Cultivating the civic identities and agency of undergraduates at a university in the UK

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I, Piers von Berg, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed:

Dated: …19.02.21..
Abstract

In recent years, many universities in the UK have claimed that citizenship is a benefit of attending their institution. This is at odds with the changed landscape of higher education which incentivises students in a competitive pursuit of valued grades and experiences for CVs to attain well paid employment. This study aims to discover what form of citizenship education can help nurture civic identities and agency of students at university. There is a lack of research on how citizenship education can achieve this in the marketised environment of UK universities and as part of a teacher’s professional practice at university.

This study used an action research approach and an interpretive framework of analysis that drew on Friere’s ideas of authentic reflection, Mezirow’s theory of transformational learning and Boal’s forms of Forum and Image Theatre. This involved a series of activities combining discussion of personal beliefs, norms and values, critical incidents with marginalised groups in society, and, experimentation with issues from the students own lives in Forum Theatre.

The findings show the development of an inexclusive sense of community premised on solidarity. This arose from reversing processes of othering and reduced senses of loneliness at university, which created potential for collective agency. The crucial medium was experiences of empathy and compassion followed up by critical and authentic reflection in liminal spaces. This process is termed ‘felt and attentive practice’, a rethinking of how civic identity entwines with civic agency that produces powerful examples of deep learning of civic identity. A liminal space away from the pressures of study facilitated felt and attentive practice even though some students attended to improve their CVs. The approach trialled here offers potential for a new form of professional practice that stimulates self and social awareness, expands collective agency and aids transition to university for students.
Reflective statement

Coming to the Doctorate in Education

I came to the Doctorate in Education (EdD) programme as a career change to higher education. I made this change in order to focus on teaching and research in law and education. My aim was to understand how citizenship education might function at a law school. I was interested in this as I had been involved in citizenship education programmes overseas and had practiced law, specialising in children and young people. I saw the EdD programme as way to combine these interests.

I was interested from the start in identity and agency because I found that this appealed to the students’ own interests by asking what they cared about, could change and affected them. My experience in citizenship education was that this led to enthusiastic engagement for no academic credit. Prior to applying to the EdD, I wrote a book chapter on this work. In researching that chapter, I first encountered Amartya Sen and Margaret Archer’s ideas on identity and agency. These were that agency involved the freedom to choose pursuits that made sense to the individuals’ own values and that one’s identity was formed in a circular interaction with one’s environment by investing time in the things one cares about, which in turn shape us. I was keen to know how these could be nurtured in the classroom so I was interested in using action research.

Year 1: foundations of professionalism and methods of enquiry

At the start of the EdD, I found it very challenging for me as a professional. My professional practice as a lecturer in the UK was in its infancy and the professional field of citizenship education at university does not exist in the sense of a clearly defined area of research within higher education or citizenship education. My professional identity was mixed – I was still a practicing barrister and a teaching fellow at a university. To complicate matters, the thinking behind my EdD proposal stemmed from a programme in citizenship education that I had taught in 2002-2003 as part of an international development programme overseas. Consequently, I struggled to bring these elements together in the first course on the EdD, the
Foundations of Professionalism. I tried to explore how clinical and professional education in law might be a field for citizenship education. Whilst Sullivan et al’s (2007) concept of ‘civic professionalism’ held interest as a way of seeing legal work as a contributing to society, I was not persuaded to see the students’ civic development through the lens of their professional identity. Also I encountered literature (Thornton 2007 and Maharg 2007) that conveyed warnings about the alienating nature of legal study and the negative impact of recent changes to higher education, especially in law. These formed a problem of practice of an overly narrow focus of the law degree that neglected the students’ sense of identity, agency and emotional and social skills.

In the second module, Methods of Enquiry 1, I investigated the literature around emotional intelligence and how it is taught at higher education (Boyatzis and Saatcioglu 2001). I had been interested in how one aspect of personal development, the recognition and management of one’s emotional state, and the recognition and response to the emotions of others, might be a professional and civic skill. However, I was not convinced by the ethics and methodology which relied on self-reported experiences of emotional states to make claims about an individual’s capacity or intelligence, which would then be used to help improve their individual effectiveness in the workplace (Goleman 2001).

For the final module on methodology, I approached my supervisor for advice as I thought that I had reached a dead end with both emotional intelligence and professional education. He advised me to look at the literature on youth. This opened the door to a fruitful engagement with the literature, especially youth sociology. I found Gill Jones, Andrew Furlong and Fred Cartmel’s works on individualisation and the transition to adulthood very helpful. I saw the construction of identity as a mediation or negotiation by the individual and their surroundings. This led me to use Andrew Gidden’s work on reflexivity, which helped provide a framework for understanding this process. These ideas formed the basis for the first really rewarding piece of work on the EdD: an investigation of students’ senses of identity and agency around their studies. The data seemed to confirm the idea that the students were trying to reflexively manage uncertainty in their personal projects (their degrees). They sought meaning in their studies either through prosocial ideas or aspirations for careers that drew on experiences growing up that in turn
endeavoured to understand past challenges and future obstacles. Across the group this was characterised by acceptance of responsibility by the individual.

Years 2-3: the Institution Focused Study

For the Institution Focused Study (IFS), I turned to focus more squarely on citizenship. Up until this point I had explored what I thought were elements that contributed to citizenship such as the skills learned in professional legal education and the influences on students’ identity at university. From Methods of Enquiry 2 above, I was interested in how students interpreted their experiences of university. I now wanted to know how students experienced citizenship at university. I read Watson (2014) and Gutmann (1987) who argued that civic learning is almost incidental or implicit in the university experience of scholarly study. I found research such as McFarland and Thomas (2006) who found evidence of learning of habits and attitudes conducive to democracy or a civic identity in extracurricular activities. This was difficult to square with others like Macfarlane (2015) and Ryan (2011) who described a performative environment for students where cultivation of identity is artificial or hidden away in private lives. I found the literature of citizenship and young people often premised on not well evidenced claims of apathy and lack of participation, framed in terms of orthodox forms of citizenship (voting, party membership), that was incurious of young people’s understanding and perception of political agency and identity. This reading made me decide to have an open exploratory research question and consider giving the students a voice in the study.

When considering the methodology, I was influenced by Scott’s (1996) discussion of the limitations of qualitative methodologies, in which he cited Bhaskar’s (1979) criticism that phenomenology fails to sufficient account of the extent of an individual's knowledge of themselves. This led me to read research methodologies for working for young people that introduced ideas of participatory research and triangulating findings with other studies. In practical terms in the IFS, it was challenging to get students to take part as despite efforts to recruit from outside my discipline students did not volunteer. This informed my later decision to be less ambitious on numbers and work with a smaller group of students.
The findings of the IFS helped crystallise my problem of practice more precisely. I found a lack of opportunities for students to develop their civic identities at university beyond the influence of the marketised environment in higher education. My data showed that despite engagement with opportunities for civic learning in class, the law clinic and societies, there was not enough time and space to explore their own civic concerns. I presented these findings at the Higher Education Close Up Conference and published them in the journal *Critical Studies in Teaching and Learning*. This enabled me to explore more deeply the literature behind the formation of civic identity and agency. I found Helen Haste’s constructivist account of civic identity formation and Ruth Lister’s empirical studies of the mixed and kaleidoscopic nature of youth identity helped me understand the data better.

**Years 4-6: the thesis**

In drafting the thesis proposal after the IFS, I started to think about the pedagogies I wanted to use in citizenship education. I discussed with my supervisors modifying my teaching on the law degree. This was difficult because I had changed institution between IFS and thesis, and I had not had time to get to know my new teaching colleagues and modules. Furthermore, whilst my new head viewed citizenship education as something that could be done across the School, this was not supported by other colleagues. Moreover, the IFS findings suggested that in class teaching on credit bearing assessed modules was a performative space that would not facilitate students exploring the personal concerns central to their identities and agency. The students in the IFS study had said how the focus group and workshop exercises was the kind of activity in which they could open up more. Furthermore, I wanted to use some unusual pedagogies to my discipline such as theatre and experiential learning, which I thought would be easier outside normal class with a smaller group.

This was a difficult decision for me as a professional because at some point I would have to consider how this separate activity applied to my normal teaching. Because this was conducted away from normal School processes and classes, it became invisible to my School and a sort of parallel activity that challenged many of the ideas
behind my teaching. This has been a difficult balance to maintain but has led to some rethinking of my professional practice as a result.

The thesis has made me question in what spaces and for what ends my teaching is conducted. As I discovered in the thesis the students reported powerful experiences that were shocking, strange or cathartic. They connected these to questioning and in some cases widening of their sense of community and agency. It is also surprising to read this data and moving to witness their interactions, especially in the Forum Theatre. I was surprised by the strength of feeling and language and that this occurred after a relatively short experience in terms of other similar examples of community based learning (e.g. Yates et al 1999). I could identify with the theme of a lack of time and lack of attention to others experienced by the students in their Forum Theatre play both as a personal tutor and as a member of staff seeking mentoring and support.

As a result, I question whether the space in which I teach should be more egalitarian in that the students and I learn together. I also question whether what we learn is about ourselves and relationships with one another, specifically how we are shaped by our lives in the university and the community in which it resides. Exploring this as a professional was uncomfortable and precarious. I found that I was no longer the source and guide to specialist knowledge, and, how a learning experience unfolded, whether a visit to a charity or a Forum Theatre play, was largely outside my control. At the same time, it was a satisfying experience as I saw students were able to stand back and pose questions of their upbringing, their educational experience and the borders of their community. This in turn raised similar questions for myself as I then reflected on the construction of my values and norms, position within the institution and relations with the wider community. This was aided by following the action research methodology of checking and monitoring oneself.

This process of self-reflection raises more questions than produced answers. For example, whether this form of educational activity will be supported by the institution in its current form and whether it could appeal to a larger number of students. This activity exposes and questions parts of the university experience often in unsettling ways without providing credit for their degree or experiences for their CV that necessarily appeal to all. It may lead to negative reports of satisfaction in student
surveys or participation only by those already interested in citizenship. I am conscious that universities have a vested interest in measurable activities that sustain market position and students are encouraged to believe that university education is measured in terms of valued credentials. This stimulates debate about what form citizenship education should take at university and how to garner institutional support and student interest.
Impact statement

The thesis demonstrates a new way of thinking and practicing citizenship education at university. Other practitioners may extend this new form of practice and other researchers may draw on the theoretical ideas behind it.

This practice of citizenship education combines authentic reflection, experiential learning and Forum and Image Theatre. Other examples that one could find in the literature do not combine experiential learning with Forum Theatre, and not in the context of UK higher education. The combination matters because the critical incidents outside the classroom led students to question their norms and values, which they could then link to their everyday experience and collaborative action in Forum Theatre. This may be of interest to practitioners who wish to fill the gap between universities’ aspirations to cultivate citizenship and the relative lack of professional practice in citizenship education at university.

The new theoretical idea that explains this process is the proposed concept of felt and attentive practice. Felt and attentive practice occurs when a form of civic agency in face to face interactions involving empathy and compassion stimulates critical and authentic reflection on civic identity. This reversed processes of othering marginalised individuals in society and helped form bonds between students. Researchers may draw on the theoretical idea to understand what types of praxis can be used in citizenship education at university.

This research was carried out in a liminal space between study and voluntary student-led activities where the students felt able to stand back and see themselves and their university experience. It was a release of pressure and a moment to reflect. Although this was only one small group, there was a good range of disciplines and social backgrounds. Importantly, all gave up substantial amounts of time from which there is strong data to show instances of deep learning about their civic identities. This can form the basis of evidence based recommendations for my School where citizenship education of this form may complement studies, enrich extracurricular interests and networks, and assist with transition to university.
This is of interest to my School because it is revising parts of its programmes to make them more relevant to what it terms 21st century challenges. This could be an opportunity to explore whether this form of citizenship education can be further developed in a liminal space and remain separate from institutional interests of employability and increasing student numbers. This possibility could be explored in further research with institutional support and continued involvement of the wider community through the charities. This would be of considerable benefit to the students in helping them to negotiate their civic identities and agency using empathy and compassion that can reduce senses of isolation in the student community and exclusion in the wider city.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The values, beliefs and norms of an individual evolve through childhood, adolescence and throughout life. At university, students make important decisions about who they are and how they fit into a community: in their choice of career, partner, interest-group or participation in a voluntary association (Arnet 1994; Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016; Taylor et al 2019). Their experience of university shapes values and behaviour that sustain democratic political communities through higher levels of race tolerance, less incidence of authoritarian views and lower political cynicism (Bynner et al 2003). Education beyond school, including at university, is also a powerful predictor of increased public participation (Putnam 2000: 186). In the UK, many more students now attend university than in previous times and spend longer in higher education (Furlong and Cartmel 2009); which leads to the argument that university is now ‘the central institution for civic incorporation of younger generations’ (Flanagan and Levine, 2010: 159; Sloam et al 2021).

Our understanding of how and why university shapes citizens is due to several factors. First, habits and skills associated with democratic citizenship such as critical thinking and respectful discussion of conflicting views are a central part of a university education (Annette 2010; Watson 2014). Outside of study, participation in extracurricular clubs correlates with a willingness to engage in civil society and politics in later life (McFarland and Thomas 2006) and discussions among peers in the student community engenders a culture of mutual reciprocity (Ahier et al 2003). Consequently, there are many ways in which universities facilitate learning the attributes of democratic citizenship without explicitly teaching citizenship (Annette 2010; Gutmann 1987; Watson 2014). However, the context in which this learning occurs is now changing. This study aims to discover what form of citizenship
education can help nurture democratic identities and agency of citizens in this new professional context.

My professional context as a lecturer at a Law School at a university in the UK has transformed in recent years. My institution has become far more reliant on private revenue from students than state funding, there are greater numbers of students from more diverse backgrounds, and, my university competes with other universities to market its experience to students. These are representative of trends across the sector of privatisation, massification and marketisation (Scott 2015). My Institution Focused Study (IFS abstract – Appendix 1) found that the fostering of values of democratic citizenship at university was compromised by instrumental attitudes to study, compressed time and space for civic activities and cynicism among students about the civic value of university. This presented a problem of professional practice of how my teaching could foster civic identity and agency within this changed context. This thesis aims to address this problem of citizenship education at university.

Citizenship is understood as membership of a political community. Broadly speaking, it comprises both the status of holding such membership and the expectations of what citizens should do in order to sustain any particular version of that community (McCowan 2009). Citizenship theory focuses on the attributes of individuals that can maintain and develop a particular form of community (Kymlicka 2002). Individual attributes include beliefs, values and norms concerning citizenship (civic identity), and ability and self-belief to act to further those as a citizen (civic agency). Citizenship also relies upon knowledge, understanding, skills, competence and capital (whether social, cultural or economic) to act both individually and collectively (Putnam 2000; Verba et al 1995).¹

Democratic citizenship matters because it sustains democracy. Democracy is understood as a form of political community with institutional and behavioural characteristics. In the case of the UK, the institutional make-up regulates and guarantees representative government, which values rights and freedoms, the rule of law and the peaceful resolution of disputes (Crick 2008: 4). Democratic institutions

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¹ I use the term ‘civic’ as an adjective for ‘citizenship’ – something relating to one’s citizenship. I will use ‘citizenship’ as an adjective for education and I explain the distinction with civic education in Chapter 2.
rely on the behaviour of citizens in building and practicing relationships of trust and fidelity (Putnam 2000: 348-349) and their identities and virtues are critical factors in doing this (Kymlicka 2002: 286).

A person’s civic identity shapes one’s priorities, interests and thereby motivation to act and treatment of fellow citizens, or a person’s civic agency (Conover 1995; Osler and Starkey 2005). The most common examples are a person’s sense of belonging, understood as the identification and emotional attachment to others or a place where one feels at home (Yuval-Davis 2006) or simply feel included, and, a responsibility for common welfare without which some argue one is not a ‘true citizen’ (Heater 2004: 187; see also Youniss et al 2001). This ‘sense’ of citizenship creates and shapes the character of a community understood as ‘the form of common social practices, cultural traditions, and shared understandings’ between individuals (Kymlicka 2002: 209). Changes in the beliefs, norms and values of a society, often influenced by the collective agency of citizens, can lead to challenges to prevailing norms, and changes to practices and laws, of a political community. This is linked to a university education because it can enhance democratic norms and civic engagement (Bynner et al 2003; Putnam 2000).

Rationale

In recent years, universities in the UK have openly allied themselves to cultivating qualities of citizenship. For example, universities publish graduate attributes, that is qualities or characteristics that students may obtain through studies and societies beyond disciplinary expertise (Barrie and Prosser 2004), which include citizenship (see Appendix 2 from my own institution). Surprisingly, very little attention is given to how this is incorporated into curricula and pedagogy. It creates disjuncture between the rhetoric of universities that celebrate citizenship and a lack of practice (Deem and McCowan 2018). Some might argue that since the early 2000s there has been a growth in programmes where students act in partnership with local communities in a structured programme that includes reflection or service learning (Annette and McLaughlin 2005); others may point to the increasing activity around the contribution of the university to its community, broadly termed civic or public engagement (Goddard 2010). These initiatives can be distinguished from citizenship education, which means educational interventions that address students as members of a
political community (McCowan 2009). There has been very little interest in these forms educational intervention at university that prioritise the cultivation of the attributes of students as citizens as distinct from the study of their discipline or the institution’s relations with its community (Annette 2010; McCowan 2012).

Studies of the rare instances of citizenship education at UK universities have investigated how ideals have been transposed to the curriculum and implementation (McCowan 2012), how universities have conceptualised global citizenship education in their course materials (Hammond and Keating 2017), and what influences can be discerned in global citizenship education programmes (Sen 2020). The latter two studies have found that it is very difficult for citizenship education at university to remain impervious to the wider agenda in higher education of fostering employable graduates. As Hammond and Keating show (2017: 6) while there is overlap between the attributes of what they term ‘global workers’ and ‘global citizens’, there are also vital beliefs, norms and values distinct to citizenship, such as notions of rights, respect for others, empathy and a common sense of humanity, for example. This poses a challenge of how to encourage students to learn about these ideas without changing or diluting their meaning. I wish to understand this in order to advance my professional practice of teaching citizenship in my professional context (see below).

There is considerable benefit for students and onus on universities in tackling such problems. Learning how to get along with different others and being willing to collaborate collectively are key ways in which students can act as citizens to help sustain democracy. One of the dominant post-war trends in the UK is of greater racial diversity (Sobolewska and Ford 2020) which in recent years has met increasing resistance from more exclusive legal barriers to citizenship (Shankley and Byrne 2020). Other wider trends in UK citizenship are of greater individual rather than collective participation (Pattie et al 2004) and more individualised patterns of participation among young people (Furlong and Cartmel 2007). Universities need to address these trends because they have a major and critical role in creating the culture of citizenship (Crick 2000: 145).

**Research questions and research design**

This research stems from a curiosity to know what kinds of intervention can stimulate students to learn about their civic identities and agency. The overall research
question is: ‘How are the civic identities and civic agency of undergraduates at a university in the UK formed, and how are they shaped by an exploratory educational intervention?’ The question is open-ended because the students’ experience of interactive pedagogies used in citizenship education (see below) is hard to predict (McCowan 2009). This interest led me to identify pedagogies that would enable the students to investigate their civic identities and agency namely, critical and authentic reflection, transformational learning and Forum and Image Theatre. To explore this the research will answer four sub-questions:

1. What are the students’ understandings of their civic identity and civic agency at the start of the intervention?

2. How do the students perceive their experience at university to affect their civic identity and civic agency?

3. How do the students perceive the effect of their participation in workshops involving authentic and critical reflection, transformative service learning and Forum Theatre on their civic identities and agencies?

4. What do the students want to learn about their own civic identities and civic agency after experiencing the intervention?

The reasons for these sub-questions are as follows. The study uses the pattern of learning of presage, process and outcome (Ashwin et al. 2015: 31). This requires a consideration first (presage) of what identities, agency and perspectives on citizenship the students have brought to the project and how these have been constructed, as best as can be gleaned from their accounts. I will also try to understand their perceptions of how the wider university context affects their civic identities and agency. I will examine the students’ perceptions and experiences of activities as an observer/facilitator of the activities (process) and in talking to the students afterwards (outcome). I acknowledge that how the process unfolds depends also on how the students respond to the intervention, a point I shall address in the data analysis. Lastly, after experiencing this intervention, I will ask the students how they would like to learn about citizenship in order to give them a voice in any applications of the findings to my professional practice.
The research design created time outside of class to allow the students to explore their own citizenship in the above activities. This was because the IFS found that pressures to obtain valued credentials such as obtaining a 2:1 grade or valued work experience crowded out time to address issues in the student community. The IFS participants argued for space and time outside their studies to explore what citizenship meant to themselves and each other. These findings led to the choice of pedagogies that would facilitate and encourage students to explore their understandings of citizenship. These include authentic reflection (Freire 1970), transformational learning (Mezirow 2009), and, Forum and Image Theatre (Boal 2002). These ideas were realised through action research in a series of workshops that involved critical reflection in group discussions, experiential learning with individuals marginalised in the community such as homeless persons, and, experimentation with responses to social problems in Forum Theatre exercises.

The students’ and my experiences as the teacher in facilitating these activities provide data from which we can judge how these approaches to citizenship education at university have affected, if at all, the students’ civic identities and agency, and whether these types of pedagogy have any utility in citizenship education at university. Rather than establishing a new course or module, it was an exploration in close detail of how a small group students responded to and experienced certain interventions.

**Brief overview of the theoretical approach**

The theoretical and normative assumptions are as follows. Students can be agents in the formation of their own citizenship, and in doing so become citizens. This is desirable because individuals who act as civic agents that share the values of democracy help sustain democratic political communities. The operation of agency, as both a value led exercise of influence in one’s environment, and a reflexive construction of one’s civic identity, is highly contingent on the social structures and power relations that prevail. The choice of pedagogies is intended to stimulate students to critically interrogate the way in which their civic identities are formed.

The design of the intervention was informed by my normative and political positions. As a professional, my background is in law and education (see below), from which I derive values of helping others, especially those less able to help themselves. By
bringing the students into contact with those in personal plight that may stimulate sympathy for others by which communities can begin to respect the rights of others (Turner 1993). A key aspect of this process is a group or collective experience, so that the students can learn how to form social bonds with one another, and counter the trend of individualism in citizenship culture.

My methodological framework seeks to understand how students construct their identities and experience agency as a consequence of the activities. Therefore I use a qualitative and phenomenological approach to understand how the students interpret and understand their experiences in the intervention. The activities themselves had a participatory element insofar as the students decided the direction of the Forum Theatre activities and were asked about future directions for citizenship education. This is because the research concerned the students’ own civic identities and agency.

My professional context and biography

I am a Lecturer in Law at the School of Law, Criminology and Government at the University of Plymouth in the UK. I teach mainly public law and human rights on the LLB and BSc programmes. I conducted the research for the thesis at Plymouth with first year undergraduates from law, criminology, international relations and sociology (the IFS was at my previous institution). My institution is a post-1992 university located in the far southwest of the UK. Compared to the national average, the students are less ethnically diverse, less international and there is a greater proportion of disabled students and those from POLAR 1-3 backgrounds, which are small geographical areas in which participation in higher education by the age of 19 is lowest (HESA 2017 – student enrolments 2012-2017; University of Plymouth 2017). My university has adopted graduate attributes, called the Plymouth Compass (Appendix 2), which include attributes of citizenship. These are aspirational and I am part of a working group that looks at ways to link the attributes more closely with teaching and learning.

I first became interested in citizenship education when working on international development projects where I used experiential, reflective and group based approaches to teach citizenship at university. Many years later after working as a barrister in the UK, I had an opportunity to write about my teaching experiences and I
contacted my former students. I was struck by how students reported examples of increased autonomy and critical awareness in making decisions and linked these to memories of exercises during the course (von Berg 2018). It appeared to have transformative effects on the students' beliefs and values, and, abilities to act as citizens. Consequently, I decided to move into academia so I could explore whether these ideas for citizenship education could be applicable in the UK.

The thesis structure

The thesis will first review the relevant literature around citizenship, citizenship education at higher education and the use of transformative learning, authentic and critical reflection, and Forum Theatre. It will then explain the methodology, ethical considerations and research design before reviewing and analysing at length the data to address the research questions. Finally, there is a discussion of the conclusions arising from the findings.
Chapter 2

Citizenship, citizenship education and pedagogies to explore civic identity and agency

Introduction

The review will survey the literature in three parts. Part 1 will explore the key concepts of citizenship, civic identity and civic agency, and how these relate to university students in the UK. Part 2 looks at citizenship education in higher education and approaches that cultivate civic identity and agency.

In brief, the focus is on how individuals see themselves as citizens and how they exercise influence in their community. These phenomena of civic identity and civic agency are constructed by young people in social contexts. Due to the incentives at university to see one’s education as serving individual economic gain, citizenship education should allow students to step outside this context. In the subsequent chapter on methodology, this will lead to consideration of activities that stimulate reflexivity around citizenship such as new experiences in the margins of the students’ community and experimentation with social problems using theatre.

Part 1: Citizenship, civic identity and civic agency of university students

1. Citizenship

Citizenship takes a central role in political and social change yet its meaning for, and practice by individuals is constantly disputed (Shachar et al 2017). This is particularly problematic in the UK in whose political heritage citizenship is notably absent (Miller 2000). I focus on citizenship because it provides voice, recognition and dignity in the face of power. In a moving cinematic critique of how individuals are treated by the
State in the UK, the character Daniel Blake states ‘I am not a client, a customer, nor a service user… I, Daniel Blake, am a citizen…’ (*I, Daniel Blake* 2016). To be empowered to express oneself, to have a voice in a public space, is to exercise agency, and it shows the intimate connection between identity and agency, by engaging with one’s own ideas, thoughts and concerns in order to influence power (Barnett and di Napoli 2008: 6).

The portrayal in *I, Daniel Blake* of an individual seeking benefits from the State is central to the UK tradition of citizenship, which is defined as membership of a political community that entails rights and stems from the post-war settlement and welfare state (Marshall 1950). There is widespread agreement on this core definition that to be a citizen is to hold citizenship or membership of a polity (Joppke, 2007; McCowan 2009; Osler and Starkey 2005). It is difficult to ascertain any further common ground because theories of citizenship encompass ‘the virtues and practices needed to promote and maintain the sorts of institutions and policies defended within theories of justice’ (Kymlicka 2002: 287) and on those issues there is no agreement (Shachar et al 2017).

There is a wide range of competing theories on the nature of a political community and a citizen’s role. Liberals conceive of a citizen as primarily a rights-holder, who stands in equal status with other fellow civic rights holders (e.g. Marshall 1950). Civic republicans see citizenship as realised through participation in public decision-making (e.g. Oldfield 1990). For communitarians, democracy requires a community tied to fixed senses of identity such as the nation-state (e.g. Walzer 1983). Whereas cultural pluralists envisage citizenship as engaging across differences to establish solidarity in heterogeneous political communities (e.g. Lister 2007). There are debates, sub-divisions and variations within these positions (Kymlicka 2002; McCowan 2009). There are also newer forms such as global citizenship (Oxley and Morris 2013) and critical citizenship (Johnson and Morris 2010). The cultural pluralist approach is of greatest interest for this study because of its use of both agency and identity to understand citizenship.

2. Citizenship and identity
The emphasis on identity has been a prominent feature of citizenship studies in the last 20 years (Isin and Turner 2002; Isin and Wood 1999; Lister 2003, 2007; Kallio et al 2020). These thinkers hold that how individuals understand themselves and are recognised by others has a significant impact on how they claim their rights. Citizenship is understood in different ethnic, cultural, national and gendered contexts in which it is constructed and ascribed (Isin and Wood 1999). This has led to the ‘lived experience’ approach to citizenship that investigates the meaning citizenship has in an individual’s everyday interactions or ‘citizenship-as-practice’ (Biesta and Lawy 2006a: 37 – see also Hall and Williamson 1999; Kallio et al 2020; Wood 2014).

There are good reasons to use identity as a focal point to understand citizenship. One’s understanding, feelings and beliefs around how one relates to one’s political community shapes one’s actions or practice as a citizen (Conover 1995; Osler and Starkey 2005; Youniss et al 1997). There are also disadvantages and pitfalls to using identity. ‘Identity politics’ assumes a homogenous group, ascribes views to members based on their perceived identity, and requires loyalty to certain authorised interpretations of what it means to be ‘British’, ‘Black’ or ‘Muslim’, for example (Yuval-Davis 2010). It can provide the basis for ‘othering’, the opposite of belonging. Othering is a set of exclusive processes that ‘engender marginality and persistent inequality’ across differences based on group identities (powell and Menendian 2016: 17). Despite this, focusing on how young people experience citizenship in their everyday life lends them voice, especially when using phenomenological methodologies (Biesta and Lawy 2006a; Wood 2014). This is an important consideration in studying undergraduate students because the typical age of entry is 18-21 (OECD 2018: 426).

An example of how young people understand citizenship is Lister et al (2003). This is a rare instance of research of understandings of citizenship in the UK of young people closer to or of university age (16-23 years) over a three year period. It revealed a kaleidoscope of beliefs, values and understandings around citizenship that was not necessarily coherent or consistent. Citizenship was a ‘foreign’ idea that ‘resonated with their own attempts to make sense of their position in society’ (Lister et al 2003: 237). This overlaps to some degree with personal development (Osler and Starkey 2005). Citizenship was associated with becoming economically independent (with a wage, home and family). These liberal notions of individualism
are a consistent thread in British political culture and can be seen in quantitative surveys of citizenship in all age ranges in the UK that describe an ‘atomised citizenship’ through the ‘rise of individualistic forms of participation at the expense of collectivist forms’ (Pattie et al 2004). However, the young people in Lister et al (2003) also understood citizenship as rooted in membership of a community. The clearest expressions of meaning concerned being a ‘good citizen’, the most common example of which was a considerate and caring attitude to others. This study reveals how salient citizenship can be to young people whilst being refracted into a range of different and contradictory understandings, a feature corroborated by more recent mixed-method surveys (Hylton et al 2018). What it does not account for is how those aged 16-23 years can be on very different trajectories in life as a result of their social backgrounds (Frazer and Emler 1997). Therefore, a broader approach is needed.

Like citizenship, identity is a contested term that many treat as an ‘open problematic’ with a large multidisciplinary literature base (Weatherell 2010: 1). If one draws on ideas from sociology, education and youth studies, identity is a continual lifelong process of trying to understand and represent oneself reflexively using beliefs, values, goals, roles and experiences that can be integrated across time, space and social realms, and exist separately as compound parts (Giddens 1991; Nagaoka et al 2015; Pollard 2003; Sennett 2001). It is a dynamic state where reflection on one’s experience in particular social contexts and relationships with others leads to additions and revisions to the stories or narratives one tells about oneself. Where these beliefs, values, norms, goals and narratives concern one’s citizenship, I understand this as civic identity. Therefore, civic identity is an active and fluid process (Carretero et al 2016). I prefer this definition of civic identity because it demarcates the personal and social aspects of identity and it will intersect with agency.

3. Citizenship and agency

How an individual reflects on their own experience of acting as a citizen helps us understand the formation of civic identity. Citizenship fundamentally involves action, which presupposes an ‘ability to be actors in the political sphere, to be active rather than passive’ (McCowan 2009: 65). Agency is studied by a variety of disciplines, and I draw mainly from education, psychology and sociology. There is consensus that
agency involves the setting of goals based on values drawn from a personal identity that invests activities with meaning (Archer 2000; Bandura 2001; Osler and Starkey 2005). Agency is more than action, it involves an ability or freedom to achieve things of importance for the individual: ‘what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important’ (Sen 1985: 206 quoted in Walker and McLean 2013: 30). Agency requires an awareness that one can exercise influence on the world, a feeling of self-efficacy or what is called a sense of agency. I understand civic agency as where the exercise of influence is informed by one’s civic identity and addresses one’s sense of community. Individual pursuit of one’s cares and interests that do not impact on one’s community is not citizenship. Actions that address senses of community are distinguished in part by the civic beliefs and values that drive them. A simple illustration is that one can imagine citizens who feel a sense of social responsibility and donate to a homeless charity, citizens who believe in doing their bit and so volunteer in the charity’s soup kitchen, or citizens who have a critical understanding of the law and campaign for changes to social housing (Westheimer and Kahne 2004).

Identity and agency interrelate because a person’s identity can be considered as a product of their interaction with their environment, in other words, part of their agency (Bandura 2001). I take this further in that civic identity is shaped by reflections upon the exercise of influence (agency), as well as reflection or interpretation of experience. Agency encompasses more than action to exert influence, it has an internal element that involves mental processing as one exercises choice and compromise in assessing and negotiating opportunities and obstacles. This contributes to identity where these actions and thoughts provide meaning and direction in our lives (Bandura 2001). There is a circular relationship here as qualitative research on personal biographies shows that a coherent personal narrative leads to greater senses of agency (Stroobants 2005). This helps us better understand the relationship between what Osler and Starkey (2005) term the feeling (identity) and practice (agency) of citizenship.

Agency is understood in its social and relational context as a collective endeavour premised on an awareness of others and the necessary facilitation provided by access to and awareness of rights Osler and Starkey (2005). Where agency touches on one’s political community there are ‘ethical concerns regarding how to deal with
the plurality of worlds and beings’ (Escobar 2017: 417 drawing on William James). My ethical concerns derive from my professional identity as a lawyer and a teacher where my civic values are of helping others, especially others less able to help themselves. This leads me to define these ‘ethical concerns’ as collective sympathy for the plight of others. I draw on sociological understandings of citizenship and rights that argue that collective sympathy for the plight of others is how moral communities are created that respect rights (Turner 1993). In short, the salient features of my civic identity are collective and prosocial. This informs my approach to citizenship education below.

4. **Formation and change in civic identity and agency**

Social learning theory points to how identity is constructed by the individual through the process of reflection and the drawing out of meaning from experience (Boud et al 1985). The key socialising agents are family and peers in process reaching back into early childhood, and in adolescent years with peers in voluntary associations (Flanagan 2003; Quintelier 2015). One way of looking at this is through a ‘lifewide’ and ‘lifelong’ scope of analysis (Pollard 2003) that requires consideration of a wide range of contextual issues and social influences (lifewide), and temporal and developmental factors (lifelong). This helps understand a more diverse student body in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and sexuality (Scott 2010) and because political development is a ‘meaningful sequence or pattern of activities over time’ (Flanagan 2003: 261).

Lifewide factors have varying impacts on constructions and practice of citizenship in terms of class, gender and ethnicity. If young people tend to associate citizenship with economic independence (e.g. Lister et al 2003), there are less optimal outcomes for ethnic minorities and females in the UK (Jones 2009). Gender roles are more pronounced from age 15 onwards, and Lister et al (2003) found girls more likely to talk explicitly about constructive participation in society. The disconnection to political processes is found to be strongest among lower social classes but without meaningful variations between ethnicities (Tonge et al 2011). However, this data was drawn from an age range of 11-25 without a tighter focus on university students.

There are variations in civic identity and agency along educational lines. In a study of those aged 16-19 in the UK, the lack of engagement in politics was very strongly
associated with educational attainment and level (Frazer and Emler 1997). The latter point is stressed in newer research on university students across Europe between 2002-2016, which showed that greater civic and political participation (both in formal and informal domains) correlates with being in higher education (Sloam et al 2021). There are differences between institutions as students at lower status institutions (the University of Plymouth is not part of the elite Russell Group research-intensive universities) have lower levels of self-belief and optimism in their future political and civic roles (Brooks et al 2020). In lifelong terms, longitudinal studies of participation of schoolchildren in the UK found that young people’s practices fluctuate with age and educational stage (Keating et al 2011). Verba et al (1995) argue that those who have civic skills are best placed to take advantage of resources of time and money leading to civic participation by a limited and unrepresentative group. This is doubted by research that found these factors had little influence on participation in civic activities at university (Beaumont 2011; McFarland and Thomas 2006), which others show can neutralise differences between students in terms of class where low-income students show considerably greater levels of interest in politics, social and political trust than non-students (Sloam et al 2021). It is a complicated picture and not one fully understood with regard to university students, especially with regard to explanatory factors; one must also be careful over how social structures affect identity formation and agency.

There is disagreement over whether young people are agentic architects of their identities and to what extent they are constrained by, or even critically aware of, social structures that may limit or determine their choices (Furlong and Cartmel 2007; Jones 2009). The debate concerns the interaction between the individual and their environment. Some describe the field of youth civic engagement as moving from a top-down political socialisation model, where young people are shaped into citizens by social institutions towards a more socially constructed understanding of citizenship (Amnå 2012; Haste 2010; Stevenson et al 2015; Wilkenfeld et al 2010). This sees a ‘growing individual as an active agent, in dialogic relation to the social and cultural context’ (Haste 2010: 182). Whilst I agree that identities can be dialectically (Osler and Starkey 2005) and dialogically (Haste 2010) shaped, a person’s identity could be an emotional or affective decision that is not entirely logical or discursive, for example, in response to an exciting and appealing role
model in consumer society. Civic identity can also be imposed and ascribed as at birth, or through society’s attitudes to gender, age, sexuality or disability. Studies of the young people’s identity in the UK find a playful, almost ‘pick-and-mix approach to identity’ in response to a range of multiple and fluid subjectivities (Riley 2008), that increasingly include social media (Growing Up Digital Taskforce 2017; Ofcom 2020).

