. She thinks that her peers must have hidden talents too, which they could use to raise money for charity. Both Boris and Jon say that they are 'curious' people, who want to *"find out about stuff"* (Boris). In navigating the *"late-modern, globalised market society"* (Usher, 2009, p.18), young people have to make a range of choices, about their appearance and lifestyle, their life destination and relationships

(Buckingham, 2008, p.9). In this context where identities are more self-defined and less influenced by social constructs (Cross *et al*, 2010), the identity process involves signalling what is unique and individual about you. This is resonant with narrative theories of identity, where the emphasis is on the individual locating themselves within a *"repertoire of emplotted stories"* (Somers, 1994, p.613). It is notable that, with the exception of Boris, all four of the young people here express the 'kind of person they are' through media consumption. It can be argued that this kind of consumer behaviour represents *"the main arena within which young people play out the relationship with structure and agency, while negotiating their role and position in an ever-changing world"* (Miles, 2000, p.149). These reflections on the 'kind of people' they are also reflect the way in which participants in this study are active rather than passive in the process of identification, a theme apparent in broader sociological literature (see e.g. Nayak, 2008).

A direct link can be seen between interest in a particular topic and identity, as the process of learning, motivated by interest, enhances our individuality: *"The more we learn, the more we become individuals and different from others"* (Jarvis, 2006, p.79). As highlighted here, Deborah, Boris and Jon all saw themselves as the 'kind of person' who wants to find out more. In addition, Flo, Kay and Nina all chose to carry out further research into an issue relating to global poverty and development. They did not explicitly link this to their identity, but following Jarvis' argument, this interest and learning will have contributed to their individuality.

Participants in this research study reflected on themselves in relation to global poverty and development in relation to social group (they felt 'lucky' next to people in developing countries, and felt they shared their response to learning about global poverty with their family and sometimes friends); in terms of role (particularly as human); and in terms of their choices and creation of their own biography ('the kind of person they are').

6.4. Action

6.4.1. Action and learning

In the discourses around young people and development issues, action has often been used synonymously with terms such as 'participation' and 'global citizenship', carrying with it a sense of activism (Bourn and Brown, 2011, p.12). However, here action is understood to cover a range of intended actions, including political activism, fundraising and social activism, but also including the exploration and development of 149

understandings about global issues, such as research, relationship building and dialogue.

A second important consideration here is exactly how action is understood in relation to the learning process. Jarvis sees action as a potentially significant part of the learning process itself, in a triumvirate with emotion and reflection: as well as responding to it emotionally and reflecting on it, we may wish to do something about an experience we have (see Chapter 3 and Figure 22). However, unlike emotional and reflective responses to an experience, actions can also form the learning opportunity itself, the learning context. For example, a fundraising event or Geography lesson may form the 'where' of young people's learning about global poverty. For some, it is not possible to separate action as part of the learning process, a response to an experience, and action as the context for learning: learning is being an active participant in a social community (Wenger, 2009). Certainly, learning is clearly such a complex process that cleanly distinguishing between the context, process and outcome of learning is not possible. Whilst acknowledging this and that it is not possible to determine the full extent of agency involved in the actions participants describe, this section focuses on those occasions where participants seem to have chosen 'to do something' in response to learning about global poverty and development. It is recognised that this is a blurred distinction, with young people's full motivations unknown.

6.4.2. Actions in response to global poverty and development

The participants in this research describe a range of actions they have chosen to take as a result of an opportunity to learn relating to global poverty and development. They also describe actions they would be interested to take but have not, and actions they have chosen not to take.

Boris, Deborah, Flo, Kay and Nina all talk about finding out more or researching after initially learning about a topic in relation to global poverty. For example, Boris came back from his first trip to India wanting to find out more about the inequality in the country, and found *"a really good diagram and it just showed where the most well-off places and the least well-off places are. And also I looked at how the difference in what people eat it is, there was a pictorial diagram on this website, showing how different the lifestyle is for the poorest and the wealthiest". Nina describes how learning about global poverty has made her <i>"get online, find out about kind of different global issues".* Deborah, Flo, Jon and Nina all took a specific approach to finding out more: asking their parents about an issue. For example, Jon remembers talking to his parents and

grandparents about the famine in Somalia. Jon and Nina both talk about their involvement in campaigning or fundraising activities as broadly motivated by global poverty and development, but only Boris links a specific learning opportunity (visiting India) with a specific fundraising action (setting up a direct debit to a charity).

Other specific actions young people have chosen to take include writing Facebook comments on issues such as the situation in Somalia (Jon), and choosing to consume less. After his experiences in India and learning about sweatshops in Geography, Boris chooses not to buy many clothes and doesn't want to *"have so much stuff"*. Almost all participants spoke about future actions their learning about global poverty had promoted them to want to take. Amy would like to run a talent show to raise money for charity and have fun; Kay would like to raise money for charity but cannot at the moment because money is tight; Deborah would like to work in a charity like Oxfam, which would be good experience and help other people; Flo would like to travel and *"see it for myself"*. Boris, Jon and Nina would all like to volunteer or work in poor communities overseas in their gap years or later in life, for example Jon would like to be a doctor and volunteer in Tanzania for a year. Nina also talks about a desire she and her brother had growing up to give what they didn't need to those who needed it more: *"a shute, like, we'd put food and clothes down it and send it to these countries"*.

It is important to note that participants sometimes chose to act on their learning about global poverty and development by choosing *not* to do anything or to take action to avoid learning or doing more. Almost all of this inaction relates to young people's response to adverts for development NGOs. Kay chooses not to 'click through' to such adverts on the Internet because they make her feel sad, and Amy, Deborah, Kran and Tom also switch channel, ignore or don't donate in response to television adverts because they find them uninformative, repetitive or manipulative (see Section 6.5.1.). Amy also chooses not always to follow her mum's instructions to appreciate what she has in contrast to her mum's own childhood, and to focus on her own life instead.

In summary, research participants described a range of actions resulting from an opportunity to learn about global poverty and development, the most common being finding out more, through research and talking to parents, and intended future charity volunteering or donating. Over half of the participants also talked explicitly about chosen inaction in response to an opportunity to learn about global poverty and development.

6.5. Feedback between emotion, reflection and action

Learning is a complex process. As depicted in Figure 22, an experience does not lead to easily separable emotional, reflective and behavioural responses, but to a complex web of interaction. *"There is always feedback at every point in learning"* (Jarvis, 2009, p.28). These interrelationships are the focus of this section and are of particular interest in this study because of their place in research question 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning? They are also of interest because, as depicted in Figure 22, it is these feedback relationships that move the learning process forward: they are the movement of the learning cycle. Illeris (2009) saw that the factors that provide the necessary mental energy to run the process of learning are hugely important, and identified incentive as one of three dimensions of learning.

It is the whole person who learns and learning does not occur in neat cycles. It is therefore important to remember that there may well be relationships between emotional, reflective and behavioural responses which are not explored here: they were found in the data but do not relate directly to global poverty and development; or they were not mentioned by participants in interview because they felt they were not relevant or they were not aware of them. Examples of the former category include Flo talking about working hard on a presentation about the Aral sea because of *"wanting to do well at school and the assessment and things and kind of getting a good mark"*, and Deborah talking about how travelling to new places outside of your *"comfort zone" means you "learn new stuff and extend your boundaries and learn much more than you would if you were back in England"*.

Where this section explores the relationship between reflection and other responses, the focus is on the relationship to young people's reflection on self. This is for a number of reasons: in some senses all young people's emotive and behavioural responses in relation to global poverty and development involve some (though sometimes limited) reflection on global poverty and development; it was not possible to detect in the data relationships between types of reflection or points of view and forms of emotive or behavioural response; and young people's points of view on global poverty and development were strongly related to their reflections on self.

This section highlights a strong relationship between emotion and action, although one which is sometimes outright refuted by participants, and some indication of relationships between emotion and reflection of self, and reflection on self and action. 152

6.5.1. Relationship between emotion and action

Emotion to action

Emotional responses (particularly feeling sad and bad) leading to a desire to action were clearly evident amongst participants' reflections on their learning about global poverty and development. This is no surprise, in light of theoretical arguments that emotion includes action tendencies (Jarvis, 2006) and is linked with propensity to act (Goleman, 1996); and neurological research indicating that once emotions occur, *"they become powerful motivators of future behaviour. They chart the course of moment-to-moment action as well as set the sails toward long-term achievement"* (LeDoux, 1998, p.20). For example, Flo said that when she learns about these issues in school she feels *"really bad"* and wants to *"do something about it"*; Deborah's Geography teacher in Year 9 helped her *"empathise with them [people living in poverty]"* and want to *"help them more"*; Boris said that not being able to do anything about the poverty he saw in India made him feel *"slightly bad"* and without this experience he would not have started donating to charity on his return; and Nina explained that feeling sad drove her forward in making a change for the better.

This relationship between emotion and action makes sense in the light of the psychodynamic model of human development referred to in Section 6.2.2. which proposes that our ambivalence and guilt about depleting our maternal figure can lead us to want to take reparative action (Sander and Conway, 2013). This is what Klein calls a *"depressive position"*, a reality-based position that reminds us that we have a debt to pay to our parental figures (Klein, 1935, p.347). This 'debt' is often transferred onto all sorts of reparative and life-enhancing work, and this reparative action is an important element of young people managing their guilt and seeing themselves in relation to their parents and to 'mother earth'. What is also clear here, however, is that whilst an emotive response often leads to a *desire* to take action, this does not always translate into action. This is relevant to NGOs which use emotive imagery to prompt donations (Dogra, 2012; Tallon, 2013).

Amongst all participants, only Boris talked about the way a specific emotive experience (witnessing for himself people living on the streets in Delhi) led to a specific fundraising action (setting up a Direct Debit to give money to a development charity on his return). Flo directly linked emotion and an action of 'finding out more', saying she often feels *"sad, and guilty and a bit angry"* about global poverty and development, and so starts to think and learn more about it. However, she says *"I never really get round to thinking well what shall I do [beyond this]"*. Interestingly however, Flo does relate an emotional

response to filling shoeboxes with gifts at Christmas, but in a more complex way. She talks about filling shoeboxes with gifts to donate at Christmas as "a normal thing": it's a tradition and part of her family identity. However, when she learnt about global poverty at school "and actually see it, then I would feel really bad and I definitely want to do something about it ... then I think, well we've done this in the past and um, it helps." In this case, an emotional response cannot be said to have led to a specific fundraising action in a straightforward process, rather an emotional response has been laid onto an action that was happening anyway for other reasons.

The extent to which a desire for action driven by an emotional response leads to action seems to be mediated by factors including the strength of the emotional response and whether the logistics or structure are in place to support the young person to take action. As described in Section 6.2.2., emotional responses are strengthened by proximity (either by 'seeing for yourself' or through images) and this in turn relates to the extent to which the emotional response motivates action. For example, Boris felt it was because he "saw for himself" the extent of poverty in India that he began donating to charity and researched the inequality in India on his return. Similarly, for students in further education, meeting people in developing countries increased their enthusiasm for taking action (Bentall and McGough, 2013). This may be because our sense of care, which in turn relates to our moral action, is strongest when there is social proximity between us and is eroded by social distance: "... when such social distance exists, people lose their sense of connection with each other. While this does not inevitably lead to amoral action, it is a context in which moral action does not take on the same sense of urgency we would feel in a situation of greater proximity" (Tormey, 2005, p.11). This principle is illustrated by Flo's response to watching a video about development in class. In that moment she is "really into it" and cannot really remember her life other than the video. She thinks "oh yeah, I'm going to go home and donate to these people straight away". However, this strong feeling, and motivating force, dissipates over time. She explains that "when the video is over and I'm going home and I'm thinking about the things I've got to do that day and I forget, I forget a little bit and it doesn't seem, I don't feel so motivated when I get home".

A second factor which mediates the relationship between emotion and action is the extent to which contextual or logistical factors are in place to support the young person to take an action. For example, Boris' Direct Debit, motivated by how bad and sad he felt about the poverty he saw in India, was clearly facilitated by his parents: Boris did not know the charity to which he was donating, and his parents had set up the donation. This is not to undermine Boris' commitment to the donation he was making, 154

but to highlight that a very specific set of circumstances enabled this relationship between emotion and action. In the same way, a number of participants in this study, although feeling an emotive response to global poverty and development, chose not to take action because of perceived problems with the actions available to them (see below).

This section seems to support the argument that emotional responses include action tendencies (Jarvis, 2006). However, a desire for action was much more common than actual action amongst participants, and the relationship was mediated by factors including the strength of the emotive response and the practical ease of taking an action.

Emotion-motivating action refuted

There is evidence from participants' responses that in some circumstances, young people identify that they are intended to feel an emotional response of concern, guilt or pity and be motivated to take a particular action. However, rather than following this learning process, they actively refute it. Amy, Deborah, Kran and Tom were all quick to identify that through some of their opportunities to learn about global poverty and development, and in particular TV adverts for development charities, they (as learners) are intended to follow a particular process, outlined by Amy and Tom as follows:

"Like I know they are trying to make us like empathise with them and then we feel pity and then we give them money." (Amy)

"they always make it as sad as they can, when they're doing malaria, they always go to a hospital and um, a baby or something has just come in, and then the baby always dies, so to make you give the money to this, it's always the same, a simple little device that can detect malaria, so that it can be treated quickly." (Tom)

This reflects research in New Zealand (Tallon, 2013) which found that young people were aware that NGO images were designed to make them feel guilty in order to elicit action, usually a donation. Participants clearly recognised and questioned the *"coercive power of emotion"* (Tallon, 2013, p.87), both the emotional response and its intended outcome in action. Adult viewers of images of suffering have been found to feel harmed by negative emotions of sadness, despair and anger which they are *"rhetorically manipulated to feel"* (Ferguson, cited in Tallon, 2013, p.34), instead moving to a sense of detachment between the viewer and the subject of the image. There is significant evidence that turning away from a demand that induces guilt is a common psychological tool (Moeller, 1999; Seu, 2010; Cohen, 2001). This may come from the

omnipotent baby in all of us leading to us all, at times, to have a sense of entitlement to have what we want and not to feel guilty about it (Sander and Conway, 2013). We all defend against this guilt in different ways.

Qualitative research around accounts of denial specifically in relation to NGO aid appeals (Seu, 2010) identified three interpretative repertoires used by participants, ways in which they protected themselves against feelings of guilt:

- Finding fault in the message and its perceived manipulation;
- Undermining the messenger;
- Questioning the validity of the suggested action.

Two of Seu's interpretative repertories for defending against an unwelcome emotional response are also evident amongst participants in this study (as outlined in Figure 23). Her second repertoire, undermining the NGO, was indirectly evident through the critiquing of their message and proposed action, but no participant directly undermined the work of an NGO to reject an action.

Critique the	Amy, Deborah, Kran and Tom all identified ways in which NGO
message and its	adverts and campaigns used an emotional response to elicit
perceived	donations.
manipulation	• Deborah and Amy said they were bored by TV NGO adverts,
	because they have "seen it all before" (Deborah) and they are
	"predictable and not informative" (Amy).
	Kran comments on an Oxfam advert of a woman standing in a
	desert holding some grain that "it's sort of distressing, but at the
	same time it doesn't seem that realistic that one woman is going to
	live on her own with no house in the middle of the desert." 20
Critique the	Both Amy and Deborah say they feel angry that the situation seems
suggested action	to be the same, and that they, as school children, are still being
	asked to give money, despite the fact that each year millions of
	pounds are donated through events like Comic Relief.
	• Deborah queries, "is this little money going to help?"