Changes in identity formation to a more individualised selective approach prefigure changes in political behaviour by young people. For example, there is higher incidence of one-off online petitions and single issue campaigns rather than regular voting and political party allegiance (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; and see survey of six other studies by Henn and Foard 2014; and more recent qualitative and quantitative studies of English students – Brooks et al 2020; Sloam et al 2021). This is not necessarily confined to young people (Howard 2006). A constant theme in studies of young people and citizenship is a deficit of certain civic attributes (Shaw et al 2014; Smith et al 2005). Lack of interest in politics and participation is not unique to young people albeit it is more pronounced with them (Frazer and Emler 1997). Socio-economic divisions allied with lack of educational attainment can exacerbate informal, uneven, intermittent and issue-based participation (Sloam et al 2021). The Youth Citizenship Commission (2009) found a general dissatisfaction and alienation as young people as opposed to a lack of interest (see also Henn and Foard 2014; Kimberlee 2002); this picture is repeated in more recent research among English students (Brooks et al 2020). This does not translate neatly into a decline in orthodox forms of participation such as voting, estimates of which have fluctuated in recent years (Ipsos Mori 2015; 2016; 2017; 2019). The picture that emerges of young people’s civic identities in the UK is heterogeneous, at times alienated from political processes, leading to peripatetic and individualised participation.

Therefore, it is better to see young people’s civic identity and agency as a process of negotiation of life’s encounters in an uneven power relationship with society. This means civic identities are ‘contingent and continually negotiated… reshaped in response to practice and experience’ (Smith et al 2005: 440). This entails a fluid understanding of identity and an acceptance of the limits of agency, what some call a ‘bounded agency’ (Evans et al 2003). For example, international qualitative studies of students find social, political and economic contexts can enable or constrain students’ belief in their agency and their exercise of agency (Brooks et al 2020).
These limits of agency can be affected by greater knowledge and understanding of the interplay between one's identity and the structures and power relations in their environment (Walklate and Mythen 2010: 55). This form of reflexivity enables an individual to be critically reflective, which can in turn enable a learner to become an agent or subject, (what Freire (1970) termed ‘conscientisation’). It follows failure to achieve one’s goals can lead to a diminished sense of self-efficacy, which is fatal to agency. There is very little research on how university students in the UK negotiate these currents in becoming civic agents, or how their university experience affects it.

5. Understanding civic identity and agency of university students

There are no studies to my knowledge that take into account these lifewide and lifelong factors and have kept pace with the changes in higher education. A review of some of the empirical evidence stated:

‘The research literature also seems to take little account of the growing diversity and differentiation of higher education in that it fails to explore whether the relationships hold irrespective of what is studied, the kind of institution attended, the mode of study, whether living at home or away, school-leaver or mature student, social background, whether in part-time work and a host of other factors which differentiate today’s student populations’. (Brennan et al 2013: 14).

More recent large scale quantitative studies have argued that we know little of the mechanisms of civic formation in the present day UK universities (Sloam et al 2021). We shall now consider the research in this area.

One of the key markers for civic development that has emerged is one of discipline. Evidence for civic learning can be found in studies of students’ experiences of studying sociology (McLean et al 2018; Muddiman 2020). McLean et al (2018: 148) found that: ‘Student engagement with sociological knowledge can transform how they think about themselves and the world, and how they act in the world’. Although this was not research of a citizenship course, students were able to develop their civic identities and agency in terms of a sense of belonging with others and a confidence to act. This conflicts with findings from my IFS among final year law students where I found evidence of credentialism that undermined civic learning (Appendix 1). A similar example is Ryan’s (2011) study of education, law and human
movement students. She found that students were treated like customers, who obtained their credentials in time-pressured interactions that lack personalised engagement because of large student numbers. Despite using a different methodology, several of the pieces of data were very similar to the IFS. Similar findings of an instrumental attitude towards studies has been found in Business students in UK who exhibited an ‘individualised personal responsibility’ in which ‘a sense of risk and urgency crowds out any space for social citizenship’ (Muddiman 2020: 584). In Muddiman’s study these differences between discipline held despite variations in student profile and wider national context, suggesting that the disciplinary context can inculcate civic values (see also social science students in Brooks et al 2020).

If one looks more widely at university students across disciplines, changes in attitudes and values can be found in larger studies of earlier cohorts. Bynner et al 2003 surveyed the 1958 graduate cohort (11,500 at age 40) and the 1970 cohort (11,300 at age 30) in the UK and found higher levels of race tolerance, less incidence of authoritarian views and lower political cynicism in comparison to non-graduates. More recently, Taylor et al (2019) found graduates from 1991-2007 more likely than non-graduates to be members of civic associations, regardless of their gender, employment or family status. These large scale studies cannot help us understand the causal mechanisms such as whether this is due to educational attainment prior to university or what activities at universities lead to this relationship.

On the latter point, there is considerable evidence that participation in voluntary clubs and activities, especially ones that involve democratic norms such as accountable and transparent decision-making, cultivates civic identities. McFarland and Thomas (2006) used Youniss et al’s (1997) concept of civic identity in a longitudinal study over 12 years of over 10,000 participants in the USA. They found that community service, debate and public speaking ‘develop relations, skills, knowledge, identities, and interest in political systems that hold over into adulthood’ (McFarland and Thomas 2006: 418). This is a powerful piece of evidence showing how interaction with peers in certain environments can form particular beliefs and values. It is limited in that it includes both school and college aged participants, and the indicators of future behaviour were based on participants’ own predictions.
The value of activity-based civic learning has been found in studies of university students. The Political Engagement Project's study of political efficacy, ‘the belief that political change is possible and that we have the capacity to contribute to it through deliberate judgments and actions’ (Beaumont 2010: 525) looked at almost 1,000 undergraduate students in 21 different locations over a three year period using primarily surveys and interviews (see also Beaumont 2011 and Colby et al 2007). The courses included activities such as service learning, community placements and internships. It was notable how interaction between peers enhanced political efficacy despite differences in social background. The role of other students as socialising agents is an important finding. However, this concerned only political science disciplines, where no doubt discussions about civic matters were common.

Qualitative studies in the UK of the social experience of university showed examples of mutual social learning among peers outside class and societies (Ahier et al 2003). Ideas from courses ‘entered into peer discussion and contributed both to the widening of their political horizons and also to a greater self-confidence in their capacity to reflect about broadly political issues in more informed ways’ (Ahier et al 2003: 126). However, there is a lack of clarity here over what exact forms of interaction and leading to what forms of civic agency and identity. Students tend to be more separated from parental and employer control in a communal life and this degree of separation is a facilitative resource for politicisation (Olcese et al 2014); and, more recent research in the UK shows students perceive their environment at university in this way (Brooks et al 2020).

This evidence of civic learning in extracurricular activities, courses with activity based programmes, and, the value of the social experience, leads me to citizenship education that has similar qualities in the next section.

6. Conclusions on citizenship, identity, agency and young people
Identity is negotiated by individuals as they interact with their surroundings. Reflection on this experience may inform, revise or add to their sense of themselves and relationship with their community as citizens. These interactions can involve agency as an exercise of influence in one’s external environment and making choices in imagining of one’s identity. I display this visually in diagram form below drawing on Pollard’s (2003) understanding of identity and socio-ecological models of influence (Maternowska et al. 2016).

Figure 1: Visual representation of civic identity, agency and context

Civic identity is embedded within agency which in turn sits within a social context of one’s community. Civic identity is constructed in dialectic, dialogic, affective, reflective and ascribed ways. The medium of this is a person’s civic agency as individuals negotiate opportunities and challenges to obtain meaning. A circular relationship exists where personal narratives emerge from achieving or not achieving valued goals and reinforce or diminish senses of agency. This may evolve over time as lifewide social structures, political economy, culture, and, historical moment, may hinder or advantage an individual.

Part 2: Citizenship education at university
This second section looks at what we know and understand about citizenship education at university. It will consider the different ways of thinking about citizenship education and how my approach sits within these, particularly within my professional context.

1. **Understanding citizenship education and its different forms**

As with citizenship, citizenship education is a term that has different meanings, is contested, and implicates different visions of the political community. All forms of education can involve some learning about what it means to be a citizen (McCowan 2009), and the critical enquiry, re-imagining and rigorous investigation of ideas in universities can be said to contribute to a vigorous democratic civil society (Annette 2010). I am interested in the intentional and planned intervention to cultivate learning about citizenship and so distinguish citizenship education from other forms of learning about citizenship or civic learning.

There are several different ways of distinguishing between major trends in the field (see Carretero et al 2017; Castro and Knowles 2017; Haste 2010; McCowan 2009; Osler and Starkey 2005). These deal mainly with secondary education, however, there are some helpful categorisations drawn from these:

1. **Education about citizenship:** taught courses on citizenship and related concepts that aim to educate students about citizenship as an idea — the traditional form termed ‘civic education’ (Keating 2016: 6);

2. **Education through citizenship:** the inclusion of students in democratic processes and decision-making around their studies; or,

3. **Education for citizenship:** the organisation and facilitation of curricular and extracurricular activities that aim to cultivate the values and skills of students to act as citizens.

I am interested in the third area (‘for’ citizenship) as an avenue for students to explore their own senses of citizenship. In this area there are a variety of approaches. For example Nussbaum (2003) sees critical examination of oneself and one’s tradition, and, learning to empathetically understand the experiences of others, as ways in which university study can prepare students for democratic citizenship.
There are other ways in which a student can study for citizenship, for example, in learning particular skills and competences. I am interested in any abilities that students might acquire in developing their own identities and agency, such as listening, be listened to, reflecting on their experiences, experimenting with ways of resolving an issue through Forum Theatre. This is what I understand to be a personal or cultural approach to citizenship education. This can help students explore their civic identities because it focuses on tensions and hybridity in feelings of belonging (Osler and Starkey 2005). The discussion of inclusion and exclusion is vital in how students understand how they relate to and treat others and so engages with their civic identities and agency.

This approach will involve elements of ‘through’ citizenship. This entails treating students to some extent as partners with a voice in decisions about their education. Giving students a voice and treating them as citizens is an important way of developing inclusive pedagogies (Starkey et al 2014 and see Chapter 3). It also involves experiential learning in organised experiences of civic action in the community supported by reflection within studies (see below); and, some education ‘about’ citizenship meaning the transmission of certain ideas about citizenship. These ideas are that citizenship is a personal experience that students can reflect on and construct for themselves in collaboration with others and involves a prosocial element of helping others.

Any citizenship education involves problematic moral and political choices (McCowan 2009). A common criticism is that one is imposing one view of a political community over another (Fonté 2008). Citizenship education differs hugely because of the political and philosophical disagreements on the relative importance of different types of citizenship (see discussion at start of chapter). I distinguish between education for citizenship where students are expected to achieve certain attributes, and education for citizenship that stimulates and facilitates students to explore their own understandings and enactment of civic identity and agency or their citizenship-as-practice (Biesta and Lawy 2006a).

There is an important and often neglected issue here, which is the civic identity and agency of the educator. This is not examined in depth in overviews of the field (e.g. Carretero et al 2017; Castro and Knowles 2017) and the role of academics as
citizens is often neglected (Macfarlane 2005). Macfarlane (2007) conceives academic citizenship as activities outside the classroom such as mentoring of students, and separate to teaching and research. How we should invest our time as academics is an important question of the ethics of our own academic identities, what Wenger (2012: 7) calls ‘learning citizenship’, where we examine the ‘extent and quality of our engagement in various learning spaces’ to influence our learning and that of others. I ask what effect the creation of time and space for activities to enable students to explore their identities and agencies as citizens has on the students’ experiences. This may lead to changes in my own civic identity and agency as I teach and learn with the students as a reflective practitioner (Ashwin et al 2015 – see reflective statement).

Lastly, there is a long history of recurring ‘moral panics’ about children and young people not reflecting the values of adults and in need of education (Condorcet 1790 in Levine and Youniss 2006; Cohen 1972; Jones 2009). These trends persist in the present day in university staff both at teaching and policymaking levels who exhibit ingrained stereotypical views of students being apathetic (Brooks et al 2020). There is an implicit assumption here that citizenship education will solve this problem. Because my approach is concerned with identity formation, which involves ‘active meaning-making by participants’, this entails that the outcomes are unpredictable (Biesta and Lawy 2006b: 73). The purpose is to allow students to create and re-formulate their ideas around citizenship, and, given the problematic nature of the term itself, students may struggle to perceive it and may not be interested in it.

2. My approach – the ‘new civics’ and cultural citizenship education

The approach I wish to undertake follows from my constructivist understanding of civic identity and agency explained in the previous section. This is called the ‘new civics’ (Carretero et al 2016: 304):

‘… an approach to civic education that is grounded in recognizing the actual civic experience of youth in diverse sociocultural contexts, and seeks to engage students in hands-on reflexive practice as a means to help them make and negotiate meaning of civic issues, processes, and opportunities’. The constructivist approach to citizenship identity sees young people as active participants in their own development, occurring in a bidirectional relationship
between the student and their environment in which opportunities differ based on contexts (Wilkenfeld et al 2010). This is consistent with a cognitive model within developmental psychology which sees ‘the individual instead as an active agent in learning, selecting, organizing, and making meaning of experience and information’ (Carretero et al 2016: 295). It also appreciates the importance of the social and cultural context because ‘[m]eaning and understanding… are co-constructed and negotiated in social and cultural interactions, not merely processed in individual cognition’ (ibid: 295).

This model sits well with my understanding of how civic identities and agency work (see Figure 1 above). It is applied in qualitative studies with young people that explores how young people make meaning in collaborative ways to develop their civic identities (e.g. Garcia and Mirra 2019). It calls for a more hands-on approach to citizenship education where ‘the experience of action is at least as important as the acquisition of knowledge’ (Haste 2010: 162). Carretero et al (2016 and citing Biesta and Lawy 2006b) argue that change in identities and agency requires more active participatory methods to give students an opportunity to practice citizenship such as role-playing, dramatisation, team work and classroom discussion of civic issues. This is consistent with my understanding of identity as constructed by reflection on experience.

I was drawn to this theoretical approach because it is closest to my own understanding of the most effective ways of learning citizenship that I have used in the past and best summarised by Storrie (2004: 65):

‘Citizenship is best learnt through an engagement in relevant contexts where everyday codes of social, cultural and political behaviour can be observed, rehearsed, experimentally used and developed. Apprentice citizens are in effect invited, in the best traditions of action research, to use intervention into social processes as a tool to gain knowledge about those same processes’.

This is compatible with my interest in the students’ choices and feelings about their own citizenships rather than citizenship in the abstract. For example, it holds that:

‘For effective education it is essential to start from where young people’s concerns and interests are, and to understand what are the different factors that motivate them to engage’ (Carretero et al 2016: 296).
This coheres with my understanding of student learning where deep and long-term learning occurs when new learning is ‘reinforced by the narratives of personal identity’ (Pollard 2003: 178).

What is sometimes lacking in these formulations of citizenship education is precision about what is meant by the values, beliefs and norms. I understand values as:

‘… the lens through which individuals filter and process information and experience. A value is not just a point on a Likert scale of agree-disagree; it carries with it explanations for events, narratives, norms, and prescriptions’ (Haste 2010: 163).

This sits well with the qualitative studies of how young people hold a wide variety of beliefs about citizenship that are not necessarily consistent and can reflect how young people identities are formed (Lister et al 2003; Riley 2008). It means that we need to direct our attention to students’ explanations of how they process their experience.

Norms are social rules supported by either empirical or normative expectations of how others will act (Bicchieri 2006). This is one of many competing definitions and approaches to norms in social psychology and sociology (Chung and Rimal 2016). This is a constructivist theory of norms, where the existence of norms ‘depends on a sufficient number of people believing that [norms] exists and pertains to a given type of situation, and expecting that enough other people are following it in those kinds of situations’ (Bicchieri 2006: 2). This helps us understand how norms can change by explaining the reasons for holding norms in our expectations of what others should do (normative expectations) and what others are observed to do (empirical expectations) (Bicchieri and Mercier 2014). These definitions point towards using qualitative methodologies that allow for students to feel comfortable to express themselves verbally about intimate personal ideas. In turn, it will lack the advantages of quantitative methodologies that can see generalisable patterns across much larger swathes of data obtained through survey tools, for example.

3. **Situating education for citizenship within higher education in the UK**

How does the above approach to citizenship education relate to my context of higher education in the UK? McCowen describes how theories of citizenship do not wholly
define or explain the ‘particularity of education as a process’ (2009: 21). There are very few examples at all of how citizenship education sits within the current context of higher education in the UK (for an exception see Sen 2020). Universities and their students exist in a particular context that affects how students might perceive their learning experience and citizenship. There is a clear emphasis on universities’ role in contributing to economic productivity (Brown and Carrasso 2013; Department for Business, Innovation and Skills 2015). One way is by enhancing the ‘employability’ of students, a prevalent mantra on campuses in the UK (Hammond and Keating 2017) and at Plymouth. There is evidence that this has influenced students and parents. There are greater incidences of perception of university education in individual utilitarian terms to obtain returns on investment (Jones et al 2004; Furlong and Cartmel 2009). Indeed, a university qualification, especially a law degree, remains a gateway to professional qualifications and status; although with many more graduates there is intensified competition in obtaining credentials (Scott 2010). This is consistent with my findings in my IFS where students were inclined to see opportunities for citizenship education as another way of improving their prospects of employability. There is considerable criticism directed at how similar trends in higher education in the USA have severely undermined civic learning at university, where ‘individual and social agency are defined largely through market-driven notions of individualism, competition, and consumption’ (Giroux 2002: 426). There is a wider debate over whether universities are a ‘service station’ for society or a ‘community of learning’ (Gutmann 1987; Watson 2004), and I will now focus on key features of the UK landscape behind these phenomena.

Marketisation, privatisation and massification have transformed UK higher education in recent years (Brown and Carrasso 2013; Scott 2015). These reforms represent a neoliberal agenda in higher education that values the power of the consumer, the pre-eminence of market forces and the need for competition (della Porta et al 2020). England is considered as a ‘paradigmatic case’ of neoliberalism in higher education because of it has gone further than many other countries in these reforms (ibid: 15).

By privatisation, I mean the funding of universities’ teaching services from private rather than public means. For example, along with commissioned payments for health education, fees from students constitute 66.5% of my institution’s income (University of Plymouth 2018). The decrease in state funding has led to increased
marketing, brand management and promotion to generate and sustain sources of private investment and tuition fees (della Porta et al 2020: 10-11).

By marketisation, power has been shifted to ‘purchasers [students] of higher education services, so the system has to be responsive to their demands’ (Williams 1992: 138 in Brown and Carrasso 2013: 16). This leads some to argue that ‘higher education is now viewed as something primarily benefits private individuals’ (Brown and Carasso 2013: 2) where students are considered ‘best placed to make the judgement about what they want to get from participating in higher education’ (Independent Review of Higher Education Funding and Student Finance 2010: 29). A related trend is managerialisation meaning the increase in number and power of internal managers, who prioritise the university’s accountability to external stakeholders, especially the labour market (della Porta et al 2020: 11). This combines with the marketisation of curricula to produce goods such as teaching, research and services for the requirements of the market that changes the role of the university from the traditional Humboldtian one to create and diffuse culture and knowledge (ibid: 12).

By massification, there has been a huge expansion in student intake. Accepted applicants increased by almost 74% since 1994 (Bolton 2020). This is a regulated market where the principal indicator of teaching quality that is openly advertised, the Teaching Excellence Framework, is based on surveys of student satisfaction, attainment of certain levels of employment after graduation and the proportion of students that continue from year to year (Office for Students 2020). This in turn has engendered an audit culture within universities where considerable importance is attached to achievement of these quantitative targets (Ball 2003). For example, in my own institution, management led annual reviews of teaching with staff focus almost exclusively on results of the National Student Survey and internal student satisfaction surveys as key performance indicators for our teaching.

4. Key considerations for education for citizenship 1: the student as a consumer and entrepreneur

This wider context of higher education encourages students to see their studies in instrumental terms whereby they achieve certain valuable goods that may enhance their position in the labour market on graduation. This does not mean that students
inevitably view their studies or opportunities at university in this way, or only in this way (Ahier et al 2003; McLean et al 2018; Muddiman 2020), but we must be mindful of this trend and how it influences civic identity and agency. For example, in my IFS, the students’ understanding of citizenship education as something that might improve their chances in the labour market is representative of a culture of performativity: a ‘headlong pursuit of relevance as defined by the market’ (Ball 2008: 52).

Supporters of these changes to higher education argue that students ‘need to understand how to create value to receive value and act as the entrepreneur of their own career’ (Barber et al 2013: 65). Barber et al’s (ibid) vision of how students transform themselves at university is acting individually rather than collectively to take on responsibility for social change in a transactional relationship to society. This strand of ideas reflects how post-structuralists, especially those influenced by Foucault, understand neoliberalism as:

‘[a]n attempt to remake social and personal life in its entirety, around an ideal of enterprise and performance. Here, an ethos of competitiveness is seen as permeating culture, education, personal relations, and orientation to the self’ (Davies 2014: 314-315).

Many see neoliberalism as a threat to civic learning at university because it runs counter to democratic norms and ideals such as public action for collective prosocial interest (Colby et al 2007; Giroux 2002; Marginson 2017; Muddiman 2020; Sen 2020). Qualitative studies found that this saps UK students’ sense of agency because paradoxically a culture that champions individual choice also perpetuates the impression that students are merely sources of income and encourages them to behave as consumers narrowly focused on education-related issues (Abrahams and Brooks 2019). Universities’ efforts to encourage student engagement with their courses can in fact encourage students to ‘commodify their own processes of intellectual and personal transformation’ (Ashwin and McVitty 2015: 355).

This is not to say that students are passive in the face of these changes. The period of 2009-2015 saw waves of student protests in many countries including the UK against neoliberal reforms in higher education such as privatisation, precarity of labour contracts and managerialism (della Porta et al 2020). However, one should
qualify this with the observation that England is characterised by a high level of institutionalisation of student politics that is politically weak. It has a fragmented movement leading to infrequent protests and a paradigm of students as service users, which is unusual in Europe (ibid: 22, 106). Paradoxically, unions have adopted entrepreneurial practices in supplying services to students in a bid to increase independence from intervention from university authorities in their finances (ibid: 108).

These arguments are consistent in part with my own professional context. In my IFS data, students appeared cynical and mistrustful of the university’s aspirational graduate attributes or attempts to consult them on their university experience because they suspected these were simply done for show. Yet it is over-simplistic to categorise students as consumers because they can act agentically in their own formation amongst a multitude of influences (Budd 2017). The idea of agency can be found in definitions of both citizenship and employability (see table in Hammond and Keating 2017: 6). One must be careful here. Some see a conflict between ‘neoliberal citizenship’ values of working hard, conforming to the global economy and ‘a docility in the public sphere’ versus collective action, multi-modality and challenging authority (Garcia and Mirra 2019: 216). Yet it is understandable why students would want to obtain the best grades and build their CVs, whilst developing attributes of citizenship. I found in my IFS that these mixed messages of credentialism and graduate attributes of citizenship led to students synthesising a hybrid civic identity from a mixed set of experiences that had civic and performative elements in tension. This notion of students synthesising civic identities and the notion of blending or hybridity between neoliberalism and citizenship rather than conflict is developed in the findings and conclusions.

5. Key considerations for citizenship education 2: space, place and time

The mixed environment of higher education in which students’ civic identities and agency live is an important consideration. Researchers in the citizenship as practice tradition emphasise the importance of ‘space’ and ‘place’ as concepts that give young people the scope to ‘nurture and explore their emergent sense of themselves as individual people’ (Hall et al 1999: 506). This scope is constrained at university by a large range of expectations, activities and above all requirements on students.
These requirements for attendance, for emotional performance (such as reflection on studies) and above all for assessment (driven by modularisation) lead to a culture of performativity among students (Macfarlane 2015).

In my discipline of law, law schools have been affected by massification because of the popularity of its programmes, which in turn has driven down contact time with teachers and led to students becoming more preoccupied with final marks (Thornton 2007). There is much debate concerning changes to legal education (see ILEX Professional Standards, Bar Standards Board and Solicitors Regulation Authority 2013) and how students relate to their studies (e.g. Maharg 2007). But Thornton’s view resonates more with my professional context. In my IFS, students were preoccupied with achieving their grades and filling their CVs to the point that it crowded out time for exploring citizenship. These ideas also resonate at Plymouth. Attendance is monitored in all classes and students are chased if this falls. Law students are required to fill out reflective logs on their civic and professional development every semester to pass their year (the Graduate Employment and Achievement Record or ‘GEAR’, which includes citizenship). It is true that law is a discipline where citizenship can be explored through study and legal clinics yet it is also a discipline where the pressures of massification, employability and, thereby performativity, are perhaps more evident. Again, there are myriad of influences rather than a monochrome picture. These considerations underpin my interest in conducting education for citizenship in a liminal space between studies and extracurricular activities.

These factors also intersect with the wide variety of backgrounds of students (especially in regional and rural universities like Plymouth) to create inequalities in time available to devote to any particular interests and studies (Burke et al 2017; Burke 2019). These may help to mask individualised stress and blame as students believe they do not live up to the image of the ‘good student’ (Burke et al 2017: 41), which is interestingly consistent with that of the neoliberal citizen described above. This is vitally important for citizenship education because having the time to access to opportunities is vital for civic learning.

6. Concluding comments
Citizenship education can be conceptualised as education for citizenship where students are encouraged to explore their own civic identities and agency. At university this occurs in an environment is characterised by incentives to see their education as a consumable good for which they wish to obtain market value. This may be more prevalent in disciplines like law and less so in others. Therefore, it is worth creating a liminal space to give students time and space to explore civic identity and agency outside of the requirements of their degree.
Chapter 3

Methodology

1. Introduction

The literature review in Chapter 2 revealed how little we know of how university students construct their civic identities and agency in the new landscape of higher education in the UK. There are pressures and incentives to see the university experience in purely economic terms, which crowds out time and space for exploring citizenship or otherwise instrumentalises it. This poses a challenge for my professional practice, especially in law where I observed these trends in my IFS. It underpins the overall question of how an exploratory intervention that uses activities, such as authentic reflection, critical incidents and Forum Theatre, in a liminal space, can shape students’ civic identities and agency. We need to understand how the students see their civic identities and agency at the start of the activity, how they perceive the effects of the activities and then place it in context of how university more broadly shapes their civic identities and agency (sub questions 1-3). Lastly, I ask the students how they wish to learn about their civic identities and agency in the future so that my professional practice is inclusive – see below (sub-question 4).

To answer these questions I used action research that was to a limited extent, participatory. It was premised on a phenomenological understanding. This Chapter will explain this design with its accompanying considerations.

2. Research design

The research design is qualitative and uses phenomenology and action research. These stem from the research questions that focus on the awareness, abilities and understandings of the students. As these concern identity, qualitative methods are more sensitive to phenomena that have ‘many mutually shaping influences and
value patterns’ (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 40). My theoretical conception of citizenship as a lived experience suggests a phenomenological approach that seeks to access the meanings that participants give to their experience (Van Manen 2007). As I am interested in how critical reflective, transformative learning and Forum Theatre activities affect these phenomena this led to use of action research (explained below) as way of critically reflecting on my pedagogical practice (McNiff 2013).

One other important part of the design is the involvement of the students in the process. The ideas to have time and space away from performative pressures, to explore their identities came from the students in the IFS. This reflects my commitment to an inclusive pedagogy that treats young people as having rights to participate and be consulted on matters that concern them (Starkey et al 2014). I was influenced by this in encouraging the students to define the terms of citizenship (rather than asking them about a particular conception of it) and to explore ways of acting in Forum Theatre. I did not opt for a fuller participatory approach because of practical difficulties in finding volunteers who could give up sufficient time outside of class to build the necessary relationships.

In practical terms, the research design followed the pattern of learning of presage, process and outcome – see diagram below (Ashwin et al 2015).

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 2: Combining authentic reflection, transformational learning, and Forum Theatre*
This involves a consideration first (presage) of the students' background and from this a mapping of their patterns of socialisation. After reflecting on their own civic identities in groups, they experienced a critical incident in experiential learning outside the classroom (process). We then discussed and revisited their civic identities afterwards before they attempted a Forum Theatre exercise (process). I then debriefed the students in focus groups and interviews (outcome) on their experience of the research project.

These three stages involved the following activities (see Appendix 3). In Stage 1 (workshop 1), I introduced the research, discussed and obtained consent, and sought to understand what citizenship meant for them and for each other (focus group 1). Stage 2 (workshops 2, 3 and placement in a charity) involved two workshops to explore and experiment with their civic identities and agency interspersed with time spent in a charity between the workshops to provide a critical incident to discuss. Stage 3 (workshops 4 and 5) was a Forum Theatre exercise where the students were challenged to explore an issue they cared about in a short play. There was also some debriefing after the performance, followed by the interviews and focus groups. An overview of the activities is as follows (and a more detailed schedule is in Appendix 3):

- **Exploring students' background and citizenship**
  - Critical incident - asking passers by about their understanding of citizenship
  - Group discussion around students' understandings of citizenship (focus group 1)
  - Image Theatre exercises to help students feel more comfortable and get to know one another
  - Sharing of personal interests, backgrounds and upbringing in smaller groups

- **Interaction with new experiences**
  - More small group discussions of personal and social contexts that influence their ideas and interests around citizenship (use of flipchart paper to draw images)
  - Image Theatre exercises to explore ideas of inclusion and exclusion
  - Spending half a day in a charity that works with marginalised social groups (refugees, homeless, those in debt crisis) - critical incident

- **Experimentation with identities and agencies**
  - Discussion of and reflection on experiences in charities
  - Forum Theatre preparation - forming small groups to identify and discuss issues the students cared about, felt that they can change and that affected their lives
  - Performance of Forum Theatre
  - Debrief and discussion of themes (including in focus groups 2 and 3 and interviews)

*Figure 3: Outline of workshops as a process over time*
Workshops took around an hour and a half and used a large classroom on campus. They took place on a Wednesday afternoon when the students did not have classes. It took place in February-March because the students commenced work on assessments from Easter onwards.

3. Assumptions

My research design and theoretical matrix are underpinned by the following assumptions. I begin with those about the nature of reality (ontology) as this leads to assumptions about how I may enquire into that reality (epistemology) (Hitchcock and Hughes 1995: 21). This approach is influenced by my values and beliefs (axiology).

Civic identity is a dynamic process of storytelling that explains the beliefs, norms and values that govern an individual’s relationship with their political community. It exists in a circular relationship with one’s civic agency as one pursues these beliefs, norms and values in one’s surroundings and to build and exercise a sense of influence. These phenomena of civic identity and civic agency are understood as social structures in that society exists through the practices and products of individuals (Manicas 1998).

There are several ways this ontology effects my epistemology. On the one hand an individual can, if asked, give an account of how they construct and understand these phenomena; whilst on the other hand, an individual’s account will be constrained by their ability to understand themselves and their environment. For example, certain factors are beyond their consciousness such as ‘unacknowledged conditions, unintended consequences, the exercise of tacit skills, and unconscious motivation’ (Scott 1996: 67 drawing on Bhaskar). There is a second consideration, termed the ‘rights-based epistemology of pedagogical research’ (Starkey et al 2014: 429), because this is an educational intervention. This means the teacher-researcher has an instrumental role in communicating young people’s opinions about citizenship whilst simultaneously helping them to develop those opinions, and so participate in the research themselves (ibid: 429).

All these considerations will influence the research methods. Before I turn to that I must recognise the influence of my axiology. The above assumptions flow from my normative position that citizenship education should be democratic in process to allow students to explore various values, norms and behaviour that can make up
their civic identities and agencies. This should be done collectively and in a way that exposes them to other citizens in personal plight and marginalised or excluded in their community (see end of chapter 1).

4. Phenomenology

The reflexive understanding of the self has its roots in phenomenology. Phenomenology asserts that individuals interpret events, circumstances and contexts and act according to those understandings. It is concerned how the individual experiences reality and draws meaning from it through reflection. In reflecting, we grasp 'the world as given in consciousness (perceived, remembered judged, thought, valued, etc)' (Husserl 1927: para 3, emphasis in original). This focuses on the meanings constructed by participants, and their accounts of social reality, which is clearly advantageous to studying identity and agency.

By ‘lived experience’, a phenomenologist means ‘the giveness of internal consciousness, inward perceivedness’ (Husserl 1964: 177) or ‘experience-as-we-live-through-it in our actions, relations and situations’ (van Manen 2007: 17), which is interpreted through reflection. This means trying to understand the world through the eyes of the students as they give meaning to experience. This led me to choose interviews and focus groups as ways of collecting data (see Heath et al 2009: 80). This is an interpretive approach where I am curious to see how students impute meaning to events when looking back on them. This concern led me to choose phenomenology rather than symbolic interactionism (Woods 1983) as I am more interested in perceptions and understandings of norms and values, and how this informs action, rather than the process of how symbols are produced and represented.

The difficulties with adopting a phenomenological approach are that the experiences of participants are interdependent with the structure in which they occur. Those structures contain power relationships, such as the teacher-pupil relationship, under which data is generated and may distort it knowingly or unknowingly. In the pithy words of Sharp and Green (1975: 21): there is sometimes a difference between ‘things seeming to be the case to the actor and things being the case’. A person, especially a young person (France 2004), may not be reflexive with their identity and agency, or it may not be apparent that they are. So on the one hand I must counter
any distortions from the power relations between myself as a teacher and the students, by allowing them to define the terms, to choose which activities they wish to be involved in and decide the direction of the Forum Theatre plays. On the other hand, it is important not to rely solely on participants’ responses in interviews and focus groups, to triangulate with data from other methods such as participant observation, and correlate or compare findings with other research.

The other difficulty highlighted above, is the layers of interpretation, what Giddens (1984) called the double hermeneutic. In short, I will be interpreting the student’s interpretation of their life experience. I will use my own conceptual lens for the research study. The stories that they may tell will be formed by the context in which they occurred (Henderson et al 2007). I will need to be careful that the data is telling me what I think it is telling me.

5. Action research and participatory action research

Action research is underpinned by many similar ideas which we have already discussed: critical reflection, improving or transforming social action (citizenship education) and the importance of practice and influence of life experience (Kemmis 2010; McNiff 2013; Somekh and Zeichner 2008; Wicks et al 2008). It involves looking at one’s own practice and asking oneself how one explains and describes what one is doing (McNiff 2003: 23). In this sense it is critical self-reflection rather than critical reflection. One is both practitioner and researcher as the gaze falls on one’s own life, in particular how one holds oneself in relation to others and in a particular context, and how one’s practice in that context be improved. It is a learning experience that transpires through action and reflection (ibid: 24).

Action research involves a commitment to improving general wellbeing by learning how to exercise educational agency (McNiff 2003: 25). Like many practitioners of action research (see Wicks et al 2008) I came to it from my life experiences as a teacher and lawyer (see Chapter 1) because I wished to understand better the links between theory and practice of citizenship education. This is well captured by Fals Borda’s conception of action research as ‘how [theory and practice] interact, fuse, and react in the search for explanations to understand realities and promote social progress’ (in correspondence with Wicks et al 2008: 4).
Action research is distinguished by its cyclical or spiral strategy towards data generation. This involves identification of a problem, planning an intervention, implementing the intervention and evaluating the experiences. This evaluation then informs the plan for further research and action. There is a variety of such cyclical designs with differing levels of complexity (see Cohen et al 2011: 352-354). In my action research I followed the above steps by completing one cycle where I identified a problem, planned an intervention, implemented it, reviewed the data, and make recommendations for future action. Throughout the intervention, normally after typing up my observational notes after each session (Appendix 11), I thought about how the students had responded and adjusted my plans for subsequent sessions accordingly.

Action research is vulnerable to the charges of investigator bias and the distorting effects on the data because the investigator is often a participant. This requires the researcher to be acutely self-conscious of the effects they have on the research process and how their values, position, opinions, feelings are affecting the generation of data (Cohen et al 2011: 359). This requires a reflexive practice of monitoring oneself (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 108-109). For example, I took observational notes and kept a research diary of my thoughts and reflections on the data and literature. I asked the participants to give anonymous written feedback. I reported back, checked and discussed with some the participants and charities the broad findings. I discussed the findings with critical friends who work in higher education, secondary education, citizenship education and in charities. This collective input and observations is flagged or incorporated in the data analysis.

Participatory action research is a form of action research where the researcher collaborates with members of a community or organisation in studying and transforming an aspect of their lives (Greenwood et al 1993 et al). Participatory research emerges over time during the research process and may differ in degrees of participation. As explained in the research design (above), I did not opt to have a full participatory approach. There was a participatory element where the students decided the focus for workshops 3-5 in the Forum Theatre exercise. They identified collectively an issue, devised and rehearsed a script, performed it for others and discussed the experience. Also I sought student input in the IFS into the identification
of the problem (albeit this was chosen and prioritised by myself) and, I sought
students’ views on any future citizenship education (sub-question 4).

The advantage of this approach to pedagogical research is that generated data
beyond that from interviews and focus groups because it was co-constructed by the
students with each other and with me. They were creating new stories around their
identities and experimenting with behaviours that involved agency not just unlocking
pre-existing thoughts and ideas (Starkey et al 2014). This is part of a long tradition of
empowering students to engage with social constructions of problems using
reflective practice (Thompson and Pascal 2014: 314-315 drawing on Dewey, Lewin
and Freire).

There is a risk with participatory approaches that one assumes that participants are
social actors with agency (Fleming and Boeck 2012) who can stand back, reflect and
critically analyse their lives (Pinto 2000: 7). In order to mitigate this I conducted
Image Theatre exercises to encourage students to open up to others, to expose the
ways in which power is constructed and how misperceptions of others can lead to
misunderstanding (see Appendix 3).

6. Researcher identity, insider research and young people

Reflexivity on the part of the researcher includes acknowledging and interrogating
how one’s assumptions and preconceptions about the phenomena of the study affect
the study (Robson 2011: 151; France 2004). I consider citizenship education to be of
considerable value in higher education, and that the pedagogies I employed could be
effective in stimulating the students, and possibly used in my professional practice. I
was transparent about this with the students (see ethics below) and encouraged
them to report their experiences regardless of what benefit, if any, they saw in the
activities. A key aspect of this is how the students perceived my role.

My identity as a teacher and researcher is constructed in my professional context
(see chapter 1) and I could be considered both an outsider and an insider. These
definitions are contextual and contingent (Mercer 2006) and the boundaries can be
blurred, for example, as a partial outsider or insider (Kim 2012). I was an outsider in
that I had some control over my relationships with the students and I was in a
privileged position as a lecturer, doctoral researcher and former barrister (Kim 2012). The first two are professional statuses to which the students might defer and be inclined to tell me what they thought I wanted to hear (see Macfarlane 2015).

I was also an insider by being a member of the same university community as the students and one characterised by ‘specified social statuses’ (Merton 1972: 11) as above. As an insider I had access and could build relationships more easily with the participants (Heath et al 2009), and have some intuitive sense of the students’ worlds (Mercer 2006). This was limited by my differences with them in age, class background, gender and race, and those of status identified above. I have a more advantageous background than the students as a white, privately educated, male, middle class university lecturer. These factors may affect the students’ perceptions of me and my resulting position as outsider/insider. As a result, I have to be very careful in interpreting what they say.

A central issue in research with young people is of unequal power relationships (Bennett et al 2003). As a result, many some see research with young people as ‘fundamentally a political enterprise’ (Heath et al 2009: 15). Kelly (2003) cautions researchers that they may unwittingly involve students in contributing to their further control and governance. Therefore, it was vital to be explicit about my value-judgments with the participants (Starkey et al 2014) and my objectives. In order to allow for this, I emphasised with the students that it was a research exercise and not a class. I used the Image Theatre activities to build trust and rapport. This also helps generate better quality data (Bennett et al 2003). I made clear in information handouts (see Appendix 5) and in the introductory workshop 1, that they were free to express themselves in any way they wished about the topics and activities.

A consideration with citizenship research is that young people are often assumed to be in need of education about a form of citizenship pre-ordained by adults. I tried to counter this by allowing the students to define citizenship however they wished at the outset (workshop 1). I did not censor or prevent discussion of any topics or issues by the students. This is an important vector for learning democracy by exercising rights to freedom of expression, decision-making in groups and choosing what issues to experiment with (Council of Europe 1985).
7. The participants

The participants were 11 volunteers from the first year at my School of Law, Government and Criminology (see Appendix 3). I advertised for volunteers by attending their lectures and explaining the research. I said that lunch would be provided, they would learn some helpful skills, like teamwork, and obtain some work experience. No additional credit, remuneration or other benefit was offered. I thought it important to provide some educational benefit to the students as it was an educational activity rather than a monetary compensation.

It is important to acknowledge that the participants were self-selecting. There were two reasons for this. First, as this was to be an activity in a liminal space outside studies where attendance was not required, I had to rely on volunteers. Secondly, I wanted to see if students would give up their time on a regular basis simply in order to learn and try something new. I discuss the implications of this and potential for wider implementation in the conclusions in chapter 8.

There were initially 20 volunteers of whom 13 were able to attend the first two workshops (and focus group 1) and dropping to 11 who were able to attend the remainder. Almost all students attended every workshop, a half day in the charities, and one of the focus groups. Just under half were interviewed. Their participation is indicated in blue (except for interviews, absences were explained by conflicting study commitments):
Table 1: participation in the intervention.

(*Each Workshop was approximately 90 minutes, each visit to the charity around 3 hours, each focus group about 80 minutes and each interview 40-45 minutes. The least amount of time in the research space was 8 hours – Fransisco and Rosie – and the most was 13 hours – Emma, Jerry and May.)

(**Two students, Elizabeth and Mary, attended the first Workshop but were unable attend the others.)
They were studying Law (4), Law with Criminology and Criminal Justice Studies (1), International Relations (3), International Relations with Politics (1) and Sociology (1) in their first year (see Appendix 4). The group was predominantly female (8 females and 3 males). Only two students were not White British, almost all were aged between 18-20, secular or non-religious, all heterosexual, with almost no known disabilities and with a spread of occupations across the classes for the main breadwinner at home as follows: higher managerial (five), lower managerial or supervisory and technical (three), business owner (one) and semi routine (one).

I invited participants from other disciplines as I wished to compare law students with other disciplines in social science, especially as other researchers had made different findings in sociology (McLean et al 2018). I also wanted to have students who did not know me. Of the 11, four were being taught by me concurrently on a course on human rights.

I invited first year students because there are advantages to working on identity and agency at the beginning of a university career so that students can use any lessons learned in the remainder of their studies (Bovill et al 2011).

8. Methods of data generation: pedagogies to explore civic identity and agency

The study generated data by using pedagogies from transformative learning, and, Forum and Image Theatre. This section will restate, review and clarify the assumptions and theoretical considerations that leads to these choices of pedagogy. Then I will discuss the field of transformative learning, its focus on critical reflection and how it relates to my understanding of citizenship education. We shall then look at the relevant literature on Forum Theatre and Image Theatre.

8.1 Stimulating civic identity and agency in the classroom

Following from the thinking set out above, I am looking for activities that stimulate reflection on experience, especially activities that allow for students to critically discuss how they extract meaning from those experiences. These should also provide for time and space to explore civic ideas that matter to the students personally and to do so as distant as possible from incentives to treat their experiences at university as building blocks for private monetary gain in later life.
These considerations drew me away from using some of the existing examples in higher education such as global citizenship education (e.g. Sen 2020), civic learning in disciplinary study (e.g. McLean et al 2018) or in extracurricular activities (e.g. McFarland and Thomas 2006). It may well be that the data shows that there are synergies as well as trade-offs between citizenship education and the employability agenda in higher education. My interest is how to stimulate students to consider what citizenship can mean for them, and on the other, allow them to be free to explore whatever meaning it might have. This is informed by two further considerations.

Firstly, in a study of undergraduates’ experiences of courses that included political activities in the USA (Beaumont 2010), one of the most important experiences reported by participants was ‘forming relationships with peers’ during their studies (ibid: 548). What appeared vital for this was: ‘opportunities to find mutual political interests and goals, share experiences, process their reactions, learn coping skills, and jointly develop strategies for handling challenges’ (Beaumont 2010: 547). This form of collective discussion around identities leads to a sense of collective agency where students come ‘to see peers as a support network for political engagement’ (ibid: 547), which engenders confidence and fosters exchanges of ideas for action. Therefore, activities that allow for a social exploration of citizenship may hold greatest promise for opportunities to explore civic identities and agency.

Secondly, studies of the transformational potential of undergraduate study suggest that it depends on the relationship between the students’ view of the usefulness or value of what they are studying, their level of social integration into the university community and their level of intellectual engagement with the substance of their course (Ashwin et al 2016). Ultimately, the students’ identities are changed by their engagement with university life and their studies by seeing connections between their personal projects, the wider world and seeing themselves implicated in their knowledge. This is dependent on the students’ interest in the subject and of course the quality of their experience.

These considerations direct attention to forms of activity that allow students to explore citizenship for themselves and with each other. Students may engage with this type of exercise if they perceive it as useful or of value to their own personal
projects. Allied to this must be considerations of a stimulating intellectual experience, opportunities to integrate into a community and the quality of the experience.

8.2 Transformative learning, critical and authentic reflection

Transformative learning is a suitable approach to consider because it concerns personal change at higher education through the construction of new meanings by the individual. Transformative learning has developed from Mezirow’s early research in the 1970s on women attending higher education and I draw on its later and more recent versions (Mezirow 1990; 2009; and Taylor 2009). I modify these to take account of criticisms by those more closely aligned with Freire’s understanding of transformative learning that accounts more for social context.

Mezirow’s understanding of transformative learning was founded on an empirical qualitative study of students in 12 different colleges in the USA using a grounded theory methodology. This led to a schema of transformative learning that involved phases of development in students’ changes in their construction of meaning in response to experience (Mezirow 2009). Mezirow was influenced by the ideas of learning from experience from Dewey (1933) and learner-centered education for emancipation from Friere (1970), all of whom are broadly influential on my thinking. His version differs in that he posited the need for a disorienting dilemma that led to a re-examination of the assumptions underpinning beliefs or critical reflection. These experiences or critical incidents challenge or change students’ beliefs, norms or values. A dramatic example is a palliative care course where students were found to develop empathy by meeting dying patients and their families (MacLeod 2003 in Taylor 2009). Influenced by Habermas’ (1984) theories on communicative learning, the validity of beliefs is tested by consensus with others in free and full participation in critical, reflective and rational discourse. Later iterations (Taylor 2009) argued that dialogue is used not as an analytical tool, or for debate, but as personal self-disclosure in trustful communication with others. A study of individuals living with HIV/AIDS found that this type of dialogue helps forms bonds by validating personal experience when an individual finds ‘they are not alone’, leading to a greater sense of control and belonging (Baumgartner 2002: 55-6). This is an emancipatory process as students then use these new meaning perspectives to make decisions either individually, in a group or a collective (Mezirow 1990). This is similar to experiential
learning that uses a cyclical pattern of action research where students observe, experience and reflect to take action (Thompson and Pascal 2012).

Although Mezirow accepted that consensus was always provisional because of incomplete information, lack of openness to divergent perspectives or lack of ability to engage in critically reflective thought, he stayed faithful to Habermas' view that objective, informed and rational standards were implicit in the 'very nature of human communication' (2009: 7). This does not recognise the difficulties of managing emotions around learning from experience, especially intense experiences (Vince 1996: 28). Taylor (2009) recognised this in his stress on teachers creating a safe and trusting space to help students cope with the discomfort and fear (as well as excitement and joy) of dialogue around edges of understanding and experience. Transformative learning (Taylor 2009) borrows here from studies of changes in individual behaviour in businesses to argue that the process of reflection is more effective in leading to change when it conceived of a primarily affective process of a 'see-feel-change sequence' rather than 'analyse-think-change' (Kotter and Cohen 2002: 11). This emphasis on recognising feelings is central to personal and cultural forms of citizenship education (Osler and Starkey 2005).

Transformative learning also lacks an appreciation of how structural inequalities may affect conditions for learning, a criticism made of Habermas as well (Collard and Law 1989). Mezirow’s later iterations (1990; 2009) did acknowledge that sociocultural context affected the construction of meaning but lacked any full theoretical explanation of how. This does not mean that questioning of assumptions behind beliefs (critical reflection) is not helpful for transformation. It should be complemented by Freire’s more outward looking concept of authentic reflection, which considers people ‘in their relations with the world’ (Freire 1970: 81), where they ‘develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves’ (ibid: 83). This is consonant with my interest in reflexivity around civic identity. In doing so, I am mindful of some of the drawbacks of the Freire’s approach concerning his conceptualisation of power as a simple binary opposition between oppressor and oppressed, which precludes a more ubiquitous, productive and relational notion of power; and, one must be wary of an uncritical celebration of popular knowledge of students (Bartlett 2005). There are again similarities with the ‘new civics’ approach to citizenship education, in that the starting
point of an educational intervention is the learner’s own ‘concrete situation’ and aspirations (Freire 1970: 85). Mezirow and Freire’s thinking on the roles of teachers and learner is much wider than this discussion (see McCowan 2009). What I draw from their theoretical models is the importance of criticality (through critical reflection) and conscientisation (through authentic reflection) as a basis for emancipatory action or praxis (the dialectic of reflection and action).

This approach is very similar to critical or radical pedagogy. Within this tradition there is huge concern at the influence of neoliberalism on the civic learning in higher education (Giroux 2002; Macrine et al 2010). There are overlaps with critical and radical pedagogy’s interests in problem posing, experiential learning, reflection and often participatory action research with students, influenced by Mezirow and Freire (e.g. Scorza et al 2013), but this study does not adopt a Marxist critique.

8.3 Service learning, reflection and community based experience

Experiential and transformative learning are key ideas behind the tradition of service learning or community based learning, as it is often called in the UK (Annette 2010; Benson et al 2007; Boland 2014). Service and community based learning is defined as students acting in partnership with local communities as part of a structured programme that includes reflection (Annette 2010). Students provide assistance or a service to voluntary or non-profit sector organisations to serve purposes identified by those organisations; in doing so, the students gain academic credit by showing application of concepts from their studies, skills to practical problems and reflection on their experience (Boland 2011).

Some are critical of service learning as a form of citizenship education because it very rarely focuses on wider questions of political and social justice (Annette and McLaughlin 2005; Colby et al 2007). It is perhaps more true of the ‘transactional’ forms of service learning, where activities serve primarily to provide a service and fulfil an academic objective without questioning underlying conditions (Boland 2011). There are other forms, termed ‘transformative’, that aim to generate ‘greater understanding, appreciation, empathy, and capacity for critique on the part of students’ by seeking ‘to question and to change the circumstances, conditions, values or beliefs which are at the root of a community’s or society’s need’ (Boland
2011: 105 citing also Jacoby 2003 and Welch 2006). There is empirical evidence to support this.

Yates (1999) found that middle class Black school pupils, who had spent several weeks in a soup kitchen for the homeless, revised their views of marginalised groups in society (e.g. that they were not necessarily black) and began to question the role of government. In particular, the experiences encouraged them to ‘to examine the connection between social, moral, and political questions and their own lives’ (Yates 1999: 27). There are similar findings that relate to agency. The Political Engagement Project (described above: Colby et al 2007; Beaumont 2010; 2011) found feelings of solidarity and connectedness were highly valued by students from a lower economic status, racial or ethnic minorities, who spent time in charities in their own communities. These outcomes are conditional on use of reflective exercises, careful selection of issues that students can change and being in a supportive and trusting setting (Beaumont 2010). Therefore, examples from service and community based learning show that experiences outside the classroom that push students into challenging new spaces can be a significant stimulus in the processes of civic identity and agency.

8.4 Forum and Image Theatre

I will now turn to Forum Theatre and Image Theatre as two types of activity that can allow students to experiment with identities and agency within the classroom. Image Theatre is a collection of group exercises for individuals to use their bodies to express different images of problems in society as well as become accustomed to acting (Boal 2002). Its purpose is to discover essential truths about culture and society without resort to language (Jackson in Boal 2002). The images are of emotions, experiences, lives and oppressions. The process of thinking with one’s body is intended to bypass social norms and inhibitions.

Forum Theatre is a form of theatrical game where a problem is presented to the audience, who are invited to propose and enact solutions (Boal 1998, 2002). The problem is a form of oppression with an identifiable oppressor and victim (the protagonist). It is a type of contest where the audience or ‘spect-actors’ attempt to break the cycle of oppression and the cast stay in character resist changes to the plot. The result is an experimentation with many different approaches in one forum.
The actors are not professional trained actors and come together beforehand to discuss common experiences of oppression. They use these to devise a scenario (often without need for a script). The audience are normally invited from a community which has experienced some of the same issues e.g. homelessness, drug addiction, official corruption. Both during and after the play there is a facilitator or joker who helps the audience and later the players discuss what they learned from the experience and come to terms with any powerful emotions.

Forum Theatre and Image Theatre are part of a larger body of work called Theatre of the Oppressed, a form of participatory radical theatre devised by Augusto Boal. It arose from Boal’s experiences of violent oppression in his native Brazil and, influenced by Freire, his belief that theatre can emancipate through dialogue and learning where the critical consciousness of actors and audience is aroused by interacting with stories close to real life (Strawbridge 2000). Forum Theatre and Image Theatre connect personal identity and politics in seeing the self/subject as ‘produced socially in relationships through systems of meaning embedded in cultural practices’ (Strawbridge 2000: 10). There are clear theoretical parallels here with the form of citizenship I am interested in, which I shall explore in more detail.

A liminal space such as a theatre workshop is ideal for exploring and experimenting with identity. Theatre is seen as a liminal space or a ‘marginal or interstructural situation’ where one can take risks, try out new or alternative ideas or values, and attempt possible future actions (Strawbridge 2000: 11). Image and especially Forum Theatre are by nature critical in generating debate and discussion, and creating more questions than it answers (Jackson in Boal 2002). This is helpful in stimulating reflexivity around citizenship because theatre allows us ‘to observe ourselves in action’ (Boal 1998: 7) in a way that is more distant than everyday life (Kaptani and Yuval-Davis 2008). The performance draws the audience’s attention to the ‘constructed nature’ of what is staged and ‘the assumptions – social and/or political and/or cultural and/or philosophical, etc. – through which that construction is achieved’ (Kershaw 1999: 15). Forum Theatre and Image Theatre concern identity because participants reinvent and rehearse narratives from their own experiences in a collaborative process pooling their ideas into a combined script. In Forum Theatre, this links to agency in a transformational sense because participants come to ‘see the social world as one that can be changed [through]… multiple, sometimes small,
sometimes decisive, individual or collective acts’ (Erel et al 2017: 310). In that study, greater assertiveness rose from a sense of solidarity among participants that they were ‘not alone’ in their experiences (ibid: 305).

Kaptani and Yuval-Davis (2008) used Forum Theatre, Image Theatre and Playback Theatre, another form of participatory theatre, to examine refugees’ experiences of belonging and everyday borders in the UK. Discourse analysis was used to examine data from interviews, observations and focus groups. Image Theatre allowed participants to explore ideas of power, community and discrimination in a more immersive way because the meaning of these ideas was acted out rather than examined in a detached way. The research produced three forms of knowledge: embodied, dialogical and illustrative. Respectively these imply that identity construction was essentialised by asking ‘could this have been done differently’ (Kaptani and Yuval-Davis 2008: 4.2). Agency was a product of the relationships in the research space meaning that:

‘identities constructed, communicated, authorised, contested and transformed in the research process cannot be analysed either as individual or as collective identities but as interrelational processes of in-between ‘becomings’” (ibid: 4.5).

Also, the dramatised moments illustrated generative themes from issues at various levels of the participants’ experiences that may trigger empathy in others. This is a very similar but different focus on everyday borders that affect a marginalised group, with a methodology that has different epistemological foundations to mine own.

There is some basis to argue that Forum Theatre and Image Theatre should stimulate reflexivity, critical reflection and some senses of agency, but there is little research in this area, especially with undergraduate students, to substantiate this. There seems common ground with critical reflection that it can lead to empathy, reconsiderations of identity, more senses of agency but these are perhaps limited to the research space. This is partly because Forum Theatre and Image Theatre do not necessarily lead to change in the sense of addressing the problems identified in the play. As Boal recognised it was ‘a reflection on reality and a rehearsal for future action’ (1998: 9). More widely, the effect of theatre on political and social change is
debated (see Kershaw 1999 and Paget 2000) with some sceptical that any change can be achieved without an audience that is not already politicised (Paget 2000).

Another important consideration with Forum Theatre is that can over-emphasise individual abilities, characteristics and experience over structural obstacles in society. For example, participants frame the issues in terms of an oppressor’s and/or a protagonist’s personal strengths and weaknesses, and ignore problematic legislation and social inequalities (e.g. Hamel 2013 and Snyder-Young 2011). Erel et al (2017) suggest that Forum Theatre activities need to be embedded in discussions of different power relations and social structures where participants can analyse these patterns. These considerations lead one to consider combining the various methods for citizenship education described above.

8.5 Summary of pedagogies used to generate data

The above discussion shows that transformations in identity and agency can occur through challenging students with new critical incidents that can be deconstructed using authentic reflection. This can take place in combination with Forum Theatre and Image Theatre which can help students step outside themselves to experiment with new forms of identity and agency.

8.6 Other methodological considerations for data generation

The study generated data from my observations of participants in the workshops (Appendix 11), a small collection of writings and drawings on flipcharts by the students (see Appendix 12), and, transcripts of interviews and focus groups (see Appendices 9 and 10). The observational notes allowed me as a researcher-practitioner-participant to record what happened in the workshops, reflect on my practice and revise plans for subsequent activities. These formed part of the action research cycle and a place for reflexive and reflective work. I did not take any notes during the sessions and wrote up all the notes immediately after each session, whilst they were fresh in my memory.

I both facilitated and observed the workshops. My notes were ‘low inference’ observations that had a low level of interpretation within them (Cohen et al 2011: 474). My main concern was to preserve my memory and immediate impressions for future analysis. I described how I responded to the students at the time and
afterwards (reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action – Schön 1983), as well as trying to account for my own influence, the group dynamics, the social context and our emotional responses (Thompson and Pascal 2014: 316-319).

I chose interviews and focus groups to allow young participants to express themselves. Studies of citizenship in the UK have found that young people object to adults setting the terms of reference on citizenship (Youth Citizenship Commission 2009; Hart 2009). I interviewed those students who volunteered to be interviewed (five participants). I used interviews over a period of 40-50 minutes. I used jargon free language and invited students with open questions to give their own accounts to try and avoid my own unconscious assumptions about privilege and power (Burke 2012: 133). Semi-structured interviews allowed for both consideration of specific topics of civic identity and agency, and for students to give a free narrative. The latter allowed for a phenomenological attempt to understand the world ‘from the interviewees point of view, the meaning of their experience, to feel things as they feel, to explain things as they explain them’ (Spradley 1979: 34). The interview schedule is in Appendix 7 and sample transcript in Appendix 9. In each interview, I tried to show interest, be respectful and be clear about what I was interested in (Kvale and Brinkman 2015). I sought to clarify the meanings of words as this would help understanding and in coding the data. I emphasised there were no right and wrong answers at the start and invited open comment on any issue at the end.

Focus groups can show how students’ views develop by interaction and discussion with one another (Cohen et al 2011). I moderated the discussion by asking questions to prompt responses and clarify ideas, and encouraging equal contribution. Focus groups enabled students to react to one another, a crucial aspect of my understanding of how civic identity and agency is formed at higher education where students are key socialising influences. Schedules for the focus groups are in Appendix 8 and sample transcript in Appendix 10. Focus groups were used in the first workshop with 12 students (focus group 1), and at the end with groups of five and three students (focus groups 2 and 3).

Between workshop 2 and 3, the students were placed within three charities in the city for a morning or an afternoon: the Shekinah Mission’s homeless drop-in centre, the Student Action for Refugee’s office and the Citizens’ Advice’s debt crisis clinic. I
chose these charities as they are used to and welcomed student volunteers and placements. They provided face to face support to citizens of the city, who were in some form of crisis involving financial, personal, cultural or health-related challenges. This would give the students an opportunity to go outside the normal bounds of their community to meet individuals in personal plight and observe the work of prosocial organisations. Each of the charities gave the students a briefing on the types of issues they dealt with and the reasons behind them. The students were not expected to have any role other than to observe (except at the homeless shelter where they were asked to help make tea and coffee, and talk to some of the visitors, if they wished). The students were tasked with answering two questions: what form of help did the people need and what were the motivations of those in providing it? This engaged their attention on the collective and prosocial experience of citizenship where individuals take action with others and for others. On their return, the Forum Theatre activity was structured in such a way to focus their attention on an issue that impacted their identity (they cared about it), their agency (they could change it) and engaged their structural awareness (it affected them) as a group.

They cared about it (identity)

It affected them (structural awareness)

They could change it (agency)

*Figure 4: how the students were asked to identify an issue to address in their Forum Theatre plays – the issue must be all three*
9. Methods of data analysis

When I analysed the data my focus was on how the students made sense of their experience in the educational intervention, including any prior experiences (Smith et al 2012). I tried to draw out what this experience was like for this person and how they made sense of it. I used thematic analysis as follows (adapted from Braun and Clarke 2006; and Smith et al 2012):

1. Immersion in data –

   a. I transcribed part of the data (the focus groups), whilst the interviews were transcribed by a company. I made notes on all transcripts throughout as ideas started to appear.
   b. I listened to the recordings again and made more notes, along with references to the literature or notes for further reading.

2. Categorisation of data –

   a. Using my notes, and the research questions, I established a list of codes and collated pieces of data under each;
   b. The codes were collated into themes and sub-themes that represented ‘something important in relation to the overall research question’ (Braun and Clarke 2006: 86);
   c. I reviewed the themes and sub-themes by sketching them onto A3 pieces of paper to create maps of the ideas;
   d. The data analysis chapters were planned and written around the maps above and as rich a description as possible is provided.

I was looking for pieces of data that provided evidence of the students’ negotiating their civic identities and agencies. The themes were a way of converging and diverging ideas, finding commonality and nuance (Smith et al 2012: 79), establishing analytical distinctions, identifying underlying ideas and clarifying relationships.

Mindful of the drawbacks of phenomenology and action research, I tried to triangulate the accounts given in interviews, focus groups and from what I observed.
I compared the students’ accounts with what the charities told me they had told the students about their work. I referred to my research log to see what impressions I have formed over time. I discussed a skeleton form of the analysis with critical friends. I will refer to other research in the data analysis and conclusions to refine and check the conclusions.

The claims made from the data seek to be authentic and plausible (Lincoln and Guba 1985). This is because they are based on a series of safeguards and checks as set out throughout this chapter for how the context of the research, in particular my relationship with the students, affected the way in which they acted and responded.

10. Ethical issues and approach

Many of the ethical issues have been identified above including: how I recruited volunteers, the political dimensions of the research, my involvement as both participant and researcher, the divide between a research activity and my teaching, especially as regards my perceived status and position. There are others such as the students’ own position. We saw in the previous chapter that there is greater diversity in social background in higher education, and in Plymouth, more students from areas with low attendance in higher education. Further, there is an important need for students to feel able to freely discuss personal beliefs and values, and understand how that information may be used. I did not consider it necessary for the students to always feel comfortable in the research, as this would preclude placing them in critical incidents. However, it was vital to explain to the students in advance that nature of the experience to come.

Following from this, the principle I practiced was to be open and transparent in aims, ideas, purposes of the research and uses to which I might put the data, and the audiences to whom it might be presented (Starkey et al 2014). (An information sheet can be found in Appendix 5). I was explicit that I had undertaken a doctorate to develop my practice in citizenship education and hoped to use the results of the study to conduct further such interventions (or not – and I was open to that outcome). I hoped the students would develop their civic identities and agency in the activity, but a failure to do so did not constitute a failure of the research.
The data was anonymised (except with use of pseudonyms that the most students chose themselves), kept confidential and provided on the basis of voluntary informed consent (British Educational Research Association (BERA) 2011: 5-7 and see consent form in Appendix 6). I made clear that the students could withdraw their participation and/or their data at any time.

This research presented challenges in that I asked students and myself to engage in activities that were possibly upsetting and unusual. For example, they engaged in drama exercises, met persons who were experiencing or had experienced a traumatic event. Additionally, I had not used these pedagogies in combination before. There was a considerable degree of uncertainty and potential for experiences that might undermine notions of democratic citizenship. Forum Theatre exercises with young persons can reproduce rather than represent experiences of oppression (Snyder-Youn 2014). I addressed these risks through transparent and advance information, reassuring students that it was ‘ok’ to not take part in any activity and they could report any kind of experience. I allowed students after each theatre and charity experience to discuss in small groups and with me the emotions and thoughts they had. I acknowledge that throughout this was not a comfortable experience for myself either as I went beyond my normal teaching (Zembylas 2015). I applied separately for ethical approval and was granted it by the Institute of Education, UCL, and my faculty at the University of Plymouth.
Chapter 4

The students’ understandings of citizenship and how they act in their communities

Introduction

This next four chapters analyse the data. Each chapter addresses the research questions by exploring a series of themes and sub-themes that are set out in various sections. This chapter analyses sub-question one: what were the students’ understandings of their civic identity and civic agency at the start of the research project. Therefore, much of the data is from the workshop 1 and focus group 1 conducted in that workshop.

This chapter will consider how the students’ understandings of citizenship, their civic identities and civic agency were just beginning to emerge. Their sense of citizenship was contingent upon acting as a citizen by contributing to their community and this changed over time. This suggested that there was room for agentic change in their civic identities through individual reflection, choice and direction.

The starting point – a lack of knowledge and influence of parents

At the start students had difficulty describing citizenship. This may have been partly because they were reluctant to speak up in front of the whole group. It transpired later in their interviews that they were also unsure or did not know what citizenship meant.

I felt that you could have easily lost us, because a lot of us were like, “yeah, what does citizenship mean?” in terms of that. (Charlie IV3.8).
This was quite an honest response to say that the exercise almost fell flat and lost the participants.

The students discovered that both their fellow participants and the passers-by could not offer a definition or a meaning to the term, and indeed, each individual gave a different response.

Like talking to the people outside and in here and in our group discussions when we came back, you kind of get a feeling that we’re all a bit different and nobody really knows how to define a citizen, or what a citizen actually means. (Alex IV2.8).

This reflected the lack of resonance and popularity of the term ‘citizenship’ in British history and culture (Miller 2000; Osler and Starkey 2005). In one way this was surprising as citizenship has been taught at secondary schools in the UK since 2001 and in many primary schools as well. When I asked students about school education in focus group 1 I drew a blank. Mostly they remembered Personal Social and Health Education (PSHE) but very few citizenship classes. The exceptions were Mary and Charlie, who had studied the international or Welsh baccalaureates. None had studied Citizenship GCSE and only May had taken part in the National Citizenship Service (NCS).

We used to have like PSHE lessons.... And every now and again there would a citizenship one. And that would be it really. You wouldn’t have a conversation about it. (May FG1.7).

There is more evidence here that citizenship was not a word that entered into everyday discourse although we shall see later that underlying issues related to it are discussed. Aside from two former baccalaureate students, none could relate any meaningful experiences from school studies that offered a definition or meaning to the word. Indeed, May deprecated the value of the NCS, which she recalled in dull tones. Similarly, Francisco poured scorn on lessons on British values because the values were not ‘British’ but could be found anywhere in the world.

This was interesting data because one might expect these volunteers to have volunteered for a project concerning something they liked studying or had some inkling might be interesting or enjoyable. (We shall see in the Chapter 7 how their
motives sprang from different wells). It also meant that to a significant extent the students had a blank or uncertain canvas on which to work. They had a lack of cultural artefacts or educational history to draw on. This gave them some freedom to experiment with ideas than otherwise might be the case in another cultural context.

We shall see how many student responses were couched in uncertain terms. This element of guesswork or feeling for ideas was evidence that the research may have allowed students time and space to explore and experiment. A good piece of evidence for this was that the students felt there was no set agenda. For example, at the report back session, Charlie and May said that the initial session of interviewing strangers on the street gave them the impression that the project started broad. It was ‘vague and unbiased’, May said. They both liked that they looked at what citizenship ‘could be’ and what others thought it could be.

As we explored citizenship more in focus group 1, and when I asked in interview to recall their initial ideas, several students gave detailed examples of how their values, practice and understanding of citizenship came from what their parents taught them. It appeared that whilst they could not define citizenship they thought that several ideas were associated with it. The first of these was being a good person.

Personally, it is just from being taught to be a good person by your family values from parents. And from mostly from personal observation, just growing up, and like seeing the news and stuff like that…. And just personal reflection, I’d say. (Rosie FG1.8).

Rosie identified both a myriad of influences and a single idea of being a good person. It is noticeable that she suggested that this is a dynamic process, changing as she matures, and one in which she not passively moulded by what is around her. May expressed similar ideas that citizenship is a normative and ethical concept, that there are good and bad citizens, akin to good and bad persons.

I went straight to being a good citizen, or a good person, which all stems from my parents… Because you can see some of your friends and their kind of morals, and what their parents have brought down to them, you don’t agree with it… You can see the difference in backgrounds, yes. (May IV1.15).
Like Rosie, May mentioned her family first of all and acknowledged that this is a changing dynamic over time. She was also an active and critical observer, who considered how her friends’ morals are formed, what this told her of their parenting and whether she agreed with them.

The clear and strong influence of parents was visible in other students’ comments. For example Bella gave specific examples of civic values or practices that her parents had directly instilled or encouraged.

… like my parents always taught me it is not you being part of something. It is you helping that community which makes you part of that community. You were never born as part of a community… Understanding what that citizenship is to that people who are a part of that citizenship. (Bella FG1.8-9).

Bella has accepted and was able to expound on these values of her parents. She has started to think about how a person comes to belong to a community by contributing to it (a theme that emerged strongly across the group later below).

Charlie was able to give a specific example of how her parents had influenced the way in which she acted in her community.

It's [always being on the school council] … It's just my dad. My dad always said, you know, well, if you've got a position to run… if you're in a position that you can change something, change it. He was like even if you can't, at least push for it. (Charlie IV3.4).

These four students consciously accounted for what they have learned from their parents with varying critical distances on why they have accepted these ideas. The data suggests that students came to university with the norms, values and beliefs shaped by the communities and families they grew up in (Flanagan and Levine 2010). It was possible that there are other influences on the students that they were not aware of and we should be conscious of the limits of the methodology.

**Citizenship as feeling part of a community**

Separate from the influence of parents, the students discussed their own meanings for citizenship by drawing on other experiences. The students said some very
interesting things about citizenship being part of something or belonging. For example, Bella said this early on focus group 1:

[Citizenship] is another way to be inexclusive as well... Like it’s essentially meant to be part of a whole. (Bella FG1.3).

She used an unusual word (‘inexclusive’) – or perhaps even invented it – to describe citizenship. It arguably lent some authenticity to the data because the student is trying to find her own words rather than those of others. She did not say ‘non-exclusive’, perhaps implying a more powerful meaning that citizenship cannot by definition be exclusive (rather than meaning the opposite of something else). It suggests a welcoming, accepting and open experience. This ran counter to recent trends in British citizenship policy that are more exclusive such as bordering and deprivation of citizenship (Shankley and Byrne 2020; Yuval-Davis et al 2018).

The idea of citizenship being a positive experience was taken further by others in the early stages of focus group 1 by Mary.

[C]itizenship is like a whole, like a community, so people should have citizenship which is like looking out for others, like the benefits of other people and where you are from. (Mary FG1.2).

Mary conceived of citizenship collectively not individually – as ‘a whole’. This had a normative implication for her that to act as a citizen individuals must look out for others. Charlie developed the idea in more detail by referring to what a passer-by told her in the first exercise.

[T]he person I spoke to said it is essentially being a part of the bigger picture and it doesn’t matter what that picture is for you as long you are thinking about something which isn’t just about you, yourself or your friends or maybe thinking about something as a whole and how you can impact that. That might be citizenship in itself. (Charlie FG1.2).

Charlie also saw citizenship collectively as being part of something as a whole. Furthermore, citizenship involved a thought process of thinking beyond yourself and your immediate circle of friends, and what effect you might have on it. There was an element of selflessness to her understanding of citizenship and how one acted as a
citizen. This idea of thinking beyond one’s own interests and of others was a major theme that recurs later after the workshops (see next chapter).

That citizenship was a mental event, a processing of ideas and coming to your own views about it, was evident in the students’ attitudes to the UK citizenship test.

It is not just about knowledge it is… the [UK citizenship test] gives the impression that it is about knowing and UK heritage and of all of that. When it is probably not. (Rosie FG1.6).

This was a very interesting comment. It showed that a young person had considered and rejected part of the State’s criteria for granting citizenship. In particular, she rejected a knowledge-based concept of citizenship.

It was interesting that both Rosie’s and Charlie’s statements were couched as possibilities, probabilities, perhaps even a guess, and not certainties. One cannot discount a deferential or nervous reaction to putting their embryonic ideas before someone in authority and with specialist knowledge, and in front of their peers. It was also the case that these students were not sure what citizenship is and were tentatively feeling their way towards an understanding of it. In other words their understanding of citizenship and how they acted in their communities was inchoate and shifting as they thought aloud and reacted to others in the focus group.

An example of how their understanding developed in the group was how the discussion moved onto problems of exclusion, discrimination and divisions within and between communities. This idea was introduced by Bella.

I think that this whole idea of citizenship and being a community… almost isolates you sometimes. So when you’re part of one community, say from Liverpool and then people take that negatively from other parts. It is the same as what is going on between like terrorism at the moment with Muslims all being grouped into one group of citizens. (Bella FG1.4).

This was an example of a student’s understanding of citizenship moving between ideas. Bella saw citizenship as both inexclusive (above) and exclusive to the point of isolation here. These ideas were compatible for her because citizenship is a malleable term that can have pejorative meaning imbued into it. This comment led Yaya, a Muslim international student, to describe stereotypes of Muslims.
People always say I am an Arab [right] yeah because I am wearing a hijab. But I say I am from Indonesia and they say like what you are not like Indonesian, you are like an Arab. But it is like, no. (Yaya FG1.5).