Figure 23. Evidence of Seu's interpretative repertoires amongst participants in this study

Deborah and Amy's view, outlined in Figure 23, that NGO adverts are boring and predictable is starkly echoed in the words of a young person in research into global

²⁰ This is an example of the way in which NGO images use decontextualisation to emphasise the individualisation of poverty (Carr, 2003, p.47). 156

learning in further education (Bentall and McGough, 2013, p.62): *"when I see the charity with the little Asian girl with two buckets of water, I just think, I've been seeing this same advert since I was 5 ... surely either she's dead or okay".*

In her research, Seu (2010) found no evidence for the assumed emotive responses of pity, compassion and empathy, as most of the emotional force by the participants in her study was spent on protecting themselves against these unwelcome emotions. However, given the negative emotional response described by most participants in this study, sometimes in direct relation to NGO adverts (as demonstrated by Kran in Figure 23), I think it is more likely that the use of interpretive repertories by young participants in my research indicates that they *did* experience an emotional response, even in cases where they talk about feeling bored or disinterested. In fact, it seems more likely that this is one of several strategies these young people employed to refute the link between their emotional response (feeling 'sad' or 'shocked', and then often feeling 'guilty') and taking action. In this, I am in agreement with Tallon (2013), who perceived that students in her study *did* feel an emotional response, mostly a feeling of sadness followed by guilt, but they went on to reject that experience and negotiate the demand, commonly moving from guilt to annoyance. As Tallon (2013) reflects, in feeling the need to justify their inaction, young people suggest that they feel they are actually in the wrong not to take action and are taking the blame onto themselves. It is clear that, in some cases where young people's emotional action tendency is exploited, young people use the energy of their emotional response to refute the call to action in different ways.

Action-motivating emotion

Participants' reflections on their learning about global poverty and development also highlighted a feedback loop in the learning process running between action and emotion in which participants had an emotional response to taking action. The majority of participants said they felt 'good' about fundraising or campaigning actions they had taken. For example:

"... thinking how many lives we, we saved with that money, that felt really good." (Jon reflecting on the comedy show he and his friends put on for Comic Relief)

"I always like to donate because it makes us feel good" (Flo)

In turn, this positive feeling may contribute to motivating future action. For example, Boris says he would like to volunteer in Africa because *"I'd be kind of helping people and I'm still kind of benefiting from it because it just makes you feel like really good if* 157 you're helping someone else because you get a kind of buzz out of it, like I get a bit of a buzz from already giving money [to charity]'.

Inaction can also motivate emotion: Kay was unable to donate much money due to her family's economic circumstances, and this left her feeling upset and disappointed that she *"can't give them [people living in poverty] much money"*. Tallon (2013) notes from her research with Year 10 media studies students in New Zealand, that there was a tangible tension between wanting to help people living in poverty, and yet not being able to do so.

This section has demonstrated a strong relationship between emotion and action, which supports Jarvis' (2006) argument that emotional responses include action tendencies. However, emotion more often leads to a desire to act than an actual action and the relationship depends on factors including the strength of the emotion and the practical ease of taking an action. In addition, participants in this study sometimes defended themselves against the strength of their emotional response to global poverty by undermining the messages they received and courses of action proposed to them. Their need to defend themselves in this way seems to evidence a strong relationship between emotion and action. A relationship between action and emotion was also identified with some participants feeling good about actions they have taken. However, at least one participant felt bad about an action she was not able to take, and this highlights the potential for unintended or unexpected emotional responses in any global education activity involving action.

6.5.2. Relationship between reflection on self and action

Theories of identity are premised with the relationship between reflection on self and action: *"to have an identity is to see yourself as a rationale agent – as one who acts on the basis of beliefs and values of your own"* (Moshman, 2005, p.121). As already touched on in Section 6.3.3., outlining reflections on self in the data, there is certainly some evidence from participants' descriptions of their learning that their sense of self is part of their motivation to take action, and particularly to take fundraising and campaigning actions.

As identified in Section 6.3.3., six of the nine participants in this research identified themselves as 'lucky' in relation to those living in poverty in developing countries, and this sense of self in relation to the poor 'Other' often related to action. For example, Kay looks at people living in poverty in adverts on TV and thinks *"how lucky I am to be here"*

and how much she would *"like to raise money for them"*. Nina is motivated by a sense of how 'lucky' her life is in relation to others. Although she is very active in campaigning and fundraising activities, she doesn't identify this sense of fortune as a motivating factor for this, but instead it motivates her to *"take every opportunity"* available to her, for example by taking her education seriously.

Section 6.3.3. also sets out the way in which four participants saw a relationship between their family identity and their involvement in campaigning and fundraising activities aimed at alleviating poverty. For example, Flo explains that she sees making up shoeboxes of gifts as a family tradition. Both Nina and Jon describe feeling a 'duty' or 'obligation' (Jon), or a 'responsibility' (Nina) as a human to give money, or take other action. Jon describes how this obligation is something he feels in himself.

It is important to note that a sense of self as 'lucky' or 'responsible' does not clearly motivate action for all participants. For example, Tom talks about feeling lucky to live in a developed country but does not obviously act on this. Kran talks about his father's Christianity influencing his sense of unfairness at inequality, but again does not talk about personal action he has taken as a result.

These various clues indicate some role of identity in motivating action in the process of learning about global poverty and development. However, there was limited evidence that this relationship is significant the other way around: that taking action leads participants to reflect on their sense of themselves. The exception is Flo's reflection that through giving to a charity like Send a Cow she has learnt that she can make a difference. This is resonant with Asbrand's work with young people learning about globalisation and development. She found that young people who volunteered in organisations outside school felt certain about their knowledge and clear about their options for acting in a complex world society. She describes these young people as having *"a self-image of being active"* (Asbrand, 2008, p.37), which Flo may have through her fundraising at home and school.

It is also worth noting that, whilst I have referred to 'feeling good' about fundraising or campaigning as evidence of the relationship between action and emotion, it is likely that part of this positive feeling is young people feeling good *about themselves*. In this light, taking action may lead to individuals reflecting differently on themselves as agents of positive change.

6.5.3. Relationship between emotion and reflection on self

Jarvis' (2006) model illustrates a relationship between emotion and reflection. In this study, reflection on self is understood to be a significant element of reflection, and Cell's (1984) argument that emotions revolve around our own sense of self-worth or self-esteem is therefore relevant. Cell states that underlying emotions are judgements that we make in relation to ourselves, and that emotions are therefore functional in responding to our need for self-worth. For example, we feel anger or fear when we judge that our physical environment is threatened; love or jealousy when we judge we need intimacy. However, the relationship between reflection on self and emotion is not as strongly evident in participants' perceptions of their learning as other feedback processes. Where it is apparent in the data, it is also strongly related to action. For example, Nina talks interchangeably about her passion (emotion) and her responsibility (part of her sense of self) for change (action). She explains that she feels sorry for people living in poverty, and it is this that makes her realise "I have to do something, as a person it's my responsibility". For Nina, the relationship between identity and emotion feeds both ways: she feels sad about global poverty and this makes her feel a responsibility to make a difference; and her sense of passion and responsibility means that she feels bad for people.

For some participants, a sense of sadness leads them to reflect on their place in the world and feel lucky. Flo says that learning about the lives of people living in poverty makes her feel *"really sad I think, but also really lucky that I live here, so I don't have to worry about those things"*. Boris found witnessing poverty on the streets in India and learning more about inequality in the country really sad. Both learning opportunities made him feel *"lucky to live in a country like this because we could still be well off in India, but there would still be that much of a difference"*. This sense of luck or gratitude, following sadness, is reflected amongst the Year 10 students in Tallon's study (2013). For her, this sense of feeling 'lucky' is part of a process through which young people construct their identities as superior to those living in poverty (explored in more detail in Section 6.3.3.):

"Firstly, they expressed shock or disbelief at the chaos of life 'over there', followed by a feeling of sadness or pity. Secondly, they held a reflective sense of gratitude that they were not in the same situation ...This confirms that they saw the developing world largely through a framework of deficiency in 'they lack what we have'. By this process, this accentuating of difference, I argue that the young people have begun to construct their identities, as superior, lucky and as possible benefactors." (Tallon, 2013, p.87)

Bringing Tallon's (2013) research and Cell's (1984) theoretical approach to the relationship between identity and emotion together, it could be argued that feelings of pity or guilt at another's suffering are a way to affirm the worth of our own situation, or a need to feel superior.

6.5.4. Summary of feedback between emotion, reflection and action

This section has explored the complex relationships between emotion, reflection and action depicted in Figure 22 through multiple double-headed arrows. In doing so it has addressed research question 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning? A strong relationship between emotion and action has been highlighted, although one which is sometimes outright refuted by participants, and mediated by factors such as proximity and logistical ease of action. There was also some evidence of other relationships, for example, of young people's identifications as lucky or responsible leading to action, and of feeling sad leading to a sense of luck and gratitude. I do not think that this relatively limited mapping of the multiple possible relationships between emotion, action and reflection negates Jarvis' depiction of these interconnections, but rather reflects the limitations of the data and of this study (see Section 7.4.).

6.6. Adapting Jarvis' model of learning process in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development

In this chapter I have explored the application of Jarvis' (2006) model of learning process to the research participants' accounts of their learning. I have demonstrated that, as modelled by Jarvis, young people respond to learning about global poverty and development behaviourally, emotionally and in terms of reflecting on poverty and themselves. These three dimensions of emotion, thought/reflection and action interact, feeding into each other in different ways in the process of learning. I would therefore argue that Jarvis' model *is* a useful way to help us understand and explore young people's learning about global poverty and development. However, there are a number of ways in which Jarvis' model does not fully reflect the strength, type or relationship of young people's responses to global poverty and development. I explore these differences between the data and Jarvis' model in the rest of this section and I have represented them as slight adaptations to Jarvis' model in Figure 24.

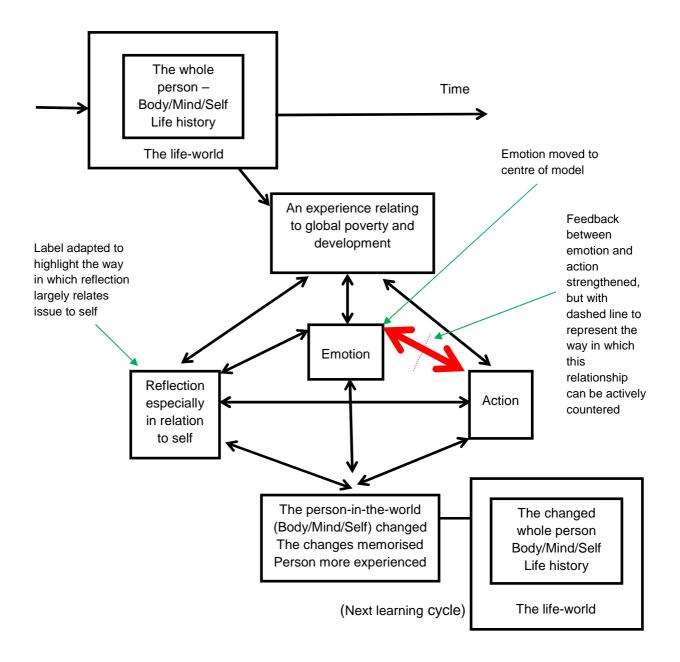
I have placed emotion at the centre and top of the three responses (in the place where thought/reflection sits in Jarvis' original). As described in Section 6.2., emotion played a significant part in the response participants in this study had to learning about global

poverty and development. This was in terms of the strength of response, its significance in relation to reflection and action, and also its immediacy. Jarvis (2012a) himself struggled with the relative placing of the three responses in this diagram. He stated that by placing thought in the centre, his model emphasised the cognitive dimension to learning, when in fact all three domains have a significant role to play in learning. Jarvis goes on to state that *"learning to feel"* is still an underplayed dimension in our understanding of human learning (Jarvis, 2012a, p.3). This study demonstrates that emotion is significant in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development, and correspondingly emotion should be prioritised diagrammatically.

I have adapted Jarvis' label of the cognitive dimension of learning from 'Thought/reflection' to 'Reflection, especially on self'. This reflects the way in which the research participants' points of view about global poverty and development were closely related to their reflections on themselves. Fairly little reflection that was not explicitly related to self was evident, and young people moved quickly from one to the other. Again, this is not a significant departure from Jarvis' (2006) work: he emphasises learning as a process through which we integrate experiences into our biography and learn to be ourselves. In later work, Jarvis (2012a) himself notes that the way in which he pictures learning is overly simple, failing to draw out the complex relationships between the self and the experience.

Finally, I have made the connecting arrow between emotion and action wider than the other connecting arrows, emphasising its significance, but also added a dotted line across it, to indicate that this connection can be easily broken. As described in Section 6.2.2., a psychological perspective shows us that there is a strong link, based on our earliest human experiences, between emotion and action. This link is the premise of much NGO advertising and campaigning, since NGO images often produce emotion first (Manzo, 2006), and is reflected in the responses of young people in this study. It is no surprise that Jarvis (2006) describes emotion as including an action tendency and argues that the affective dimension of learning is one of two factors likely to provide the motivation or pressure to act on an experience, the other being disjuncture between life history and experience. However, the immediacy and strength of this relationship between an emotional and behavioural response to global poverty and development also means that it is brittle and easily refuted by individuals. Section 6.5.1. describes the way in which many of the young people in this study used their emotional response to refute the need for action, instead using their emotional response to defend their lack of action.

Figure 24. The process of learning about global poverty and development (Adapted from Jarvis, 2006, p.23)



There are benefits, implications and limitations to applying Jarvis' model to young people's learning about global poverty and development in this way, and these are explored further in Chapter 7.

6.7. Summary

In this chapter I have used the empirical data of this study to explore the application of Jarvis' model of the transformation of the person through learning to young people's learning about global poverty and development. Chapter 5 identified three key ways in

which young people respond to opportunities to learn in relation to global poverty and development: emotion, action and reflection on self (research question 1). This chapter explored these responses further in the context of Jarvis' model, and in line with this model explored young people's reflective response more widely (including reflection on global poverty and development as well as reflection on self).

This chapter also looked more closely at the way in which emotion, action and reflection interact, addressing research question 2: How are young people's responses to global poverty and development interconnected in the process of learning? The evidence in this chapter hints at the complex relationships between emotion, reflection and action in young people's learning processes, represented in Jarvis' model by the double-headed arrows between each response or dimension of the learning process. Whilst it was not possible to map fully these complex routes in the process through which young people learn about global poverty and development, a particularly strong relationship between emotion and action was identified. However, due to its strength, this response is also one that is brittle and prone to being refuted by young people when they feel coerced into action.

I argue that Jarvis' model is a useful way to model young people's learning processes in relation to global poverty and development, but also propose an adapted model which more closely reflects the learning processes evident in the empirical data. This adapted model highlights the significance of young people's emotional response to learning about global poverty, the relationship of this response to a behavioural or action response, and also the significance of young people's reflection on themselves in relation to global poverty and development. Young people's emotion, their identity and their behavioural response are also particularly significant themes within global education discourses. In presenting this model, I therefore address research question 3: How can young people's learning be modelled in a way that is relevant to global education?

Chapter 7: Modelling of young people's learning about global poverty and development: implications and limitations

7.1. Introduction

As described in Chapter 2, theories of learning process are not widely applied in global education discourse, and before this research, never directly to young people's perceptions of learning about global poverty and development. Chapter 6 has demonstrated that Jarvis' (2006) model of learning process, resonant as it is with existing themes within global education discourse and practice, and within research participants' accounts of learning, is a useful way to model and explore young people's learning about global poverty and development.

The academic context of this research and the personal context of the researcher are the discourses and practices of global education. This chapter therefore focuses on the implications of this study for research and practice within global education, although also indicates some possible wider implications. The first section explores the implications of this study's application and adaptation of Jarvis' model for other researchers, the second, the implications of this research and the use of Jarvis' model to explore young people's learning about global poverty and development. In doing so, this chapter addresses research question 4: What are the benefits, limitations and implications of a model of learning for global education practitioners and researchers?