This was an example of how a person’s sense of who they are, their identity, collides with perceptions of others. As Yaya showed, these could be false and ill-informed, probably based on stereotypes that all wearers of a hijab are Arab. This in turn led others to mention the case of Shamima Begum, who had been stripped of her citizenship at around this time. Later on in the interviews, May expressed disapproval of the use of citizenship to exclude others, a salient issue for her.

That was quite an important point [in focus group 1 that citizenship can be exclusive]… It can be… exclusive, I thought… Because of everything that’s going on these days with terrorism and everything. Having like Shamima… And stripping her of her citizenship, which I don’t agree with… It’s just like shoving you, being an outcast, when you are part of this country. (May IV1.8).

Like Bella and Yaya, May showed awareness of contemporary discourses around inclusion/exclusion and attitudes to minorities, especially Muslims. They all understood citizenship as involving tension both explicitly between who is included and excluded, and between their own preferences for citizenship and that of others.

In all these excerpts, there were external tensions – that others may negatively construe citizenship (Bella), may misperceive your identity (Yaya) and ultimately, deprive you of citizenship (May). The students’ understanding of citizenship included their own perspective and recognised how wider society understood and used the term. In doing so, they saw borders and rules for membership, which they were able to problematise in basic terms. All of this suggested that without much citizenship education at school or reference points to draw on, the students had and were able to formulate their own basic understandings of citizenship at the start of the project.

**The importance of context (especially relationships) for civic agency**

In the latter parts of focus group 1, the students explained how their feelings of belonging in Plymouth were influenced by the presence of friends or by an
identification with the culture of the city. Bella explained both points to which both Yaya and Rosie agreed.

Because [Plymouth] is where my friends were even though my family go back to Liverpool all the time. This is where I feel most at home… (Bella FG1.12-13).

Bella’s feelings of belonging or where she felt ‘at home’ are differentiated by place and acceptance or conformity with others. Like many of the other students, she had recently established herself in a new community. However, this was not synonymous with citizenship for her as yet.

I am not a citizen of Plymouth. I don’t feel that, at all. I don’t think I ever will… But if you live somewhere long enough then I think you develop a sense of relationship, in a sense of belonging and that makes you a citizen. (Bella FG1.12).

This highlighted the dimensions of affect and time in the fluctuating dynamic of citizenship. Citizenship was a mental state that is felt. This feeling changed as one develops a relationship with a place. Fransisco agreed and said earlier that:

[I]f you develop a relationship with people in the community you can then give back to the community. I think that is where [it is] helping you feel as a citizen. (Fransisco FG1.11-12).

For Fransisco, citizenship was also an internal event that was felt in response to the establishment of a relationship with a community. Others agreed by contrasting their loss of feeling of status in their home community as they stopped taking part in voluntary activities.

So when [involvement in volunteering at home] stopped you weren’t seen as a person who helped in a community you were just seen as another individual in the town. (Jerry FG1.17).

Therefore, these students’ conception of acting as a citizen was inseparable from being part of a community, in particular developing relationships within it, often by contributing to it. Building relationships and contributing to a community, was not
acting as a citizen exactly, but becoming a citizen. It increased one’s sense of citizenship, in being more or less of a citizen.

It is noticeable here how Bella, Fransisco and Jerry used words like ‘feel’, ‘sense’ and ‘seen’ to describe their experience of citizenship. Citizenship for the students was an affective and perceptive experience nested in a particular social context. They described how integrated or part of a community they are with degrees of belonging or membership. As Bella said she was brought up to believe you were ‘never born’ as part of a community. Her sense of community was not a given. It was not something that was rooted in an ascribed identity but is constructed through action. There is an interaction here between citizenship as feeling and citizenship as practice (Osler and Starkey 2005). Bella’s practice in contributing to a community helped make her feel more part of that community.

The students’ accounts of taking action in their community were marked by a feeling of fragmentation – of being one among many without any collective action; some were aware of this both as a limit and as a possibility. May gave several insights into this in focus group 1 and in her interview. To begin with as an individual she felt powerless.

I don’t know about having influence. I don’t particularly think that I have influence… Like there are so many students here and I am just one of them. Like what influence do I have? (May FG1.15).

There was a sense of being insignificant and she later repeated the phrase ‘I am just one’. Again, a student used the verb ‘to feel’. It is perhaps indicative of the practice element of citizenship being a mental event, an experience, or a sense of purpose or confidence, as well as physical action.

May’s views changed when she thought of student organisations such as the student-run Law Society and of the relationships she had in her home city of Plymouth.

And then in [university] I guess I would definitely go to the Law Society. Because they are quite influential and they have lots of contacts themselves. And family friends and everything have connections… I have lived here all my life and I know my way around. (May FG1.16).
Here a student’s sense of the possibilities for action was drawn to membership of student societies and the relationships she has built up over time. Her phrase ‘I know my way around’ portrays a person who belonged, fit in and understood the culture of her surroundings. In contrast, Charlie who had moved to Plymouth felt she had not been there long enough to act with influence.

… when you are a first year and only been here for only over six months it is difficult to feel you can change anything when you are just moved here. (Charlie FG3.40).

This emphasised the need to see citizenship as membership of a community and acting within it as a dynamic phenomenon changing over time.

It was noticeable that when we discussed influence on a wider plane, such as government or national politics, May was far less confident. She reflected on a later exercise we did in Workshop 2 with concentric circles of influence:

I think government would be maybe even further out [in the circles of influence] because seeing what’s going on these days, young people don’t haven’t… really been given the chance. (May IV1.15).

This sense of not being able to influence politics on the wider stage was repeated by Charlie at the end of the project when she said that young people cannot influence many things except local politics ‘which we can actively take a role in’ (Charlie FG3.23). This comment reflected perhaps that Charlie’s father works for a city council and had often involved her in voluntary activities.

**Conclusions on the students’ understanding of their civic identity and civic agency**

At the start of the project, the students’ understandings of citizenship were emergent or embryonic. It was notable that they felt free to sketch out their ideas on their relatively blank canvas although they also found it difficult to articulate. They were able to conceptualise citizenship as meaning being part of a larger whole. This was not uniform across the group. And there is insufficient data on the students’ life histories and educational background to explain why. Notably, they dropped the
ideas of being a good person that some said came from their parents. There was a poignant description of a normative idea of citizenship as ‘inexclusive’ and many were critical of the more exclusive use of citizenship in British society.

Their understanding of citizenship was entwined and predicated upon acting in one’s community. As Jerry said, once he had stopped volunteering at home, he was ‘just seen as another individual’. They described how their agency as bounded when thinking of politics beyond their community. And interestingly, they described feeling atomised in terms of agency in the student community. This could be changed through membership of societies and local knowledge. It implies that the status of being a citizen in one’s community is not a given. It was contingent on one’s practice as agency. (Curiously, there was no mention of the influence of social structures on their agency and it may well be the students were unaware of this). Therefore, citizenship as a feeling and practice changes over time. The link between feeling and practice meant acting in a community was to become a citizen not to be a citizen. This in turn was facilitated by the ability and capacity for action, especially to help others, a normative element to their understanding.

In summary, these students’ sense of themselves as citizens had potential for agentic change, which involved reflection on experience in combination with their normative choices. They were synthesising their civic identities by describing life experiences and/or reflections based upon them to explain citizenship. I described the same process in the IFS where students who lacked reference points such as cultural artefacts or historical traditions of citizenship explained what citizenship meant to them by talking about experiences and their reflections on them. This ‘synthetic’ citizenship, as I termed it in the IFS, is therefore a collage of the students’ social experiences and so reflected their position in society, and especially the influences of proximal others such as parents and friends. There was evidence of socialisation in the acceptance of parental ideas, and, tentative expression of their own ideas of citizenship (Amnå 2012; Haste 2010) such as being inexclusive. Their civic identities and agency were shaped by their experiences in their social context. This suggested that the workshops may well have influenced it as we shall see next.
Chapter 5

Student transformation (1): a felt sense of citizenship and critical reflection on their communities

Introduction

The next two chapters address the research sub-question of how the students perceived the effect of their participation in workshops involving authentic and critical reflection, transformational learning, and, Forum and Image Theatre on their civic identities and agencies. The chapters deal with four themes of change that occurred through the workshops.

In this chapter we shall look at the first two themes. These are how the exercises in the workshops led the students to understand citizenship as involving reflection on personal values and thinking about oneself. This in turn led to thinking about how the students feel in relation to others around them. Secondly, we shall see how the students adopted new views and critically, and authentically reflected on some of their values as a result of discussions with other students, and, conversations with individuals in the charities. In these interactions, the students displayed empathy for others, which in turn led them to questioning of personal beliefs, especially those learned from parents.

A personal and felt understanding of citizenship

The students moved from not knowing much about citizenship to thinking in more depth about what it meant to them personally. Some explicitly connected citizenship to their own personal development and, as a result, this opened up the concept to them.
I think that was quite profound [thinking about what citizenship meant to her] because personally I hadn’t even thought about it or never even used the term. Because it’s was almost another way of getting to know yourself personally and developing your own moral standpoint on things, and stuff like that. (May FG3.6).

Thinking about citizenship in personal terms was a new and powerful experience for May. It became an exercise in knowing oneself and one’s own ethical standpoints. This is similar to what Lister et al (2003) found that citizenship helped young people make sense of their position in society.

I asked the students later in the same focus group what the difference was between the questions ‘what does citizenship mean’ and ‘what does citizenship mean for them’ – the latter was a question I posed in the workshops.

Charlie: I think if somebody said what does it mean…

May: I would go on Google to be honest. I wouldn’t look at myself. (Charlie and May FG3.20).

The students appeared to have thought about the idea by looking at themselves. It also suggests a tendency to use the internet to provide definitions of ideas. (One of the observable differences between the activities and my normal classes was the absence of laptops).

The students were far from certain what citizenship meant. This did not mean they did not know, rather they had a range of ideas and questions.

I have more questions and more ideas around it, but I don’t think I can still attach a definition to citizenship. (Emma IV5.32).

This appeared both honest and significant. The student was not unnerved by not knowing. Emma admitted in interview that she had panicked at the start of project when she realised she did not know anything about citizenship. She now appeared more comfortable with a critical standpoint and awareness. She recognised the limits of her knowledge, she had avenues of inquiry and she had ideas.

Therefore, citizenship was something that the students could discover for themselves to some extent, even without the aid of reading material. This made it an
uncertain idea. This was reflected in other responses that it was something that they felt rather than knew. Bella gave a heartfelt and powerful account of this confessing that she and Emma still did not know what citizenship was, but as she then said:

I just know how it’s made me feel if that makes any sense… it’s made me feel as a person that I shouldn’t be such a singular person, I should be more aware of the community around me and actually doing something for those people… I am really used to feeling that if people don’t want to be around me, they can bugger off… I thought maybe I should not be so hostile towards people either. And that actually take an effort and listen to people. Probably that is a little bit of citizenship as well. (Bella FG2.24).

This was a fascinating account. It appeared honest with use of swear words, admissions of ignorance and intolerance of others. Bella talked of ‘feeling’ the concept. She used the word in the sense of an emotion or sensation - ‘it’s made me feel as a person’. It was a social idea in relating and being more open to others. She expanded on her idea of being part of a community and contributing to it. She had now applied that idea to herself and realised that she normally does not do this. She was exploring her ideas of citizenship and relating them to her everyday practice. When I probed Bella further on whether any activities in the workshop had led to this realisation Bella spoke about her experience in the homeless shelter and working with Archie and Rosie on their Forum Theatre idea.

The students’ felt understanding of citizenship concerned how they related to others. Alex explained to me how she approached the exercise to identify things that she cared about, thought she could change and affected her (see Figure 2 in Methodology chapter):

… it was about how we… treat each other and think about those that aren’t necessarily able to think for themselves… we need to actually think for those who aren’t able to think for themselves. I think we lose sight of that in our day to day business… it is that we are all part of the same world… Like we’re not on separate planets and that maybe we just generally need to be a bit more open to what is going on. Not necessarily so focused. (Alex IV 2.9).

This suggested that the workshops have helped the students develop ideas of citizenship as inclusive and prosocial (see preceding chapter). Her phrase ‘we are all
part of the same world’ was resonant of Bella’s idea of inclusive citizenship. (Alex and Bella did not work together in smaller groups or attend the same charity). Interestingly, Alex suggested that thinking for others is not a given. Her comments were suggestive of an individualist, atomised or fragmented society with ‘different priorities’, ‘separate planets’ and ‘necessarily so focused’ (Pattie et al 2004). This form of thinking was challenged by the students’ experiences with each other and in the charities.

Learning to understand the perspectives of others

The students reported that some of their experiences of the activities had encouraged them to see the perspectives of others, and in doing so, question their own beliefs. For May, when I asked her at the end of her interview what if anything she had got out of the research, she talked about the effect of the Image Theatre exercises.

And just like seeing the different types of people around, and how they were brought up. And then just re-evaluating yourself, I think, and your own morals, and what you believe in, in a deep way… I think more than re-evaluating, I’ll change that to reflecting. Because I haven’t changed any of my beliefs, but it has made me kind of think about them more, and why I think that. (May IV 1.22).

For May, the Image Theatre exercises revealed differences with others, which she explained by upbringing. May went on to talk about ‘forming connections with people’ and at the same time seeing differences arising from different counties and regions. If there were other differences arising from social structures, the students were either unaware of them or did not mention them. The students appeared to simultaneously appreciate differences and form social bonds across them. Also we see again the personal nature of May’s exploration of citizenship and how it involved her own views on morality. She has been stimulated by these experiences to critically reflect on the reasons or bases of her beliefs (Mezirow 2009).

The students also learned to see from a different perspective by participating in the Image Theatre activities. Alex gave a specific example of learning by doing in an
Image Theatre exercise called ‘The Vampire of Strasbourg’ (Boal 2002: 120-121). (This exercise involved the participants walking around the room with their eyes closed with some acting as ‘vampires’ to transform other participants into vampires by pinching them on the neck while others trying to evade them).

It was about us experiencing something or looking at an idea with a different perspective and, by physically participating in something, it enabled you to look at it in a different way. (Alex IV2.7).

A student has learned how to adopt a different perspective to their own and this has happened through an experience of physically doing something. When I asked her if she got anything out of the Forum Theatre exercise (where she had played a student who deliberately ignored and ostracised another) she said:

Pretending to be somebody else, putting yourself in that position, just makes you question your own behaviours. Are they what you expect are they how you would want people to perceive you? Are they how you could want people to treat you? I think it just makes you check with yourself. Am I doing what I should be? Am I doing enough to make sure other people don’t feel this way? (Alex IV2.15).

By stepping outside herself in the liminal space provided by theatre, Alex asked herself whether she understands her actions and whether they have their intended result on how others see her. She demonstrated reflexive thinking by questioning if she understood how this affects how others treated her. She was critically reflecting on the social context of her behaviour and how it related to her own intentions and also norms or values. Again, a student used the words ‘makes you’ in relation to how an experience in the project affects her thinking – in this case stimulating reflexivity.

Another example of a student critically reflecting on her beliefs was Bella. In focus group 2, the students talked about how the project had allowed to think of citizenship in a way they could relate to themselves and their everyday lives on a small scale. For Bella this led to her questioning issues in her human rights classes (which I was in part teaching her at the time), including her beliefs against prisoners having the vote and in favour of the death penalty, which she learned from her parents.
… doing this [research project] and listening to everybody’s different discussions has actually made me go make an effort and look into the arguments against having the death penalty and against why prisoners should not have the right to vote and actually understanding people’s arguments rather than just mine. (Bella FG2.29).

Interestingly, she went on to say that this ‘relates to how I should fit into the community other than just thinking it is my voice’. This was a very important passage. We have seen how the students appeared markedly influenced by their parents, possibly in an uncritical way. Here Bella expressed her awareness of that and begun to investigate the opposing arguments. Importantly, she was doing that because she believed the views of others carry value and she was not ‘just thinking it is my voice’. She thought that it helped her understand her studies better. As with other data, Bella was doing something she would not normally do and felt compelled to do so – ‘made me go make an effort’. As with May in the Image Theatre, Bella found that by listening to others in the discussions they encountered differences that provoke critical reflection. They have not necessarily changed their views but considered them in more depth. For Bella, this had a direct connection to her understanding of citizenship because she thought it helped her ‘fit in’ and become part of a community.

Many others found listening to others in groups a formative experience. The realisation by a student that they shared experiences and beliefs with other students was a major theme. Charlie talked about her experience of talking and listening to other students in the workshops. Charlie did not agree with Julie’s suggestion of compassion at the time but in hindsight she changed her mind and explained why.

Because I think I listened to what they had to say… hearing somebody talk about it… Yeah, who valued it quite a lot… it made me think, oh, maybe it is important. (Charlie IV3.10).

Charlie had come to understand that what another person values is in fact important. There was considerable civic value here in individuals being able to listen to one another and recognise the value of their beliefs and values. Charlie then explained that this was unusual for her because she is quite stubborn in her views.
But I found that with this group exercise, thinking about things that are quite personal but not too personal, such as what matters to you in your community without getting into details of it, was quite a good way... of understanding that people do have other views and that I can take on somebody else’s view by hearing them talk about it personally... (Charlie IV3.11).

What was interesting is that Charlie was able to move from listening and accepting the fact of others’ differing views to ‘taking on’ their view and changing her own. (I infer this from her admission of stubbornness). It was important for her that these were personal matters. This was an example of social learning of civic beliefs, something which has been found to occur in student communities (Ahier et al 2003). Here the experience has occurred in an educational activity. Charlie went on to describe an open-minded, cooperative and non-judgmental atmosphere that facilitated students to express themselves. There was a shared willingness to listen and discuss each other’s opinions. It was reminiscent of what Ahier et al (2003) described as the culture of ‘mutual reciprocity’ among students outside of class where there was a culture of mutual respect in listening to each other’s views.

It was also notable that the students talked about learning about the different outlooks and values of others from listening to other students in the discussion exercises. In these exercises they shared information about their families, communities and upbringing. It was interesting to see how these differences led to reflection on one’s own identity (May) and attempts to find common ground (Charlie) rather than breakdowns in understanding or collaboration. This might have been helped by the Image Theatre exercises, which were designed to build rapport, and a shared interest or enjoyment in the research exercise itself.

A ‘humanising’ of others

The students were consciously aware of the formative nature of experiential learning and were able to describe how it changed their beliefs and attitudes. Similar to the experiences above in the discussion groups, they reported changes in their views through listening to others. Charlie described her experience in the homeless shelter as follows.
I think obviously you can volunteer, but… being part of the research project just gave us the incentive… to talk to people and ask them why do you feel that things are like this. I just thought that was really, really eye opening. And I think a lot of us did because a lot of us took volunteering forms from Shekinah. (Charlie FG3.5).

Charlie felt she had learned a huge amount – ‘really, really eye opening’ – to the extent that she wanted to spend more time at the shelter as a volunteer. There was a significant point of difference here between volunteering and transformative service learning (Boland 2011). Charlie felt she was not simply making teas and coffees but had an incentive to understand why the people she met were in this situation. It contrasted with the students’ nervousness in approaching strangers in the street in the first workshop. The project gradually gave them a platform and licence to act publicly and inquire into social processes and learn from the experiences of others (Storrie 2004).

In the report back session, I asked if this data showed that this experience in the charities had altered their perceptions of persons in need. Charlie corrected me and said that it had challenged her expectations of social interaction: she had not thought she could be as open with others as she was in the shelter. Consequently, she thought that she should be more open by talking more with people. This showed critical incidents of where the students’ social norms around civic agency were challenged and possibly changed by the project.

There was more evidence for this transgressing of social norms by going into taboo or segregated spaces. For example, May, who had grown up in Plymouth, said that these were issues (such as financial debt) that were ‘shoved under the doormat’ (FG3.13 May). For those new to Plymouth, they felt that become more aware of where they had decided to go and live and study.

I think it has made me probably me open my eyes a bit more to the city that I have chosen to study in. (Charlie FG3.12).

This suggested that the activity helped increase the students’ awareness of what was hidden in their own community. This was powerfully evident in Jerry’s responses later in focus group 3 (he attended the homeless shelter with Charlie).
I always find it strange how, we can’t find out how without going in the middle of it. It seems like a closed secret area that nobody wants to let out. Because it will make the area look bad. So they keep it closed and I think that is what a lot of homeless people and a lot of socially struggling people find annoying. They feel alone. They can’t open it out to the world. (Jerry FG3.13).

This was a significant piece of data. A student understood the sense of social isolation, exclusion and stigma attached to homelessness. Jerry has obtained this understanding through spending time with homeless persons and meeting those who work with them. Also Jerry believed an experiential approach was necessary to understand this hidden part of life and by taking that approach, one could understand how it felt to be marginalised. Jerry reflected on this in his interview.

I found it very interesting because there’s a lot of things you wouldn’t know about unless you are the subject of what you wanted to know about. (Jerry IV4.13).

This was a fascinating statement of the value of personal experiences in education. Jerry suggested that there are some phenomena that cannot be known unless one is part of it. It also suggested that this is a form of learning that he has not experienced before. These students have learned about how individuals can be excluded or ostracised by society by crossing the barriers into someone else’s world. They have become aware of the barriers and what it feels like to be on the other side. It showed attempts at authentic reflection and empathy in a transformative service learning experience (Boland 2011).

For some, volunteering in the charities formed the greatest impression. Certainly when the students returned from their experience for the third workshop I observed that:

The students had something to say. You could see in their eyes that they were interested in what had happened. They all talked a lot. They enjoyed the work experience – no one had a bad word to say. (Observational notes WK3.9).
There was a sense of feeling personally connected with and stimulated by their experiences. Many of them commented on powerful and immediate experiences of meeting refugees, homeless and those in financial hardship:

I went in their [a refugee’s] house, and I think that was the most shocking part of, or like the most memorable part of the experience I guess because it was … a very personal thing to like go in someone’s house…it was quite bare, and like there wasn’t beds… they had mattresses on the floor and nothing else, and I found that quite upsetting almost. (Emma IV5.24-25).

Emma described vivid experiences that affected her emotionally. She has stepped into someone else’s private space. The experience was powerful: ‘shocking’ and ‘memorable’. The same word (‘shocking’) was used by May in her interview when talking about her experience in the debt clinic.

I had just seen them [a person in financial hardship] over the road, or homeless people, or people with drug problems or mental health issues… then the person was sat in front of me with the back of their chair to me… So, that was again, not surprising but shocking… Kind of like up close and actually talking to them... (May IV1.18-19).

May has seen someone who previously was at a distance and perhaps othered so excluded as marginal and less equal (powell and Menindian 2016). Her words ‘not surprising but shocking’ suggest she has seen something that she has seen before but in a new light, and a dramatic one.

The data suggested that the students had seen these people as remote or on the edge of their experience, perhaps portrayed in the media as particular persons with explanations for their plight, but without actual face to face conversations. This came out in Emma’s experience of meeting refugees. She said how it was ‘really eye opening’ because refugees were –

… something you see on the news, like there is a refugee crisis and you kind of detach yourself from it. I was like oh there is a person sat right in front of me and I talked about how that was kind of really oh my god for me. (Emma FG2.5).
Note how Emma uses the word ‘something’ not ‘someone’. This political or social event on television, which was ‘not in my bubble’ (FG 2.6), had now become individuals, who –

… were human, they were normal people, chatty, friendly, laughed. (Emma FG2.6).

The experience in the charities has brought a two dimensional figure on the screen or on the periphery of their lives to life. A key common feature was the face to face interaction – they talked to individuals, they watched them explain the problems in their lives, they laughed and chatted. The phrase ‘normal people’ indicated a student fumbling for an appropriate term to simply describe a human being who was no longer excluded as a different other.

What was very interesting was that despite being shocked and possibly upset by their experiences, the students saw it as very beneficial. This was an important point for my professional context (see Chapter 1) within which more senior staff have warned me on occasion to avoid experiences that might cause student complaints or might otherwise negatively impact on how students rate their experience in surveys (such as the National Student Survey, which contributes to university league tables and the Teaching Excellence Framework).

Coming to know another person through their beliefs and opinions happened both in the discussion groups and in the charities. For example, Alex described listening to other students’ experiences of the homeless shelter.

… you sometimes forget about the actual people behind the situations… So actually you think more about the people, does that makes sense? It is not just a homeless person anymore. You actually have a background to this person and makes this person come alive more. (Alex FG2.7).

This was further evidence that the experience in the charities removed the labels and masks of social categories such as ‘homelessness’ or ‘refugee’ to reveal a person underneath. It showed how the students were able to absorb what had happened in the charity and pass it on to others in the workshop in the classroom several days later.
What was fascinating about this piece of data is that this is not how the students normally think. Alex’s comment above about seeing past a social category and seeing the individual who comes ‘alive’ was made in response to this observation by Archie:

In normal day to day life you are not thinking as we were on the Wednesday afternoons [the workshops]. (Archie FG 2.7).

The workshops led the students to listen to each other, learn about each other and about strangers. Whilst the latter were marginalised people in society, it seems that both other students and these strangers came to life in the workshops as individuals with stories, beliefs, opinions and backgrounds. It suggested that the students would normally not see homeless persons, refugees, those in financial trouble and even other students in this way. It suggested the activity helped overcome processes of exclusion in their community.

The students thought they could start to understand the interests and perspectives of others as result of their experiences in the charities. For example, here Charlie explained why she thought a homeless person might visit the shelter.

I think just for maybe an hour or two on a Tuesday, they just want to forget that they're homeless. They want to forget that they're living on the streets, they want to forget that they're seeing everybody at ground level walking past them. I think they just wanted somebody to listen to, and I was happy to sit there and talk to them. (Charlie IV 3.6).

Charlie understood that the persons who attended the homeless shelter wanted to be treated with respect and dignity by being listened to and not looked down upon (literally and metaphorically, possibly). The repeated use of the word ‘forget’ suggests she understood the shelter as a sanctuary, a place where a person could distance themselves from whatever crisis has brought them there. Again, there was emphasis on the importance of listening and interaction.

At the start of this focus group, May, Charlie and Jerry wrote down that ‘empathy’ and ‘humanising individuals with issues’ was what they thought they had got out of the research. I asked them about this at the start of the workshop.
Charlie understood empathy in several ways. It involved thinking about the structural context of how someone came to be in their situation, helping someone and seeing a person as an individual rather than a category.

The tasks set in the project involved asking questions of others, which meant the students no longer simply watched or spectated in society. They tried to understand someone else’s experience. It is a movement from citizens as witnesses, who are passive, distant, whose experience is mediated through norms and prevailing stereotypes, to direct interaction, which disrupts these lenses, stimulates reflection and learning, and empathy. For many of the students this was a shocking and powerful experience, arguably a critical incident that led to personal transformation (Merizow 2009) by giving personality, life and even dignity to people, who were previously beyond their community. Some appeared to revise empirical and normative expectations leading to new perspectives (Biccheri 2006; Haste 2010), such as Emma on refugees, others questioned them and found them validated, like May on poor people in Plymouth. Parts of students’ civic identities were challenged and deepened by first-hand experience upon which they formed their own judgments.

**Critical and authentic reflection on beliefs, norms and values**

This humanising of others led to a questioning of personal beliefs, especially those obtained from parents. This was most obvious with Emma whose experience of refugees was described above.

… the person [refugee] that we went to see, she was lovely and polite, you know, she offered us both a coffee as we went in. Like I was very shocked about that because … I mean not that I necessarily believed what I’d heard
from my dad, but he was very much like oh those bloody refugees… it kind of humanised it all for me to be honest. (Emma IV5.25).

It is notable how Emma did not quite believe what her father said about refugees but was still ‘very shocked’. It suggested that her idea of a refugee – whether she liked it or not – came from her father. This was purely an idea – she had not met a refugee until now. The hospitality of the refugee she met was described as ‘humanising’.

Again, the face to face interaction has had a powerful effect on a student.

In fact, Emma’s experience at the charity (START) gave her a lot of information upon which to substantially reconsider her views on refugees.

I thought it was an issue in terms of they’re taking all our jobs and all these things that I’d been led to believe… you know, most of them that I saw were struggling to actually find jobs, so I found that really weird because my dad was just like they’re taking our jobs… that was something that has definitely altered my perspective on it, I guess. (Emma IV5.25-26).

This has been a critical incident for Emma because she has encountered the opposite of what she was led to believe – ‘I found that really weird’. There was a sense of dissonance between what she saw and heard and her beliefs, norms and values. She resolved it by believing her experience. This was strong evidence of experiential learning changing a young adult’s perspective drawn from their parents.

Another example of this was where Alex explained how she had questioned her own beliefs by coming to think about the perspectives of others. As a mature student, she put her experience at Citizens Advice in context of her previous life experience as a financial advisor at a bank.

… we [were] always lending was to those who could afford it and had good incomes and stuff like that. But I never saw past that when it got to a point when a bank couldn’t help… we just used to shoo them out the door… And in doing this it makes you think well actually… who picks it up and where does it go? And should it end there? Should they do more? (Alex FG2.29).

Alex was similar to Emma in that her experiences in the charity ‘made’ her think differently, especially of other perspectives. Her observation finished by questioning her assumptions and her relations with the world, including whether one should act
differently. Similar to Emma, her experience on the project has led her to pose questions that she was curious about but did not yet have answers to.

This was not to say that all students had experiences that overturned previously held beliefs. May, who was from Plymouth, found that the experience of meeting people in financial hardship at Citizens Advice validated what her mother had taught her about Plymouth. It brought to life (humanised) issues in the city that her mother had experienced for herself and taught May to be open minded about.

I have always been brought up like 'that is the bad area of Plymouth and this is the good area of Plymouth and this is where the drug people are’… And [my mother] always taught us everyone’s equal, don’t value any highly or less than anyone else. And that basic rule but also to keep yourself safe because people aren’t always nice… (May FG 3.11-12).

This was interesting because on the one hand May believed that her mother was right but also that she learned that people who were struggling were individuals with personalities and stories (having been told they are ‘the drug people’ – another example of othering).

Students also referred to common norms or stereotypes that might have come from elsewhere such as the media that were challenged by their experiences in the charities. For example, Yaya, who was from Indonesia, explained how she had come to believe from the media that all refugees were Muslims.

I was thinking that all of the refugees were all Muslim. And then they talked to us and told us that most of them are Christian and a lot of come from like another religion. I am a bit surprised… I have to be like you know more open minded to, I have to tell my friend. (Yaya FG 2.5).

This was a good example of a student learning something that they find interesting and noteworthy, such that it may lead to discussions with friends later.

One should be careful not to conclude that the students had only positive experiences in the charities. Charlie described how she saw homeless persons verbally abusing each other, ostracising others and accusing each other of theft.
To see that people can still treat each other with such animosity [in the homeless shelter], and judge each other even at that low point, I think will stick for me for a very long time. (Charlie IV3.15).

Interestingly, this was a strong experience for Charlie because it went against what she had ‘always been told [by her parents]’ (Charlie IV3.15). Again, a memorable experience was explained by reference to what the students have learned or been exposed to with their parents. In some cases it completely overturned what they knew while for others it confirmed it. For all it would seem that depth, texture and individuality now populated their imagination of their community.

Conclusions: a felt sense of citizenship and critical reflection on their communities

The experiences of the workshops led students to conceive of citizenship as a thinking less about oneself and more about others. Bella felt less ‘singular’ and more willing to talk to others who were different. This was a change from the norm. These students experienced a more open and inclusive civic identity overturning processes of othering. This develops the ‘inexclusive’ ideas of belonging Bella had at the start.

The experiences in the group discussions and the charities led the students to question their beliefs, norms and values. The experiences in the charities involved meeting a person face to face and it often was shocking and even upsetting. The students’ empirical and normative expectations about refugees and homeless persons were challenged (Bicchieri 2006). Their explanations of how these individuals had come to be in the position they were, were also changed. It gave them insight into how it felt to not be a citizen. This affected the perspective that they used to filter and process information, or their values (Haste 2010). The outcome was that students reported seeing marginalised individuals as human beings.

The students’ most formative experiences were of other people, or citizens, and their conversations with and observations of them. The experience in the charities gave them a platform to act in a public space, notably, a space where citizens felt excluded. They came to understand someone else’s experience and, importantly, another citizen’s feeling, such as a homeless person's sense of isolation. The action
or practice of listening to others, focused their attention on the experiences of others. Reflection on that led them to empathise and understand it. This then altered the students’ feelings of community by revising or reinforcing some of their beliefs about others and how they could interact with them, especially others who were beyond their community. This is an example of how ‘[m]eaning and understanding… are co-constructed and negotiated in social and cultural interactions’ (Carretero et al 2016: 295).

It is notable that whereas the students felt lost at the start of this research when I asked them about citizenship, by the end, something important had changed: Bella and Rosie did not know what citizenship meant, but they were able to describe how it felt. This felt or intuitive sense of citizenship clashed with pre-existing trends revealed in this Chapter: i) being alone or feeling ‘singular’, ii) not having time to listen or being uninterested in the concerns of others, and, iii) not ‘checking’ one’s beliefs, norms and values. There is evidence of these patterns in UK citizenship culture, UK political culture and in research on young people and students’ experience of citizenship. For example, in atomisation and individualism in UK citizenship (Pattie et al 2004), liberal notions of success exhibited by young people (Lister et al 2003), and a sense of being disengaged or enclosed in one’s own world at university (Ryan 2011). This is evidence of how this approach to citizenship education has allowed students to critique the wider citizenship culture in which they find themselves.
Chapter 6

Student transformation (2): forming social bonds in Forum Theatre and cultivating senses of agency

Introduction

This chapter looks at the next two themes of how the students perceived the effect of their participation in workshops involving Forum Theatre on their civic identities and agencies. Firstly, the Forum Theatre exercise allowed the students to explore and experiment with civic identities and agency. In the preparation stage they were able to pool their collective personal experiences to find common causes, which led to new senses of collective agency. The performance stage was a cathartic and bonding experience. Secondly, the students found that the potential for civic action lay in overcoming their own barriers or fears of interacting with others, especially strangers. There was evidence of changes in their perception of the possibilities for civic agency.

An exploration and experimentation with civic identities and agency in Forum Theatre

By way of background, the students chose their own groups around which they coalesced on an issue they cared about, were affected by and could change (see Figure 3 above in Methodology chapter). These were: loneliness at university (Alex, Charlie, Fransisco, Julie and May), plastics pollution (Archie, Bella and Rosie) and intolerance towards refugees (Emma, Jerry and Yaya). The first group managed to perform a play, the second group did not get further than discussing the issues and the third rehearsed their script in private but did not feel ready to perform.
What was notable was that all three problems that the students identified were cultural by nature. I observed this in the final Workshop when the scripts started to come together.

It was interesting how many of the ideas came from culture – what you could and could not say to people about recycling, what could and could not expect of guidance counsellors and building friendships, what misperceptions and misunderstandings occur with different languages and religions and origins. (Observational notes WK5.18).

For these students, what they cared about, affected them and they felt they could change was behavioural. Similar to their formative experiences in the charities and group discussions, they latched onto questions of how citizens treat and relate to one another. In particular, the social norms of what could and could not be said in British society and the potential for miscommunication.

The students justified their choices by arguing for the importance of an issue for themselves personally, their friends and wider society.

I went for mental health straightaway because personally affected, seeing all my friends, helping them with everything. Very important issue, especially with young people, and especially with older people who are now just realising that ‘oh, I actually have mental health issues’. It’s not just stiff upper lip and stuff like that. (May IV1.19).

This demonstrated the scope of one student’s civic imagination linking an issue of concern to not just herself and her friends but to her social group and the need to change attitudes, which she saw as a generational divide. Through working together to prepare a Forum Theatre script this group perceived relationships between the ideas and stratified them between the individual and the wider society. For example, their flipchart (Appendix 12) showed that they understood mental health to be linked to healthy eating, pressure to do well, loneliness, peer pressure, social media and bullying.

The value of the preparation stage in unpacking an issue and exploring its various dimensions could be seen particularly clearly with the plastics pollution group. Archie, Bella and Rosie found that by questioning the reasons for the challenges to
dealing with pollution, it led them to discuss an underlying problem of indifference and specifically a British culture of deference to strangers. I observed in workshop 5:

[Bella] said that [the inability to challenge people on littering] was because British culture was ‘prudish’ or reserved… They contrasted this with Italy where strangers could go up to someone and tell them not to do something… The impression was that they believed UK culture was to mind your own business. (Observational notes WK5.15).

This group decided that the problem with littering of beaches in the UK was a question of what were acceptable responses to it. They were able to identify it as something peculiar to the UK as compared with other countries they had visited in Europe. Forum Theatre enabled them to critique a part of British civic culture. The students’ thought processes have developed from personal to shared interests to wider social problems. They have thought about the underlying causes for the phenomena (with some questioning and encouragement from me with this group). This was an example therefore of authentic reflection drawn from experiential learning. Forum Theatre could be a vehicle for this even without any performance.

Emma, Jerry and Yaya, who worked on issues around refugees, also spotted how issues were interlinked:

… then we kind of made links between them [social problems they cared about] and we sort of discovered that a lot of them linked to debt, and like that’s what we discovered. (Emma IV5.27).

This was valuable evidence of how students could develop a more complex thematic interrelationship between the ideas by realising the keystone role played by problems like debt. They saw problems not as theoretical but interrelated within a total context (Freire 1970: 81). They did not explore their civic identities in isolation but attempted to understand the various dynamics of the issues they cared about. These were examples of students beginning to authentically reflect (Freire 1970).