7.2. Implications for research

In this section, I argue that this study demonstrates that Jarvis' model (drawn from studies of lifelong learning and applied to adults) can have useful application to young people's learning; that this model, along with my adapted model, may be usefully applied to the learning of individuals in other contexts and on other topics within global education; and finally that Jarvis' model, and my adapted model, could usefully be complemented by research applying other models of learning theory.

7.2.1. Applying Jarvis' model to young people

Jarvis' model was developed through interviews with over 200 adults, and has not to his or my knowledge, previously been applied to young people (Jarvis, 2014). His theory is of lifelong learning, not specifically adult learning, and he holds the view that *"we should not seek to regard children's learning ... as necessarily different from adult learning"* (Jarvis, 2006, p.4). The discussion in Chapter 6 demonstrates that Jarvis' model is relevant to the learning of young people aged 12–15 and useful in exploring their processes of learning about global poverty and development. Applying his model in this way helps tackle the tendency to conflate the social institution of formal education with a developmental stage (Brooks, 2012), and discourses of young people's learning with discussions of pedagogy.

This is not to refute existing or future evidence that there may be differences in some dimensions of learning between young people and adults (e.g. in neurological functioning). Indeed, whilst Jarvis' model is useful in exploring the learning of the 12–15 year-olds in this study, and could be usefully applied to learning amongst younger age groups, I think it is likely that amongst very young children Jarvis' model will be less applicable or, as a whole, unapplicable or useful. Jarvis himself, whilst not generally arguing against strong distinctions between adults' and children's learning, posits that amongst young children, what he terms 'initial learning' will be dominant, which is predominantly non-reflective. It is beyond the scope of this study, but a question of interest for future research, when this transition from initial to post-initial learning is made.

This thesis is firmly rooted in the context of global education. However, in applying Jarvis' model to young people's learning it has a potential contribution to make to broader debates about young people's learning and the way in which individuals learn to be themselves in the complex modern world. Conceptions of young people's learning needs have changed over time, with notions such as a discrete transition between education and work challenged by the changing and complex nature of young people's lives (Brooks, 2012). At the same time, there is significant evidence that the way in which young people learn to be themselves is impacted by the flows of globalisations (France, 2007; Polak, 2007; Wyn and White, 1997; Miles, 2000; Nayak, 2003; Buckingham, 2008), but is also highly individual and strongly related to local place (Nayak, 2003). The complexity of learning means that these references are only indicative of diverse ways in which researchers look to understand young people's learning. This research brings another voice to these debates, and offers a different

way to approach young people's learning, one with a focus on learning process and a broad perspective on the way in which young people respond to opportunities to learn.

7.2.2. Applying the model to other learners and issues

The details of individuals' learning varied between participants in this study: they did not all have the same emotional, reflective or behavioural responses, and they did not move between these dimensions in the same way. However, individually and as a group, Jarvis' (2006) model was useful in framing and exploring the process through which they learnt about global poverty and development. I was able to extend theoretically beyond the empirical setting (Brown and Dowling, 1998) by suggesting a range of adaptations to Jarvis' model. I would argue that this adapted theorisation of the learning process in relation to global poverty and development has theoretical relevance to individuals of different age groups, in different contexts (whether within England or beyond), and in relation to global challenges related to global poverty and development, for example, environmental degradation, climate change and conflict.

The details of individuals' emotional, reflective and behavioural responses to specific issues and in specific times and places will vary, and my adapted model offers a frame to explore these interesting variations, and one which has been more closely tailored to learning about global challenges than Jarvis' original model. In doing so, it may impose on the way in which the world is interpreted on subsequent occasions (Brown and Dowling, 1998). This is not to detract from the ways in which learning about global poverty and development in England is specific. For example, in England we have highly visible NGO fundraising and campaigning (Dogra, 2012). A decade ago, 80% of the British public strongly associated the developing world with doom-laden images of famine, disaster and Western aid (Voluntary Service Overseas, 2001), and a charitable approach to engaging with development was reflected in schools (Smith, 2004b). This very likely contributed to a strong relationship between emotion and action amongst participants in this research, but one also refuted by participants where external pressure for action was put on them.

However, I have explored the way in which emotions can be understood as having action tendencies (Jarvis, 2006), and described a theoretically strong relationship between emotion and action. In this case, this is demonstrated in the empirical evidence as a relationship between feeling sad and bad on witnessing the suffering of others, and doing, or wanting to do, something about it. Within a different national context, or in relation to another global issue, where use of emotive NGO imagery and

a charitable mentality are less relevant, I predict that this relationship between emotion and action will still remain, but may involve other emotions and forms of action. Therefore, whilst the data of this research is unique to this study, the theoretical finding of the research, the adapted model of learning about global poverty and development, could be usefully applied to other people, contexts and issues. Such an exploration of variation in the emphasis and pattern of learning process between different national contexts and issues would be fascinating.

If such studies took place, I would be particularly interested in a focus on the relationship between the responses of emotion, reflection and action. These were explored to some extent in this study, with a relationship between emotion and action particularly evident, but the complexity of interrelationships only hinted at. In addition, this research demonstrated that such theorised and intended relationships can be refuted. For example, where participants' emotional action tendency was exploited, some young people used the energy of their emotional response to refute the call to action in different ways, and this is likely to feed back into learning in ways that were not fully explored here. Additional research into the way in which responses interrelate and drive the process of learning, and where they do not, would be insightful.

7.2.3. Relationship of the model to other theories of learning

Whilst I have made a strong argument for using Jarvis' (2006) model of learning process to explore learning about global poverty and development, I do not argue that this should be to the exclusion of other theories of learning. This section particularly explores the relationship with transformative learning theory, since, to date, this is the only other theory of learning explored in any depth in global education discourses.

Transformative learning is a demanding learning process that changes personality or identity and occurs through circumstances of profound significance to the learner (Illeris, 2009). Such shifts in identity through learning about global poverty and development are not widely evident amongst the learning of participants in this research about global poverty and development. However, there is one example of learning in the data of this study which could be seen as involving this deep shift (although transformative learning theory was not applied in any detail to establish if this was the case). This exception is Boris' learning through two visits to India, which Boris felt were the most important way in which he had learnt about global poverty and development. His trips, especially the first one to North India, were intense and memorable, and he explains that they made him think a lot more about what he does,

motivating him to carry out more research himself, to try to consume less and to donate money to a charity. It is interesting that the only possible transformation identified in a study of further education students' engagement with global learning (Bentall and McGough, 2013) was amongst those who had travelled to a developing country. These students described their experiences as life-changing and felt a desire to respond to global poverty differently, challenging other people's perceptions that poor people cannot help themselves and *"helping properly, as opposed to just giving money"* (Bentall and McGough, 2013, p.61).

Jarvis (2006) describes learning process as the transformation of the person through learning, although his approach suggests that such transformation can be iterative and cyclical, not solely the deep shift of transformative learning. Not only that, but Jarvis' model of learning allows for *any* change in the learner, not just the shift towards becoming the critical, socially responsible decision-maker of transformative learning. In being more open, Jarvis' understanding of learning process captures more of the learning described by participants in this study than transformative learning theory is able to.

However, there are strong common themes between Jarvis' theory and transformative learning theory, including an interest in action. Action is significant in transformative learning as learning leads us to better understand "*how to negotiate and act upon our own purposes, values, feelings and meanings, rather than those we have uncritically assimilated from others – to gain greater control over our lives as socially responsible, clear-thinking decision makers*" (Mezirow, 2000, p.8).

My adapted version of Jarvis' model and transformative learning theory do not therefore need to be applied to the exclusion of each other in understanding learning. Indeed, to understand the complexity of learning we need to take multiple approaches, since all theories of learning are incomplete. This research has evidenced that the application of learning theory can be insightful, and I would be hugely interested to see the application of a range of other learning theories to young people's learning about global poverty and development. As described in Chapter 4, this research took an individual or subject-centred constructivist approach to learning, but in doing so focuses away from, rather than negates the significance of the social construction of public narratives and bodies of knowledge. I would be very interested in research that looks at the way in which public narratives reflected in schools in England (see Smith, 1999, 2004a) are reflected in young people's understandings of development and the process through which such social learning relates to individual sense-making.

An increased research focus on learning process would not only be interesting in its own right, but would also lessen the focus of educational researchers and global education project evaluations on specific, pre-determined learning outcomes. This study has evidenced the way in which young people's learning is complex, and can include unexpected and unintended learning. Results-focused evaluation, though often required by funders, only serves to close down questions around young people's learning and can fail to recognise the complexity of learning. Whilst it is necessary for an evaluation to have a clear framework I believe it is also possible to include the opportunity for more open questions and an interest in unexpected outcomes.

7.3. Implications for global educators

Emotion, action, behaviour, and the individual learner are all themes that are already apparent, to differing extents, within global education discourses and practice.

For example, Tallon (2013) uses empirical data to highlight young people's emotional response to images of poverty, Andreotti's work argues for the importance of critical thinking and reflection in global education (Andreotti and de Souza, 2008; Andreotti and Warwick, 2007), and Weber identifies a strong focus in NGO education work, an important influence on global education in England, on short-term fundraising and campaigning actions. This research highlights the way in which all three are important dimensions of young people's learning. This section takes each in turn (mindful of the way each connects to other responses) and explores what this study might add to global educators' understanding of young people's learning and any implications for their pedagogical practice.

Used broadly, the term global educator covers a range of people and organisations: from teachers, to school senior leaders, to publishers, to policy makers. The implications and suggestions for practice outlined here are, unless specified, directed at classroom practitioners working directly with young people and developing and adapting their own material and programmes of study. In all cases, other individuals and bodies have a role to play in enabling a school and classroom context in which the implications of this research can be explored by practitioners. For example, senior leaders have a role in supporting their staff; publishers in producing relevant teaching resources and suggested curricula; and policy makers in enabling a conducive policy environment and initiatives. For ease of reading, these supportive roles are assumed. However, where the research has clear implications for the current actions of specific groups or organisations in the field of global education, these are specified and explored in more detail below.

7.3.1. Significance of emotion in learning

As highlighted in Chapter 2, emotion is already a theme within existing empirical research into young people's learning in relation to global poverty and development. In particular, Tallon (2013) highlights the emotional responses to NGO imagery of Year 10 students in New Zealand. There is also evidence of an awareness of the significance of emotion amongst global education theorists and educators, including arguments for emotion to have a place in the "taxonomies of objectives" (Tormey, 2005, p.10) of global educators; for an affective domain of global education (Marshall, 2005; Hicks, 2007b); for awareness that discomfort is an issue for young people engaging with global education (Bentall and McGough, 2013); and for consideration of empathy and passion in a pedagogy of development education (Bourn, 2014). The significance of emotion as a response to global poverty amongst participants in this research is a reminder to global educators of these arguments, particularly useful to those of us who work in schools, since emotion is often markedly absent from broader discourses on education. Education is more often positioned as a rational, abstract process, "uncontaminated" by emotion (Kenway and Youdell, 2011, p.132). In fact, research increasingly highlights the ways emotion is produced in education (Kenway and Youdell, 2011), can act as a locus of control (Boler, 1999), and how emotional labour is a significant part of the work of teachers (Schutz and Zemblyas, 2009). Far from being places that are devoid of emotions, classrooms are full of a complex variety of emotions (Felman, 1982; Zembylas and Chubbuck, 2009; Tallon, 2013). Indeed, to think of one's own education is to enter a "timeless affected world" (Britzman, 2009, p. 1).

We should be particularly aware, both in and beyond formal and informal education, of the role of images (both still and moving) in eliciting emotion. Jarvis (2006, p.64) describes the significance of images in the media to increase what we can learn beyond a local context, but that this learning is of a particular nature: *"We can learn – perhaps more of the emotion – as a result of the media".* As global educators we have as a historical backdrop Lissner's (1977) study of NGO media and its reproduction of colonial stereotypes of a dark continent of misery and hunger. He describes NGO imagery as producing an emotional response in adults that all but drowns out other

learning. The young people in this research talked about images, TV, and going to 'see for yourself', as providing significant and memorable learning opportunities for them, and this is likely to be in part due to the emotive nature of such learning.

Being aware of the possible emotional responses of our students, how should teachers respond? There are different approaches to emotion within global education practice and research. Todd (2003) looks at how guilt and empathy about the poor or vulnerable 'Other' is used to consolidate or support learning, with students morally pressured into particular emotional responses. However, Brown (2013, p.174) found that all of the NGO workers she interviewed in Spain and in the UK disagreed with the following statement:

"Development education should aim to make learners feel guilt and outrage about injustice in order to provoke behavioural change and encourage individuals to take action against injustice."

Instead, they said they aimed to work with positive emotions to lead to a more sustained engagement with complexity.

Exploring social justice education, Zembylas and Chubbuck (2009) argue that emotions can disrupt or enable an individual's pursuit of social justice. They give the example of Sara, a novice white teacher in a large multicultural school in America whose emotions of anxiety, guilt, and self-doubt served as a vehicle to help her continually reflect on her teaching for social justice. In this way, negative emotions can be seen as necessary and productive in responding to social injustice (Callahan, 2004; Zembylas and Chubbuck, 2009). However, Tallon (2012a) criticises the practice of moving students quickly from emotive imagery to predetermined actions (such as filling shoeboxes with gifts), because it quickly salves any guilt that may have surfaced in the learner.

The challenge for global educators, therefore, is to support young people to become more aware of their own emotions in response to global poverty and development and of the relationship between emotion and social processes. At the same time, they must avoid manipulation of emotion as an enactment of power (Callahan, 2004). Engendering feelings of guilt, sadness and anger can equip young people to effect social change (Chizhik and Chizhik, 2002; Callahan, 2004; Zembylas and Chubbuck, 2009), but stirring up these emotions and then not managing them can cause damage (Callahan, 2004), and 'discharging' them too quickly can limit young people's learning and any real societal transformation (Tallon, 2012a). This is clearly a huge challenge for global educators, perhaps the biggest challenge currently within the English context. There are no easy answers, and it clearly requires much further research, exploration and debate by all individuals and organisations involved in global education.

Much clearer to me are the implications of this research for NGOs, and particularly the fundraising departments of those that produce advertising campaigns intended to elicit negative emotions of sadness and guilt, linked closely with specific fundraising actions. The evidence from this research suggests that such campaigns are not engaging young people's emotions in relation to global poverty in a way that positions them to bring about social change. Section 6.5.1. describes the way in which some participants in this study defended themselves against negative feelings engendered by NGO campaigns and adverts by undermining the messages about global poverty they received and courses of action proposed to them. Over the period I have written this thesis, television advertising by Save the Children, and advertisements on tubes and trains from Plan UK²¹, have particularly elicited feelings of sadness and guilt in me. Such advertising is ubiquitous, and was mentioned by all young people in this study. This research has important implications for the fundraising departments of such NGOs, and NGO education departments producing teaching materials relating to fundraising and campaigning targets (Weber, 2014). Firstly, it highlights that such campaigns may be identified as manipulative by young people, fail to enlist them as supporters of current fundraising targets, and may even leave them feeling angry towards the charities. Secondly, this and other research (Tallon, 2013), suggests that we do not fully understand the complex emotional responses of young people as they seek to evade taking part in actions or activities with which they do not feel comfortable.

As identified above, emotion will always be part of the process of learning about global poverty and development, and there are arguments from literature relating to global social justice that negative emotions can have an important role in social action. However, this research indicates that the prevalence of advertisements which swiftly elicit strong negative emotions, in a decontextualized manner, and lead the viewer directly to consider specific pre-determined fundraising actions, are not engaging young people to bring about change, and may reinforce a sense of superiority in relation to the 'Other'. This must be of concern to global educators, including those who work in NGOs. Today's young people are a significant demographic, both today and in

²¹ Save the Children is an international children's charity based in the UK, and Plan is an international development charity with UK offices.

the future, in working to tackle global inequalities. If NGO campaigning relying on negative emotions is both ineffective amongst many in this age group, and has consequences for their learning about global poverty and development, it is time for such NGOs to rethink their approach to campaigning. Bond (the umbrella body for international development NGOs) has begun some interesting thinking in this area (Bond, forthcoming). Whilst such campaigns continue, I believe that it is important for classroom global educators to be directly addressing NGO advertising with young people, how such adverts make them feel, and the relationship between emotion and social change.

What this research highlights is that, regardless of the intention of the educator, young people are very likely to respond emotionally, in different ways, to learning about global poverty and development. I would argue that it is important for educators not only to be aware of this, but also to respond when possible by allowing young people to explore their feelings and anxieties, whether that be through talk, or for younger children, drawing and play (Sander and Conway, 2013). However, it is worth noting that supporting dialogue about emotions, though important, is likely an insufficient pedagogical response, since talk can serve to intensify emotional responses (Callahan, 2004). Collaboration between psychologists and global educators can be productive in identifying overlap between pedagogical and therapeutic techniques (including drawing, play and other structured activities) to support young people to work through their emotions (Sander and Conway, 2013).

7.3.2. Significance of reflection

As highlighted in Chapter 2, young people's identity, their reflection on self, is a theme in evidence in existing research into learning about global poverty and development. This research strengthens this body, highlighting that young people rarely develop understandings without relating these to themselves. What this means varies from individual to individual. Some young people in this study discussed themselves in relation to global poverty and development in ways that are resonant with global citizenship discourses: they felt a duty or obligation to those less fortunate than themselves. Others saw themselves as 'lucky', or as curious individuals who sought to find out more about issues of interest to them and in doing so contributed to their sense of self. I also think that it is highly likely that young people's learning about global poverty and development is related to elements of identity which were not accessible in this research, such as self-confidence and self-worth (for more on this issue, see Section 7.4.).

Some commentators within global education argue that the present generation of adolescents are more focused on themselves, and consequently less on the world around them, than previous generations (see e.g. Spangenberg and Lampert, cited in Gent, Carabain, De Goede, Boonstoppel and Hogeling, 2013, p.71). I would say that the young people in this study were all active in incorporating a relationship to global poverty and development into their understanding of self. In that sense they were all engaged with the world around them, but perhaps not in the way that such commentators mean, for example, through commitment to change through prescribed fundraising, consumption and campaigning actions.

Theories of motivation (to learn or to take other action) all focus on the need of the individual to self-actualise (Jarvis, 2006), and it is clear that how and whether young people respond behaviourally to learning about global poverty and development will be significantly informed by their identity and sense of self. Chapter 6 describes just such a relationship between identity and action evident in the empirical data of this research. For global education practitioners with a particular focus on engendering action, considering young people's identity may therefore be relevant. Research linking practical approaches to global education such as volunteering and *"a self-image of being active"* (Asbrand, 2008) points to one approach. I would argue that for all global educators, it is useful to be aware that learners will be relating what they learn to themselves in different ways. Acknowledging this, and supporting students to relate to global poverty and development.

Jarvis' model of learning process has a place for reflection beyond that on self, and one dimension of participants' knowledge, that of global poverty and development, is explored in Chapter 6. Implications of this research for the way in which global educators understand the cognitive or reflective dimension of learning process are timely, since a historical emphasis in global education discourses on the development of skills has more recently seen a swing back towards a discourse around knowledge (see e.g. Lambert and Morgan, 2011). This may in part relate to the influence of the Brazilian educator Andreotti (2010) with her focus on the cognitive and epistemological dimension to learning. It also corresponds to education discourses more broadly where cognition (thinking, knowing, and the acquisition of knowledge) is predominant, an approach taken by the slimmed-down and knowledge-based National Curriculum of the coalition government (Bourn, 2014). Through its focus on learning process rather than

outcomes, Jarvis' theory of learning and its application in this study helps us to consider cognition from a broad perspective, resulting in a better understanding of young people's learning in three main ways.

Firstly, I found that, from the perspective of learning process, it can be helpful to consider knowledge together with beliefs, values, attitudes and opinions (Mezirow, 2000; Jarvis, 2006). For example, Jarvis argues that the point of distinction between knowledge and beliefs is legitimation to truth, a distinction the learner may not be able to, or may not, make. Indeed, he notes that a key difference between knowledge and beliefs is that we are often far more committed to beliefs than we are to knowledge! (Jarvis, 2006, p.95). For the learner, the process of constructing knowledge and beliefs and incorporating them into our biography is the same, and we develop these in an integrated way rather than discretely (Jarvis, 2006). It is a useful reminder that although as educators we may distinguish knowledge as 'fact', the learner may well be developing beliefs, values and attitudes at the same time, and may distinguish little between these groups of understanding. I suggest that, since this is likely to be happening in our classrooms, we would do well to support students to acknowledge and explore these understandings.

Secondly, Jarvis' work on learning highlights that the understandings an individual constructs through an opportunity to learn are unlikely to be exactly the knowledge the teacher sought to impart. Indeed, Jarvis (2006) argues for distinguishing between facts and data, which are external to the individual, and may represent another person's knowledge, and knowledge which is always personal, known and subjective. This is a useful reminder that as educators we cannot entirely control the understandings young people develop.

Thirdly, Jarvis' theory reminds us that cognitive responses to learning, and thinking and knowing, are only one dimension to the learning process. This is useful because a focus on critical thinking and independent thought in the learning process has become dominant within global education in recent years (Brown, 2014). In particular, the work of Andreotti (2010) has been significant in bringing a post-colonial lens to global education in England, and emphasising critical literacy and dialogue as a potential way to prevent reinforcing stereotypes. However, this research usefully reminds us that young people's cognitive processes are just one dimension of their learning, which also includes emotive and behavioural responses. In responding to this, the notion of critical emotional praxis (Zembylas and Chubbuck, 2009) may be particularly relevant to

academics and educators working in global education in the English context. They argue that understandings of social justice and social norms of privilege and injustice are both formed by, and illicit, emotion. Enabling the former and challenging the latter requires emotional awareness and forging new emotional relationships.

A purely cognitive approach to critical theory is not sufficient to enable change, because it does not allow the learner to question strongly held, emotive beliefs, or understand the way in which emotions shape contexts and societal structures (Callahan, 2004; Zembylas and Cubbuck, 2009). This message is important, not only for practitioners of global education, but for decision-makers within schools, academy chains, local authorities and central government. As mentioned above, led by the coalition government's Department for Education, current educational discourse focuses on cognition and a narrow understanding of knowledge. For education to enable young people to respond to global inequality, but also inequality within the classroom and local communities, for education to serve as a vehicle for societal transformation rather than repression, all those involved in it must question the creation of a dichotomy between emotion and reason (Denzin, 2009).

7.3.3. Significance of action in learning

In Chapter 2, action for change was identified as a dominant underlying theme throughout global education (Bourn, 2008; Brown, 2013). However, opinion on the role of action in global education is strongly divided. Broadly, in their educative work many development NGOs emphasise short-term fundraising and campaigning actions, whilst academic responses are more wary of the place of action. For example, classroom resources such as ActionAid (2003) and Oxfam (2006) call for action, and interviews with NGO staff found a strong tendency to associate deeper learning and engagement with action, and to prioritise this type of learning (Bourn and Brown, 2011). On the other hand, academics such as Bryan and Bracken (2011) argue for separating the specific action of fundraising entirely from learning about global poverty and development because of concerns that such activities prevent young people from fully understanding the problem or challenging their own assumptions. NGO activities such as shoebox filling can be critiqued for the way they *"fit around the consumer, the Northern student, fit into their timetable and curriculum and are designed to be a sacrifice that is bearable and not without results"* (Tallon, 2012a, p.8).

Jarvis' (2006) model of learning process identifies action as playing a key role in learning: we transform experiences not just by thinking about them but by doing

something about them. The significance of action as a response in the learning process was reflected in the empirical data of this study (see Chapters 5 and 6). This research highlights, therefore, the significance of action in the process of learning about global poverty and development and reminds us that, whatever our intention as educators, young people are likely to be taking action, or choosing inaction, as part of their learning.

Moreover, Jarvis argues that action is not a logical result of an experience, it must be motivated either by the emotional response to the experience, or by the individual seeking to act on the disjuncture they have experienced. A strong emotive response to global poverty and development was identified amongst participants in this study, as well as a strong relationship between this response and action. One young person also specifically commented on the negative emotions they experienced after not being able to take action. It could therefore be argued that in removing action as an option, we leave young people with emotions they may not know what to 'do' with. Conversely, taking action can provide young people with a sense of agency to control and mitigate their anxious feelings about powerlessness and helplessness, and fulfil a deep-seated need to take reparative action (Sander and Conway, 2013), However, this is not to counter analyses of actions such as fundraising as perpetuating colonial stereotypes and offering quick-fixes aligned with consumer culture (Andreotti, 2008; Chouliaraki, 2010; Tallon, 2013). There is clearly a danger that supporting students to act can quickly mean to "empower individuals to act (or become active citizens) according to what has been defined for them as good" (Andreotti and Warwick, 2007, p.5).

I would strongly argue that whilst action does have a place in learning about global poverty and development, global educators need to see action in a much broader sense, as reflected in the behavioural responses of young people in this study. This is an important counter to NGO global education programming in the UK, which has shifted in recent years towards an emphasis on short-term outcomes such as fundraising and advocacy actions (Weber, 2014). In contrast, action as part of learning can mean listening, sharing, learning more, talking to someone else about an issue, posting on Facebook, or, indeed, actively choosing to do nothing.

Action as part of learning process is also best understood as a process itself, a rolling variety of imperfect behaviour changes, rather than a one-off quick-fix solution. Keeping this broad view of action is a particular challenge for global educators in the current context of prevalent NGO campaigning offering tangible, easy solutions, and

the reality that we do not know what action for real social change may look like. However, by keeping a broad view on action as part of the learning process, we keep the door open on the transformative social action which is at the heart of global education (Brown, 2013). Understanding that action is only one dimension of learning is useful for debates relating to young people as global citizens, in which global citizenship and youth activism can be used synonymously (Bourn and Brown, 2011). As with any learning, learning as a global citizen must involve emotional and cognitive dimensions, including reflection on self, as well as changes in behaviour.

7.3.4. The significance of the learner

In Jarvis' model of learning, the individual is central: it is the person who learns. The learning portraits in Chapter 5 provide rich and interesting insights into the personal and specific nature of participants' learning in relation to global poverty and development, and the diverse understandings they bring to the classroom. The corollary of this seems to be that, for teaching to be effective, we should place young people, and their individual understandings, at the centre of teaching about global poverty and development, and in doing so improve the learning we intended. For example, constructivist learning theory has been applied to lessons on non-native plant species and the threat they pose to local biodiversity for three classes of high school students in Colorado, USA (DiEnno and Hilton, 2005). DiEnno and Hilton's teaching was planned to take into account students' assumptions about how the world works and the teaching aimed to fit into students' existing world views. Compared to what they describe as traditional teaching methods (lecture and rote learning), they found that the constructivist group significantly increased knowledge scores and attitudes towards the environment (by which they mean student disposition towards non-native plants in Colorado), whereas the traditional group did not.

DiEnno and Hilton saw a constructivist pedagogy as including group debate, discussion, and sharing. They chose these activities following Richardson (cited in DiEnno and Hilton, 2005, p.15) who argues for a constructivist pedagogy entailing (a) student-centred instruction that focuses on understanding student background and belief systems; (b) facilitation of discussion between group members to enable understanding of the topic; (c) introduction of formal knowledge into the conversation through direct instruction, reference to text, exploration of a website, or some other means; (d) opportunities for students to determine, challenge, change, or add existing beliefs and understandings through engagement in tasks that are structured for this

purpose; and (e) development of students' meta-awareness of their own understandings and learning processes.

It is notable that this type of pedagogy shares strong similarities with the kind of participatory, holistic teaching associated with global education (Marshall, 2007a). As a teacher, I certainly favoured a participatory, dialogue-based teaching style, and, as DiEnno and Hilton (2005) argue, I think that it can enable students to take a stake in their own knowledge creation, amongst other benefits. However, I think it is important to sound a note of warning here about conflating pedagogy and learning theory. There is a danger in assuming that through focusing on the individual learner and their understandings, we can control the knowledge he or she develops. Experiential learning theory and Jarvis' model of learning are theories of individual learning, not of teaching. Davis and Sumara (2002, p.413) argue strongly that all such theories can offer teachers is "some advice on what they cannot do – specifically, cause learners to learn what they want learner to learn". In this sense, constructivist discourses act as "critiques of any deliberate, institutionalized attempts to affect individual knowing or collective knowledge" (Davis and Sumara, p.418).

I think that applying experiential learning theory to global education is useful to us as global educators in this way. It is easy to become bound up with debates around the morally or politically correct learning outcomes of global education, in terms of knowledge, emotion and action. It is useful to step back and reflect on the extent to which through pedagogical initiatives and activities we can actually claim that our students develop the understandings we intend. Or, as evaluators, the extent we can expect young people's learning to neatly reflect pre-determined learning outcomes. Jarvis' model of learning process highlights the range of ways that learners can respond to an opportunity to learn, and the diverse ways these responses may interact. These interactions were not fully mapped within the empirical data of this research. However, sufficient evidence of the complexity of learning process is provided here to make it clear that in any global education project or activity young people will learn in different ways to those intended by global educators and evaluators.

However, I do not think this is to negate our endeavour as global educators. I think that we can offer valuable support to young people in their learning, where we lessen our focus on our intended learning outcomes, and, as suggested above, support young people to explore their own emotional, reflective and behavioural responses. For global education projects and organisations, part of this recognition of the complexity of learning could mean moving towards project evaluations that focus not only on specific pre-determined learning outcomes, but give greater space to explore the complexity of both process and outcome. This is a challenge, however, in a funder-driven environment with results-focused evaluation in vogue (Nygaard, 2009).

I also think global educators can work to stimulate learning (though not control its outcomes), by seeking opportunities in which some of our students will experience disjuncture and reflective learning (Tennant and Pogson, 1995). This may be by presenting them with different perspectives on an issue, or learning about a place, individual or organisation new to them. We can become so familiar with our life-world, including, for example, stories of human suffering on the television, that such images do not cause any disjuncture with our understandings, and we do not respond to them, simply observe (Jarvis, 2006). This state has been described as compassion fatigue (Moeller, 1999). By providing new images or viewpoints, and an environment that supports and motivates reflection, we can hope that some of our students will experience disjuncture and that this will provide them with an opportunity to change their understandings (including their beliefs, attitudes, identity, behaviour or emotional responses). However, when we do so, we need to be aware of young people's emotional responses and help them navigate feelings of discomfort (Bentall and McGough, 2013). We must also be wary of the 'gap' between a new experience and a student's biography being too great for them to respond by developing new understandings (Jarvis, 2006).