One must remember that these students had not had any explicit instruction from myself on any of these social issues. They were exploring them using their own experience (as seen above) both from their personal lives prior to the project and their experiences in the charities, especially the briefing given by the charities on
their work. They could place issues from personal experience into a wider social context and begin to see relationships between factors. They began to understand their civic identities and the potential for civic agency as socially nested and contingent on a range of factors that were interlinked.

The Forum Theatre play about loneliness and mental health

The issues the students explored were ones they had experienced themselves. For example, Alex explained how she understood loneliness at university.

So the mental health and the fears coming to uni can so easily lead to the loneliness… you think “Oh I am going to have to sit on my own and, unless people talk to me, I won’t talk to them”…that’s what loneliness is. Just not being able to find some common ground with somebody. (Alex IV 2.14-15).

Alex was describing a phenomenon she has almost certainly been through herself. She was able to imagine what it is like to experience something. Importantly, she portrayed loneliness as an issue that has clear civic dimensions in the inability to find common ground with someone. This idea of finding shared commonalities was a theme that runs right through the research project.

The group that worked on loneliness was able to translate their ideas into a script and perform it. This was arguably because they retained that link between their personal experience and the script. In contrast, where that link was lost, students felt the script was unrealistic and it lost veracity (e.g. in Emma, Jerry and Yaya’s group). This demonstrated the importance of a participant’s personal experience in Forum Theatre. This was also vital to how the students accessed the concept of citizenship above – by asking what it meant to them personally (and not looking it up on Google as Charlie said). It meant that the Forum Theatre scripts felt believable if they had part of themselves in it, part of their identity.

In the play a student, called Delilah, became lonely at university and eventually developed mental health problems, resulting in her losing her accommodation and begging on the street. In scene 1, she arrived for her first day at university with her mother, who was indifferent to her anxieties at being somewhere new and too busy on her phone with work to respond meaningfully. In scene 2, when she was rudely
ignored in class by other students planning a night out, she felt upset and stormed out. In scene 3, a guidance counsellor had insufficient time to listen in detail to her concerns, and repeatedly talked over her to usher her out of her office. In scene 4, she was dejected and sitting cross legged on the street begging, whilst her classmates walked past and wondered if they knew her.

It was a performance that touched on many issues: the challenges of fitting in in a new community at university, how the busy-ness of everyday life precludes people listening and empathising with others, and, the importance to one’s own wellbeing of feeling part of a community. One did not have to be a student to relate to it, as I observed during the rehearsal:

Before they performed it I watched it all the way through and said that it was excellent. Many of the points ‘rang true’ for me as a lecturer. (Observational notes WK5.16).

Through group discussion, drawing on their experiences in the charities, the students had found topics that resonated with a person who was not from their demographic. For other students, they felt that they had depicted reality very well.

I thought it was very, like, well portrayed… [and not] overdone for like theatre… I think that’s what made it really good… because it was so true to like the way it was… like they weren’t exaggerating the truth, they were just like almost re-enacting just what I, what you see, I guess, sometimes around uni and stuff. (Emma IV5.30).

This was a powerful statement. Emma thought that the play did not overdramatise reality – in her words ‘it was so true’. Forum Theatre had given a platform to one group of students to produce an experience to which others could relate. As we shall see next this had significant consequences for both players and audience.

In performing in the play, the students felt that they aired an issue – loneliness at university – that was hidden and thought to be experienced solely by that individual. May spoke about this in her interview.

… it was a bit of a relief to get the loneliness aspect kind of heard… Rather than internalising it all the time. Like sharing it with everyone else. And they all get it as well… And it’s not just you… So, with [Charlie], I speak to her
quite a lot in lectures, [Alex], I was just with her in the lecture… It brought us closer together, I think. (May IV1.22).

For May, the experience has been positive, as if pressure has been released from an experience that she internalised that is now recognised and heard. Importantly, it is recognition by others that they understood this experience. This led to a sense of closer social bonds. It was a cathartic experience that by airing a difficult topic and finding that others felt the same about it, one experienced a positive emotion (relief). This related strongly to the students’ concept of citizenship as being part of a whole, it showed how relationships between citizens could be cultivated by exploring and discovering something they share.

This feeling of catharsis and sharing was not confined to the performers. When I asked the others whether they had got anything out of watching the play, Bella said:

  More awareness… Of the subject that we were on about. Because it is the same thing. Like you always just think ‘oh it’s just me’. (Bella FG2.25).

This was a highly significant piece of data. Bella used a very similar form of words to May in her interview: ‘oh, it’s just me’ – as if it is not – (Bella) and ‘it’s not just you’ (May). There was the realisation that one was not alone in one’s experience of reality. This was a powerful resource for building social bonds. It was perhaps characteristic of loneliness that one felt isolated and cut off. It was also possibly unsurprising that first year students, who have been at university for approximately six months, are still trying to fit in (although many mentioned friends). This showed that Forum Theatre in citizenship education could allow an individual to interpret their moment in time, how they fit into their social context, their place in society and share that understanding.

Interestingly, the audience was unwilling to intervene in any of the scenes. I thought that perhaps they were not confident enough so I tried to encourage them. Eventually, Jerry intervened in the scene with the counsellor. He argued unsuccessfully with the counsellor that it was her job to help. He told me about this experience in interview:

  [It was] [q]uite worrying… Because it's not very diplomatic to argue with someone who could potentially help you. (Jerry IV4.16-17).
Jerry found that he struggled to be assertive, even admitting that this was something that happened normally. He has discovered some of his difficulties in acting agentically. Interestingly, as with Alex’s perception of her fear of interacting with others (below), Jerry saw it as a choice of how to approach someone.

Instead of finding possibilities for civic action here the students found obstacles. This was not a failure of the exercise as the purpose of Forum Theatre is to pose questions and experiment with solutions. In hindsight it would have helped to have a longer debrief or discussion of the issues raised in the play. (By that stage the project had already overrun by one workshop so I elected to finish with an Image Theatre exercise to help the students stand back from the experience). Certainly the issue raised here – what was appropriate or not for a student to say to an adult there to help them – was an important one. It went to the question of how to challenge a lack of caring and compassionate action by others. It went directly to the students’ thinking on citizenship as finding solidarity with each other.

**Experiencing the potential for civic agency**

Several students described becoming more confident by going beyond perceived barriers in society. This was a rewarding experience. For example, Alex described this as lessening her fears.

> I think maybe it just teaches me not to be so afraid… You invent all these barriers and you might be a bit apprehensive about doing something... So I think it’s just, probably just made me a bit more open to attempt things, or maybe not put up so many barriers before I actually try to attempt something. (Alex IV 2.16).

Alex talked of obstacles that she has created herself that prevent her interacting with others. These were perceptions of others that she thought were probably unwarranted because in her words ‘everyone is a person’. This was a fascinating piece of data on civic action because it showed how a student could reduce or increase some of the internal obstacles for it. It also flowed from the above commentary on the links between feeling and practice. By practicing openness and
face to face conversations, one’s feelings of what is possible was changed, and so the potential for forming relationships and thereby one’s community changed as well. The students felt that the research project gave them licence to approach others and hold personal conversations. In focus group 3, the group wrote down that what they got out of the project was that they were able to speak to different classes without fear and break down stereotypes. When I asked them about this, Charlie said:

Definitely. I think the research project, I don’t think, it’s hard to say but I think it gave us credibility… That gave me the confidence of just going ‘sorry can I ask you a question, sorry to disturb you’. (Charlie FG3.8).

The research project gave the students scaffolding to initiate conversations in public spaces and discuss social issues across barriers that otherwise might exist. By pushing the students to do things they normally would not do, it has led them to reflect on the bases for action. It also showed that the students found it easier to approach strangers in the context of the charity, where they felt perhaps supported by the charity workers, who supervised them to some extent, than with the passers-by in the street.

There were limits to the experience of gaining confidence. Emma said she joined the project in order to improve her self-confidence to work in groups and with others partly because she was shy. She mentioned in her interview that the project did not change her from a shy person to a confident person because it had been too short.

I suppose it was only four weeks long so… it didn’t make me go from a very shy person to a super confident person, but I mean I spoke to new people, like I’ve made like new friends, like, you know, I’ve spoken to people now… (Emma IV5.7).

Again, there was mention of the new social ties (friends). It left a tantalising impression that perhaps a longer intervention might have increased her confidence and social circle further.

As the students professed greater awareness of the various social issues they came into contact with, they expressed a desire to do more to help others.
I think I would make more of an effort to put myself out there and volunteer and try and make a difference however small… (May FG3.40).

This was evidence of increased determination and desire to act, almost for sake of it despite how small the outcome. At the same time many of the students did not know how to act and felt quite powerless and almost guilty at their inaction. I asked Emma about her flipcharts where she coloured things green that she thought she could influence.

… we [coloured] the people green because we feel like we can be like well, we should probably be more like welcoming towards them, or like treat them a bit less not, I don’t treat them hostile… I do kind of walk past them which I feel a bit bad about sometimes. Like I know there’s not really much more I can do… (Emma IV5.16).

Emma felt that there is a reason to be more accepting of others but is at a loss of what to do. It suggested that this research could have continued longer to perhaps lend her some concrete ideas on how she could act on these ideas.

For some, like Archie, the research project increased his concern about an issue he was already thinking about both in life and through studies. He realised that doing something to protect the environment means that he should personally get involved.

… in the past sort [of] five years, since we have been growing up, and as we have had lectures on it and a module on it, I’ve really started to connect with the issue that is plastics. I feel like we should be doing more, myself included so. (Archie FG2.12).

This showed that the project has allowed students to explore issues they were already interested in from childhood and their studies. Again like May, Archie felt an urge to act more as a result of the project.

For others, like Bella, the opportunity to meet like-minded people, who cared about the environment, like Archie and Rosie, led her to feel she could do something because she was not alone in her interests.

… I shouldn’t just think that because I am one person that means I can’t do anything… I came to uni thinking I really, really want to do environmental
law.... And I thought I can’t do anything big because I’m just one person and nobody is going to care. And whereas the more we have discussed it, I thought the more the reason nobody’s doing anything is because we all think like that. (Bella FG2.11).

This was a significant piece of data. It stressed again the individual and almost solitary experience of citizenship that many of these students have. It showed how this left them at a loss on how to influence the world around them and pursue what they cared about. Crucially, Bella has realised this that not just her but others have the same experience as her and so it weakened all of them. It was further evidence that one of the major effects of the project was that students became aware of what they shared with others, formed friendships with others and how this then gave them insight into how to act. This sense of collective agency or ‘support network’ for civic action emerged in other similar studies (Beaumont 2011: 547).

One of the realisations the students had was that civic action in helping others could be quite simple. In the homeless shelter Charlie learned from a volunteer, and former homeless person, that providing company, conversation, a willingness to listen and try to understand, the charities were substantially helping others.

… the things that he said were quite profound… Because he’d been through the charity, he’d been through the hardship and he’d been able to decide that it was good enough to give back to… he said this is what helped me through, just the fact that people are able to interact with themselves, with others… he felt was really, really, really helpful. (Charlie IV3.13).

This was a powerful experience for Charlie couched in words like ‘profound’ and exaggeration – ‘really, really, really helpful’. It showed that the experience of interacting with others was for the students both transformative, as we saw above, and also revelatory. It helped them learn to be more open with others, as Charlie put it in the report back session, and it taught them that compassion was a form of civic agency. An experience could be both formative and agentic.

Alex reported a similar experience at Citizens Advice. She saw that substantial help could be given simply through guiding someone and being there to listen.
That support doesn’t necessarily have to be doing something for somebody, but it is just guiding them and being there. Offering routes, exploring those routes and then enabling someone to actually do something for themselves, for the right reasons. (Alex IV2.13).

The last sentence was significant: this form of assistance is valuable because it enables the agency of others. This was a fascinating experience for the students because they have seen how agentic civic practice of guiding and advising others was an experience of empowerment for both persons. One could use one’s agency to enable the agency of others. Although Alex has not practiced that herself, she has seen it in action and understood its value and potential.

**Conclusions: forming social bonds in Forum Theatre and cultivating senses of agency**

The Forum Theatre workshops enabled the students to pool and project their experiences and cares, their civic identities, in trying to produce a script. The most compelling and complete attempt produced a play which students and I could relate to. This was a significant and powerful experience because an experience of reality was shared with others who found it believable because they had experienced something similar. This was a strong bonding moment of students realising that it was not just them who experienced something. This was a recurring form of words (‘not just you’) in the data, a sense of solidarity that appears in other Forum Theatre studies of citizenship (Erel et al 2017: 305). This is another example of changes in norms and values in the research space. The students’ empirical expectations and perspective that it was only them that experienced loneliness changed. As in other Forum Theatre and transformational learning studies, they found they were ‘not alone’ in their experiences (Baumgartner 2002: 55-6; Erel et al 2017: 305). This led more clearly to changes in the students’ senses of their immediate community. The students’ civic identities became less ‘singular’ (Bella) and less individualised as they found common causes. In doing so they saw greater potential for agentic action. This arose partly from finding common cause with others and partly from critiquing the barriers to action, which they thought to be in behavioural norms. All the groups
engaged in a critique of the way citizens treat one another, especially by accepting some practices such as not challenging someone who litters or excluding others who are new or different.

The combination of this pooling of experience and critique of norms led to realisations such as Bella’s ‘we all think like that [nothing can be done about littering]’. The students’ civic identities and abilities to act like agents are interconnected here. One’s identity changed by exposure to others in face to face conversations which can led to a better understanding of the obstacles and possibilities for agency. This same process was recognised by students in the act of listening. As Charlie and Alex said, by being there for someone else, you were transformed by the learning, and providing vital support. The experience was formative of one’s civic identity and an act of civic agency, which will help us to rethink the relationship between feeling and practice in the conclusions (Chapter 8).
Chapter 7

Contrasting the workshops with the students’ experience of university

Introduction

In this third chapter of data analysis, we shall address research sub-questions two and four: how the students perceive their experience at university to affect their civic identity and civic agency, and, what do the students want to learn about their own civic identities and civic agency after experiencing the intervention.

This chapter will first explore how the students made sense of their experience of the workshops by referring to previous life experiences and their motivations in volunteering for the project. It will then move on to look at examples of engagement in the workshops which led to deep learning. The students described how the social and interactive nature of the workshops led them to think about their own sense of citizenship. Lastly, there was a range of approaches to citizenship education that reflected the varying backgrounds and objectives of the students.

Use of personal goals and backgrounds to make sense of experiences

What the students wanted to learn about their civic identities and agencies could be understood without reference to their prior experience and goals at university. An example of the influence of their prior experiences could be seen in their reactions to novel experiences. The students expressed emotional and negative reactions to some of these experiences such as finding interviewing a stranger as frightening. This could not be easily attributed to youth or inexperience in the outside world. Alex, a mature student, who had had career in banking before starting her degree, said:
That [street exercise], [was] extremely scary. Although I am used to dealing with customers and people, generally they are coming into my space and my comfort zones when I was working... I think a lot of the population don’t like to be bothered. And, you think, “Ah, here comes someone, keep walking, don’t look and they won’t ask me.” Then we had to be that person. (Alex IV 2.8).

The student tried to make sense of the new experience by setting in context of her past. Alex described it as stepping into another’s space with the expectation that she would be unwelcome. She has taken on a new role. It was outside her normal experience and contrary to social norms. This was another example of a student doing something voluntarily that causes strong and unpleasant feelings.

It raised the question of why students engaged in these unpleasant and novel activities that deviated from their expectations of learning. This was a pertinent question in my professional context because of the tendency in my own department to avoid educational activities that might cause complaints from students or in some way unsettle or upset them. This question concerned the students’ motivations for taking part in this kind of citizenship education. Emma was a very interesting example. In the street interview exercise she did think about breaking the rules by not speaking to anyone. I asked her why:

I mean part of me, honestly, was thinking like should I just go, like stand outside for 10 minutes and just write something and then be like yeah, Piers, this is what I got... I’ve come to thinking that I’ve got to do, I’ve got to do these activities, there’s a reason I’m doing them, there probably is an ultimate aim for me to be doing this. So, I did do it, I promise, I did go and speak to them, I did do that. (Emma IV 5.9).

This was a fascinating piece of data where an individual confessed to thinking about cheating and then acknowledged her guilt by promising they did not. Emma appeared driven and supported by her own reasons for participating in the activities (see above – including her wish to develop her self-confidence); and, of a belief or trust in the instrumental nature of the activities – ‘an ultimate aim’. This showed inner confidence and trust in the activity. For Emma this activity was framed and justified in a way that appealed to her strategic journey (Pollard 2003). As a result, she resisted
the opportunity to avoid and invent the experience and engage in deep learning (Biggs 2003).

The beginnings of a critical perspective toward their own learning

In order to understand what the students wanted to learn about citizenship we must examine in more depth why the students voluntarily attended the workshops and did so consistently. This will help us understand any connections between the meaning and purpose of an educational activity and a student's own personal identity. We shall see that this led them to the beginnings of a critical appraisal of how their university education affected issues they cared about.

When I asked about their reasons for coming Bella in focus group 2 spoke of her friends’ curiosity about citizenship. This showed that students were discussing the research project outside the workshops and questioning their knowledge of citizenship.

I had like literally seven or eight girlfriends who wanted to do this. I thought they were all just ‘Piers and pizza’... even though I explained that we do it every Wednesday and have to make a fool of ourselves in front of lots of people... they were still really annoyed... because they were the same as me – nobody knows what citizenship is and they wanted to understand that. (Bella FG 2.23-4).

Like the participants, citizenship was an unknown concept to these other students. There was a desire not so much to know, but to explore and to understand the unknown despite the potential embarrassment and regular commitment. Students were willing to make sacrifices in time and comfort for sake of curiosity about citizenship as described to them by other students. It also showed the hidden curriculum of student life where ideas from class are discussed between students (Ahier et al 2003; and see IFS). It meant the students’ experience of the workshops went beyond their participation in the activities to discussions about it afterwards with friends and relatives.

Part of the appeal of the workshops was that without a fixed definition of citizenship students had a broad canvas to explore issues that were relevant to their everyday
lives. This led again to a critical appraisal of what they did not know and wanted to know.

I think that the thing that surprised me about this research project… was that although it was so broad it was never an issue for me anyway… we even talked about the environment, parents, like pressure, loneliness and just responsibility of being a university student… a lot of issues we touched upon aren’t really things that we are told about until we get to university. We are not told that we might feel lonely. We are not told that there might be pressures or that our mental health might take a hit from stresses. (Charlie FG3.15-16).

This suggested the students did not feel constrained in the workshops, and, did not feel confused or overwhelmed by that broad canvas which they explored. It also served as a platform to survey a new landscape following their transition to higher education. Charlie believed there was an implicit, and reasonable, expectation that she should have been told in advance of certain things, such as risks to one’s health. Jerry agreed with Charlie and said:

It’s because we don’t learn anything about that at school. We don’t learn how to combat loneliness… (Jerry FG3.16).

This suggested that perhaps this kind of activity could aid transition to university (something explicitly suggested by one student later on). It also raised several questions that could not be answered with this data. First, how is university life portrayed to and understood by prospective students by schools and universities, especially when the latter have a commercial interest in the way they talk to prospective students. Secondly, did these young people lack coping mechanisms, such as making friends in new settings? This citizenship education exercise encouraged the students to start to ask questions about this system, if not themselves, as we saw in the play. This was the beginnings of a critical perspective towards their educational provision and their immediate and relatively new surroundings. Not only did these students want to learn about citizenship itself but also how to address problems in their lives that matter to them. Significantly, they did not see university as helping them to do this.
The appeal of voluntary participatory activities that furthered personal projects

One of the most notable parts of the students’ experience was how social and interactive it was. This was very different to normal classes and was another reason for volunteering and continuing to attend. For example, a student said in their anonymous feedback that it was ‘a different way of learning’ (FB7). Emma captures some sense of this:

… it’s just something that wasn’t just sitting in a lecture hall, or sitting in a flat, or sitting in a library, it was doing something, and socialising which, as I say, I think as I haven’t joined clubs and societies and that before, I didn’t really get … like most people are like oh, I do hockey and that’s my thing that breaks it up. (Emma IV5.7).

Emma revealed a solitary and sedentary experience of university study against which this activity was contrasted as a way of getting to know others. It was a clear difference even with her involvement in team sports. Socialising with others was the most consistent theme in the anonymous feedback obtained in workshop 5. For example:

[I] had a chance to speak to people I wouldn’t normally speak too. (Anon FB1).

I enjoyed being put with a group of people I didn’t know and doing activities with them because it helps build confidence. (Anon FB2).

Several other quotations repeated the theme of meeting people they ‘usually wouldn’t’ (Anon FB 4). Whilst the students met students from other disciplines, the disciplinary differences did not feature significantly anywhere else in the data; perhaps as relatively new students they were less shaped and differentiated by their disciplines. An attraction of the research was meeting different others.

The second theme in the anonymous feedback was building confidence. We have already seen students doing activities they were initially unsure or afraid of, this included approaching and getting to know strangers. They were building their self-confidence by being pushed into new situations that they then found enjoyable.
These two ingredients of meeting different others and building confidence were evident in the workshops. For example, the group (Fransisco, Julie, Charlie, May and Alex) that worked on the play on loneliness contained different classes, ages, disciplines, ethnicities and nationalities. It was an amalgamation of two groups that had both found mental health as a common denominator in the issues they cared about. They moved pretty quickly within one workshop to create a script and rehearse it in the next workshop. I asked May in interview how she found the rehearsal:

It was pretty smooth, to be honest… We’re all on the same page, all of us.
(May IV2.21).

This was an example of a mixed group of students (in terms of age, class, discipline, gender) finding an issue that they all cared about and had experienced in different ways. They were able to devise and agree a script, rehearse it and have it ready to perform in approximately four hours. As I have shown above, the play resonated with the audience and the performers.

Spending time interacting with others was a key distinguishing feature from normal class according to the students. Alex described the multidimensional aspects of their experience:

I just think the theatre, physical stuff, a lot of students would say this is a complete waste of my time… But what we have taken away and learned from it and the issues that we have explored… is more what you would expect at degree level. But possibly the dancing around bit is what … makes your day a bit more fun… Takes a bit more of stress out of it, the severity of it. (Alex FG2.15).

Alex revealed that students may think that Image Theatre did not have a place in university education and yet she found these reduced the negative aspects of her university studies. The experience of the activities has challenged students’ norms and expectations of learning because they can explore issues that could be found in their degree without the stress and severity they normally associate with study. Earlier this focus group, Archie had said that in the workshops he would think differently (see above Chapter 5). When I asked the group to tell me more Alex said:
Probably engaged a bit more… We were in situation where we were actively participating in activities, discussions and I suppose even in day to day lectures you have got kind of the choice to sit back and let everybody else do the talking. But we were in a situation where we were there to participate. (Alex FG2.7).

It suggested that the interactive activities in the classroom led to – even required – greater participation. Students could not be passive. Alex suggested that she did not have a choice to disengage where normally she could.

As we are seeing there were a multiplicity of reasons for engaging – curiosity of the unknown, a break from the norm and enjoyment. There was a palpable sense from Alex above that she felt she was getting something she valued, namely, learning in a participatory and discursive fashion about the kind of issues she expected at ‘degree level’.

This genuine sense of obtaining something of value was evident with others. Law students were required to complete the Graduate Employability and Achievement Record (GEAR) every semester. This involved answering a series of reflective questions online about their academic and personal progression, including questions on the Plymouth Compass, the university’s graduate attributes, that included citizenship. In focus group 2, I asked if citizenship education should include any of the activities we had done. Bella responded:

[The project] is more like an actual version of [GEAR]. Because with this I have actually thought about… who I want to be as well like because [of] going to Shekinah [homeless shelter] and discussing environmental issues… here I am actually thinking about it whereas with GEAR I am just saying that I have thought about it in September, when in reality I only thought about it two days ago. (Bella FG2.11).

Bella saw the projects as aiding her personal development better than what was already on offer from the university. The activities have allowed Bella time and space to think about her own identity, especially with regard to homelessness and the environment. In the research exercise Bella showed the ‘the need to know’ (Biggs 2003: 31), an intention to gain meaningfully, whereas with GEAR she got it done with the minimum of trouble, cutting corners and it generates cynicism. This suggested an
agnostics approach to her civic identity was possible and meaningful, which led to deep learning, whereas GEAR is an exercise in surface learning (Biggs 2003). Bella wanted to learn about citizenship in a way they allowed her to explore it for herself with others and her university studies were not stimulating her to do this. This was in part a reaction to the teaching environment where the student felt able to explore something of value. By something of value, I mean Bella felt able to gain things mattered to her – to make new friends with shared interests, to talk about things she cares about, to consider who and what she wants to be. It made sense to her in terms of her life goals (Pollard 2003: 178).

Whilst the law school’s attempt to foster reflection on topics including citizenship through GEAR was not successful with these students, the opportunities on campus for extracurricular pursuits was very welcome. The students saw many opportunities to learn about what they associated with citizenship through extracurricular activities. I asked whether their degrees should include any of the broader aspects from the Plymouth Compass (Appendix 1) such as critical thinking, well-being, sustainable citizenship and professionalism.

Archie: Well I think if a student wants to they can go out and do it… There are sports clubs and societies for those who don’t like sports… I think there is plenty to do if you are willing to. Maybe some students are not confident to get out there and try…

Emma: I really agree with what [Archie] said. It is there if students want to take it. I feel like my course does more than enough to kind of… it gives me all the things I need, it is just whether I choose to take it if that… (Archie and Emma FG2.17).

The students were adamant that the ideas in the Compass were represented by opportunities to take part in sports, societies or other avenues on their course (unspecified by Emma). In their view, it was down to the responsibility of the individual to find these and commit to them. Experiences in these voluntary student-led and often democratically organised activities are associated in the research with the cultivation of civic identities (MacFarland and Thomas 2006).

However, Archie was frank later in this discussion that this was not about academic achievement or the Compass at all:
I am sort of here for the crack, the societies, the going out, surfing, that sort of thing at the minute is above lectures. I go to all my lectures. But my priority at the minute is spending time with mates and enjoying it whilst I can. (Archie FG2.17).

Alex responded by disagreeing completely and stressed that she wanted to get the most out of university to ‘move my life onto the next chapter’ (Alex FG2.18). (This led Archie to backtrack and admit that a good grade was important to him but he had been told by other students to enjoy first year). This was a sobering reminder in any discussion over agentic formation of student civic identities that a huge range of life plans and histories come into play. It brought to mind Pollard’s (2003) frames of analysis of lifewide and lifelong dimensions to understand the rich diversity of prior experiences of students and the variety of approaches to education they give rise to.

Amid these influences and choices at university, the ideas in the Compass associated with citizenship appeared submerged. There was also no explicit mention of their own ideas they associate with citizenship such as becoming part of a community by contributing to it. Charlie reflected that many of its attributes happen subconsciously or are forgotten.

I think a lot of these things are things you might not think about but you do sometimes subconsciously and sometimes you forget to do so like connecting with others, being empowered, feeling like you can make a difference. Like giving back in social and community life, would definitely be one of those parts of citizenship. (Charlie FG3.35).

This suggested that in normal university life acts of citizenship can occur without acknowledgement or recognition by the students as citizenship. This might have been because as we have seen citizenship is not a commonly used word by these students or in UK political culture. The practice of citizenship, and a sense of civic agency, were not topical or not often discussed or thought about. Instead the students saw a huge amount on offer from which they could freely pick and choose. It appeared that the desire to feel and act as a citizen may happen incidentally and implicitly at my university and is not the explicit intent. It suggested that students perceive there to be sites of citizenship learning not citizenship education available
on their course or on campus. This meant that the learning of civic habits and attributes is unwitting and not deliberate or intentional (McCowan 2009: 103).

This preference to be able to choose one’s own involvement in activities that helped cultivate citizenship was evident in the students’ attitudes to citizenship education. This was subtly different to their attitudes to extracurricular activities because what lay behind it was an understanding of citizenship education as caring, participatory and that resonates with students. These factors were again contrasted with their experience of university study.

I think doing something like this, voluntary – key word there – I think it would make the university and the teaching staff seem like they were more interested in the actual students. And then more interested in their welfare, which links into the mental health. Which if students think they are being cared about and think that they can air their views and they can do all of these things. (May FG3.25-26).

May believed that voluntariness is an expression of the institution’s willingness to allow students to choose, and because this was valued by students, so seen as interest in them and concern for their welfare. It implied that compulsory activities suggest grounds for alienation: a lack of interest in the students and so their welfare, health and any views they have. For May, this militated against participation in studies.

This impression was confirmed when I posed the question whether citizenship education should be compulsory.

You said to us we don’t have to come and I think it just shows it has resonated with a lot of us, if we are still coming after week 2 or week 1. And I think even though you made us feel or some people felt a bit uncomfortable by asking random people, I think that it must have resonated if a lot us came back. (Charlie FG3.29).

This demonstrated the importance of framing citizenship education in a way that appealed to the ‘concerns and interests’ of students (Carretero et al 2016: 296). It showed the disadvantages of framing citizenship in the form of graduate attributes, decided already by the institution, and presented in a compulsory activity that
involved students filling in reflective logs. Instead what resonated with these students was exploring citizenship personally, not as an abstract idea, going outside the norms of normal study, and exploring issues that they care about.

**A variety of approaches to citizenship education**

Another side of the activities being voluntary was that this appealed to other students who wanted to improve their CVs. For example, Emma believed that even though she would not enjoy the some activities (see start of this chapter), it would benefit her.

> I mean obviously there is the benefits, and the main benefits of it being something not compulsory, like the fact that in a selfish way like I can put this on my CV now which looks pretty good, and, you know, the fact that I've been able to go out and go to a volunteering place is … that's quite good. (Emma IV 5.31).

What Emma wanted to learn about her civic identity and agency was justified in relation to her long term aim of increasing the value of her CV in the labour market. It was part of her broader life plan to use higher education to improve herself by building her self-confidence, for example, and to obtain good employment afterwards. This had to be understood as part of Emma’s life history. She came to university to escape from a small town and to broaden her horizons. It raised a question as to what place citizenship and citizenship education had in these students’ life plans – was it a means to an end, a means and an end, or something else? This may then affect the way in which they understand their civic identity.

To stay with the case of Emma, she chose to put herself in this situation partly because she thought she was getting something out of it for herself. By doing so she was exposed to many transformative experiences that challenged her beliefs, for example, on refugees (see Chapter 5). Her civic identity, in the sense of her beliefs about political issues such as refugees, was a part of a larger identity that had other wider self-interested and employment related purposes in mind. The experience of these workshops might recede in her memory as she pursues her aim of self-improvement and seeking valued employment. This was speculative without more
data but it showed that students could enter citizenship education with employment related goals and still have their beliefs about society challenged and perhaps changed.

We also need to understand Emma from the perspective of her choice of discipline. Even in their first year, law students were encouraged to seek work experience in order to build their CV with an eventual application to an employer in mind in their second or final year.

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\text{I think the work experience, and I think because especially from the law students' perspectives, I think work experience is like a golden ticket. And I think if you can get it, you want it ... And I think as well, because I feel that with GEAR we've been told CV, CV, CV, CV, work experience is brilliant on a CV, so I think that's probably why. (Charlie IV3.6).}
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Charlie was right to point out the different experience of the law students. The GEAR module does not exist in Criminology, International Relations or Sociology. Law is also a vocational discipline that is a stepping stone to a professional qualification and status. This theme was also very evident in the IFS in final year law students’ attitudes to citizenship education, who also saw benefits of it in terms of building their CVs.

Another way the students’ views of the research activity changed during the workshops was of the forms of activity themselves. Charlie explained she surprised herself because she enjoyed things she thought she would not such as theatre. When I asked her what she learned from doing Forum Theatre she said this:

\[
\text{Honestly, I would genuinely say if I didn't enjoy it. I really, really enjoyed it. And I think it was to the point where like even if you had stage fright, you just thought, oh, it doesn't matter, all these people have probably felt loneliness before, and I think everybody related to it. (Charlie IV3.17).}
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Here a student has had her expectations and beliefs about an educational activity challenged and changed. She has both enjoyed Forum Theatre and found common cause with other students around the issue of loneliness at university. Charlie now believed theatre is fun, inclusive for all abilities, and crucially, a space to tackle
sensitive questions in front of others. What – or perhaps how – she wanted to learn about her civic identity and agency has changed.

Others took a more nuanced approach that included a clearly defined objective at university to achieve a professional status (a lawyer) and an appreciation of the various merits of citizenship education.

I’m only [at university] because I want… to be a barrister or a solicitor. And so all the careers stuff that they force down your throats… I take advantage at every opportunity because I need it… I think [citizenship education] is linked with employability because employers want a well-rounded individual and a compassionate person, but I don’t think that it should be exclusively linked to [it]. (May FG3.31).

Again, a law student used the language of compulsion to describe the culture of credentialism. But in this case May welcomed the advantages forced upon her because it suits her particular agenda at university. She saw the benefits of citizenship education in terms of personal development meaning a vague sense of well-roundedness and more specifically, learning to be compassionate.

Going back to the example of Charlie, she shared May’s career aims but she was not been motivated by these and responded in the same focus group by saying:

I definitely want to become a barrister more than a solicitor, but I genuinely at no point thought of this research project was linked to what I wanted to do in the future… I think this is just something that will just help me understand myself and understand society as well. (Charlie FG3.31).

A student’s attitudes to what they want to learn about citizenship were complex: simply because they had a clear goal to become a professional and were studying a vocational discipline did not mean that they would approach citizenship with this attitude. Charlie was able to separate these from a desire to learn about herself and the world around her. This exercise in citizenship education has stimulated her to think about her identity and her role in society (Lister et al 2003).

A personal and social approach to citizenship education
Earlier in focus group 3 Charlie had gone further in trying to separate employability from citizenship education by understanding citizenship from a personal perspective.

… it should be something which is personal to you and shouldn’t be linked to what you want to do for the next 20 years. I think they should be separate because… a lot of it is… get a degree, you need a 2:1… you need work on your CV, but for me this has been a reprieve from university and the pressures of university, the pressures of writing a formative and coursework. (Charlie FG3.30).

This suggested that the research space has given Charlie freedom to experiment, and indeed with Forum Theatre, create. This was valued by her as a respite, a break, echoing somewhat May’s feelings of relief in performing the play on loneliness. This is corroborated by other research on students (Ryan 2011), and resonated with the IFS, that these students’ experience of university is pressurised and instrumental, which is not conducive to reflective work. What appealed to these students was an opportunity to genuinely reflect on their own interests and pursue things that mattered to them. This was otherwise not the case for law students in their studies (the other students did not make these points).

The research activities in the workshops involved identifying the students’ interests around citizenship, or citizenship-as-practice (Biesta and Lawy 2006a), rather than asking them to explain citizenship more objectively or abstractedly. When I asked the students about this approach to citizenship, some were in support:

Definitely. I think it does. If not, you won’t get people’s views of citizenship. You’ll just get generic bog standard, ‘oh I think I should vote’. (Charlie FG3.25).

This chimed with May’s comment earlier above on not being able to use Google to answer questions in the activities. Charlie thought that the personal approach encouraged students to express their actual views. This implied that they felt that they could not and should not (or did not need) to use their own personal ideas when discussing in class – a very worrying indictment of scholarly study that should be set in context of first years who were perhaps unsure of how to express themselves in academic work.
Nevertheless, the personal approach encouraged the students to express their own views and by doing so experiment with constructing civic identities. This was not a self-absorbed exercise. For example, May expanded on what she thought citizenship education should involve:

... there should be an element of split between external view of citizenship and an internal view of citizenship. So the latter looking at sort of more of personal, critical reflection view of yourself, and then the former being as being in relation to everyone around you. (May FG3.23).

This brought together many of the ideas in the research activities quite well. There were moments of personal introspection and reflection, which have been caused by and led to new and formative moments of interaction with others. The students spent time critically considering their own beliefs and they also were exposed to those of others, both students and people in need of help at the charities.

As a teacher, this was a new experience for me. I made this observation after the play was performed:

We are all learning together. This is the first time I have run Forum Theatre. I did not trial it except to trial some of the Image Theatre with students in November. It was an unknown quantity. (Observational notes WK5.18).

I was breaking new ground by using Forum Theatre and experiential learning in my professional practice. With Forum Theatre especially, it entailed allowing the students free rein to choose their direction and to try and devise a play. There was nervousness on their part that they might not be able to perform something and several confessed to not liking theatre. I could not step in with expert knowledge because the ideas were drawn from their experiences. I could not easily facilitate the process as it depended on the students being confident enough to rehearse and take on roles.

**Conclusions: contrasting the workshops with the students’ experience of university**
The student’s prior life experience and their own plans for university affected their attitude to and experience of the project’s activities. Their willingness to participate in sometimes unpleasant activities was underpinned by a desire to further a particular personal project at university. There was an alignment between what these students wanted to gain from university and these activities. There was a desire for genuine exploration of their own civic identities and agencies. This in turn led to deep learning.

This is surprising as some of the students did not like many aspects of this intervention. Charlie criticised my decision to ask the students what citizenship meant at the start because I almost ‘lost’ them. Nonetheless, for over five weeks they regularly attended voluntarily for no academic credit. Only one student, Jerry, said that he did not get much out of it (despite displaying insights into citizenship and homelessness). Whilst I was known to four of the eleven, I was a complete stranger to the rest. These points in the data call out for explanation beyond the most likely ones of filling a CV and spending time with a likeable teacher (if that was the case).