7.4. Limitations of Jarvis' model and of this study

There are of course limitations to this study, both to Jarvis' model of learning process and therefore to its adaptation here, and also to the empirical data, which in turn limits the way in which Jarvis' model has been applied and explored. I have explored some of the limitations of Jarvis' model, and the way I have responded to them, in Chapter 6. Jarvis has critiqued his own model in prioritising the cognitive dimension to learning over emotional or behavioural responses, and I have sought to counter this by placing emotion at the centre of the model (see Section 6.6.). Other criticisms of Jarvis' model and my response include the imprecise way in which he uses the term 'reflection' (I more clearly defined reflection using Mezirow's notion of 'points of view'), and the potential for his model to present learning as reactive and sequential (I avoided trying to identify single learning cycles). The strength of Jarvis' model, in attempting to create a holist understanding of learning process, is also its weakness, in failing to attend to different elements of the process fully (Le Cornu, 2005). Certainly, one dimension of learning not fully reflected in Jarvis' model of individual learning, or my adapted version, is the social dimension to learning. Much of Le Cornu's (2005) critique of Jarvis' work is concerned with this internal/external relationship. In transformative learning, another individual learning theory, the social dimension to individual learning is tackled through the 'frame of reference', made up of 'a meaning perspective' and its resulting 'point of view'. A 'meaning perspective' is a set of assumptions and is seen to have different sets of codes, including those of socio-cultural origin such as ideologies and social norms, as well as epistemic and psychological codes (Mezirow, 1998, p.7).

This study takes the view that learning is individual, but within, and influenced by, a social context. A model of learning that does not give *"determinate weight and force"* (Burbules, 2000, p.322) to social and political influences on learning therefore sits well with this epistemology. Jarvis (2006, p.52) certainly does recognise a social dimension of learning: *"we live in the physical world, but also in social relationships"*. He also argues that society, through socialisation, restricts the framework within which the individual learns, and sets what it is we are expected to learn in given situations (Jarvis, 2006). As depicted in Jarvis' model (Figure 22), any experience from which we learn is an experience of the whole person within their life-world, which is created, in part, through socialisation.

What is missing, when applied to young people's learning about global poverty and development in England is the visual representation of the way in which socially constructed bodies of knowledge contribute to how these issues are understood in an individual's life-world. For example, a discourse around development dominated by charity has been shown to be reflected in schools (Smith, 2004b) and further education colleges (Bentall and McGough, 2013). This might lead to expected responses amongst young people of feeling sorry for children suffering in other countries, and framing themselves as the virtuous donor, and this was certainly evidenced amongst some participants. Dominant narratives will vary depending on the context of an individual's life-world. For example, in Ireland, narratives of imperial innocence and of shared trauma between Ireland and countries of the Global South play significant roles in informing how institutions and individuals engage with development (Bryan, 2013). However, there may also be similarities between national contexts. Heron (cited in Bryan, 2013, p.13) argues that for all Northern citizens, engagement with development

cannot be understood apart from a set of "deeply racialised, interrelated constructs of thought [that] have been circulating from the era of empire". Such narratives are not highlighted by Jarvis' use of the learner's life-world (Jarvis, 2006, p.24), and it was not the focus of this research to identify public narratives of development within young people's accounts of their learning. However, I think it is important to acknowledge that taking a theoretical approach to young people's learning that moved more towards social (as opposed to subject-centred) constructivism, would also have proved insightful. Such an approach would also have been more closely aligned with post-colonial and critical theories of global education, which highlight the dynamics of power and the social construction of concepts such as gender, race and social class.

Further limitations of the way in which Jarvis' model is applied in this study relate to the nature of the empirical data, and are addressed now. In combination, these limitations meant I was not, for example, able to map in detail the web of interactions between young people's emotive, behavioural and reflective responses. Firstly, whilst I put significant effort into encouraging young people to share their perceptions of learning with me (see Section 4.7.2.) it is highly unlikely that the research participants shared everything of which they were aware. This may have been influenced by a number of factors, perhaps most significantly the dynamics of the adult/child relationship, and young people's expectations of what I was looking for (Brown and Dowling, 1998; Greene and Hill, 2005; Westcott and Littleton, 2005). There were, most likely, occasions in which participants provided me with answers they perceived as 'right', perhaps in relation to previous learning in school or publicly comfortable narratives about global poverty and development, or withheld information they thought may be 'wrong'.

Secondly, putting this first challenge aside, there were also limits to what young people could share with me, not being aware of all their learning themselves. The adapted model that I present only describes learning of which the research participants were aware. A number of authors describe learning which we gradually acquire or are not aware of, using terms such as incidental learning (Jarvis, 2006) and assimilative learning (Piaget, 1952). In addition, Jarvis argues that we remember experiences incorporated into our biographies differently over time, revisiting them in light of our current emotions and sense of self, so we are only able to recount how we understand an experience now.

A third, related issue is that, in focusing specifically on global poverty and development, I limited the picture of learning I gained in this research. Learning is a hugely complex process. Jarvis describes the way in which all learning from a given situation, both purposeful and incidental, is incorporated into the changed person's biography. The changed person in turn informs learning in response to the next and future experiences. Learning about global poverty and development will therefore inform, and be informed by, learning about other issues and in other contexts, and these interrelationships are not evident here.

The way different types of learning interrelate may take many forms, but perhaps a clear example is around identity. Identity formation is complex: it is not just our store of memories, it is also about the way that people treat us and what we learn about ourselves from this and about our own perception of our body (Jarvis, 2006). As a result, young people may bring concerns about homelessness, risk of exclusion from school, and feelings of hopelessness to learning about global issues (Owusu, 2013). Our perceptions and feelings about ourselves are likely to have significant implications for the ways we respond to any new learning, in this case learning about global poverty and development. For example, Owusu specifically sites a young person who refuses to design a t-shirt in a group activity because he perceives that he is bad at it, and she suggests that in this case he may struggle to challenge injustice and global issues (Owusu, 2013, p.75). This deep level of reflection on perception of self, both conscious and unconscious, and how this related to each young person's learning about global poverty and development, was beyond the scope of the approach I took to data collection. Jarvis' model of learning process is intended to cover all learning. The focus of this study on a single issue, and the challenges of accessing young people's private and not always conscious reflections about themselves and their life-worlds, mean that my exploration of Jarvis' model is limited. Having said that, all empirical exploration of his model will have limitations, and I believe I have sufficient data to usefully apply and adapt his model.

Fourthly, it was a methodological choice to focus on young people's learning across contexts, rather than to differentiate process or outcomes in specific learning contexts. However, this means I am not able to reflect on variation in learning process between contexts, which may be bound up with specific forms, locations or times (Alheit, 2012). Finally, Jarvis' (2006) understanding of what a reflective response to an experience includes is broad, and could include, for example, reflection on an issue, on the relationship of that issue to self, and on the logistics of any action response. Young

people's reflection on self was most evident within the data, and it was this dimension I was able to explore the most comprehensively. I also explored, to some extent, young people's reflections on issues of global poverty and development. However, the space, time and data constraints of this thesis mean that I have only been able to do this to a limited extent. A focus of interest on outcomes of global education, and particularly outcomes in terms of knowledge and understanding, means that young people's understandings of global poverty and development are explored elsewhere (see, for example, Asbrand, 2008; Miller *et al*, 2012; Tallon, 2013).

7.5. Summary

This chapter has addressed the benefits, limitations and implications of applying and adapting Jarvis' model of learning in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development. In doing so, it directly addresses research question 4: What are the benefits, limitations and implications of a model of learning for global education practitioners and researchers?

This chapter has highlighted the benefits of this research in contributing to the field of learning and of global education by:

- Effectively applying Jarvis' (2006) model of learning process to young people's learning;
- Developing an adapted model of learning process that relates to young people's learning about global poverty and development, but which could be usefully applied to learners of other ages, in other learning contexts, and learning about other issues within global education;
- Offering a way to increase the theorisation of learning within global education, which can be used with other models (such as transformative learning theory) to deepen our understanding of what it means to learn about global challenges.

Application within global education of Jarvis' model and my adapted version has a number of implications. It highlights to global educators the significance of young people's emotional, behavioural *and* reflective responses, and hints at the complexity of the ways these responses may interact. I also argue that these emotional, behavioural and reflective responses need to be understood more broadly than they often currently are within global education. For example, this research demonstrates the range of actions young people may take in response to learning about global poverty and development, and that they are quick to apply the knowledge they develop to themselves.

Finally, an experiential focus on the individual learner who brings their own experiences and understanding to a learning situation easily leads us to feel that we can control learning by responding to the individual. Whilst I think there are many positive reasons for, and outcomes of, the dialogue-based, participatory pedagogy of global learning, we should be wary of assuming that such an approach means young people learn what we want them to. Instead, I think this research shows us that, as global educators, we should focus on supporting young people to explore their emotional, behavioural and reflective responses, and on providing opportunities for new responses in each of these areas, challenging fixed viewpoints and processes of learning, through presenting new experiences, perspectives and viewpoints. I also highlight the need for evaluators of global education projects to allow space in their evaluations to explore some of the complexity of learning, including unexpected responses.

There are, of course, limitations to Jarvis' model and its application here; as described in Chapter 3; no one theory of learning can hope to capture the full complexity of the learning process. Jarvis' (2006) model has a number of weaknesses, including prioritising the cognitive dimension to learning over emotional and behavioural responses (and I have sought to counter this in my adapted model) and in giving insufficient attention to the social dimension of learning and the significant way in which social ideologies and norms influence learning.

The adapted version of Jarvis' (2006) theory which I present as a model of young people in England's learning in relation to global poverty and development also has limitations that relate to the empirical data of this research. My adapted model cannot reflect all young people's learning processes, including learning they were not comfortable to share with me in interview, their incidental or unconscious learning and how learning about global poverty and development relates to learning about other issues. However, despite these empirical limitations, I have sufficient, rich data to make this study's application of Jarvis' model worthwhile and insightful.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Answering the research questions

This research posed a number of questions in relation to the way in which young people in England learn about global poverty and development, and specifically about their learning processes. Learning process has been understood here to mean the way in which individuals respond to opportunities to learn about global poverty and development (e.g. in terms of emotion, cognition and behaviour) and the way these responses interrelate in the construction of understandings. In this final chapter, I take each research question in turn and summarise the answer provided by this study.

Firstly, I sought to address how young people perceive themselves to respond to opportunities to learn related to global poverty and development (research question 1). In the empirical data, collected as part of this research, I found young people responding to a range of learning opportunities in formal, informal and non-formal contexts (detailed in Figure 18) in three key ways: emotionally; changing their behaviour or taking action; and reflecting on themselves in relation to global poverty and development. These responses were highly resonant with themes apparent in the way learning is understood in global education discourses and within existing empirical research into young people's learning about global poverty and development, see Chapter 2.

Secondly, I sought to explore how these responses are interrelated in the construction of understandings (research question 2). I found hints that young people's emotional response, actions and reflection on themselves are strongly interrelated, feeding into each other in the process of learning in complex, non-linear and non-cyclical ways. The breadth of the data in exploring learning across a range of contexts and periods of time meant that it was not possible to discern the range of possible pathways in the learning process. A strong relationship between emotion and action was identified, perhaps not surprisingly given Jarvis' (2006) description of emotion as including an action tendency. This relationship was affected by a number of factors: the strength of the emotional response, the ease with which an action could be taken, and the extent to which the young person felt comfortable with a proposed action. In the latter case, some participants clearly responded to NGO fundraising and campaigning by defending

themselves against negative feelings induced by images of poverty by undermining the messages and courses of action proposed to them.

Thirdly, I sought to consider how these learning processes could be modelled (research question 3). I argue that Jarvis' (2006) diagrammatically represented theory of learning is a useful way of modelling and exploring young people's learning about global poverty and development. This is because of the way his theory shares themes within global education and the assumptions of this research, including understanding learning as: individual and active; continuous and occurring in multiple contexts; as having multiple outcomes (not just behaviour or knowledge, but also including values, beliefs, emotions and identity); and as including emotional, behavioural and reflective responses to learning opportunities. These latter three themes, identified within global education in Chapter 2, are also apparent within the empirical data. Applying Jarvis' (2006) model of learning to the data was therefore empirically relevant, but also extended themes apparent in existing research and global learning discourses.

I present a slightly modified version of Jarvis' model which I argue more closely models young people in England's learning processes in relation to global poverty and development. This adapted model highlights the significance of young people's emotional response to learning about global poverty, the relationship of this response to a behavioural or action response, and also the significance of young people's reflection on themselves in relation to global poverty and development.

Finally, I sought to understand the benefits, limitations and implications of modelling young people's learning about global poverty and development in this way (research question 4). Jarvis' model and my adaptation have a number of limitations: most significantly their limited attendance to the way in which public discourses on global poverty and development contribute to individual learning. There are also challenges to the empirical data which place limits on the exploration and modelling of young people's learning processes. My adapted version of Jarvis' model does not reflect all participants' learning processes, and excludes: experiences participants were not comfortable to share with me in interview (despite my efforts to encourage them to share their understandings and move away from the expecting adult/child relationship in schools); their incidental or unconscious learning (not accessible to participants and therefore not attainable through interview); and how their learning about global poverty and development relates to learning about other issues (not the focus of this study and complex to explore).

However, despite these empirical limitations, I have sufficient, rich data to make this study's application of Jarvis' model worthwhile and insightful. I found that applying and adapting Jarvis' framework in relation to young people's learning about global poverty and development is beneficial within the context of global education, offering a way to increase theorisation of learning that is grounded in empirical research and resonant with themes within global education discourses. As a result, this research has implications for both research and practice within global education. It provides a framework for exploring learning amongst learners of different ages, in different contexts and learning about other issues within global education. It also highlights the potential benefits to researchers within the field of global education of drawing on the wealth of learning theory that exists, to explore the complexity of individuals' learning processes.

Applying Jarvis' model to young people's learning about global poverty and development highlights a number of features of learning for practitioners of global education: the significance of all of young people's responses, including emotional, behavioural and reflective responses; the breadth and multiple forms of such responses; and the complexity of young people's learning, a process which it is not possible for the teacher or educator to control, or the evaluator to reflect through measuring pre-determined outcomes.

8.2. Implications for the researcher

The stated aim of this research has been to gain a better understanding of young people's learning in relation to global poverty and development. However, I have also learnt a huge amount about my own understandings and learning. Firstly, I have come to question my understandings of the process and intended learning outcomes of education about poverty and development. I have become increasingly aware that I have long carried a sense that, just out of vision, there is a clear picture of the 'right' knowledge, understanding, skills and attributes that my students need in order to face the challenges of their world, and a 'right' way for me to support the development of these.

As a result, during my early doctoral studies I was interested in developing a framework of the different ways in which the process and outcomes of young people's learning about global issues are understood by educators, publishers and academics. I wanted to be able to 'test' the extent to which young people were learning in these ways, to find patterns about what was effective in supporting different kinds of learning, and to use this as evidence in deciding both the morally and technically 'right' approach to teaching my students. My academic journey means that I no longer see this research as a way of answering my questions about what is morally right: the question of what and why I and other educators *should* teach is one I will have to continue grappling with!

Secondly, I have begun to unpick my own assumptions about what it means to respond to global poverty and development, and found deeply rooted personal and emotional dimensions to my learning. For example, the academic in me appreciates the way in which some approaches to teaching about global issues could be seen to be reinforcing notions of cultural supremacy (see e.g. Andreotti, 2008). At times I have taken some pride (perhaps the zeal of the converted) in having a healthy scepticism about the claims made by different authors of educational material about the necessary learning and attributes of the globally educated. However, this intellectual grappling has tended to leave me feeling confused and guilty about my membership of a white, Western elite.

At the same time, in contrast to this intellectual positioning, I continue to have an emotional response to the inequality and injustice of the world which motivates me to want to take action to 'help', including encouraging young people to do the same. Looking back at my own learning, contributors to this 'charity mentality' include my Christian upbringing in a cathedral close, exposure to high profile campaigns such as 'Live Aid' and the fundraising work I took part in at school. However, understanding more about my own learning in this way does not lessen my emotional response to images of suffering, nor the way this translates, in the moment at least, into a desire to help. I can see that my responses to global poverty and development are strongly related to my own identity, and that I carry deeply entrenched assumptions and perspectives as a result of my multiple roles and complex biography as a researcher, teacher, global educator and white, English, middle-class woman and mother.