When trying to understand why many of these students kept coming back, it is instructive to note the crucial points of difference between their studies and the workshops – solitary versus social, sedentary versus active, compulsory versus voluntary, stressful versus enjoyable, forced versus creative, assessed versus unassessed. It was a place where the norms of university study did not apply and the students thrived on this: there were many examples of a sense of discovery and enjoyment. We should also not discount that what and how the students wanted to learn about their civic identities and agencies changed as a result of their experiences in the workshops. For example, they began to think critically about the lack of support for their transition to university and come to appreciate activities like theatre. They found it appealed to their desires to explore their identities and further their CVs but crucially in a space that was not pressured to obtain particular credentials. This had repercussions for my professional practice. I was not the lecturer explaining ideas that I had expert knowledge of, but I was learning with them something new.

The above points of difference with normal university experience raised serious questions about how civic identity and agency is cultivated for these first year
students. The answers to that question appeared to be that these students believed a university degree furthers their life goals of self-improvement or obtaining valued professional status, for example. This was much more evident with the law students. Although regardless of discipline, the students firmly believed there were opportunities to cultivate graduate attributes like citizenship in extracurricular activities, even if for some this was more about having fun. What they had in mind was involvement in clubs that was dependent on student interest and not explicitly educational for citizenship. Despite the abundance of these other opportunities, several were openly in favour of citizenship education that was both introspective, personal and developmental, whilst at the same time social, interactive and experimental.
Chapter 8

Conclusions

This final chapter seeks to answer the research question of how the civic identities and civic agencies of undergraduates at a university in the UK are formed and were shaped by an exploratory educational intervention. The chapter shall explain the original contributions of this study, its implications for my professional practice, the limitations and finally its significance. It builds on the data analysis chapters which provided answers to the four sub research questions in Chapter 1.

To recap, the students’ understandings of their civic identity and civic agency at the start of the intervention were tentatively expressing the values of being inclusive and helping others (Chapter 4). The students perceived the effect of their participation in the workshops in two ways. Firstly, it led to questioning of norms, values and beliefs that excluded others (Chapter 5); and, secondly it led to reduced sense of isolation and increased awareness of the potential for collective agency with other students (Chapter 6). The students saw the workshops as an opportunity to explore their civic identities, and despite having a range of motivations, most, if not all, reported new and unexpected discoveries (Chapter 7).

This chapter will draw together these findings to argue that the intervention shaped new becomings in the students’ civic identities and civic agency by blurring the boundaries between civic identity and civic agency. This occurred through felt and attentive practice where processes of othering are reversed through experiences of empathy and compassion followed by authentic reflection. It shall first explain how the study relates to the bigger picture of citizenship education at university and the contributions of its theoretical and conceptual framework.
Rethinking how civic identity and civic agency are shaped

University education matters for civic development because it is a moment of freedom, a time of diversity and an opportunity to grow critical faculties. There is a great deal of uncertainty (Brennan et al 2013) over the causal mechanisms and a consequent call for more qualitative studies into this question as well as greater attention by universities to this feature of the university experience (Brooks et al 2020; Sloam et al 2021). This study responds to this by examining the effects of pedagogies for citizenship education. This in itself is a neglected area populated mainly by studies into global citizenship education. The approach and contribution of this study is based instead on a rationale to respond critically to the citizenship culture in which universities in the UK find themselves, and, to the students’ demand in the IFS to create space and time to explore their own experiences of citizenship because of the suffocating culture that permeates their own institutions. These are key contributions of this study’s theoretical and conceptual framework.

Universities have a major and critical role in sustaining and creating the culture of citizenship (Crick 2000: 145). This emphasis on culture legitimatises a culturally pluralist approach to citizenship that focuses on agency and identity. Whilst other schools of citizenship might seek to cultivate understanding of rights or abilities to participate in public decision-making, the cultural pluralist model directs attention to identity. This leads to a critical turn in citizenship by questioning how identity is formed in the process of agency as it interacts with the structures of British society. As explained in the rationale for this study in Chapter 1, the significant features of British citizenship culture are long-term trends of greater racial diversity and more individualised practices of citizenship, and, more recent trends towards exclusionary and discriminatory barriers to minorities claiming citizenship or civic rights (Choudhury 2017). There is very little research on pedagogies for citizenship at university in the UK that address students as members of such a citizenship culture. The pedagogies in this study address this context by showing how collective exposure to the experiences and plight of others widens the students’ communities and engenders respect for the right of others to be heard. This is elaborated in the idea of felt and attentive practice below.
This study also directs attention of citizenship educators at university to the culture within UK universities. It takes as a starting point that citizenship educators must account for the particularity of the education process (McCowan 2009) and applies this to the students' lived experience or citizenship-as-practice (Biesta and Lawy 2006a). Universities are characterised by a culture of employability (especially in the social science disciplines although less so in sociology) which even dilutes efforts to teach global citizenship (Hammond and Keating 2017). Therefore, there is a danger that this process of identity formation is of interest only to those who wish to further institutional interests. The cultural pluralist informed approach to citizenship education seeks to compete for student interest in this area by offering another way to explore their civic identities and agency. Consequently, it has to be considered as a legitimate and important area of research in higher education pedagogy.

If academics are to engage with students’ civic identities and agency rather than citizenship in the abstract, citizenship-as-practice is an advantageous lens because the everyday experience is the stage upon which agency is enacted and from which identity formed. By showing interest in students' life stories, and providing opportunities to explore them – as an end in itself and not for the commercial interests of the institution – one can also increase the likelihood of deep learning (Pollard 2003), and, of the transformational potential by showing connections between citizenship education, their personal projects and the wider world (Ashwin et al 2016). It leads to education for citizenship where students have opportunities to question and experiment with their own understandings and enactment of civic identity and agency, called the new civics. I was not able to find any examples in the literature of the citizenship-as-practice understanding of citizenship education applied to higher education. It is a vital contribution because the scant research on students’ experiences of global citizenship education at university in the UK finds that without an identifiable link to participants' everyday experience, citizenship becomes a ‘detached concept’ or ‘exotic hobby’ (Sen 2020: 11).

The citizenship-as-practice concept is part of the basis of the new civics model of citizenship education, employed here. The new civics is a grounded model that draws on the experience of young people in diverse contexts and engages them in practical reflexive activities to help them negotiate their civic identities (Carretero et al 2016). As shown in the themes of humanising with others in Chapter 5, the learner
is an active agent in their own development co-constructing meaning and understanding in social and cultural interactions. This thesis contributes to the new civics literature by proposing greater specificity over the objects of study. It does so by using definitions from constructivist theories of political and social psychology for a) values as lenses through which individuals focus and process experience, and b) norms as social rules supported by either empirical and normative expectations of how others will act (Biccheri 2006; Haste 2010).

This conceptual and theoretical foundation informed an innovative data generation model that encouraged participants to reflexively critique their citizenship culture and their understandings of citizenship. This model attempted to address the limitations of Forum Theatre and service learning identified in the literature by using them in tandem as follows. Firstly, the experiences in the community sought to expand participants’ knowledge and understanding of oppression to go beyond an individualised preoccupation with structures of oppression evident in Forum Theatre with young people (e.g. Snyder-Young 2011). Secondly, the role-playing and experimentation with social issues in Image and Forum Theatre stimulated reflexive criticality on participants’ experiences in the community beyond the perception of simply transactional volunteering in service learning (Boland 2011).

The overall model of citizenship education is a personal and cultural one. The study uses Osler and Starkey’s (2005) concepts of feeling (identity) and practice (agency) as central concepts in understanding the students’ experiences of the activities. This is a new application of those concepts from citizenship education to higher education. Consequently, in terms of citizenship theory, the findings speak to beliefs, norms and values that inform action, and its educational context at a university within a wider urban community. It addresses criticisms by citizenship theorists of Osler and Starkey’s model by having a less individualistic focus and showing how feeling and practice can be related to social interactions, cooperation and, most of all, praxis (Johnson and Morris 2013: 86). It shows how a practical application and combination of citizenship-as-practice and the new civics can be a form of citizenship education at higher education that helps universities contribute to the citizenship culture in the UK and foster the same within their own institutions. I will now bring together the themes in the study with this theoretical and conceptual framework to explain how the students’ civic identities and agency were shaped in the intervention.
The students’ experiences in this intervention shaped their civic identities and agencies by enabling them to develop a more intuitive and critical understanding of their citizenship. What is meant by intuitive and critical is that they had a ‘felt and attentive’ practice of citizenship. This led to greater critical attention to and changes to parts of their civic identities and agency in the research space or in-between ‘becomings’ (Kaptani and Yuval-Davis 2008: 4.5). This was facilitated by an interplay between liminal spaces both within the university and outside it that allowed citizenship to be a generative idea that fulfilled the students’ needs to explore social roles.

Citizenship was about being less singular, having empathy for others and a willingness to be compassionate. Empathy is a key term and I understand it as ‘moving beyond oneself and into the perspective of another person’ (Mirra 2018: 4). I understand compassion as ‘an attentiveness to, and an agency, or willingness, to alleviate the suffering of others’ (Gibbs 2017: 3). In the absence of any other explanation, this process and these discoveries fulfilled a need for these students that was not being met elsewhere in their university experience so far. Although these participants self-selected, they came from a wide range of backgrounds, representing all the disciplines in the School. It is arguable that the research activity appealed to and held the interest of wide range of students but this is only a tentative finding because of the small size of the sample.

To summarise the students’ understandings of citizenship, a person can hold the status of citizenship but not feel or practice citizenship, unless one contributes to one’s community; otherwise, one is just an individual. One’s civic identity is nourished by agency, especially agency with others where one feels a part of that community. I draw together two important themes in the findings to show how this study has furthered Osler and Starkey’s concept of feeling and practice. These are:

- The questioning of norms, values and beliefs by the students when reflecting on the face to face conversations and observations that they had in the charities.
- The increasing senses of community and agency reported by the students as they learned about one another and participated in Forum Theatre.
These two experiences were both characterised by senses of solidarity, agency and questioning of the bounds of their community. The students felt less alone, they attended to people in crisis, and, they thought about how this changed them.

Notably, there were no apparent significant differences in the student responses explainable by the students’ varying backgrounds (see Appendix 3); although there were different kinds of parental influence and one must be conscious of the limits of the methodology. The female students were more emphatic on experiences of compassion (as in Lister et al 2003) and empathy although Jerry was also very perceptive of this. On the whole the female law students were more eloquent about their experiences and they were the volunteers for interviews. This may be explained by their goals of self-improvement that they found met by the research. However, this was not the case with students from criminology and law, who gave poignant data. This is one of the reasons why we cannot talk of the group as homogeneous whole as they self-selected to volunteer for different reasons. This is tempered by the pronounced central theme of how the students found solidarity and common ground despite differences in age, class, discipline, gender, nationality and religion. If anything, they appeared to thrive on exploring their differences.

This interest in understanding others emerged from experiences with those in the charities. The students humanised or reversed the process of othering (powell and Menindian 2016) of marginalised groups by seeing them as individuals with their own stories, who did not conform to stereotypes perpetuated by parents. They were not naïve or pitying in their views. All groups drew series of structural knock-on factors on their flip-chart papers (see Appendix 12) that showed authentic reflection on how a person becomes homeless or indebted. One group’s prioritisation of mental health in Forum Theatre was not a myopic concern with the student experience (Abraham and Brooks 2019) but a recognition of this factor as a common thread of vulnerability in all the charities. This is well described as ‘inexclusive’ citizenship. This contributes to the cultural pluralist understanding of respecting differences, as in inclusive citizenship (Lister 2002; 2007) because it is better described as curious and receptive to differences. This made the students’ sense of community malleable and negotiable because their civic identity was shaped by solidarity not membership (Joppke 2007) through empathy and compassion for other human beings not pre-ordained shared characteristics. They were able to transform groups who were
othered into individuals with personality, dignity and humanity. Like the students in the IFS, they synthesised their civic identities in an agentic way through encountering different others. This contributes to the literature on student transformation (Ashwin et al 2016) by showing how an educational experience led to similar processes of change in a diverse group of students with differing motives for engaging.

This inexclusive civic identity and desire to help others are values and norms that were present at the start of the research and were developed through face to face conversations. It is no accident that the students exhibited empathy from these encounters. Conversation is according to some ‘the most human – and humanising – thing we do. Fully present to one another, we learn to listen’ (Turkle 2012: 3). It builds our capacity for empathy, self-reflection where we ‘experience the joy of being heard, being understood’ (ibid: 3). I describe this process as ‘felt and attentive practice’, which we shall now explore in depth.

A central part of this intervention involved understanding the experiences of others. The students spent a lot of time listening to other students and those in the charities during which powerful pieces of data emerged. Compassionate listening was a form of agency as vividly described at the end of Chapter 6. It altered the students’ conception of others in their community or led them to question it. Equally vital to this was an understanding that some exhibited of the structural reasons of how someone had become homeless or in financial crisis. This shows how the feeling and practice of citizenship (Osler and Starkey 2005), or civic identity and civic agency become entwined. Some forms of agency, such as compassion or empathy, require feeling, not just in tone, eye contact or facial expression, but are relational in engendering the sense in another that one cares about their predicament. This is what I shall term ‘felt and attentive practice’.

These ideas did not emerge from reading or writing about citizenship. They emerged from social interactions with others, in which conversations and listening, or accessing the experience of others, and responding to it, were central – a key feature of the new civics (Carretero et al 2016). Citizenship was a generative idea whose creative exploration through felt and attentive practice fulfilled a need for the students to connect with others. In doing so, they learned. They came to question
their values and norms, and in so doing synthesise their civic identities in new ways. This is the second aspect of felt and attentive practice. This occurred through time spent reflecting on their experiences afterwards.

The process of authentic reflection (Freire 1970) by the students on their experiences afterwards is both a cognitive and affective process. They extracted meaning from new knowledge and feelings that arose from their experiences. It is a memory of an experience that is more powerful because it contains both new knowledge that upsets norms accompanied by strong emotions. In other words, as one opens up to the position and predicament of another through empathetic listening, and, expresses sympathy and seeks to understand that person compassionately, this is an experience that is remembered vividly. When it is combined with knowledge that upsets established norms, and crucially space and time to reflect on it, it is a powerful transformative experience.

Felt and attentive practice describes the entwining of civic identity and civic agency in two dimensions. Simply stated these are:

1) one acts agentically with feeling, attending to the experience of others empathetically and compassionately; and,

2) where this is a critical incident, it generates experience that enables one to question one’s identity, and so agentically reimagine or reinforce it and imagine new ways of acting.

Felt and attentive practice describes how civic identity (the sense or feeling of citizenship) and civic agency (the practice of citizenship) interrelate in a specific way that allows an individual to critically reflect on their civic identity. It is a particular form of critical incident where empathetic and/or compassionate face to face conversation, listening or observation becomes a form of agency that is imbued with feeling; and, these experiences stimulate agentic reimagining or confirming of one’s civic identity and agency where there is new knowledge that challenges or validates norms and values. This advances our understanding of Osler and Starkey’s (2005) concepts of feeling and practice that pivots on collective experiences that stimulate awareness of and sympathy for the experiences of others that in turn nurtures moral communities that respect rights (Escobar 2017; Turner 1993).
This leads to a new understanding of how civic identity, agency and context interrelate (Figure 1 in Chapter 2). The borders between the concentric circles in Figure 1 are blurred by felt and attentive practice whereby an inexclusive civic identity reverses processes of othering. This occurs only because there is a very specific context: a critical incident with others involving face to face conversations followed by reflective exercises in a supportive atmosphere. This is why these changes are particular to the research space and termed ‘becomings’. This is not the only form of civic agency or the only way that civic identities change. In a simple sense, one can participate in one’s community dispassionately or critically reflect on one’s civic identity from an experience largely devoid of emotion. Felt and attentive practice provides a potent example of citizenship education that leads students to question and even change their norms and values that in turn expands their sense of community and agency.

There are limitations to how the students' civic agency changed and what can be gleaned from this data. Without talking to the individuals in the charity that the students engaged with, it is difficult to say if the students had any effect on them. Some of the data suggests that the experience of being listened to, attentively, receptively and compassionately, may enhance or perhaps restore others’ sense of dignity, self and agency. There is little direct evidence of a strong sense of agency or political efficacy in terms of expressed confidence that they could change and contribute to efforts to address any of the issues they cared about (Beaumont 2010). Instead, there was a realisation of the cultural or normative nature of the obstacles and of some of the resources. There was also sense of collective agency in finding common ground with other students about things they cared about and participants felt better able to address these issues as a result (same finding in Beaumont 2010: 547).

In general, we do not know from the data whether the students’ norms changed beyond the intervention, for example, on how they might respond in the future to the news about migrants or a person begging. Also, we do not know if they professed or acted on any new values outside class. Felt and attentive practice as exhibited in this type of intervention is therefore a process of becoming, rather than new identities or forms of agency (Kaptani and Yuval Davies 2009). This shows how concepts from the research on Forum Theatre can help develop personal and cultural citizenship.
education. For example, one could see both pre-existing ideas and interests being extended and developed, such as inexclusivity and helping others, and new ones taking shape, such as humanising others and realising one is not alone. Greater changes remain a possibility, and a very tantalising one, given the shortness of this intervention and the level of interest and commitment shown by the students. This was facilitated by conducting the activities in liminal settings.

I consciously sought out a space and time outside class and extracurricular clubs because I was led by the IFS findings. This is similar to how Swerts (2017) describes the uses of ‘safe spaces’ beyond State control where non-existent citizens like undocumented migrants ‘overcome mental barriers to political participation, to train activists, to nurture political subjectivation, to define and experiment with political strategies, and to create new political imaginaries’ (ibid: 394) – in other words: explore civic identities and agencies. Undergraduate students are far from the precariousness of undocumented migrants but they are subject to control. The students explicitly and negatively contrasted the sedentary, solitary, passive, stressful and forced aspects of their studies with this intervention. This intervention was a ‘safe space’ partly in the above meaning in the charities were in what Swerts (2017) would understand as liminal space with non-citizens. Distinct to Swerts’ example, they then brought the experiences back into another space for reflection where they took part in discussion and theatre activities. The workshops were a liminal space both for theatre in the sense of taking risks, observing themselves and posing questions for action (Strawbridge 2000), and, in all these senses to step outside of class. Therefore, the possibilities for felt and attentive practice were nurtured by the interplay between liminal spaces.

This research showed how questioning who one is and how one can act in one’s community occurs through understanding the experiences of others. The key insight offered by felt and attentive practice is that opening up to the experiences of others is an act of agency and a moment of change for one’s identity. Therefore, feeling and practice in a critical incident cease to be separate analytical categories. This is a very rare example of citizenship education at university that addresses important problems both in UK citizenship culture and a central drawback of universities’ current tendency to instrumentalise or commercialise students’ life stories. It does so
in an eclectic model of new civics that combines theatre and transformational learning in a liminal space.

**Implications (including for my professional practice)**

There are several important implications of this study. First, the defining characteristic of much of the literature on neoliberalism and citizenship at university is that they are in tension. This study as an examination of professional practice showed adaptations and hybridity between rather than conflict. Secondly, very few studies look at civic development at university from the perspective of the academic – what is their experience of citizenship education as an educator and a learner, and, what decisions do they make in their professional practice? These are vital questions if citizenship education is to move forward as a pedagogy in higher education.

The activities showed how citizenship education can help students to manage the stresses of being in a neoliberal university. On the one hand, the students revealed the tendency of the university environment to pressurise them, to be impersonal and atomise them into solitary individuals. The Forum Theatre play emphatically conveyed senses of alienation found in research with UK students such as ‘being isolated in a crowd’, in an uncaring milieu and a lack of connection with others (Mann 2008: 37-51). What is new here is how this was revealed by Forum Theatre and how the activities gave a reprieve or relief, and a moment to see themselves. It is arguable it helped them cope with the pressures of university, especially as first years new to the experience. This intersects with the argument to conceptualise transition to university as a stage of becoming that prioritises the views, experiences and interests of young people (Gale and Parker 2014: 745).

There is not one story here, and one cannot describe these students’ personal projects in single colours. Indeed, transition, understood as becoming, is not always a moment of crisis (ibid). For several students the research showed how university provides them with rewarding opportunities. This was notable with both law and non-law students, of both genders and many class backgrounds, and ages. It implies that this liminal space was not entirely free of the forces of change in higher education or, how the students view and approach the activity with an eye on their own personal projects. This in turn implies a hybrid nature to the students’ civic identity that
combines both neoliberal and civic elements, and most interestingly, these do not appear to conflict but accommodate one another. For example, for some the motivation to volunteer, especially among the law students, arose from a desire to improve one’s CV. They then experienced – and continued to volunteer for – activities that involved felt and attentive practice of citizenship. There was a strong impression that the time and space to explore one’s own understandings of citizenship could sit alongside, even complement, the performative space of study and extracurricular activities. This is contrary to how these forces are most often depicted in studies both of global citizenship education (Sen 2020) and civic development at university (Muddiman 2020), and so suggests that the relationship between citizenship education and neoliberalism at university is more complicated. The liminal setting enabled this so that students were able to step back from their university experience to question it and themselves. There is greater separation here from the institution’s interest in promoting employability than in other examples of citizenship education (e.g. Hammond and Keating 2017). This is an important contribution to the nascent literature on pedagogies for citizenship at university (see also Sen 2020).

This complex picture of multifaceted experiences and identities is well brought out by the methodology. The data revealed how the students willingly attended activities parts of which they did not enjoy. It showed how they intuitively felt a concept that they cognitively did not understand. With these intriguing turns and wrinkles in the data, a qualitative approach helped illustrate the complexity of the student experience. This is well suited to portraying the kaleidoscopic nature of identity (Riley 2008), and the inchoate character of the changes seen in a short intervention.

Focusing in on my professional practice, the utility and value of such an approach is problematic. There were no set learning outcomes, no assessment and no required attendance. It does not contribute to knowledge and understanding of an identifiable discipline because citizenship is not a discipline at my university. It was research-based teaching in that the activity was ‘largely designed around inquiry-led activities’ (Jenkins and Healey 2005) except that a crucial aspect was the personal element. It concerned the students’ own civic identities and agencies. This diverted the students away from the library and the internet – they could not ‘Google’ the answer. Indeed, prior knowledge was not an advantage where a concept was affective and
experiential. For example, there was no significant difference in participation or response by those who had studied it before. This suggests that this kind of activity can be multi-disciplinary in contrast to other similar studies that are more discipline specific (Beaumont 2010). Furthermore, because the students’ source material was their experiences, this unmoored the activity from my own specialised knowledge and position, and lent an unpredictable element. It was a pedagogy of discomfort that required a disavowal of mastery and coherence on my part (Zembylas 2015).

This intervention poses other questions for my professional practice. It contrasts with my existing model of professional practice in the following ways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An example of current professional practice (a first year module on human rights)</th>
<th>Professional practice in this intervention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Starting point</td>
<td>The institution and professional regulator mainly set the curriculum, aims, outcomes, forms of assessments, student numbers, timetable; subject content drawn from own research and practice in human rights law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity forms part of research into students’ experiences, citizenship, higher education and pedagogy (freedom to set parameters and determine form accordingly)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject of study</td>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants’ experiences of the workshop and research activities and how they perceive their civic identity and agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Module aims</td>
<td>To develop critical awareness and understanding of the role of the law, specifically human rights law, in the face of current legal problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore how the intervention shapes students’ civic identities and civic agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning outcomes</td>
<td>Display knowledge and understanding of contemporary legal problems and relevant human rights law principles, within the context of critical thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None as such. Students are able to critically investigate their civic identities and agencies but if and how they do so, and, generally respond is unpredictable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Law 1216 Contemporary Legal Issues, academic session 2019/20, first year (UK higher education level 4).
relevant legal principles in solving problems.

| Indicators of learning outcomes | A good (2:1) average mark across the group; positive student feedback in module evaluation (e.g. good learning environment, interesting and challenging material, accessible subject etc.) | Possible effects on students:
• Becomings of civic identity and agency through felt and attentive practice
• Increased knowledge and awareness of citizenship |

| Ways of measuring learning outcomes | Results of assessments | Analysing students’ responses in interviews and focus groups; observing students’ behaviour in workshops |

| Modes of delivery | Lecture, class discussion, formative exercises and feedback (no seminars) | Exercises in experiential learning, Forum and Image Theatre, authentic and critical reflection (see Appendix 3) |

| Modes of student learning | Listening and note taking in class; discussion with teacher and students; reading outside class; planning and writing essays | Discussion with other students; observation and listening to marginalised persons and charity workers; participation in theatre; reflection on all of the above |

| Group size | 120 | 11 |
| Average class attendance | Lecture: 60-70 | 10 |
| Forms of assessment | Coursework | None |
| Attendance | Compulsory | Voluntary |
| Duration | 12 weeks; 40 hours of classes | 7 weeks; 7.5 hours of workshops and 2-3 hours in charities |
| Student disciplines | Criminology and Law | Criminology, International Relations, Law, Politics, Sociology |

Table 2: comparison of an example of my current professional practice with this intervention

What I learned from this comparison is whilst there are many differences and some similarities (such as the subject content), it is difficult to apprehend how this new form of professional practice can integrate with my current practice. This is because the students appeared to thrive in an activity with a personal focus, non-compulsory attendance, mixed disciplines and activities that required physical movement and
interaction. These aspects are difficult to merge into my teaching because I have to teach a prescribed subject to large numbers from mainly one discipline and in a set form (e.g. compulsory attendance). Indeed, this research demonstrates the benefit of face to face interactions which goes against the grain of increasing use of online forms of interaction especially those adopted by my university during the coronavirus pandemic such as the use of video conference technology for classes.

This form of citizenship education is envisaged as something that is parallel to one’s studies as argued above there is accommodation between the two. In this form there are several potential benefits. First, it may complement one’s studies by broadening one’s critical perspective. Secondly, it may complement the university experience. It can expand one’s network of peers outside of one’s discipline and locate common causes that can lead to formation of new extracurricular interests or clubs (a strong theme in the anonymous feedback). Thirdly, it can contribute to students’ personal projects in the sense that students think more deeply about their identities and question their beliefs, and as a result, choose paths or interests that reflect more considered choices. This is an area of synergy with employability as students can think or rethink their plans for later life. Fourthly, it might assist with transition to university to help students express and encounter differences, form social bonds and engage with their wider community. Exactly what form this might take is discussed in questions for further research below. One must first consider the political and ethical consequences of this educational practice (Starkey et al 2014: 429).

The above arguments imply a significant ethical consequence, and in democratic terms, accountability of this research. In ethical terms, in my ‘learning citizenship’ (Wenger 2012) I chose to devote a substantial amount of time to developing my professional practice by giving voice to the students’ experiences of these pedagogies for citizenship. This must entail a responsibility to account for what was learned both as a teacher and to the students, as well as to the charities (Starkey et al 2014: 429). There was a risk that an activity such as this can unfairly raise hopes and aspirations of students that they could question their beliefs and believe in a sense of agency yet lack any opportunity to pursue these new found interests. To address this, I communicated the findings of the research to the participants and the charities during the thesis writing stage and invited their feedback (anonymously), with specific attention to these implications. Also, I suggested to the charities to
provide details to the students of how they could volunteer, which they did during their visits, and several students expressed interest; and, I provided the students with details of other civic activities they could get involved in.

The humanising of marginalised individuals and the forging of social bonds, serve to illustrate wider political and ethical implications of this research. The students spoke of narratives of exclusion, stereotyping and negative images of Muslims and migrants or refugees. This speaks to the phenomenon of ‘bordering’ (Yuval-Davis et al 2018) part of the hostile environment policy of requiring individuals to prove their right to remain (Shankley and Byrne 2020). The same period has seen a punitive approach to welfare provision, such as the use of sanctions depicted in ‘I, Daniel Blake’. These students have grown up in this period since the financial crash of 2008 and the Brexit referendum of 2016 which exacerbated exclusionary tensions in citizenship. For example, there is evidence of less tolerant attitudes of young people towards immigrants and foreign workers (Janmaat and Keating 2017). It is understandable that the students are acutely conscious of narratives of exclusion and discrimination. It is therefore remarkable that their civic identity was one of in exclusiveness and solidarity that undid the process of othering.

We shall now turn to the political implications of this intervention within higher education. This was undeniably a political endeavour premised on an analysis of my students’ context that was permeated with norms and values that can undermine democratic citizenship. The intended benefit was to organise the activities in such a way to help them explore the ethical margins of their communities and the tensions in their senses of belonging. There is a very real danger (Kelly 2003 and see Impact Statement) that this research could be adopted by the university, branded and used to promote the commercial interests of the institution. It is vital to allow students to discover their civic identities and agencies without commodifying it, marketing it or otherwise harnessing it to other purposes (Ashwin and McVitty 2013) not least because this can cultivate cynicism and distrust among students about the civic purposes of university (see IFS). In this way, for this form of citizenship education to flourish it needs to remain liminal. This raises further questions that I examine below.

Finally, this is a distinct contribution to the underdeveloped literature on university lecturers as teachers of citizenship (Hammond and Keating 2017; McCowan 2012;
Sen 2020). This study is premised on academics seeing their contribution as citizens in terms of education of other citizens for and through citizenship. This was an uncomfortable experience because I held a lesser advantage in knowledge and expertise of the subject because the subject was the civic identities and agencies of the students. It is potentially a unique niche of activity at university: it is not a course of study yet can contribute to greater critical awareness. It is not an extracurricular activity run by students yet can generate more ideas, networks and interests for such activities. It is not concerned with boosting employability yet can pose questions for students about their future projects. It can also serve as a medium to help a diverse student population to transition to university.

**Limitations and questions for further research**

There are several limitations in and questions raised by this research. First, does it imply a retreat or abandonment of citizenship education in everyday professional practice in the curriculum? These activities do not supplant orthodox study and cannot replace them. This form of citizenship education relies on a lack of compulsion, a focus on experience and the personal. A better question is would such an activity like this affect other parts of the university experience, such as studies, extracurricular pursuits, plans for future careers and transition to university, and if so, how.

Secondly, is it necessarily the case that such liminal forms of education cannot be nurtured by universities transformed by massification, privatisation and marketisation? This is a more difficult question. If these liminal activities are to be sustained, they would require support from the institution in for example freeing up staff time to run them. Of great importance, is the sense of freedom to experiment for both students and teacher: there were no set learning outcomes, prescribed reading, obligatory assessment and pass grades. There was no pressure on me as a teacher to make sure the activity ran in a way that satisfied the students or included institutional aims such as cultivating employability. This was an educational activity that upset, shocked and had no clear quantifiable success or impact. On the other hand, it was an activity that appealed to students, provided an experience they probably could not access elsewhere and strikes at the heart of what university
education involves, cultivation of a critical outlook. This is a very important issue for further research: how would such an activity be viewed and possibly sustained by the institution?

Thirdly, by its voluntary and self-selecting nature, and conceivably, its appeal to some not all students, does it imply an exclusion of some students? Due to the great diversity of student backgrounds, it is highly likely that a voluntary activity of this type will not appeal to all. This is a limitation of the study. It concerned students who were willing and able to give up their time, and for whom the research activities held their interest. On the latter point it was intriguing how the research activity held the interest of such a diverse group of students both in background and motivation. Nonetheless, one could investigate why students – and what kind of students – do not or are not able to choose this kind of activity. This might be informed by asking how participants compare to another group who had engaged in their normal studies and extracurricular pursuits whilst this activity was ongoing.

Lastly, reflexivity is a social experience and action research a collective enterprise (Dutta et al 2016). As an action researcher it would greatly assist if I was part of a teaching team ideally from other disciplines, especially those outside social sciences with less obvious connections to citizenship that ran such a project like this again. This would also help build the very scant research on academics as citizenship educators and what effect they have on the process. As McKeachie (1974) observed, there is no more important element in education than an enthusiastic and energetic teacher. How would students respond to a female, ethnic minority or disabled teacher, or simply one with a different demeanour in the classroom?

Overall, there is a fragility to this kind of exploratory research. The students could have unlearned its messages as they conflicted with other norms, values and beliefs, or in failed attempts at agency. It is also possible that experiences in this project stimulated greater civic agency. This is ultimately speculative and requires research over longer time periods. This is not a drawback of the study rather a level-headed acceptance that research into interactions between teachers and students is always incomplete and reflects ‘where researchers stand at a particular moment in time’ (Ashwin 2012: 140).
Significance of the study

This is a small scale intensive qualitative study that provides credible findings that are both empirical for this context and these students, and theoretical, in suggesting new ways of thinking about civic identity and agency, citizenship education at university and my own professional practice. Credibility is founded in this study on prolonged engagement with these students and in this research setting as an insider, persistent observation over a regular period, triangulation with other similar studies (e.g. Beaumont 2010; Erel et al 2017; Lister et al 2003), peer debriefing (in workshop 5 and the focus groups) and member checking in the report back session (see Lincoln and Guba 1985: 301-328).

In a liminal space between study and voluntary student-led activities, this activity shows the benefits of an introspective, personal, whilst at the same time social, interactive and exploratory intervention. It benefits students by helping them to cultivate empathy and compassion for othered groups, and reduce senses and stresses of social isolation and atomisation. This demonstrated how citizenship education at university can fulfil a role of helping students relate to the citizenship culture in which they live and for universities to take an interest in students' civic formation for its own sake and not solely for institutional interests. It suggests that this form of citizenship education can help manage the tensions between the pressures of neoliberal university and the desire to explore one’s civic identities. This involves difficult and uncomfortable decisions for academics to depart from their usual practice to become citizenship educators and suggests that universities need to support them to develop these activities. It fills a very important gap between the rhetoric of universities, particularly their aspirational graduate attributes such as the Plymouth Compass (Appendix 2), and actual professional practice. This answers the call for qualitative research to start to address mechanisms by which universities can generate civic engagement (Brooks et al 2020; Sloam et al 2021). This research does so by addressing the behavioural sinew of citizenship: the beliefs, norms, values and the self-confidence and willingness to pursue them. It showed how encouraging this with students can be an unsettling and profound experience accompanied by strong emotions, revelations and new perspectives on relationships. In doing so, it sheds new light on the forms of pedagogy for citizenship education in the current policy landscape of UK higher education. This provides an agenda for
future research on how universities can nurture the ‘democratic habits of thought and action [that] are part of the fiber of a people’ without which ‘political democracy is insecure’ (Dewey 1937: 467).
References


APPENDIX 1

Abstract of Institution Focused Study (IFS)

In recent years many UK universities have declared that they cultivate and aim to engender citizenship among their graduates. This has not gone hand in hand with the introduction of citizenship education courses at universities. It raises the question of what students at UK universities are learning about citizenship, if at all, and how. I conducted this study whilst I was a Teaching Fellow in law at a large Russell Group university, which espoused such attributes of citizenship. I undertook a sociological approach to citizenship as a lived experience in order to uncover what meaning my own students lent to the idea of citizenship. The study uses a qualitative, phenomenological and participatory methodologies to give the students a voice in how they understand citizenship. This revealed that much of the students’ understanding of citizenship is gleaned from interactions with peers in a highly diverse student community. Their understanding of citizenship education was strongly influenced by the culture of performativity and neoliberal values emanating from the institution and prevailing policy. The resulting combination was a “synthetic citizenship” or civic identity made up of more open-minded set of civic norms from interacting with different peers, and, secondly, an instrumental and individualist outlook towards studies, including any opportunities for citizenship education. How the students absorbed these influences was shaped by their experiences prior to university and their ethnicities, class and gender.
APPENDIX 2
The Plymouth Compass

APPENDIX 3
Detailed breakdown of activities

A summary of the research activities

Stage 1

- Workshop 1 –
  - to familiarise the students with the research, researcher and each other; to help the students understand citizenship as a practice using an activity outside the classroom in public;
  - to discuss how the students define and experience citizenship and to introduce ideas of “good citizenship”.
- Focus group –
  - to discuss what citizenship means for others and why there may be differences;
  - to question what the reasons for those differences are and in so doing examine the means by which citizenship is created;
  - to discuss and organise subsequent workshops and activities.

Stage 2

- Workshop 2 –
  - to discuss how our citizenships are made, can we make our own citizenships and if so, what would they be?
  - to introduce forum theatre.
- Activity prior to workshop 3 – separate visits in small groups to either a charity that supported refugees (Student Action with Refugees), Citizens Advice’s debt crisis clinic or a homeless shelter (Shekinah Mission).
- Workshop 3 –
  - to work in groups to identify an issue that they care about, that affects their lives and on which they think they can influence other people’s thinking;
  - to organise and rehearse forum theatre activities.

Stage 3

- Workshops 4 and 5 –
  - Preparation of Forum Theatre.
  - Forum Theatre activity.
  - Short debrief afterwards.
- Followed by interviews and focus groups with students to reflect on all the activities and what they think they have learned.
• Focus group with students to ask them about what if anything should be taught about citizenship and in the law school and wider university.