Jarvis' model of learning process has helped me better understand and reflect on my responses to global poverty and development, and the way in which my emotional, behavioural and cognitive responses relate to my own understanding of myself. In Chapter 7 I call for global educators to acknowledge all of young people's responses to global poverty. In the same way, on my own learning journey it has been hugely helpful to reflect on the complexity of my learning. I hope that this research, through its

application and adaptation of Jarvis' (2006) model of learning process, will help other global educators reflect on learning about global poverty and development in a different way.

8.3. The knowledge contribution and distinctiveness of this research

Learning processes in global education have been largely overlooked (Bourn and Morgan, 2010), with empirical exceptions including the application of transformative learning theory to the learning of adults (Brown, 2013; Martin and Griffiths, forthcoming). This research therefore makes a significant contribution to understandings of learning process within global education, and is unique in applying a theoretical framework drawn from experiential learning theory to empirical data on young people's learning about global poverty and development. It is also unique in applying Jarvis' (2006) model, developed to describe all learning but within the field of adult education, to young people's learning on any topic or in any form. In doing so, the research makes a significant contribution to a limited body of work on young people's learning about global poverty and development in England (including the learner, learning outcomes, and the contexts of learning, as well as learning process) and to a growing international body of research in this broader area (see e.g. Asbrand, 2008; Tallon, 2013).

The constructivist understanding of knowledge adopted in this study, and the view that the complexity of learning means that no one model can describe it fully, means that the model of learning process described here is seen as only one possible approach to modelling young people's learning about global poverty and development. The answers to the research questions provided must be understood within the personal and academic contexts of the researcher (as outlined in Chapters 1 and 2). However, I argue that this does not diminish the contribution to knowledge this research represents. In Chapter 4 I outline the criteria against which I wish the claims of the research to be judged (its credibility, dependability and plausibility and the experience of the reader) and how I have worked to meet these criteria in creating new knowledge.

8.4. Summary

This qualitative, constructivist study explores how young people in England learn about global poverty and development. Nine 12–15 year-olds in the South and South East of England took part in this research and their perceptions of learning about global poverty and development across formal, informal and non-formal contexts were explored through semi-structured interviews (with a small number of accompanying

research tools). This data was analysed using a model of learning process developed by Jarvis (2006). This theory of learning was selected because of its resonance with themes within the empirical data and also within literature and research relating to global education, the academic and personal context of this research. This thesis proposes an adapted version of Jarvis' model, which highlights the significance of young people's emotional response to learning about global poverty, the relationship of this response to a behavioural or action response, and also the significance of young people's reflection on themselves in relation to global poverty and development.

Like all theories of learning, Jarvis' experiential model has limitations and cannot capture all dimensions of the multi-faceted, complex process of learning. In addition, the empirical data of this research has a number of limitations in describing participants' learning. However, despite these challenges, it is argued here that when applied to young people's perceptions of learning about global poverty and development, Jarvis' model is useful in highlighting the complex, cyclical nature of such learning, the significance of young people's emotional, behavioural and reflective responses, and the personal nature of their learning. Through the research process, and application of Jarvis' framework, I have also learnt much about my own learning about global poverty and development.

This research is unique in applying learning theory directly to empirical evidence of young people's learning about global poverty and development. In doing so it highlights the merits, as well as limitations, of drawing on the rich body of learning theory that exists in order to explore young people's learning about global challenges and contributes to wider debate about the ways young people learn and become themselves in today's world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview schedule for initial group interviews

	Questions	Comments
Introductions	 Introduce myself, repeat information re research and consent (see student information sheet, Appendix 5), and confirm consent re recording session Ask students to share their names and year groups Outline format and length of session 	
Opening questions re observed learning experience	I sat in on part of your lesson/club last week with [named teacher] on [lesson topic]. Can you tell me a bit more about that lesson and what you learnt? Possible prompts: • Was it part of a bigger unit? • Did you do any assessments on that topic?	This section was tailored to the observed lesson or session. Examples included lessons on population growth and fair trade, and a lunchtime club called 'Global awareness'.
Exploring terms	 In that lesson, what do you think [insert teacher] meant by 'development'? What, if anything, do you think you learnt about development in that lesson? Take a look at these images, which one fits, for you, most with the term 'global poverty'? What about the term 'development'? Why? 	Different approaches were taken depending on the initial discussion re shared learning opportunity and the terms and issues raised. In earlier sessions, the photographs were used, but as explored in Section 4.7.3., their use was problematic, and not used in later initial group interviews. The images used are in Appendix 2.
Creation of learning context mind- map	 Where else in school do you think you learn about these issues of global poverty and development? What about outside of school, are there places you think you learn about these issues? If students are not able to identify learning contexts, probe using contexts list below. In case of each learning context probe further: When was that? What did you learn? 	Students asked to use pens to add 'arms' to a mind-map as they discuss a new place that they learn about global poverty and development.
	School Geography Religious studies Other subjects? Extracurricular: Assemblies	These lists of prompt contexts were developed from: the pilot interview; subsequent group interviews; Cross <i>et al</i> (2010). In each case, the list was tailored to the school, with reference to

	• Fundraising activities the teacher and student
	 School council / global committee questionnaires.
	or club
	Non-formal
	Drama club
	Scouts/Guides
	Informal
	Media:
	 TV – news, documentaries, reality
	TV, charity ads
	 Internet – websites, social media
	sites/social networks
	o Books
	 Newspapers / magazines
	o Films
	Family
	Friends
	Visiting developing countries
Reflect on	 Is there anything more you think we need
mind-map	to add?
	Which of these places is the most
	important for you in learning about global
	poverty and development? Why?
Drawing	Is there anything you'd like to add before
interview to a	we finish?
close	 Thank students for their time and views.
	Explain next steps.

Appendix 2 Photographs used in image selection activity

All images are available, with permission, from Practical Action (http://practicalaction.org/image-galleries)

IMAGE REDACTED DUE	TO THIRD PARTY F	RIGHTS OR OTHER	LEGAL ISSUES

Appendix 3 Teacher questionnaire

Students' opportunities to learn about global poverty and development

To help me understand learning opportunities that students involved in the research have at school, it would be really helpful if you could answer the questions below.

- Is the school linked to any schools in developing countries? If so, please tell me a little about the link.
- Are there fundraising activities run for causes in developing countries? If so, please tell me a little about the activities and where the money goes.
- Do you know of any other opportunities students may have at school to learn about issues of global poverty and development? If so, please describe briefly.

Appendix 4 Questionnaire for young people

Learning about poverty and development research study: A bit more about you

To help me understand your viewpoint on learning about international development and poverty, it would be helpful to know a bit more about you. Please take a moment to complete the questions below – thank you!

1. Name:

Pseudonym (your real name will not be used in writing up the research to protect your privacy. Is there a name that you would like to be used instead?):

2. Year group: Age:

3. How would you describe your ethnic background?

White	Mixed
[] British	[] White & Black Caribbean
[] Irish	[] White & Black African
	[] White & Asian

Asian or Asian British Black or Black British

[] Indian	[] Caribbean
[] Pakistani	[] African

- [] Bangladeshi
- [] Chinese

Other ethnic group Please specify

4. Other than Geography, what are your GCSE subject options?

5. What extracurricular activities/clubs/groups are you involved in at school?

What are your interests in your spare time/out of school?

6. What five words would you use to describe yourself?

Appendix 5 Information sheet for young people

'Learning about poverty and development' Research Study: Information Leaflet

I am a doctoral researcher at the Institute of Education, University of London. I am carrying out research to find out more about young people's experiences of learning about global poverty and development, both at school (e.g. through Geography lessons and fundraising activities) and also informally (through friends, TV, radio, the Internet etc). Ten years of government interest in supporting young people to learn about these issues, and a long tradition of development education, means that a lot has been written about what and how young people *should* learn about poverty and development. However, there is so far little research into young people's own perspectives on what, when, where and how they learn about these issues.

As a result, your viewpoint is extremely valuable, and I would like to invite you to take part in my research. This would involve taking part in two or three interviews, scheduled several weeks apart and at times that suit you in the school day. The interviews are intended to be fairly informal and there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers, as I am interested to find out your perspective. In between the interviews, I will ask you to carry out some research of your own, keeping a record of your learning about poverty and development. The form this takes is up to you, but might include keeping a diary, taking photos, emailing or keeping a blog.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are still free to ask me to stop the interview, or stop your own part in the research, at any time, without giving a reason. When I am writing up the research, I will give you a pseudonym (rather than using your real name) so that you are more anonymous. I will also ensure that any information about you is very well protected and that what you say to me personally is confidential unless my not telling someone would pose a risk of personal or public harm.

If you would like more information about this research please contact me: Kate Brown, Doctoral Student, Institute of Education, University of London [contact details] Thank you!

Appendix 6 Young people's consent form

Consent Form for 'Learning about poverty and development' Research Study

This series of interviews is part of a research project at the Institute of Education, University of London, aiming to explore young people's experiences of learning about global poverty and development. The interviews are intended to be fairly informal in nature and there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers as the researcher is interested in your perspective on what, when, where and how you learn about these issues.

When the research is written up, you will be given a pseudonym (rather than using your real name) so that you are more anonymous. Any information you give about yourself will be well protected and what you say to me personally is confidential unless my not telling someone would pose a risk of personal or public harm. Participation in the research is completely voluntary. You are at liberty to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

For further information or to discuss this research please contact the researcher: Kate Brown, Doctoral Student, Institute of Education, University of London [contact details]

		Please tick to
		confirm
I confirm that this research	at I have read and understood the information provided about h study.	
	he opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and ese answered satisfactorily.	
	d that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to any time, without giving any reason.	
	d that information I provide may be reported in the research but tify me (to ensure anonymity).	
I agree to ta	ke part in the research study.	
• I am happy	for my interview to be recorded.	
	cipant:	
Signature:		
Date:		

Appendix 7 Parental consent form

Consent form for 'Learning about poverty and development' Research Study

My name is Kate Brown and I am a doctoral researcher at the Institute of Education, University of London. I am carrying out research to find out more about young people's experiences of learning about global poverty and development, both at school (e.g. through Geography lessons and fundraising activities) and also informally (through friends, TV, radio, the Internet etc). Ten years of government interest in supporting young people to learn about global issues and a long tradition of development education, means that a lot has been written about what and how young people *should* learn about poverty and development. However, there is so far little research into young people's own perspectives on what, when, where and how they learn about these issues.

As a result, the viewpoints of your son/daughter are extremely valuable, and I would like to invite him/her to take part in my research. Through being involved, he/she will have the opportunity to learn more about doctoral-level qualitative research, and to further explore issues covered in Geography and Citizenship.

Participation in the research study would involve:

- Taking part in three interviews. These would take place at school and be spread across the autumn term at times negotiated with your son/daughter and his/her teachers.
- Keeping a learning diary (in writing or using photographs). This would take 5–10 minutes per day for a week after the first interview.

I am fully CRB-checked, and as a trained teacher am used to working sensitively with students.

Your son/daughter's participation in this research is extremely valuable. If you are happy for him/her to take part, please sign below and return the form to [named teacher]. I will also be asking your son/daughter for his/her consent to take part. Participation is completely voluntary, and if either you or your son/daughter wishes to withdraw at any time you can do so without prejudice or consequence. Neither the school nor students will be identified in the written research report, and I will ask students to select pseudonyms.

If you would like more information about the research study, please contact me: Kate Brown, Doctoral Student, Institute of Education, University of London [contact details]

Thank you!

I consent for my son/daughter ______ to take part in the research study 'Learning about poverty and development'.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 8 Information letter to teachers

'Learning about poverty and development' Research Study: Information Leaflet

I am a doctoral researcher at the Institute of Education, University of London. I am carrying out research to find out more about young people's experiences of learning about global poverty and development, both at school (e.g. through Geography lessons and fundraising activities) and also informally (through friends, TV, radio, the Internet etc). Ten years of government interest in supporting young people to learn about these issues, and a long tradition of development education, means that a lot has been written about what and how young people *should* learn about poverty and development. However, there is so far little research into young people's own perspectives on what, when, where and how they learn about these issues.

As a result, your student's viewpoints are extremely valuable, and I would like to invite them to take part in a series of short interviews. To provide a shared starting point for discussion, I would like to be able to observe one or more lessons or sessions in which your students are learning about issues relating to poverty and development. Unlike regular lesson observations, my aim is to gain a greater insight into your students' experiences of learning about these issues rather than to observe your teaching. Your lesson will form only a starting point for a broader discussion on the contexts in which your students learn about these issues outside of the classroom.

Your and your students' participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without prejudice or consequence. You will not be named in the written research report, and I will use a pseudonym for your school.

If you would like more information about this research please contact me: Kate Brown Doctoral Student, Institute of Education, University of London [contact details]

Thank you!

Appendix 9 Consent form for teachers

Consent Form for 'Learning about poverty and development' Research Study

This series of lesson observations is part of a research project at the Institute of Education, University of London, aiming to explore young people's experiences of learning about global poverty and development.

The aim of the lesson observations is to provide a shared starting point for discussion in interviews with your students. Therefore, unlike regular lesson observations, my aim is to gain a greater insight into your students' experiences or learning about these issues rather than to observe your teaching.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without prejudice or consequence. You will not be named in the written research report, and I will use a pseudonym for your school.

For further information or to discuss this research please contact the researcher: Kate Brown, Doctoral Student, Institute of Education, University of London [contact details]

	Please tick to confirm
• I confirm that I have read and understood the information provided about this research study.	
• I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	
 I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. 	
• I understand that information I provide may be reported in the research but will not identify me (to ensure anonymity).	
 I agree that the researcher may attend and observe lessons to which I have invited her. 	
Name of Participant:	-
Signature:	-
Date:	

Appendix 10 Transcription symbols

Adapted from Silverman, 2001, p.303

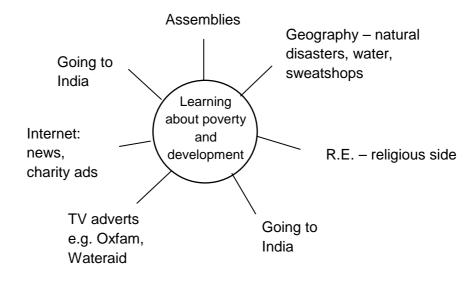
0	Empty parentheses indicates the researchers' inability to hear what was said
(like)	Parenthesised words are possible hearings
((baby talk))	Double parentheses contain researchers' descriptions rather than transcription
Hhhh	Indicates inbreath or outbreath, the number of h's relative to the length of the breath
K: Quite a [while R: [ok	Left brackets indicates a point at which the current speaker's talk is overlapped by another's talk
R: Did you go to= N:=Yes, twice	Equals signs, one at the end of a line, and one at the beginning of the next, indicates no gap between the two
(2)	Numbers in parentheses indicate lapsed time in silence, to the nearest second
<u>Some</u> times	Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch or amplitude
O:kay	Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The number of colons is relative to the length of the prolongation
What's the POINT	Capitalised words indicate especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk

Appendix 11 Group interview mind-maps of learning contexts

The mind-maps below are transcriptions of the hand-written diagrams created in the group interview in each school. In each case, I asked for a volunteer to scribe for the group, and to keep a record of the contexts for learning about global poverty and development discussed by the group. Except for occasions when the scribe stopped writing altogether, I did not prompt him/her to record particular details. Therefore, these diagrams do not always capture every context discussed, and the wording represents the way in which the scribe perceived the discussion.

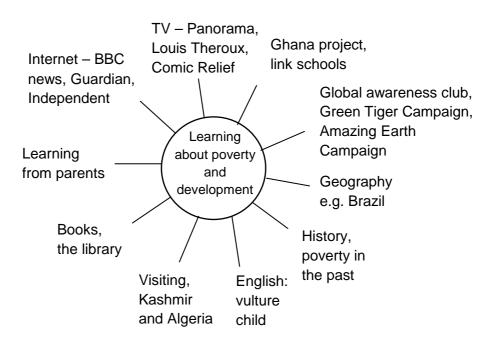
School 1

Scribe: Kran

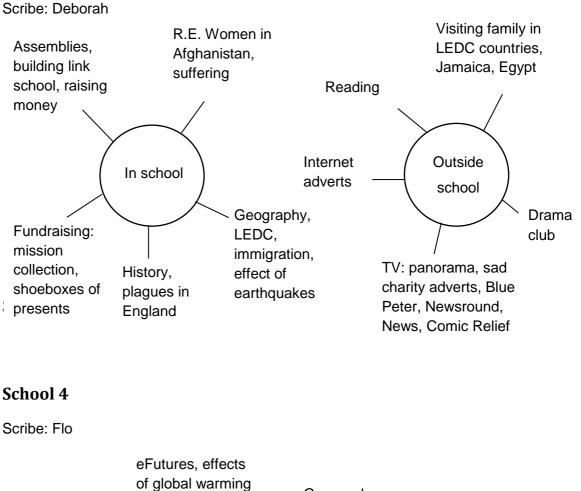


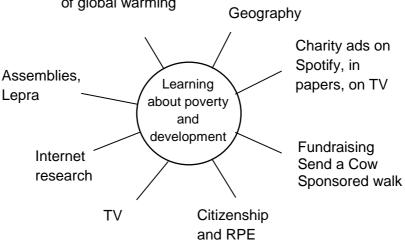
School 2

Scribe: Nina



School 3





Appendix 12 Learning portraits not included in Chapter 5

Deborah

Who?

Deborah is 14. She lives in Inner London, in an urban setting, and attends School 3, a small comprehensive school for girls.

She describes herself as bubbly, talkative, friendly, courageous and adventurous. She takes part in a wide range of extracurricular activities at school, including netball, philosophy club, trampolining, piano lessons and school musicals. Out of school she likes to read, write her own stories, go to the gym, dance, sing, cook and draw. She also has extra tutoring and attends sessions at a music school.

Deborah describes herself as Black African – her parents are from Ghana. Her mum was from *"one of the richer parts"* and it was her dad *"who went through the hardship, because like he has like seven other siblings, so he had to walk miles and stuff". As a result, her dad is always telling her that she needs to learn so that she can get a better life than he has had.*

Deborah would like to do some work experience in a charity like Oxfam when she is older, because it would be good experience for her and also because *"it's just nice to help other people"*.

Where?

At school

Deborah says that Year 9 Geography was the place where she learnt most about issues of poverty and development. She learnt more than in Year 7 and Year 8 *"which was more about population"*. Her class studied a unit on Development, but also touched on these kinds of issues in other units.

In Chemistry in Year 10, Deborah has learnt about how iodine tablets can be used to clean water. However, she says it was more about the science of this than the places this method might be used, and she says it was *"the only time we like brushed upon anything like that"*. In History she learnt about how England wasn't as developed as it is today, giving the examples of the plagues: *"people back in the day, they weren't as developed as we are now"*.

In Religious Studies in Year 9, she learnt about equality between different people. It wasn't focused on a particular part of the world, *"it was like equality everywhere so like in Europe and the USA and it was just a wide range of different countries".*

In Thursday assemblies at her school there is mission collection, a collection of donations from staff and students. Often the money from this goes to the school's link school in Zimbabwe: *"they talk about it a lot in assembly".* Money is also raised for the link school through bake sales and activities week in the summer.

Deborah goes to philosophy club, an extracurricular activity at school where they talk about *"all sorts of moral issues*" which the students choose, including poverty. For example, they have discussed whether homelessness (in any country) is the outcome of individuals' actions or the way society treats people. She says that now that she is in Year 10 and doesn't study Geography any more, philosophy club is the place where she talks most about these issues.

Outside school

Both Deborah's parents come from Ghana, and she learns about Ghana and about Africa through talking to them. If she has learnt something at school and wants to find out more about it, she will go home and ask them and they will give her more information. For example, she learnt in Year 9 that Ghana used to be a wealthy country, and she asked her parents if this was true.

Deborah visited Ghana seven years ago with her parents. She says that if you're visiting your parents' country on holiday you don't always learn about poverty and development because you're on holiday. However, she goes on to talk about the importance of travel for learning and about some of the things she has learnt about through visiting Ghana.

Deborah thinks she might talk to her friends about development. For example, *"it could come up in conversation if you were talking about like people are selfish or if you are talking about going on holiday to our home countries*". However, it would not be the focus or start of a conversation, and she couldn't remember any particular examples of conversations like this that she had had.

Deborah rarely watches the news, but sometimes if it's on she'll get hooked in, but she says that she doesn't learn much about development issues this way as they talk more about *"economic things which I don't find really interesting, and like yeah, murders or like criminal actions".* Deborah says she has also learnt a lot about poverty through Internet research.

What?

Because she is now in Year 10, Deborah can't remember much about the Development unit she studied in Year 9 Geography. However, she says she remembers *"looking at a place like Indonesia or something and it showed like the hardships they have, like how some people live in like slums and they have to like travel like miles and miles to get water or to go to school".*

In Year 9 Geography, she also remembers learning about the distribution of billionaires around the world and "you could find many in like America which is like a more economically developed country, but then like if you go to Asia or Africa you would find the odd one or two". She said this showed "how much more developed we are and how the world is not that equal". She remembers another activity, an interactive game on the whiteboard, based on the wealth of different countries, which showed "how much richer we are than third-world countries". She says she found this really shocking.

Deborah's school is linked to a school in Zimbabwe, and she learns about it through assemblies. The school was founded by an ex-teacher at Deborah's school, and her school now raises a lot of money for them, for example, towards buying computers 239

because "most people in that village don't have an education, so that's what we try to raise money for".

Through visiting Ghana, Deborah has learnt about the contrast between rich and poor in the country. Her dad's family live in one big house, *"big enough for more than ten people"*, but more than fifteen people live there. Her mum is *"part of the richer side"* and her house is *"quite big and in its like own space of land"*. Deborah says you can tell when you're nearing the poor side because *"if you stay awake on the motorway you can see like the way it gets like dirtier and [there are] more people on the poor side And there's a lot of people who sell on the street ... you see a big change".*

Deborah says this is different from what you see on the television and particularly in TV charity adverts. Although she's not seen for herself *"the worst of the worst"*, her experience in Ghana makes her think adverts glamorise poverty, they *"show you the worst of it so you think, oh yeah, it's really bad ... they exaggerate a bit"*. Through visiting Ghana, Deborah has learnt that there are *"lots of really good places"*. Deborah says that seeing adverts from the same charities showing the same pictures over and over again can get annoying, and makes her feel *"why don't you show us the better side"*.

In Religious Studies, her class talked about what is right and what is wrong, and learnt how different things are right and wrong for different people, making it difficult to make a decision, *"because you never know what is right and what is wrong"*. Deborah gives the example that she doesn't mind giving to charity, because she feels that it's unfair, and it makes her angry that *"some things are worse for some people than they are for us"*. On the other hand, even though a lot of people have tried *"nothing has come out of it"*. This makes her feel there's nothing she can do about it.

Deborah has been told by her parents that Africa is quite corrupt. "There is still lots of money in Africa to make the country equally developed, but um people are too selfish", and there is fighting over oil and other sources of wealth. Although Ghana used to be wealthy, "when it was ruled by England or something they took away the gold", but this is good because "it would be better that England is the rich ones because in Africa they use it [money] a lot for violence". Therefore it is better that "England is the rich ones".

Through Internet research Deborah has learnt a lot about poverty *"just like randomly, even though I can't remember anything specifically"*. She does remember learning about Egypt. Previously, she thought of it as an exotic country she would like to visit, but she learnt that it is a dictatorship and that citizens must come back to the country if they are called by the president. She found this shocking.

Why?

Deborah talks about being interested in issues around development and poverty. She says that she is *"the kind of person that if like I'm on the computer and I see something and it interests me I will like research it straight away"*. It was because of this that she learnt a lot about Egypt.

She learnt a lot about development in Year 9, and this was in part because she liked her Geography teacher and thought she was a very good teacher. She says her teacher helped her delve into the issues and *"we had to empathise with them and we* 240

had to see like what it would be like if we were like them, so it was more realistic and it made us want to help them more".

More than what motivates her to learn, Deborah talks about what can switch her off from learning about development. She says that while it can be interesting, *"if you keep learning about the same thing over and over again, sometimes it gets a bit boring, so you might not want to learn anymore, so you have to like learn new things on the topic so you still hold interest"*. She talks particularly about repeated TV adverts for development charities, which she ends up not taking notice of because she's *"seen it all before"*. She is also switched off when she feels like she is not getting a balanced representation of a country or issue. For example, she thinks that charity adverts should *"show the good parts as well as the bad parts"*. She also talked about a television documentary about Lagos which showed *"all the bad parts of Nigeria, and you're thinking, why don't you show us the good parts as well?*"

Charity campaigns can also make her angry because of their focus on individual fundraising. She believes that millionaires and footballers should be more heavily taxed for charity, rather than children in school being asked to dress up all the time to raise money to go to charity, because there are *"a lot more older adults who can earn a lot more than all the schools put together"*.

How?

There are a number of specific learning activities which Deborah particularly remembers. Her Geography teacher in Year 9 really helped her empathise with and see from the perspective of individuals living in poverty through talking about the details of their lives. For example, *"like if you get money there the money smells and stuff, like the notes, compared to like here"*. Her teacher also used participatory activities which have stayed with her, for example, debates and a game on the interactive whiteboard.

When asked which learning opportunities had the most impact, she said travelling to different places. This is because "you can see for yourself and you can make your own opinions about what you think about that country". Learning through school is a necessity and "you will probably forget it after", but learning through travel has an impact "because you have fun, or maybe it's a new place for you or something not in your comfort zone so you learn new stuff and extend your boundaries and learn much more than you would if you were back in England." However, during another interview she says that when she visits her parents' home country, Ghana, she doesn't always learn because she is on holiday. She goes "to the mall and places" and enjoys the better parts of the country. She says she might be travelling and see people selling on the road but then "I'll think oh yeah they're selling on the road, but then it just quickly goes because I'll be distracted by something else that I'll want to do". She says you might learn more if you went to a totally new country.

Jon

Who?

Jon is a 14-year-old male. He describes his ethnicity as mixed (white and Asian). He lives rurally with his four brothers, six dogs and four cats. He attends School 2, a large comprehensive school in a town outside London. Jon describes himself as intelligent, happy, mature, funny, thoughtful and *"really creative"*. He likes to draw, cook, play 241

piano, violin and guitar and sing. Jon is also involved in lots of extracurricular activities at school, including debating, orchestra and choir as well as Global Awareness Club which is says is *"one of my more important clubs"*.

Working with other members of Global Awareness Club, Jon has set up a website called 'The Green Tiger Campaign: One Planet, One Chance', which aims to inform readers about global issues such as climate change and endangered animals. Currently, a big feature on the site is reviews of food, stationary and other household products, taking into consideration *"air/food miles, organic and free-range products"*.

Where?

At school

Jon says he has learnt about global poverty and development in Geography lessons, both currently in GCSE lessons and in previous years. For example, he learnt about favelas in Brazil and the *"how poverty can affect the population"*. In history lessons, he has learnt about poverty in the past, for example, *"the potato famine in Ireland and how that affected people"*.

In Global Awareness Club each Friday lunchtime, the teacher informs members about global issues in the news (such as famines) and of local events (such as Black History Month events). Jon works with other members of Global Awareness Club on the Green Tiger Campaign, and is thinking of suggesting to the group that they *"do something about global poverty"*.

Outside school

Jon watches the BBC news every day, either the breakfast news or in the evening, which includes coverage of issues relating to global poverty. For example, Jon talks about coverage of the drought and famine in Somalia in 2011.

Jon says that the good thing about Comic Relief on television, which he watched last year, is that as well as the spoofs and other funny things, it also has *"the hard-hitting facts, it has the videos".*

On the Internet, Jon sometimes uses sites such as WikiAnswers to find out more about international events relating to global poverty. He uses Facebook to discuss his campaign with campaign members and also to post his views and opinions: *"it's just like little things like, they're just like comments here and there like saying 'How bad is it in Somalia?"*

Jon sometimes has conversations with his parents and grandparents, for example, about the 2011 famine in Somalia and *"how bad the situation is and what sort of things like the government could do and stuff"*.

What?

Jon has learnt how people *"had taken up their courage"* to move from Northeast Brazil to set up life in the city in slums without electricity or water and how they are badly treated by the police and other people, but also by nature *"in the sense that a lot of the favelas are in areas that are affected by mudslides and stuff"*. They are *"basically being kept like dogs on the side of the city"*. 242

He knows about current events in developing countries, such as the drought and famine in Somalia. The main thing that stood out for him from this situation is that *"if this happened in England, a lot more would be done, and it would be like a major thing.* But because it's Somalia, and it's not part of, it's not one of the G20 countries and the UN, then it's not as recognised, we don't feel as much like obligation to help".

He is interested in the impact of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, and *"what's going to happen afterwards, how are people going to rebuild their lives and stuff"*. For example, he found out about how medical teams helped survivors, and this made him think about joining such a team when he is older.

Jon has learnt about the damage that can be done to crops both by drought and also by disease. For example, because potatoes were an important part of the diet, during the Irish potato famine many people moved to America to escape famine.

Why?

Jon describes himself as "really interested in international development" and particularly how this interest motivated him to find out more about the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. He sees himself as generally a curious person, who wants to find out more. He found the tsunami particularly interesting because they are uncommon events that he has never experienced, because they never happen in England: "I mean there's only been two this century so it's quite interesting".

Watching coverage of events like the famine in Somalia, Jon feels "sorry for them, and sympathy". He feels in himself "a duty, like sort of obliged to try and give something", because "at the end of the day we're all human". For example, he helped organise a comedy show at school to raise money for Comic Relief. He asked to help out because he had "not really done very much like to do with charity". Jon loved being involved because it was both "fun and beneficial".

Particularly in relation to global poverty he thinks it is important to find out about it so that you understand and appreciate the issue and how serious it is, and *"not to be like insulated from like society"*. Finding out more is also important because *"in order to sort of help, I'd say you need to have a certain understanding of the situation"*.

How?

He sees the news as the most important way he learns about global poverty and development. He watches the BBC news most mornings (and if not watches in the evening), and he likes the live coverage you get on the television (as opposed to the Internet where *"it's just like one article"*).

Jon lives near a farm, and so during a recent drought period he saw the damage to crops, so he saw "what it can be like in other places". He says: "I see things that are connected first hand."

Jon says that at his primary school there were lots of fundraising events, such as nonschool-uniform days. However, he doesn't feel he learnt much about global poverty through these: *"I mean yeah, people don't acknowledge that you know the reason you* 243 are throwing sponges at your teacher is because there are people dying in Somalia". He was involved in organising a comedy show for Comic Relief at school and used one of these videos at the beginning:

"I mean that's what our group was trying to say, we don't want it to be like, I mean yeah, the comedy is important, but there has to be some element of why it's important, so at the beginning we had a video to explain."

Kay

Who?

Kay lives in a small town in a rural country, and attends School 4, a large specialist schools for arts and science. The proportion of students at her school entitled to free school meals is below average, as are the numbers with special educational needs or disabilities.

Kay is 14 and in Year 10. Her optional GCSE subjects are Music and 'Religion, Philosophy and Ethics' (RPE). She is not involved in clubs at school, but out of school she enjoys sport and music. She describes herself as white British and as caring, approachable, hard-working, outgoing and kind. Kay lives with her mum and younger sister. Her gran lives nearby and she spends time at her house.