Stage 1: Introduction

Workshop 1 and focus group (Wednesday 6th February)

Themes:
- get to know each other and the research project,
- introduce idea of citizenship and experiential learning, and
- then talk in more detail about what citizenship means for each of us

Familiarise the students with the research, researcher and each other (20 mins)

- food and drink – pizza, tea and coffee (10 mins)
  o explain the research (info sheet and slides)
- ice breaking activities (5-10 mins)
  o including the experiential activity with each other (to demonstrate it)
- Discuss what is involved in the research – themes, activities and to ask students to agree as a group “ground rules” for discussions (e.g. to be respectful of one another, to listen to each other’s views etc)

- Funny activity and get to know – fruit salad
- Sit in pairs to have lunch – three things about each other – somewhere they have never been but would like to go, something they have never done but would like to do, someone they would like to meet but have never met (DISTRIBUTE JOURNALS)
- Explain the research – time commitments and nature of research (reserves stop by)

- Complete consent forms and personal information forms – points to stress
  o Separation of work and research – no grades for performance
  o No connection with other assessment

Experiential learning activity (1 hour)

- to help the students understand citizenship as a cultural construct using an activity outside the classroom in public;
- to focus the students on beliefs, change, influence (citizenship as a cultural construct)
- to demonstrate social norms as distinct from ethics and law (potato exercise)
Collect as many different citizenships and values as possible from the campus in 20 mins (what is your citizenship, how would you describe yourself as a citizen and what is most important to you as a citizen?)

- 5-10 mins explanation
- 20-30 mins activity
- 20 mins debrief – how did it feel? Then lead into below.

Tea and coffee break

**Focus group: discuss how the students define and experience citizenship (30 mins)**

- What are the students’ understandings of citizenship and of their abilities to act as citizens in their own communities?
  - What does citizenship mean to them?
  - Have they had any experiences of citizenship?
  - Where have their understandings of citizenship come from? E.g. home (parents), friends, university, school and/other
    - Including: How do the students perceive their experience at university to affect sense of citizenship and ability to act as citizens?
  - What do they do that is citizenship?
  - Do they think they can change or influence things that matter to them?

**Wrap up:**

- Reflective journal exercise: What do you care about (in your neighbourhood)?
  - Choose colours of journals
- Questions
- Sign up for field trips (to email names to charities)

**Stage 2: Experiential activities**

**Workshop 2: critical reflection (Wednesday 13th February)**

**Welcome and introduction (30 mins)**

**PLAN**

- Space to move
  - Everyone must walk around quickly maintaining equidistance AND to spread out across the whole room
  - Joker yell stop – no empty spaces (must keep moving to fill empty spaces but then leave them)
  - Joker yells a number – get into a group with that number; groups must situate themselves so an equidistance apart
Joker yells a geometric shape and a number – 3 triangles, 4 squares, 3 diamonds

- Reflection

- Lunch – pizza, pasta and salad
  - Interview your partner – where did they grow up & where are they from (languages, citizenship), describe themselves in 10 years time (where and what; with who)

Recap – what is this research all about? Mention themes above.

Themes:
- What does citizenship mean for others and how can we explain any differences or similarities?
- How are our citizenships shaped by our experience and by our immediate environment? Do we have much say in this?
- How are our citizenships made (both your own and others)? Are they made for us or by us?
- Can we make our own citizenships and if so, what would they be?

Group Discussion: where do norms and beliefs come from? (15 mins)
- List of things we talked about yesterday
  - Agrees and disagrees
  - Is a good citizen the same as a good person? Says who?
  - Where does citizenship come from?
- Do you choose them for yourself? Do you unconsciously accept them?
- From where and from who? Parents, friends etc.
- Explanation of concepts of socialisation and identity
- Use group’s answers to draw a portrait of a student on a piece of flipchart (we construct our own citizen)

Forum or Image Theatre exercise following from above and linking to below exercises (10 mins) – draw your own body
- Lie on floor
- Think of body as a totality and all constituent parts
- Try to move the part of your body you are thinking about
- Few mins
- Everyone has sheet of paper and pen
- Draw own body with eyes closed – however you want
- Write names on back (eyes closed)
- Collect and set out on floor
- Open eyes
- Can you identify your own

Exercise in pairs: imagine your partner’s identity, where it comes from and how much influence you have over it (15 mins)
- Discuss with your partner the things you care about from your reflective journal (choose one you are prepared to talk about)
o Ask each other where these have come from
o Ask each other if you can influence these concerns
o What other cares do you have?

• Construct your own hypothetical person combining your concerns and background – draw on A4 paper: draw a person with these concerns and their neighbourhood. The concerns can be symbols. The neighbourhood can be circles around them.
o Think about the person – does it matter whether they are male/female, do they have to be student, where do they come from, what are their interests and hobbies?
o Think about the concerns – how do we portray them, where do they come from?
o Think about the neighbourhood – how many concentric circles are there?
o How does the person and their concerns interact with the environment?

• Compare what are you as a citizen with i) what do you want to be, ii) what should you be and iii) what can you be? Use green, red and black pens to
o How much choice do we have?

Group discussion -
• Can we make our own citizenships and if so, what would they be?
• What does citizenship mean for others and how can we explain any differences or similarities?
• How are our citizenships shaped by our experience and by our immediate environment? Do we have much say in this?

Forum or Image Theatre exercise Human knot

Tea and coffee break

Exercise with whole group using flip chart paper on the floor: how does university shape us and how do we shape it? (20 mins)

• Draw fields of influence in the university community using what we discussed in pairs
• Discuss how influential you feel in this community
• Is this community what you want it to be, what it should be or what it can be?
• Why? What are the assumptions behind that?
• Why do we have those assumptions?
• Plymouth Compass
  o What is university for?
  o Is that the same as what education is about?

Organise field trip

o to discuss and organise subsequent workshops and activities including briefing students on what they will be doing, when, where and with whom
  ▪ 10 mins
Confidentiality
Anonymity
Pen and paper
Questions (question sheet)
What you will be doing and what you will not be doing
Introduction to each organisation – what they do, philosophy
Confirm ages of students

Activity prior to Workshop 3 (Thursday 14th, Friday 15th February)

Separate visits in small groups of four each to the Citizens’ Advice Centre, Shekinah Mission and Students Action with Refugees

Themes:
- To experience something outside of one’s knowledge of the world and perceptions of the world
- To learn about issues that affect other people’s lives in your city
- To meet people that work to help others (and to think about why they do what they do)
- What were the problems and how did they solve them?

What will happen?
- Citizens Advice Centre visit to debt advice drop-in (max 4 students) 830am-1130am on 14, 15, 18 and 19 February (Louise)
- Shekinah Mission (max 4 students) visit 19 February at 930am-1230pm (John)
- Students Action with Refugees (START) 18 February, 9-1pm (Suzie)

What is the purpose of the activity?
- Primarily observation – students encouraged to take notes about what they see and hear

Workshop 3: critical reflection on field trip and preparation for forum theatre (Wednesday 20th February)

Themes:
- To debrief experience of field trip including a reflection on the themes above
  - To learn about issues that affect other people’s lives in your city
  - To meet people that work to help others (and to think about why they do what they do)
  - What were the problems and how did they solve them?
    - Why could they not solve them on their own?
- What about us?
  - What problems could we address as a group in this classroom?
• To work in groups to identify a problem that they care about, that affects their lives and on which they think they can influence other people’s thinking
  o To create and maintain a safe space to do this
• To organise and rehearse forum theatre activities.

GAME: Ice breaker – human knot (by 105)
• Reflection – how did you communicate

LUNCH – Groups – come together
• Citizens Advice – May, Alex, Rosie
• STAR – Yaya, Julie, Emma, Francisco
• Shekinah – Jerry, Charlie, Bella, Archie

Tasks (by 120 mins) –
• Share your expectations you had in advance
• 1) What were the concerns of those who sought help ii) What were the motivations of those who helped them
• Reflect on all in big group (below)

Power chair (by 135): take the power from the person sitting in the chair
• Reflection – how did you decide

ACTIVITY: Group discussion (by 200 mins) – maybe two separate groups:
• Each group explains what they saw and heard and we go through answers to each task
• Discussion questions:
  o Why do people care about some issues or problems?
  o How do these problems affect people?
  o What were the causes?
  o What abilities do they have to change or influence them?
  o What would be our own answers to these questions? (Leading into below exercise and Forum Theatre)
• I write on the flip chart situation a where someone is oppressed/treated unjustly e.g. exploited, excluded/ignored
• Sit in groups from last workshop – Compare what they have experienced to what we had talked about in first two workshops concerning our own senses of citizenship and ability to influence our community – did it change anything for them? Personal interests/ perception of community/ what can be changed?

Theatre activity (10 mins): get used to acting out situations e.g. Embassy reception, tags on back, associate with who you wish, then form a line as to who was most powerful in status, afterwards each person has to describe their character by reactions of others

GROUP discussion (15 mins):
• Bring together what we have been discussing – issues you care about, that affect you and you can change
  o Connect back to drawings from first workshop?
  o Connect to map?
• Areas – brainstorm on flipchart
• Allocate into groups to work on
• Organise for next session
  o Identify groups that can stay longer at next session

REST OF TODAY’S ACTIVITY – planning Forum Theatre:
• I give an example – education – often the choices we make are not the choices we wished for; situation where a school child was under pressure from her parents about what A-levels to choose
  o Use examples from group discussion (causes for)
• A problem affecting one person (the protagonist) – a story with a bad ending
• Something you saw or heard about
• Show it as a situation that is unresolved – there has to be a provocation
• Challenge is for audience to intervene to see if they can take the place of the protagonist and resolve the problem
• Act it out
• Emphasise point that this has to be something that affects people – that they can relate to

Acknowledgement exercise (5 mins): each student states a fact about themselves which is recognised and affirmed by another member of the group

INFO: Volunteer activities with charities:
1. START – cultural kitchen organised by students (Friday evenings); Job Club – more significant commitment
2. Shekinah – ask students what they would like to do
3. Citizens Advice – volunteer through legal clinic in 2nd and 3rd year

• Forum theatre – a theatrical game
  o A form of theatre to explore social issues
  o Problem unsolved shown to audience, invited to suggest and enact solutions
  o Problem is a symptom of oppression, generally with visible oppressors and a protagonist who is oppressed
  o Purest form – both actors and audience are victims of the oppression shown
  o Form of contest where spect-actors try to break cycle of oppression and actors try to keep to original ending
  o Many different solutions tried in one forum – ‘the result is a pooling of knowledge, tactics and experience, and at the same time what Boal calls a ‘rehearsal for reality’’ xxiv
  o Many different forms
  o Used in many communities – anywhere where there is oppression ‘Its aim is always to stimulate debate (in the form of action, not just words), to
show alternatives, to enable people ‘to become the protagonists of their own lives’ xxiv
  - Make sense of life
  - Give strength and confidence
  - Great fun
  - Can work if model is true to life and makes audience angry (to come up on stage – first spect-actor breaks ice) xxv

Stage 3: Forum Theatre

Workshop 4: Forum Theatre activity (Wednesday 27th February)

Themes:
- To explore themes that we care about, affect us and we can influence
- To rehearse and perform Forum Theatre activities

Warm up activities
- Feared and protector
  - Everyone spread out
  - Choose and avoid 1 person who frightens you – without letting them know
  - Now think of another person who is your protector and place them between you and other
  - Stop – did you manage to stay away
- Image theatre – sculpted statues (two groups)
  - Shake hands – what is this image
  - Everyone into partners – shake hands, one removes himself and takes up the story
  - Other comes out of the image
- Vampire of Strasbourg –
  - Walk around room closed eyes
  - Avoid the vampires
  - I will touch the neck of a person to create the vampire
  - Then scream of terror, raise hands in front of you and seek out victims (eyes closed) – little squeeze to neck (and same happens)
  - If a vampire is touched by another vampire, scream of pleasure and drop arms
  - Oppression – release from it (to become oppressors)

Integrate Oliver, Ninda, Lauren and Lauren to other teams or form a new team

- Experiences in work experience
- Use charts to look at own values
- Is there something you all care about, that affects you and that you can influence?

Preparation and rehearsal (1 hour):
- Groups continue working on their scenes as supported by Piers
Tasks:

1. **Plan**
   a. Oppressed cannot be the protagonist
   b. The provocation is something the audience has experienced or can relate to
   c. Stay in character
   d. Must have a character for me (swap Jokers)
   e. Role of the Joker
   f. No rules

2. **Rehearse**
   a. **Stop/think** – during rehearsal Joker shouts these words and everyone says quietly to themselves what is going on in their heads at that time – thoughts, emotions/feelings, sensations
   b. **Exaggerate** - play the scene again and exaggerate all the emotions in the scene
   c. Separate rooms available

**Introduction**

- A Forum play presents a problem, not a solution.
- It does not preach. It does not judge.
- It invites spectators to take part by 'acting' in his/her place – not by suggesting or discussing but by trying, experimenting
- Not acting but taking part as in real life
- *Are there any rules you would like to make or considerations?*

**Performances (20 mins each):**

- Each topic is played by a group
- Piers acts as Joker
- Others are audience and intervene as and when they wish

**Winding down – if appropriate (10 mins):**

- How did they feel it went? Impressions of students on the performances – watching and playing

**Acknowledgement exercise – if necessary (5 mins):** each student states a fact about themselves which is recognised and affirmed by another member of the group

**For next week (wrap up):**

1. We agree the agenda ourselves – please bring things you would like to talk about
   a. What did these workshops mean for me?
   b. I would like to discuss homelessness

2. Questions for me and for the group
Workshop 5: Forum Theatre activity (Wednesday 6th March) and debriefing

Themes (continued):
- To explore themes that we care about, affect us and we can influence
- To rehearse and perform Forum Theatre activities

Lunch (10 mins)
- Review the activities so far – anonymously (smiley faces etc)

Warm up, voice and body
Hi Ha Ho (10 min)
- Form a circle, we are now going to be Samurais, using our hands and arms as a sword.
- Explain: You send a HI by putting your hands together and raising them over your head and point at one other participant.
- The receiver of the HI lifts both his arms over his head and responding HA.
- The two persons standing on each side of the receiver forms their arms to swords and acting like they are cutting the receiver in two by his stomach saying HO.
- The receiver then send another HI to a new person and you keep on going for a while.

This is about concentration, focus and fun.

Why are we doing what we are doing?
- Do these activities help you understand who you are, who you can be and what you can do as a citizen?
- Bring together things you are interested in and how they change or don't change
- FT explores the ‘need for personal, social, and political change while simultaneously teaching how theatre can be a flexible and dynamic mode to get that change’ (Leigh 2004)
- ‘performance is a proactive tool, a way to plan what to do when a situation arises’ (ibid)
- ‘… a person might not literally take the stage but nonetheless become actively entangled in the problem or committed to the scene’ (ibid)
- ‘… a space for the performers to declare what had not been heard…’ – IFS a space to explore – present us with problems that we can relate to that you do not think can be solved (challenge us)

Additional preparation time for FT (10-15 mins)
Have a discussion of what you would like to do today…
1. Fransisco, May, Julie, Alex – an extra 10-15 minutes to rehearse
2. Emma, Jerry, Yaya, (plus Charlie) – support to rehearse
3. Rosie, Bella and Archie – support to rehearse
Performance 1

- Explain the format again
- Watch the play
- Joker – asks what do you the issues are here
- Watch again – can shout stop
- Experiment with interventions
- Discuss how successful each one was

Short break – allow for more rehearsals of next groups (20 mins)
Possibly review where the groups are – will they be ready

If we don’t have time – would they like more time?

- Wed 20th March 2-5pm?
- Wed 27th March 1-3pm
- Wed 3rd April 1-3pm

Performance 2

- Watch the play
- Joker – asks what do you the issues are here
- Watch again – can shout stop
- Experiment with interventions

Or go into Focus Group

- (Work experience reflections)
- Reflections on the activities as a whole
  - What have they got from the activities
  - Is there anything different to what they thought before
  - Is there the anything the same

Two groups – split to mix up disciplines, to get good group dynamics (by placing less confident students with students who might not talk over them) and mix up FT groups

- Fransisco (IR, 1), Bella (Law CJ, 3), Charlie (Law, 2), Rosie (Soci, 3), May (Law, 1)
- Archie (IR, 3), Jerry (IR, 2), Yaya (IR, 2), Emma (Law, 2), Julie (Soci, 1), Alex (Law, 1)

- Interviews (at mutually convenient times to be arranged from 11th March)
  with students to reflect on all the activities and what they think they have learned.
  - Schedule of questions to be drafted
# APPENDIX 4

## Table of participants

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Discipline &amp; programme</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
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<th>Disability</th>
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**Notes**

* Julie: she did not complete a personal information form at the last workshop. She did not respond to emails requesting her to complete one.

** Elizabeth: she was only able to attend the first workshop because of a conflicting commitment on other Wednesday afternoons.

*** Mary: she did not complete a personal information form at the first workshop. She did not respond to emails requesting her to complete one. She attended only the first workshop because she also had a conflicting commitment on other Wednesday afternoons.
APPENDIX 5

Information sheet for participants

Exploring activities for citizenship

INFORMATION FORM

Please take time to read carefully

What am I doing?

I am researching citizenship and civic education as part of a Doctorate in Education at the Institute of Education, University College London. I would like to know what students think of citizenship and whether it could be taught at our university. The project is open to any first years in the School.

What is citizenship and civic education?

Citizenship is to be a citizen of a country. For example, I am a UK citizen. This can be part of who you are e.g. 'I am British', part of your identity. Democratic citizens have rights e.g. to liberty and privacy. I am interested in the behavior and beliefs of young citizens - what does it mean to think and act as a young British citizen?

Civic education is learning about citizenship in school or university. (NB this project is very different to what you may have done at secondary school).

What do I want to know?

I am interested in how you understand your own citizenship and whether university has any effect on this. Also I would like to hear your impressions of teaching techniques such as critical reflection, forum theatre and experiential learning.

Why am I doing this?
I think that learning to be a citizen can increase your ability to understand and pursue your own values with others, and for others. I would like to know if you think this is a good idea for first years and how it might be taught.

What is involved?

Four workshops, two focus groups, an interview and a visit to a charity. Don’t panic - these are NOT classes. They are interactive and fun sessions using theatre, games and thought experiments. They will not clash with classes or exams. We will agree convenient dates at our first session and aim to complete everything between now and June. The activities will be very helpful for GEAR and you can put them on your cv.
APPENDIX 6
CONSENT FORM

STUDENT CONSENT FORM

Your involvement in this research is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time.

The information that you provide will be kept confidential. (The only exception is if there is something that might cause a danger or harm to someone else). It is stored on a password protected encrypted file. This means that only Piers will see it and his two doctorate supervisors and two examiners, if they choose to. It will not have your name on it but a pretend name instead (a ‘pseudonym’). It will not be released to any others without your prior permission. The interviews and possibly the focus groups will be recorded.

Some of the data might be included in the form of anonymous quotations in the research report, which may be published in an academic journal or book. I can provide these if you wish.

If you have any questions about any of the above or the research in general, please ask before signing below or contact me at any time during the research**.

If you are content to take part, please complete the below:

I have read and understood the Consent Form and the Information Form and consent to participate in the study.

Signed:

Dated:
* If you are one of my students or tutees, your decision to participate or not in the study will in no way affect the way I assess your work or tutor you. The research is completely separate from my teaching on Contemporary Legal Issues (CLI) and Public Law.

** If you wish to make any complaints about the research, my supervisor is Tristan McCowan (t.mccowan@ucl.ac.uk).

Local Data Protection Privacy Notice

The controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Officer provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

This 'local' privacy notice sets out the information that applies to this particular study. Further information on how UCL uses participant information can be found in our 'general' privacy notice:

For participants in research studies please refer to:

https://www.ucl.ac.uk/legal-services/sites/legal-services/files/ucl_general_research_participant_privacy_notice_v1.pdf

The information that is required to be provided to participants under data protection legislation (GDPR and DPA 2018) is provided across both the 'local' and 'general' privacy notices.

The categories of personal data used will be as follows: your name and responses in interview and focus groups.

The lawful basis that would be used to process your personal data will be performance of a task in the public interest. The lawful basis used to process special category personal data will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes.
Your personal data will be processed so long as it is required for the research project. We will anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide we and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact us about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.
APPENDIX 7
Interview schedule

Areas to cover

Research questions to explore in the semi-structured interview:

- How do the students perceive the impact on their civic identities and agencies from participation in workshops involving critical reflection, experiential learning and forum theatre?

Issues arising from the workshops and focus groups so far:

- How would they compare their experience in the workshops to that of their classes at present? (One said in the focus group that ‘every Wednesday we would think differently’ or words to that effect).

Additional: I will have the various flipcharts that they drew images on and lists of various issues of concern for them to comment on and to also aid recall.

Introductory explanation to participants

- I will preface the exercise as I did the focus groups: there is no need to agree with the researcher or to endorse the activities. They are not bound to answer any of the questions and if they feel uncomfortable with any of themes, please say so.
- The themes shall include – their personal background, their experiences of the workshops and specifically, what they gathered from the project regarding their sense of what it means to be a citizen and to act as one.
- To help the students recall the project we will talk about the workshops in chronological order. We will first begin with their own background and interest in the project.

Questions on personal background

1. Where did they grow up?
2. Did they engage in any activities at school that involved:  
   a. discussions of citizenship or  
   b. activities that were associated with citizenship?
3. Are they involved in any similar activities at university?
4. What led them to volunteer for the research project? Did this change over the course of the project?

Questions on Workshop 1: experiential learning and critical reflection

5. What did they learn, if anything\(^3\), from the first activity of going out of the classroom to interview people on campus about their meaning of citizenship?
6. What was their understanding of ‘being a citizen’ and ‘acting as a citizen’ at the start of the workshop? (I will provide a bullet point summary of our first workshop to refresh memories).

Questions on Workshop 2: critical reflection

\(^3\) In each instance that I ask this question, it will be narrowed down to what if anything they learned about being and acting as a citizen.
7. What did they learn, if anything, from the activity of drawing issues that they shared with their partner (these were concerns in their neighbourhood)? (Refer to images on flipcharts – one example attached).

8. What did they learn, if anything, from the activity of drawing circles of influence – both what influenced them and what they could influence? Did these perceptions change at all during the course?

9. What formed these perceptions?

**Questions on work experience and Workshop 3: experiential learning**

10. What did they learn, if anything, from the experience of visiting the charities?
11. How did they then come to choose a topic that they cared about, affected them and they believed they could change?

**Questions on Workshop 4: forum theatre**

12. What did they learn, if anything, from the experience of preparing for and taking part in the Forum Theatre exercise?
APPENDIX 8
Focus group schedule
(Schedule for focus group 1 is included above in Appendix 3)

Focus group schedule for groups 2 and 3

Proposal: Focus group with students to ask them about what if anything should be taught about citizenship and in the law school and wider university.

Criticism (important to hear), not precious, trial and error – you may disagree among yourselves

Warm up activities

1. Explain what the focus group is for (mention some of the IFS findings) and encourage open discussion (including criticism of the activities). Repeat the rules we agreed for discussions.
2. Reflections on the activities as a whole
   a. What have they got from the activities
   b. Is there anything different to what they thought before
   c. Is there the anything the same

Focus group discussion

General
3. Lead in questions – favourite and least favourite moments of the activities.
4. What did they expect to do? Were they surprised by anything? Why?
5. Discuss what they thought about citizenship before the activities, during the activities and after the activities.

On the activities
6. Do they think they learned anything about being a citizen?
7. Invite any comments on the map of influences on and by students that they created
8. Do they think this is what citizenship education is for?
   Check to see if any connections with agentic construction of civic identity.
9. What do they think it should be?
   Check to see if it is performative – e.g. something that makes them more valuable in the job market.

Self-development, neoliberal – theoretical tensions.

Plymouth University and citizenship education
10. Is a university education for this and/or about this? Through (acting as) citizenship – experiential learning...
   a. Is it already (in what ways)?
   b. Should it be or do more or something different?
   c. What about at this university? Invite any comments on the Plymouth Compass (graduate attributes).
   Check here for any attitudes similar to IFS – university treats students as customers or consumers.
11. Do these activities have any relevance for their degree?
a. Should it be part of their degree? (Reasons for and against).
b. In the curriculum or extra curricula?
   Check here for any attitudes similar to IFS – lack of time, need to get certain grades
   and fill cv’s.
12. Is it something they can study with students of other disciplines?
13. Do they wish to learn about it in this way or another way? (Reasons for and against).
   Suggestions for changes.

Suggestions for the future
APPENDIX 9
Sample interview transcript

INTERVIEW-1 – May

[Start of recorded material at 00:00:00]

Interviewer: Okay. So, yes, as a starter, whereabouts are you from?
Respondent: I’m born and bred Plymouth.
Interviewer: Born and bred Plymouth?
Respondent: Yes.
Interviewer: Okay. Where did you go to school?
Respondent: I live in Southway, and I went to school, it was Langley and then it turned into Oakwood at about year three.
Interviewer: Right, okay. So, tell me about your school, what was your school like?
Respondent: Before it changed it was incredible.
Interviewer: Really?
Respondent: Yes. It was very old fashioned, but it was family like. So, yes it was very involved in the community and everything as well.
Interviewer: Okay. So, very involved in the community and in what sorts of ways?
Respondent: So, we’d go down to the woods, because there’s a little woods by my house as well. Because I lived literally on the school field, and we used to go down to the allotments all the time and the church group and everything, so, yes.
Interviewer: Oh okay. So, which part of town is that? I don’t know … did you say Southway?
Respondent: Yes. It’s like half an hour’s drive, yes.
Interviewer: Yes? So, are you the other side of the dual carriageway, the A38?
Respondent: It’s like round the edge of Dartmoor, as you’re going into it, yes. So, you have Tavistock over there, then [Wallwell] and Southway is right here.
Interviewer: Oh okay.
Respondent: Yes.
Interviewer: So, did you go out on Dartmoor much when -
Respondent: I think we did quite a few school trips that way.
Interviewer: - Oh okay, yes, yes.
Respondent: I think it’s more in geography and stuff like that.
Interviewer: Okay. Any favourite subjects at school?
Respondent: Definitely not geography.

Interviewer: Really? Okay.

Respondent: It probably would have been Art and English, yes.

Interviewer: Right, okay. Is that what you did for A level?

Respondent: I did English literature for A level definitely, I did law.

Interviewer: Oh right, okay.

Respondent: Yes. Even though I was told not to.

Interviewer: Oh, you were told not to do law, why’s that?

Respondent: Yes. One of the girls that was in my class, she wasn’t very nice to everyone. And she went around saying “Oh my family knows this barrister, he said they don’t like it that you do law A level.” Yes. So, I did it, because I was not going to listen to her. And then on the first day she turned up in the class.

Interviewer: Yes?

Respondent: But I did law, and I did product design and extended project.

Interviewer: Oh really? What does that involve?

Respondent: Product design?

Interviewer: No, the extended project?

Respondent: The extended project? Oh, you could choose to do kind of like an art major project kind of thing, and produce an artefact, or you could choose to do a dissertation and I did a dissertation.

Interviewer: Oh okay. What did you do that on?

Respondent: I did it on English literature.

Interviewer: Oh really? Okay.

Respondent: I did it on Catcher in the Rye, because it was one of my favourite novels.

Interviewer: Ah, okay. So, favourite writers will include?

Respondent: J D Salinger.

Interviewer: Yes. Any others?

Respondent: Margaret Attwood.

Interviewer: Ah.

Respondent: Yes. I love her feminist approach and everything.

Interviewer: Yes, yeah, okay.

Respondent: Dostoevsky.

Interviewer: Ah okay.
Respondent: I’ve just finished *Crime and Punishment* actually.

Interviewer: Wow, good for you.

Respondent: Yes. It’s really, really good. And the criminology side of it as well.

Interviewer: I bet. Yes, yes.

Respondent: Even though I’m not into psychology at all, but I just found it interesting.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, what’s the lead character, Raskolnikov?

Respondent: Raskolnikov, yes.

Interviewer: Yes. I’m a big Dostoevsky fan. I haven’t touched him for years and years though. Because I feel once I’ve done it, it’s like, yes, I’ve run the London Marathon.

Respondent: It’s an achievement.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yeah. So, at school, did you have a lot of kind of extracurricular activities laid on?

Respondent: Comparing it to uni, no.

Interviewer: Oh, right okay.

Respondent: It was more of a sporty kind of thing, yes. So, we had the basketball and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Okay.

Respondent: Art groups. Not anything compared to uni, because there’s so much at uni, like I was telling you earlier. Doing everything every day.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yeah, there’s loads laid on, yes.

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Yes. And did you have citizenship at GCSE when you were there?

Respondent: It was compulsory that we had to do PSHE and that’s the closest thing I can think of to that.

Interviewer: Right, okay. So, you didn’t have … you didn’t study it?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: Right, okay. No, it’s interesting. Because some people have got different experiences of it.

Respondent: Yeah. Because Jasmine was saying she did. She did it at GCSE or something.

Interviewer: Yes, yeah, oh okay. So, did you have any kinds of activities that the school organised, that had a sort of civic element, as far as you saw it?
Respondent: I suppose kind of similar to the team building games, we had one, it was like an induction day for sixth form, and we were put in the gym and just told to do group activities for a couple of hours, but then that was it.

Interviewer: Really?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, what did you do?

Respondent: I can’t remember. I vaguely remember wrapping someone in toilet roll.

[Laughter].

Interviewer: That sounds like a lot of fun.

Respondent: It was [unique].

Interviewer: And now you’re at uni, you said that you’re involved in lots of different things, and what sorts of things are you involved in?

Respondent: So, I’m on the UPLS Committee.

Interviewer: Wow.

Respondent: Yes. I got the Negotiations Officer role.

Interviewer: Congratulations.

Respondent: Thank you.

Interviewer: Cool.

Respondent: I took part obviously in the negotiations competition, so, that’s how I found out about it.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: Every single kind of extracurricular event, like the barristers’ talk, I went to that one, the John Kendall talk. Wolferstan’s night, there’s the mock trial. It’s just trying to get in everything.

Interviewer: Wow, okay. So, you’ve been really busy?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. So, it sounds like Law Society stuff and things associated with law?

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? Okay.

Respondent: Now I’m in the Dance Society as well, but I kind of focus more on the Law Society, yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

Respondent: Yes.
Interviewer: And then I guess the other thing would be doing this project as well?
Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? So, what led you to volunteer?
Respondent: The work experience.

Interviewer: Ah, okay.
Respondent: Yes. Because that was one of the biggest things, speaking to James. The only work experience I had was a veterinary clinic.

Interviewer: Right. James, the personal tutor?
Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Right, okay. So, was there anything about the work experience, or was it just simply that it was work experience?
Respondent: Just anything I can get.

Interviewer: Just anything that you could get? Oh, okay.
Respondent: And the free food of course.

Interviewer: And the free food? Okay, okay. And as it went along, everyone was free to keep coming, or not keep coming? Did your motivation stay the same, or did it sort of change at all?
Respondent: I think that’s down to the type of person I am. If I start something, I have to finish it.

Interviewer: Right oh okay, okay. So, you wanted to sort of see it through to the end.
Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Right.
Respondent: Plus I know from working in collaboration projects, it’s annoying when people drop out. So, I can see that side of it as well.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, oh okay. And one of the things that we’re going to talk about a little bit is, what you got from each one of the activities as it went along. So, we’re going to talk about the activities in the order that you did them. And one of the things I’m interested in is your experience of them, and in particular, whether you got something out of it, at all? So, if I said to you, what did you learn from any of these activities, what would you think of, in terms of learning?

Respondent: I think mainly the team building thing, yeah.

Interviewer: Right. And so, that’s something that you see and hear, or is it something that you write down? Tell me a little bit about how you learn about team building? How did that happen for you?
Respondent: I think, like the activities, it teaches you there are easier ways to get to know people, if you’re doing something practical. And I think I would definitely use that in something else, like the negotiations competition.

Interviewer: Oh, okay, okay. So, this was something that you had seen that was quite practical, which you felt you could use somewhere else?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Right, okay. So, yes, let’s turn to the first workshop? So, we had this little activity out on the streets where you went out to sort of interview people, and ask people about citizenship. Tell me about your experience of it? What did you think of it, how did you feel?

Respondent: So, I walked out with … who was it, it was Lauren and Freya, I think. Because we went in a three. And then we saw these army guys giving out leaflets under one of the -

Interviewer: Oh, I remember this, yes.

Respondent: - Yes. So, I thought … I was like “Guys, they’re in service, we should just go and speak to them, because they’re not doing anything anyway, they’re just handing out leaflets.”

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yup.

Respondent: So, I was like “Hi guys. Do you fancy answering some questions, and we’ll take a leaflet from you?” So, I kind of pulled mine aside, because I didn’t want to influence and spoke to him a little bit. And I knew straightaway that it would be different from a normal citizen, because they’re in service, which was expected. And he gave the generic duty to my country thing.

Interviewer: Is that what he said?

Respondent: Yes. The duty. Being part of the community, giving back, stuff like that, yeah.

Interviewer: Right, right. So, you went, as a group? And was that just something that happened or something that you consciously chose to do?

Respondent: We just walked out together.

Interviewer: You just walked out together?

Respondent: Yes. Because we knew we’d see loads of people, we could just split up once we got there, but yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? Okay. And it sounds like the person that you spoke to, you wanted to get them to one side, because you wanted to get their response. And you felt that you could really understand where he was coming from, because he was a serving soldier.

Respondent: Yeah.
Interviewer: Yeah? Okay. And then we came back to the classroom, and we had a discussion about what we thought citizenship was. And we had the focus group. So, this was a summary that I wrote down of some of the things that you all said.

[Short pause].

Respondent: Yes, I remember. That was quite an important point, I thought, about -

Interviewer: Which one?

Respondent: It can be... exclusive, I thought.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: Because of everything that’s going on these days with terrorism and everything. Having like Shamima.

Interviewer: Shamima Begum?

Respondent: Shamima, that’s it, yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

Respondent: And stripping her of her citizenship, which I don’t agree with.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: It’s just like shoving you, being an outcast, when you are part of this country.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: And who else has she got to turn to now?

Interviewer: Yes. And of course, we spoke about this in the lecture...

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: For the benefit of the tape, what were you thinking at the time, if you can remember, at the start of the project, where were you?

Respondent: That was when it just had happened didn’t it, or was it just before that?

Interviewer: It was happening in February, yes. I think it may have happened after the second workshop.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Because I remember Archie asked me about it.

Respondent: Never really even thought about citizenship in general, yes, before that, yes.

Interviewer: Right okay, okay. So, it didn’t crop up at school?

Respondent: No, never.

Interviewer: Yes, yes. It’s not something you spoke about with parents or friends at all?

Respondent: No.
Interviewer: Yep, yep. And so, when we had the focus group, what do you feel you were … did you feel able to answer?

Respondent: It took me a minute.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

Respondent: Because usually when I’m asked the question what I believe, I have to take some time to just think what actually do I believe in? And stuff like that. Unless I’ve already formed an opinion about it.

Interviewer: Yep, yep.

Respondent: But that one took me a while to think about. But upon self reflection and stuff like that.

Interviewer: So, what sorts of stuff were you drawing on.

Respondent: Citizenship as in, I was looking at it at the legal sense and the personal sense.

Interviewer: The legal sense and the personal sense?

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay. So, drawing from what you’d studied in law or just seeing yourself as a law student?

Respondent: I think immediately I went to the human rights aspect, yeah.

Interviewer: Right, okay.

Respondent: And then on the personal element, I went straight to being a good citizen, or a good person, which all stems from my parents.

Interviewer: Okay. So, how did you find yourself going to the human rights aspect? Any sort of reason you could give?

Respondent: I don’t know. It just automatically fit in my mind as being connected, yes.

Interviewer: And then you said, as of being a good person, this was something from your parents?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. And are those things that your parents have sort of expected you to do? Are there things that you can identify that your parents have said “This is the right thing, this is the wrong thing”?

Respondent: I think it’s more of what they’ve instilled in me growing up, yes, of treating people equally. Everything … just basic stuff that some people don’t actually have.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Respondent: Like obviously when you see people with racism and stuff like that, just basic things that don’t lead you to become that type of person.

Interviewer: Right, right. So, when you say ‘instil’ they persuaded you to agree with these things, or they just simply told you these were -
Respondent: They just raised me that way.

Interviewer: - They just raised you that way? Okay. To treat everyone the same?

Respondent: Yes. I would treat the cleaner the same as the CEO, that kind of thing.

Interviewer: Okay. So, when we were talking here about being a citizen, you were talking about your particular beliefs. What about acting as a citizen, would that be ... because we were just talking there about the way in which you treat other people.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Would that fall into the sort of action area of citizenship, sort of what we actually do?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Yes?

Respondent: Yes, I think so.

Interviewer: Yes? Because you said there was a personal side, and there was also the human rights side?

Respondent: Hmm.

Interviewer: Yeah? Okay, okay. So, moving on to the next workshop, we did some activities with this big piece of flip chart. And I’ll just put that up there. You were working with Charlie, I think that was, and Julie?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: And you were pulling together a sort of combined image that represented... So, tell me about how you pulled this together? Who contributed and what decisions you made, those sorts of things, if you can remember?

Respondent: I think Julie came up with the compassion one, which is really good. Being a good person, having compassion for fellow person and everything. I think Charlie came up with the friends aspect. She thought it was quite core because being at a uni, having friends is quite important to having a good time, I think. Diversity. I can’t remember who said that. I think Jasmine came up with the homeless one, because she said it’s quite ... yeah, it’s quite a big issue in Plymouth. She was quite shocked about how many people there are on the streets. And even my own mum said she was surprised at how many female people are on the streets.