Where?

At school

In Year 9 Geography, Kay remembers learning about favelas in Brazil and the impact of earthquakes. In Year 9 Citizenship she watched a video about the work of different aid charities like Oxfam and *"what they did to help"*. In RPE in Year 10, Kay *"learns about people in poverty"*. She particularly remembers looking at a photo of a dying child and also learning about the work of different charities.

Every year Kay takes part in a shoebox activity in school, filling boxes with clothes and little toys to *"send them over to like Africa"*. Kay says you get a *"little leaflet you can read through also, about where it goes and what you can put in it."* In Technology in Year 9, Kay made blankets which were *"sent over"*. Their teacher had done the same activity with students the year before and had *"pictures of the kids really happy with the blankets"*.

Outside school

Kay says her mum is a good person to talk to, but she doesn't remember any particular examples of conversations about global poverty and development. Kay watches news every day: her mum puts on ITV Daybreak in the morning and her granny watches the BBC news every night. She says *"there's sometimes stuff … about how people are living"*, but she can't remember any examples.

Kay uses the Internet to research things she's interested in, either that she's seen on television or been set for homework. For example, she was interested in the shoebox appeal, so she looked up where the boxes go to. She also sometimes sees 'pop up'

advertisements for charities such as Oxfam on the Internet, and information about different countries, like Brazil, on Virgin Media. What?

In Year 9 Geography, Kay remembers learning about slums in Brazil and the impact of natural disasters. She says she can't remember very much, but she *"learnt about these tiny huts they have to make on a huge hill"* which are destroyed when there is an earthquake. The people living there have to rebuild their homes. She says this is *"quite hard because they had to get all the material and everything"*. She says that slums are *"not a really nice place to live really"*, with little food, and it is quite dirty.

In RPE, Kay remembers looking at different pictures of poverty, including one of "a little child and a vulture like waiting for it to die". She said she found this "not very nice" and "shocking". She says "you like talk about it and things like that". Kay says she found it really upsetting that the mum had to leave the child.

When Kay sees Internet or television adverts for aid charities, including, for example, *"pictures of children, some of the ill ones, how they are ill in hospital and that"* she looks at them and thinks *"how lucky she is to be here [in this country]"*.

Why?

Kay says she enjoys and finds interesting learning "about other people and how they live, instead of just learning about how we should live, like about other cultures". She says that if she finds something particularly interesting, she'll go and do some more research about it on the Internet, for example, finding out where the shoeboxes they collect and fill at school are sent to.

At the same time, sometimes she doesn't want to find out more because it is depressing. For example, Kay says that when she sees an advert on the Internet, *"if it says child dying, I probably wouldn't click through to it because it's quite depressing, you know what it's going to say".*

Kay says that learning about the favelas in Brazil made her realise *"I care about it more than I thought I did"*. She says she would like to *"help them more"* because she wouldn't want to live like that, but she can't at the moment because *"there's no money"*. This means she sometimes feels *"upset and a bit disappointed that you can't help them because you want to"*. She also sometimes feels angry *"that no one else is trying to help them and no one helped them in the first place"*. Giving to charity also makes her *"feel good, giving something to them that I already have that helps them"*.

Kay says that her mum gives money to charity when she can. She says of her family that "we're quite into that kind of thing, that's what we're like". For example, "we give all our old clothes that don't fit us anymore and they send those off to children who don't have any". She says her mum has always done this kind of thing, and her sister enjoys it too, but "I enjoy it more because I'm obviously older, so I know more about it".

How?

Kay says that pictures are "probably more emotional" because you "actually see what goes on". She talks about the 'vulture child' picture and about adverts showing sick children. Kay's teacher told her class about life in a Brazilian favela, using a 245

PowerPoint presentation with photos. Kay says that she finds it more interesting to hear her teacher talk about a topic than completing a worksheet on her own. *"If they actually say it to us, if you hear it it's more, you get it into your brain more than reading it."*

Seeing her mum give clothes and money is a big influence on Kay. She says her mum is a good person to talk to and helps her support charities.

Kran

Who?

Kran attends School 1, a co-educational independent school in the centre of a regional city. He describes himself as white British. He is 14 and in Year 10, studying for GCSE, including his optional subjects Geography, History, Design Technology and Spanish. Through school, Kran attends weekly Scout meetings. Outside of school he enjoys computer programming. Kran lives in the city centre, near the cathedral where his father is a priest. Kran describes himself as happy, friendly, thoughtful, kind and lazy.

Where?

At school

In primary school Kran remembers "doing quite a lot of that stuff". They were shown pictures and the teachers talked to them, but it was not in much depth. Kran says "it wasn't that informing looking back on it" and he doesn't remember much about it. They also did sponsored fundraising events, but Kran doesn't remember which charity the money went to.

Kran thinks that Geography is an important route for learning about development issues, because it's *"about studying humans as well as landscapes"*. In Year 9 Geography, Kran says he studied a *"unit on sweat shops and conditions in poorer countries and stuff"*. In Year 10 he has been learning about *"water shortages overseas"*.

At Sports Day and on Pancake Day at Kran's school there are cake stalls that often raise money for aid charities.

Outside school

Kran says that Oxfam has adverts on a number of television channels, which he has seen a few times. He also remembers an advert for a programme on the Discovery channel²² about water-borne diseases, and about people in *"poorer areas that were forced to drink dirty water"*, though he didn't see the programme.

Kran says he is sure he has had conversations with his parents about development issues, though he can't remember anything particularly. He thinks they watch documentaries on this kind of issue, and his dad gives money to charity, though Kran doesn't know to which charity or how much.

²² An American Sky and cable television channel.

Kran feels that some of his views on poverty are developed through looking at the Bible in Sunday School when he was younger, and talking to his dad, who is a priest.

What?

In Year 9 Geography, Kran learnt that sweatshops "tend to be cramped, not very humane, long hours, low light levels, with unsafe tools and things". He says they learnt about the companies that set up sweatshops and "move around to get cheaper deals for taxes and stuff". He says that "it's complicated" because sweatshops do provide employment, but "it's completely the wrong methods". He said he "felt quite sorry" for the people who worked there. Kran also learnt that sweatshops aren't just in other countries, but in England too, "with really low wages and things". He says they also looked at an example of a local department store that was in the news for buying products made in a sweatshop.

In the same unit, Kran also learnt about fair trade, how it is growing in popularity in this country, and how *"it pays the fair amount that farmers need to grow their crops and live, rather than the cheapest amount they can possibly get for the crops".*

In Year 10 Geography, Kran has studied the work of the charity WaterAid.²³ He says that it's not just financial need that causes people to have to walk to rivers to collect water. Other important factors are water scarcity, and the fact that villages are often small, spread out, and not well recorded on maps, making it difficult to find every village, and expensive to build a well in every one. He says *"it doesn't cost as much as people think to build a well in a village"*, and WaterAid helps build wells and shows people how to maintain them. Kran thinks WaterAid is *"doing a good job"*.

Kran particularly remembers one Oxfam advert he saw on television, where "there is like a woman standing in a desert and she is holding like cupped hands with like rice or grain in it and it says that's the only food she'll have for either a month or a year". He says he finds this "sort of distressing" but at the same time "it doesn't seem that realistic that one woman is going to live on her own with no house in the middle of a desert ... you'd have thought they would show some sort of settlement in the background. So I'm not sure I'd give money because it's not that realistic".

Kran explains that *"in the Bible it says that God loves us all equally"*. He remembers this from studying the Bible in Sunday School and looking at how passages are relevant to our lives. He says that *"it doesn't seem fair that some people should be better off than others"*. In particular, it seems unfair if you're born into poverty as *"there's nothing you can do, and you don't get the opportunity right from the start"*.

Why?

Kran wanted to take part in this research because "sometimes poorer people are overlooked, or even frowned upon. If this can be helped, then it should be." He says that he can feel "a bit guilty about feeling a bit happy when other people aren't". He says that this sense of unfairness and a wish to act on it may "come from the church".

²³ WaterAid is an international NGO with the mission of transforming lives by improving access to *safe water, improved hygiene and sanitation* in the world's poorest communities (www.wateraid.org).

Although this was Kran's motivation for taking part in the research, he doesn't explicitly articulate this as his motivation for any of his other learning about global poverty and development.

How?

Kran says of his work in Geography that "I haven't really remembered much standing out from the rest of it". He says that's "just school really". However, he is able to remember some activities in particular. He refers twice to a "slightly disturbing" activity in Year 9 Geography about the characteristics that sweatshop owners would look for in their workers: "like they shouldn't have a family because that would cause them to complain and they shouldn't belong to a trade union, and not educated so they would know their rights". He says that this "brought it into real understandable terms, so something that happens rather than something distant, so you can (associate) with it more easily". However, he also said it didn't focus much on specific people, which made it more difficult to see what it is like for them.

Other activities Kran particularly remembers in Geography include working in a group to carry out their own research on WaterAid. They used their textbooks, and the Internet, including videos on the WaterAid website, and made a poster advertisement. Kran also mentions a television programme about a local department store that was in the papers for selling a product made in a sweatshop.

Outside of school, a television advert for Oxfam picturing *"an image of a woman holding in her hands some grain"* stays with Kran, and he also mentions an advert for a programme on water-borne diseases.

Tom

Who?

Tom lives in the historic centre of a small town in a rural county, with his parents and younger sister. His dad is a university lecturer and his mum is a doctor. He attends School 4, a large secondary state school in which the number of students taking free school meals is below average, as are the numbers with special educational needs or disabilities.

Tom is 12 and in Year 8. At school he takes part in football, and in eFutures. The latter is an off-timetable activity about global warming and student-led action to reduce energy use, run by the National Trust and local government, which students can apply to take part in. Out of school Tom enjoys squash, football and most other sports. Tom describes himself as white British, as sporty and as someone who is committed, hardworking and who concentrates.

Where?

At school

At school, Tom mostly learns about international development and poverty through Geography lessons. In particular, last year his Geography teacher had done lots of travelling, and used photographs from her trips to explain what she was teaching. Tom has recently completed an assessed essay about the impact of the world's growing population, and how *"we're using up resources and they're going to suffer, people in* 248

LEDCs." In Year 7 Geography, he learnt about sustainable travel in Kenya (the assessment was to design a sustainable resort), shanty towns in Lagos, and life in Zimbabwe.

Tom remembers an assembly when he was in Year 7 about the work of an organisation called Lepra,²⁴ which heals children with leprosy in LEDCs. He took part in a sponsored walk to raise money for the charity, which was fun. Tom's school sometimes has non-school-uniform days for Comic Relief and Children in Need. On those days there will be an assembly or a short video shown in form time. Tom has also been taking part in a shoebox appeal, where each form *"put together shoeboxes and they send them off to Africa, full of like toys and then they send them off for Christmas"*.

Tom's Citizenship classes focus on items in the news, "so that we can understand it". Recently, "we've been doing things about women's rights in Saudi Arabia". In eFutures, an off-timetable activity for selected students, Tom is learning about global warming, and some parts of this are about its impact on LEDCs.

Outside school

Most years, Tom watches the television programmes shown on Red Nose Day. Tom sometimes also uses the Internet for homework, for example he recently had to research fair trade to feed back to class. On the Internet, he sees adverts for Oxfam and other charities on the side of webpages.

What?

In Year 7 Geography, Tom learnt about Makoko, a shanty town in Lagos, Nigeria, which is built on stilts and islands made of rubbish and covered in sand and sawdust. He says the main thing he learnt was *"the fact that although they had so little they seemed to be coping"*.

In the same academic year, Tom learnt about sustainable tourism in Kenya. He says that this was linked to the social and economic aspects of sustainable development as well as being about the environment. He learnt about the multiplier effect, which explains how buying something from a local producer can have a big effect on the local economy, because "they can use it to buy something for themselves, and then the person they buy off can buy something from someone else and so it goes on". Tom says that tourism in Kenya is "a very complicated thing because you have all the different views, so you have advantages like money coming into the country but you have disadvantages like pollution (and) erosion". Although "obviously it's not perfect", a sustainable resort gives you the positives but not the problems.

As part of learning about life in Zimbabwe in Year 7 Geography, a group of Zimbabwean people visited Tom's school. At the end Tom had to write a story imagining he lived in Zimbabwe, *"you had to cover all of the problems they might have like disease, drought, not much money"*, though you could also include *"why it is good"*

²⁴ Lepra is a UK-registered international charity, working in India and Bangladesh to treat, educate, rehabilitate and give a voice to people affected by disease, poverty and prejudice (www.lepra.org.uk).

to live in Zimbabwe, like the communities (and) working together farming the land". In Zimbabwe there aren't many towns, only big cities or small villages, with tight communities. Tom learnt that, although "they don't have much food and they have disease, they still, they actually still survive so there must be a way for them actually to continue life".

In the Year 8 Geography unit on population growth, Tom learnt that as the world's population grows, there are fewer resources for everyone. The areas where populations are growing fastest are "poorer areas because they don't have access to free contraception unlike we do for example, so they don't get choices" and these places will also be most affected by shortages. For example, "in twenty years half the world's population will have very little access to water, because the MEDCs will be taking all the water they can because they also have water problems".

From the assembly about the charity Lepra, Tom learnt about children who are living on the streets in LEDCs since *"because they have leprosy they have been dumped by their families"*. The charity is working with these children to heal their leprosy and help them live normal lives.

In eFutures, Tom's group was given a map showing the consequences of global warming for Africa, and particularly sub-Saharan Africa: *"although they weren't making so much pollution, they were getting the worst of the consequences, like disease and famines and droughts"*. As global warming gets worse, *"they can't grow food because it's drought, they can't get water, so they don't get any money and then it's just a continuous cycle of money, food, and then illness and death"*. Tom thinks this is *"not really fair"* because *"we're using up all the fossil fuels and burning them, creating greenhouse gases, but as a country, we're not going to get so affected, because as a country we don't get so many hurricanes and weather like that"*.

Tom says that on television on Red Nose Day "they always have a celebrity go out to Africa, and then do a really sad video clip about the children, and that's the main thing they do". Because they are trying to make you give money "they always make it as sad as they can. When they're doing malaria, they always go to a hospital and um, a baby or something has just come in ... and then the baby always dies". Tom says this makes him feel sad, but usually you know the people you see will get help. Then the programme asks for money for "a simple little device that can detect malaria, so that it can be treated quickly". However, Tom says that actually "you don't have control of what it goes to, and so you don't know how much of the money you give is going to malaria, or whether it is going to homeless children in the UK, or various other things that they cover, so it's quite hard to tell what you're giving for".

Through learning about global poverty Tom says he learnt *"how lucky I am to be born in an MEDC, not in Africa or wherever the country is, and that I've got enough food to live off, and that I've got a house and everything."*

Why?

Tom thinks that school is the most important place for learning about global poverty and development because *"it's the one you have to do ... you've got no choice but to*

listen to what the teacher says". He says that for some people this might make them less interested in learning, but not for him as he is *"quite interested"*.

He says that global poverty shown through the media, for example Red Nose Day, *"forces"* and *"brings you in"* so that you know what it would be like to live in a developing country.

How?

Tom talks in a lot of detail about an activity he did as part of eFutures. In groups, students were given a satellite image of a country or area and figures about greenhouse gas production and the effects of climate change. They had to work out *"if our place deserved a small, medium or large carbon footprint which we stuck onto the thing and how badly they would be affected, so we had warning signs we had to stick on".* Tom's group has Australia where the relationship between greenhouse gas production and flooding through sea-rise is quite dramatic: carbon emissions were really concentrated in the south east of the country, which would be flooded with a one-metre rise in sea level. Working in a group, without having to produce a poster or assessment, also made it really interesting.