Interviewer: Right. So, would these things that ... sorry, did you share any of these things? In that you found you had things in common?

Respondent: Oh, yes. Definitely the ... I think all of them actually.

Interviewer: Really?

Respondent: Yeah. Because we talked about it first, and then we put it down that we all thought.

Interviewer: Right, okay.
Respondent: Hmm. Although I think maybe that one was more just me, because it’s religion based.

Interviewer: Right, okay, okay.

Respondent: Yeah. Because like I’ve personally … I’m a Christian, I was baptised at nine years old. And although I don’t agree with everything in the Bible, I still am like … I’d call it spiritual, instead of hardcore Christian. Because I stopped going to church because it was so cliquey and stuff like that, yeah.

Interviewer: Right, okay.

Respondent: So, there is good aspects to communities pulling together in that way but there are bad aspects to it.

Interviewer: And this activity took … I don’t know, I think it was sort of 15, 20 minutes, maybe a bit longer, where you had time to see what each of you had, and some of the things you had in common. Did you get anything out of it, learn anything from doing it?

Respondent: I think I learnt that a lot of my core beliefs are shared by other people. And it isn’t so uncommon. Although like specifically religion, it’s not as common these days.

Interviewer: Yes, yes. And then I asked to use a green and a red pen. The red pen were things that you felt you should do, and then the green things were things that you felt that you wanted to do. And so, you circled some things like school was … well that’s something I want to do, society expects us, and also something that we wish to do. Crime is something that we care about, [both of us]. And then there were some things such as compassion, and friends which got different colours. I was just wondering if you could tell me about that? And this also has got one colour.

Respondent: I think homelessness, it’s more of a … you see it personally and you’re personally affected to it. I think that’s what we said. And there’s not really much going on about anyone.

Person walks into room to check the lectern. Interview paused.

Interviewer: Okay. So, I just want to mention for the tape that the cat shelter was added. And you mentioned that you volunteered?

Respondent: I think it was back when I did NCS about 2017.

Interviewer: Ah, so you did National Citizenship Service?

Respondent: Yes, yeah.

Interviewer: Ah okay.

Respondent: And we were in collaboration with Woodside, and we raised money for them. But yes, just going to see the different shelters, it was shocking the difference between them. And I think, like we pointed out, it’s more of a personal issue rather than what everyone else cares about.

Interviewer: Yes, right. So, I didn’t ask you about doing NCS. How long did you do that for?
Respondent: It was three weeks in 2017, the summer of 2017.

Interviewer: Right. And what kind of stuff did you do?

Respondent: So, the first two weeks were kind of like a residential. We went to Cornwall on the second week, I can’t remember the first week. Oh, no, it was Cornwall the first week, and then we went to stay at Marjons and experience kind of student accommodation the second week. And then the third week was about charity, and running that. And no-one wanted to do it, so, I had to be the leader for that.

Interviewer: Oh right, okay. And was this volunteering for the cat shelter?

Respondent: It was, yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: Right okay.

Respondent: So, first we volunteered help, but it wasn’t going to make a difference, so, instead we did, we put together homeless kind of … like little dog packs, care packs and cat care packs for homeless people. So, that ties in the other issue.

Interviewer: Right, right, okay.

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: So, was NCS … this is voluntary, it’s not compulsory?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: And how did you come to volunteer for it?

Respondent: They came into our school, yeah. They came and did a talk, did the whole sell, yeah. And they led with the whole … because no-one really wants to do the extra work at the end. But they lead with the first two weeks of fun activities, so, they do paddle boarding and stuff like that. It was really fun tree surfing… just swimming, everything really.

Interviewer: Right, okay. And what was the work at the end? That was the voluntary work?

Respondent: Yes. So, we met in here actually.

Interviewer: Oh really? Okay.

Respondent: Yes. We met upstairs on the fourth floor. That’s when I first actually got, was in here.

Interviewer: Yes?

Respondent: Yes. And we basically just threw out ideas of what we wanted to do, what charity we wanted to do anything for, how we were going to do that. So, we had ideas of fairs and stuff. But on that scale, we only had a week to plan.

Interviewer: Right, right, okay. So, that’s interesting that no-one really wanted to do it in the sense that it was something that only a few of you volunteered for.

Respondent: We all, well I think we all did it in the end. It was hard motivating some people though.
Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay. And thinking about this project here, some of you volunteered – you already talked about your reason for volunteering – but do you know why any of the other students may not have volunteered?

Respondent: I was speaking to Debbie actually, because she said she wanted to do it. I don’t think she got it in time.

Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: Yes. I think it wasn’t promoted widely because I think I only heard of it in the lecture in five minutes at the start. But yes.

Interviewer: Did you have any friends that heard the advert and said “That’s not for me”?

Respondent: I think a few of them, like two of my friends, said “No, I can’t be bothered.”

Interviewer: Right. And are you able to say why they wouldn’t be interested?

Respondent: I think purely because on top of uni work as well, yes. And the effort of going in extra time.

Interviewer: Going for -

Respondent: Going into uni longer than you need to.

Interviewer: - Longer than you normally would do, yes? Okay, okay. So, we’ve been talking about this, and where have we got to? So, yes, then we moved on to, we did this in the same workshop as well, so, feel free to stand up and look around it. So, this was the circles of influence. And I was asking you all, who do you influence and who influences you? And you drew various different sort of people. The colours didn’t really have any significance. And you were in the middle as you plural, as the students.

Respondent: I didn’t agree with the books, because books influence me greatly, far more than media and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: And far more than peer groups, to be honest.

Interviewer: Really?

Respondent: Yes. Disciplines definitely in the centre, because I think probably from starting doing law at A level, it has just always been how would I look at that in a legal sense? It’s just how my brain is wired.

Interviewer: Right, right.

Respondent: Culture, I wouldn’t say that influences me greatly, because I just wouldn’t ... what would be my culture? It’s hard to kind of determine. I don’t have like a set answer, other than the Christianity aspect. But I don’t go to church and they don’t influence me like that.
Interviewer: Yes. And the things that you could influence?

Respondent: I think government would be maybe even further out because seeing what’s going on these days, young people don’t haven’t... really been given the chance. I think disciplines is in the right place, because we have module feedback and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: Media further out, because everything is twisted in the media, it doesn’t matter what you say. Family closer. I mean that’s just personally, because my family and I are so close. There’s five of us living in the house, so, yes. It’s my mum and dad. I live with two married couples. So, my mum, my dad, my sister and her husband. So, yes. And we don’t go a day without yapping.

Interviewer: When you say yapping, talking or -

Respondent: Just everything. Talking, singing.

Interviewer: -Singing?

Respondent: Yes. We’re a very musical and artistic house.

Interviewer: Oh lovely.

Respondent: So, I was kind of the odd one out doing law. So, my mum has actually just handed in her dissertation for photography.

Interviewer: Wow.

Respondent: Yeah. So, I’ve been reading through her work, and checking how I can be mean to her as well. It’s like “Abby, you did English literature, you can read through ab dissertation.”

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. And thinking as a citizen? So, I remember you saying that you had sort of like a human rights angle, and then sort of a personal angle, the way in which you wanted to be sort of a good person. Has this sort of big sort of environment that you’re in, has that influenced you in the way you think of yourself as a citizen, when you were asked?

Respondent: Yeah. Because, like I was saying about growing up, and knowing, learning how to be a good person, that all comes from family, friends as well. Because you can see some of your friends and their kind of morals, and what their parents have brought down to them, you don’t agree with it.

Interviewer: Right, right.

Respondent: You can see the difference in backgrounds, yes.

Interviewer: So, is there anything ... have you done an exercise like this before?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: No?

Respondent: No.
Interviewer: Did you take anything away from it, anything that -

Respondent: Definitely who I have to thank for who I am.

Interviewer: - Really?

Respondent: Yes. I’ve always been grateful to my parents but just imagine how I could have grown up, yes.

Interviewer: Right, well and what are you imagining there?

Respondent: My instant mind goes to Conservatives.

Interviewer: Really? Okay, why’s that?

Respondent: Because I’m just not a fan of any of their beliefs, yes. Just rich getting richer, foxhunting, all of that, I can’t stand it. That whole status thing as well.

Interviewer: And is that something that you ... where has that come from?

Respondent: I don’t even know. We are already working class, so, it’s probably already ground into us.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: But I think seeing people who do identify as Tories and seeing how they treat other people, and being very stereotypical but... just not liking that as well. And then seeing how people who are in the same situation as me, with like low income families, and how they would give you the shirt off their back and stuff like that, that’s what I like.

Interviewer: So, where has that come from? Are these things ... well where has it come from, as far as you know?

Respondent: Again, parents, yeah. Because, like I said, we’re a really close family. So, there’s nothing we don’t hide from each other. And they bring us up ... they brought myself and my sister up not how they wanted to be treated. Because my mum had a really horrific background, and she wanted better for us, and she has done it. So, yeah. I can’t thank her more than that.

Interviewer: Okay. And doing this exercise, you said you felt thankful for who you are? Was there anything about this exercise that made you realise that?

Respondent: I guess seeing people like the other students that were here, and their relationships with their families and with their friends as well. Because I’m lucky enough to have two best friends that I’m still in contact with, and a handful of other friends that I still am, that are coming back to Plymouth, and we’re like sisters. And having being so close to my family, and those strong links. And then I forget that other people don’t have that, and don’t have that support, which does make me feel lucky.

Interviewer: So, what happened in the workshop that led you to realise that?
Respondent: I think everyone contributing saying where they would put what, and how other things influence people, like the media. But I think again, that’s the type of person you are.

Interviewer: Okay. Well let’s move on to the next workshop. And then we had going to visit the charities.

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: So, you went to ... have a seat May. You went to Citizen’s Advice, and I know we’ve spoken about this in the focus group a little bit already. Tell me what you got out of this doing Citizen’s Advice? How was the experience for you?

Respondent: It was first talking about the people, like Louise and everything. They were so lovely, they were really chatty. I was just bombarding them with questions all the time, and they were just happy to answer, and it was really nice.

Interviewer: Oh nice, excellent.

Respondent: They were so lovely.

Interviewer: I’ll let them know.

Respondent: Yes, really positive. I wasn’t expecting Louise to be so young actually.

Interviewer: Oh really?

Respondent: Yes. I thought she’d be probably like a middle aged woman.

Interviewer: Really?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you know why you thought that?

Respondent: Probably because when you see volunteers, they’re usually, at a later stage, and they want to give back, more mature. But yeah, she surprised me.

Interviewer: Yes. Where have you seen volunteers before?

Respondent: Probably in charity shops, stuff like that.

Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: Yes. Because obviously Mutley Plain is full of them, always in and out.

Interviewer: Right, right, okay. So, you really enjoyed meeting those people?

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: And what else did you experience there?

Respondent: So, the debt drop in clinic, yes, that was ... I would say it’s eye opening, but I wasn’t surprised. Because obviously living in Plymouth, I know the type of people that live in Plymouth. You see them on the streets, you see them going into Shekinah and everything.

Interviewer: So, when you say going into Shekinah, have you volunteered at Shekinah?
Respondent: No, the charity shop on Mutley Plain.

Interviewer: Oh, the charity shop, sorry.

Respondent: Yes. Because next to it is ... I think is some kind of drug clinic or rehab centre, something like that?

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: And my mum is always like “Stay away from there, it’s dangerous” because obviously her priority is making me safe.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: Whereas I just see people that need help, now, because of this.

Interviewer: So, you hadn’t seen that before?

Respondent: I mean I’d seen people going in and out, but it just went over me, I just never really looked further into it, just it was there, yeah.

Interviewer: So, the experience at Citizen’s Advice, was that something you had seen before, or was it quite new?

Respondent: I mean I’d never seen them in a personal kind of scenario. I had just seen them over the road, or homeless people, or people with drug problems or mental health issues. Just seen them around the streets and stuff like that. But this was a chance because I was sat in the corner of the room and then the person was sat in front of me with the back of their chair to me. And then the ... I can’t remember, Sian, I think her name was, or Shian, I think it was Shian. But the Citizen’s Advice person was sat in front of them. So, I was kind of like blocked off, just for the sake of the client, which I thought was quite good... yeah. It was quite sad to see how many people because like I was saying earlier, I think I saw five people, and I think four out of five, if not all of them, had mental health difficulties, all with ... well they all were vulnerable clients. So, that was again, not surprising but shocking in seeing it in a personal scenario.

Interviewer: Right, right. So, personal scenario for you meant what?

Respondent: Kind of like up close and actually talking to them, instead of just visual, yes.

Interviewer: Yes? Instead of just seeing them, I suppose, yes? Okay. And then we came back to the workshop, and we were talking about particular things that you felt that you cared about, you felt you could change, and that affected you. So, I sort of set that out as a challenge for everyone to think about those sorts of things. And you were looking in this group with ... were you with Amy to begin with?

Respondent: Yeah, at the beginning, yes.

Interviewer: Yeah? And then you were joined by Fransisco and Julie?

Respondent: Yeah. And then later on by Charlie.

Interviewer: Yeah, that’s right. So, I think this was your sheet up here, is that right?

Respondent: Yeah.
Interviewer: So, how did you come to choose these topics?

Respondent: So, I obviously went for mental ... well not obviously. I went for mental health straightaway because personally affected, seeing all my friends, helping them with everything. Very important issue, especially with young people, and especially with older people who are now just realising that oh, I actually have mental health issues. It’s not just stiff upper lip and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Right, right.

Respondent: And we both just unanimously agreed on that. And then Alex came up with the support for dependants, because obviously she has children. And then I kind of elaborated on that. I’ve had issues in the past with how parents’ issues have impacted on us as children. So, you have the mother aspect and you have the daughter aspect as well, which was quite good. Just to see both sides of it.

Interviewer: And from that you constructed ... well it was added to by Fransisco and Julie?

Respondent: Yeah. Then we came together and came up with ... we specified loneliness because it was more of a student ... it pinpointed better, I think.

Interviewer: So, it was something that was more related to students?

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: And was there any other reason that it was chosen?

Respondent: I think we all kind of had the loneliness... like personal loneliness aspect.

Interviewer: Ah, okay, right.

Respondent: Yes. Because Fransisco was saying in halls he was quite lonely, Julie the same and Charlie the same. Alex, obviously, she has her own family, so, she’s quite cut off from everything except for lectures. And me, I live at home. So, that was one of the ... that comes up quite a lot with going and socialising and stuff like that.

Interviewer: So, what did loneliness mean for you?

Respondent: Personally? There was the fear at the start of not making friends. And then the big issue of, I’m not in halls, I can’t do as much. Because obviously there’s travel, money, everything like that. That was mostly it for me.

Interviewer: So, it’s wanting to make contacts with others?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Right. Form friendships?

Respondent: Yeah. I was okay with forming friendships, it was just maintaining them. Because whereas with Fransisco and Charlie they have their loneliness from not being with their family. But I have that, but I’m not with the friends instead.

Interviewer: Yes, yes.

Respondent: So, it’s kind of flip flopped.

Interviewer: Yes, yes. And then you created the scene, and you rehearsed it?
Respondent: Yeah.
Interviewer: And how did that go?
Respondent: It was pretty smooth, to be honest.
Interviewer: It was pretty smooth?
Respondent: We’re all on the same page, all of us.
Interviewer: Yes? Okay, okay. And then we did the play for the others. And there was a little bit of intervention, eventually?
Respondent: Eventually.
Interviewer: What did you think about Forum Theatre? Do you think it worked well, worked badly, a bit of both?
Respondent: I think it worked well.
Interviewer: In what way?
Respondent: I think it got people out of their shells a little bit more, on the second time.
Interviewer: When you say the second time?
Respondent: When we had to redo the play again.
Interviewer: Yes?
Respondent: Yes. I think people were a bit tentative at first.
Interviewer: Which people? The people in the play, or the people in the audience.
Respondent: In the audience, yes.
Interviewer: Right okay.
Respondent: Yes. But yeah, it got people up in the end.
Interviewer: Yeah.
Respondent: I got competitive though.
Interviewer: It became competitive? Yes.
Respondent: Yeah.
Interviewer: Because you had someone intervening with you, you were the guidance counsellor, weren’t you?
Respondent: Yeah.
Interviewer: And Archie intervened and Jerry intervened.
Respondent: Yes.
Interviewer: How did you find that?
Respondent: I instantly … just the type of person I am, I instantly was like competitive, like “No.”
Interviewer: Right, right, right.

Respondent: Stubborn, very stubborn.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: But yes, I like a challenge.

Interviewer: Yes, yes, okay. And after we had the play, did you have any more thoughts or feelings about being part of the Forum Theatre activity?

Respondent: I think it took a bit of ... it was a bit of a relief to get the loneliness aspect kind of heard.

Interviewer: Really?

Respondent: Rather than internalising it all the time.

Interviewer: Tell me about that? What do you mean relief? Was that a thought, a feeling?

Respondent: Like sharing it with everyone else. And they all get it as well.

Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: And it’s not just you.

Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: So, with Charlie, I speak to her quite a lot in lectures, Alex, I was just with her in the lecture.

Interviewer: Yes, yes.

Respondent: It brought us closer together, I think.

Interviewer: Closer together as the group that was doing the play, or with the students that were watching it?

Respondent: More so with the people that were doing the play, but also with the people watching it as well.

Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? Okay. So, if we were talking about in general, sort of coming towards the end of the interview now. We’ve covered all these different activities. What do you think you learned from all of this, if anything?

Respondent: I think the team building exercises. How it was easy to just get to know and be comfortable with the other students, in the amount of time that we were doing the project. Seeing how the mental health aspect is an important thing to not just you, just to everyone as well. And just like seeing the different types of people around, and how they were brought up. And then just re-evaluating yourself, I think, and your own morals, and what you believe in, in a deep way.

Interviewer: So, when you say you were sort of rethinking or re-evaluating your own morals, is there anything that you could put your finger on?
Respondent: I think more than re-evaluating, I’ll change that to reflecting. Because I haven’t changed any of my beliefs, but it has made me kind of think about them more, and why I think that.

Interviewer: Right.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: And can I just ask about the teambuilding, because I didn’t ask you, which teambuilding exercises did you -

Respondent: The ones like at the beginning and the end of the meetings where we’d go in pairs and just work together, yeah. And do those sorts of things. It’s really good for just breaking the ice and stuff like that.

Interviewer: - Right. And when you think of teambuilding, what does that mean for you?

Respondent: Just forming connections with people.

Interviewer: Forming connections with people?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Yes, yes. And it sounds as though you met people that had … you were saying it was interesting how different people had been brought up?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: What did you find interesting about it?

Respondent: People in different counties and different parts of the country.

Interviewer: Right, yes. I remember talking about that, yes. And the last thing I should ask is about the agency aspect about how you felt you could act as citizens. So, has this had any influence at all on how you feel you can behave or act as a citizen?

Respondent: I think the volunteering aspect. Not like because beforehand I would think just to put on the CV, just to get a job, just to get further ahead. But now I’d actually think about why I’m volunteering.

Interviewer: Oh really?

Respondent: Yes. And how it would impact those who actually need it.

Interviewer: Okay. And that came as a result of the experience itself, or other bits in conjunction with it? Where did that come from?

Respondent: I think from Citizen’s Advice, and from hearing Jasmine and everyone else that went to Shekinah, hearing their experience as well. And it actually meant a lot to just sit down and have a chat with someone whereas when they feel like society is just all against them, it does make a difference.

Interviewer: When societies are against -

Respondent: Just the stereotypes of homeless people. “Oh, they’ve actually got a house, they just want money.”
Interviewer: - Oh I see. So, yes, you got behind that?

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay, well thank you so much May for answering all of my questions.

[End of recorded material at 00:25:37]
APPENDIX 10
Sample focus group transcript

Focus group 2
15.03.19

Alex, Archie, Bella, Emma and Yaya.

[Note: focus group preceded by slides]

PVB: Ok great that seems to be picking up my voice and the counter is moving. Excellent. Ok, so starting off with what you wrote about. Favourite, least favourite moments of the activities? That’s my starter for ten. [Pause].

Alex: I thought the eyes closed with our hands out.

PVB: The Vampire of Strasbourg activity.

Alex: …just because we was all in effect blinded so it made it easier in the fact that we all putting ourselves out there but in a sense that we got bit of a security blanket because everybody is the same [right]. So it is not like somebody had to go first or somebody has got to volunteer first, we all was doing the same thing and we were all under the same… does that make sense?

PVB: Right, yes it does. Was that a favourite or least favourite?

Alex: I think that was my favourite. Because I think that we had that little like safety net because of the fact that we all had our eyes closed.

PVB: Interesting. So it was a safety net because you could not see what other people were doing? And people…

Alex: Were the same. We were looking out for each other in that blinded state almost.

PVB: Does anyone else have a similar experience of that activity or…

Archie: I liked the way you had a name on you but didn’t know who you were.

PVB: Oh yes, the embassy reception. What did you like about T?

Archie: It was just a bit of a fun party game.

PVB: It was just a fun party game [laughter]. It was fun because you were guessing or…

Archie: Yeah.
PVB: Yeah? Ok, ok. Fun party game. Any least favourite moments?

Alex: Leading people around with our hand was mine.

Yaya: Interviewing, interviewing.

PVB: Interviewing?

Yaya: Yeah like the first time. We have to interview people like it's.

PVB: Ah you were talking to one on one with somebody else, yeah. Least favourite because you...

Yaya: Like we talk to stranger like outside. Yeah. I think I don’t really like it.

PVB: Oh really? Ok.

Yaya: It was a bit awkward.

PVB: It was a bit awkward?

Yaya: Yeah.

PVB: Ok. Looking at the answers you gave on your sheets, do you remember what you were expecting? T you are shaking your head?

Archie: I can't remember.

PVB: You can’t remember. Ok. Does anyone else remember what they were expecting before they came to the research project?

[Pause].

Alex: I don’t think I really had any specific expectations other than that we was going to be doing some form of drama-y activities. If that makes sense. I didn’t really know what we were going to get out of it except we were going to use drama to interpret something.

Archie: I thought there was going to be more charity work.

[Pause].

PVB: Ok. So were you surprised by anything that happened?

Alex: For me I was surprised that a lot of the issues weren’t age specific. Like when we were talking as being the oldest of the students I thought I would have a completely different view. On a lot of the levels we wouldn’t be able to empathise with one another. But I feel that issues people must have experienced one way or another we could all empathise with one another or see it from their point of view. Does that make sense?
PVB: Yeah. So you found that you understand what people were talking about. Was there anything in particular that you can remember that you found you could understand regardless of a person’s age?

Alex: I think a lot of it was the like probably the fear of isolation at university. I felt where I was starting was being so much older than everybody else about not fitting in but also people of a younger age had the same experience. So it didn’t matter the fact that there was twenty years of experience between us. That feeling was the same. So it gives you a level ground despite the complete differences in your life. Does that make sense?

PVB: Mmhm.

Alex: It is almost like a starting point.

PVB: Yeah. Did anyone else have a similar experience?

Archie: I didn’t have any surprises because I didn’t know what was going to happen. I just didn’t…

PVB: Ah you didn’t have many expectations, right. How about you, L?

Emma: I am kind of the same, I kinda signed up having no idea what to expect. So I wasn’t really surprised by anything because I kinda had nothing to go by.

PVB: Ok, ok. And looking more specifically about citizenship, I remember we had that discussion group before we started about what we thought citizenship included. I am just looking for my notes here. And I remember that you talked about perceptions of other people and how that could affect the way you might see people. And you talked about being part of a community and being part of a group. Did you find that that changed at all during the activities? Or stayed the same?

Alex: I think maybe… it expanded our not, well maybe opinions, but maybe expanded what we thought a citizen was. As in it is very easy to have such a narrow minded citizen is somebody who lives in Plymouth and either works or goes to school or whatever. But when we talked about citizens collectively and what it means generally, I think you start to accept it in a wider scale, like part of a country, part of the economy, part of the world, like it all…

PVB: So it was widened?

Alex: Yes. So you could expand what it means.

PVB: Right. Did anyone else have that experience?
Emma: I felt like I came into and I didn’t really… if you asked me the question what is citizenship, I wouldn’t have known. And I think now I still don’t know but then the project has kind of like given me more questions to think about, if that makes sense. It hasn’t really answered any questions but it has kind of given me more questions which I am kind of now more interested to like explore and think about, if that makes sense.

PVB: Yeah, yeah. Are there any particular questions that the project has…

Emma: Particularly to do with my volunteering that I did like that was an area I didn’t have much knowledge on. So that is something I would like to research more, like current affairs, what’s going on, yeah.

PVB: you volunteered at Shekinah?

Emma: At START.

PVB: At START, sorry. So you encountered some things that led you to ask some questions about refugees or about charities?

Emma: Yeah just like both those things.

PVB: Both those things. Ok. Anybody else, Yaya, Bella? You were writing down what you got out of the project. Is there anything you would like to talk about?

Bella: [inaudible]. Just what everybody has said to be honest.

PVB: Sorry I couldn’t quite hear?

Bella: Just what everybody else has said to be honest.

PVB: Right. Ok. So getting, it generated some questions for you?

Bella: Just like the same thing. Didn’t really know what citizenship was. Just thinking about something that I hadn’t really thought about before.

PVB: Right, ok, ok. How about you Yaya?

Yaya: I don’t know, the same, I think.

PVB: What sorts of things were you writing down there?

Yaya: I think the thing that surprised me were the different opinions of like people here.

PVB: Right.

Yaya: Yeah. Yeah, that’s it.
PVB: So you found that people had a lot of different opinions about a lot of different things. So do you remember anything in particular?

Yaya: Like, when I came to the START. I was thinking that all of the refugees were all Muslim. And then they talked to us and told us that most of them are Christian and a lot of come from like another religion. I am a bit surprised.

PVB: Right, so they told you that a lot of refugees come from another religion not Islam.

Yaya: Yeah, because I think that because a lot of like Middle East, like population, is Muslim. So it’s not right.

PVB: Right, so that surprised you, you expected something different.

Yaya: Because I thought all of them like… because, like, from all I know in media[?] all from refugees from Islam.

PVB: Right, that’s interesting, so you both went to START didn’t you and it generated some questions for you and changed some of your sort of perceptions of refugees, is that right?

Yaya: Yeah, and then it comes to like because a lot of people in Indonesia, they want to you know like help Syrian people and help Palestinian because like we are the same Muslim. But, but because I went to START and like knowing we are human, it is not about religion but I have to be like you know more open minded to, I have to tell my friend.

PVB: Right, so you are going to talk to a friend of yours about what you experienced? Could I ask about that, have you had an opportunity to talk to your friends?

Yaya: I haven’t actually. I haven’t talked. It’s allowed?

PVB: No, of course. One of the things we said at the start was to try and keep confidential what sorts of opinion by each other so we had a sort of safe space to discuss them. But did you talk to any of your friends or family about what you were doing?

Emma: I spoke to a couple of my flatmates in terms of like I said how it is really eye opening. I said to them – as silly as it sounds – I was sat like in the back of a car and the service user was in the passenger seat and it sounds silly to say but I was like oh there is a refugee sat in front of me. And I feel like, I have never like, you know it is something you see on the news, like there is a refugee crisis and you kind of detach yourself from it. I was like oh there is a person sat right in front of me and I talked about how that was kind of really oh my god for me. I don’t know how to put it, I kind of...

PVB: Right, it was eye opening?
Emma: Yeah.

PVB: Was there was anything about the people that you met that changed any of your perceptions or expectations on refugees in anyway?

Emma: Well like as I say I hadn’t really thought about it. It is something that sort of happens there it is not in my bubble. So I didn’t really have any thoughts other than they do their thing and that doesn’t alter my life so I didn’t really have any expectations. I didn’t... they were human, they were normal people, chatty, friendly, laughed like... yeah.

PVB: Right, right. Archie you went to Shekinah, didn’t you? How did you find it in terms of expectations you found and the types of people you met?

Archie: I thought it was going to be more formal than it was. When they said a drop in centre. I thought it was going to be one to one. But it was just people sort of, the staff working their way around everyone. It was kind of quite eye opening how it was done how many issues they've got to deal with, not just drugs and alcohol but also like sexually transmitted diseases. All those sorts of things. Nurses and yeah, and fights and that sort of thing.

PVB: Right, right. That wasn't something you had encountered before? Or knew about? Was it something new?

Archie: Well I knew it happened among the homeless population. Some of... but yeah.

PVB: So, L was saying it wasn’t something within her bubble with the refugees. Was that similar to you with the homeless people?

Archie: I would say sort of because you see them all in Plymouth. There is an active part of me that if you see a homeless person you think, oh, you do think about it. You do think about it, you question what is the right thing to do, whether it is to give money to a charity or to give money to them, get them food, go along to a charity... so I would say it is in my bubble, it’s not in the centre of my bubble. It is still there.

PVB: I suppose in the homeless centre you were brought into closer contact?

Archie: Yeah, I had never really spoken to homeless people like that before. So it was interesting to get that perspective.

PVB: Right, right. Ok. So I just wanted to lead in by asking about your favourite, least favourite activities and just sort of your expectations. And then I wanted to talk about more particularly more looking at the things you wrote down here. What did you think you got from the activities? [Pause]. Tell me about what you were talking about in your three group.

Archie: Different way of thinking. You don’t really have to think about that normally.
PVB: Think about what?

Archie: You know, you don’t, I don’t know how to put it. In normal day to day life you are not thinking as we were on the Wednesday afternoons.

PVB: How were you thinking on the Wednesday afternoons?

Alex: Probably just a bit more perceptive to like… I don’t know about the homeless person, for instance, I didn’t go to the shelter but from what has been said, you think more about the person and not the situation. You like walk past a homeless person on the street and they are like a homeless person and you carry on about your day. But from what the other guys have said when you come back and told us about their experiences you sometimes forget about the actual people behind the situations. And I can’t remember what her name was but she told us about that story with the older gentleman who had been going for years.

PVB: Yes, I remember that story.

Alex: So actually you think more about the people, does that makes sense? It is not just a homeless person anymore. You actually have a background to this person and makes this person come alive more.

PVB: That seems similar to what Emma and Archie were saying in that Emma you felt sort of outside of your bubble and Archie on the edge of your bubble. And you were able to actually have a conversation with that person. And if I could just come back to Archie’s point about on the Wednesday afternoons you were thinking differently: could anyone tell me a little more about that?

Alex: Probably engaged a bit more.

PVB: Engaged a bit more?

Alex: We were in situation where we were actively participating in activities, discussions and I suppose even in day to day lectures you have got kind of the choice to sit back and let everybody else do the talking. But we were in a situation where we were there to participate. Does that make sense?

PVB: Yeah, yeah. It makes complete sense. You were all sort of up and moving and eating maybe, yeah. What else did you write on your sheet that you thought you got out of it? L is there anything that you put down?

Emma: Just linking back to volunteering. I think just a more current and cultural awareness of volunteering something I gained. At the start of the academic year it helps because I have to set goals for myself and one I did set was about improving my cultural and current
awareness. Because you know I come to uni and we are told you need to do a law degree, such a big current awareness, you need to know what’s going on right now, you know with refugee crisis and Brexit and all that. And I shut myself off and it doesn’t affect me. I am little me in the south west the big affairs don’t affect me so it definitely helped with that quite a lot.

PVB: Really. Interesting. And Am, T, the other things you wrote down there or were you similar to L and maybe respond to what L was saying?

Archie: Yes, similar.

PVB: Similar, yeah?

Archie: Mmmm.

Alex: Probably the biggest thing I got out of it was kind of that the age gap probably doesn’t matter because it was always a big thing for me coming to university being so much older like prior to starting here I worked, I was a parent. Your relationship are all very much around working with people, parenting or play dates or to then to be put in a completely different environment where the majority of people don’t have a lot of those responsibilities you kind of felt how are you going to integrate into that society. Almost like that I didn’t belong. But actually a lot of the fears I had about starting uni or the views or lack of views about citizenship, other people equally shared. So actually the number of the age didn’t really factor into it because everybody builds their opinions based on what’s around us so it doesn’t really matter. Does that make sense?

PVB: Yeah, yeah. Does anyone want to respond to that? Does anyone have similar or different experience?

[Pause].

Alex: One of the things like Bella said is that she doesn’t drink. So that’s… you or well me, I expected that a lot of students to be all drinking, partying and that’s why I wouldn’t fit in. But actually Bella’s proved that not everybody likes going out.

PVB: I remember you saying that Fr, yeah.

Bella: Once in while… I like going to the cinema, going to sit on the Hoe with my friends. I never really… well, a few times, Archie can vouch, I was out I literally had a slushy in my hand. Whether or not you thought I was pissed, which I wasn’t. I did have a slushy in my hand [laughter].
PVB: Yeah, I remember you talking about people’s perceptions of young people and you felt that you felt that there was quite a bit of peer pressure to go out and to drink. And I think other L was talking about that as well.

Bella: I didn’t… I think actually surprisingly I didn’t find it as much with the people I’m surrounded with. I find it more with the Law Society.

PVB: More with the Law Society, right.

Bella: Because with my flatmates and stuff, they are all like you know we will for cinema trips and things. And I was like that’s fine. But whereas the Law Society are very much socials, socials, socials. And all my friends are obviously in the Law Society. So that was the like…

Archie: Do they do sober socials?

Bella: No.

Emma: No, not really.

Archie: Oh.

PVB: Really? That’s interesting, ok. And when you were meeting students, because you are from different disciplines, so Archie you are doing international…

Archie: …relations with politics.

PVB: With politics. And Yaya you’re doing the same aren’t you?

Yaya: International Relations.

Archie: Straight IR [laughter].

PVB: I know that you three are Law but you are Law with Criminal Justice aren’t you? How was it meeting students from different disciplines? Just following Bella’s point about noticing a difference the Law Society.

Emma: I don’t know, I didn’t really discuss it. I didn’t really talk to or notice like… most people on the project I didn’t really know what discipline they come from. It just wasn’t something…

PVB: It didn’t really make a difference?

Emma: No.

PVB: Right, ok. Yaya you were going…
Yaya: I think it is the same. I think maybe because we are the first year. It's not relevant.

Archie: I'd say we all need to be on top of current affairs and we all have maybe a broader understanding of systems and that sort of thing as opposed to somebody who might be studying a course that is not related to Law or International Relations. It's quite a... you need to know current affairs and be on top of it.

PVB: Yeah. All of your disciplines touch on current affairs in some shape or form.

Archie: Hmm.

PVB: Yeah. Just turning to just your... were there things that you felt that you had kind of gained that you would like to mention?

Yaya: I don't know maybe like going to START like...

PVB: Going to START?

Yaya: Yeah but meeting with refugee. It makes me a bit interested in a war studies.

PVB: In studying about conflict?

Yaya: In explaining international security and something. [Inaudible].

PVB: Ok. So just moving the discussion on. Do you think this is what citizenship education should be about?

[Pause].

PVB: Because Emma was mentioning that you didn’t learn so much about being a citizen but it generated a lot of questions for you. And Archie and Bella you were saying how you sort of were getting a much wider appreciation of things and Bella’s point about the perceptions of young people and seeing different disciplines and things. If you had a choice do you think citizenship education should do this kind of stuff or do different types of activities?

Alex: I think this would be far more beneficial for students than doing stuff like law GEAR [laughter]. Actually [laughter]... get something out of it.

PVB: Ok go for it [laughter].

Alex: I just think... [laughter]

PVB: No go on, tell me, tell me, tell me.

Alex: This has made us think about the bigger picture. What actually goes on in our lives day to day that doesn’t necessarily affect us but might affect the town that we are living in, the
people that we are studying with. Just makes you think about more than yourself. Because at the moment a lot of us have spent hours over the last couple of days filling out boxes [giggling] which is just a box ticking exercise when you could put that time to better use.

PVB: So Emma and Bella you know what Alex is talking about? Do you agree with what Alex has said or disagree? Different experience?

Emma: I understand what she is saying in terms that it is more interactive than just writing. But I think GEAR is good, don’t get me wrong. But like I do think it is a bit like more engaging. And, as I say it is something like that I actually have gained more interest in. It has generated questions that I want to explore. Whereas, yeah, something like GEAR is bit like I am doing it because I have to pass it not because it is actually I something that I am interested in. Does that make sense?

Bella: It is more like…

PVB: What was that?

Bella: It is more like an actual version of it. Because with this I have actually thought about as well things like as a person who I want to be as well like. Because going to Shekinah and discussing environmental issues. Whereas with GEAR you are meant to be like what type of person do you want to be. But the reality of it is here I am actually thinking about it whereas with GEAR I am just saying that I have thought about it in September, when in really I only thought about it two days ago. So… it is not really true with GEAR whereas here it is much more effective.

PVB: A lot of you have mentioned the visits to the charities. Was there anything in the classroom that we did that generated these sorts of thoughts that we are talking about?

[Pause].

PVB: Because in the classroom we obviously had some of the image theatre activities. We had discussions around your sorts of values and creating the flip charts. Did you gain anything from that about citizenship? Anything that…

Bella: Probably that I shouldn’t just think that because I am one person that means I can’t do anything.

PVB: Oh really? Ok. What’s led you to think about that?

Bella: Because we did a lot of discussion, our group, on environmental stuff and I came to uni thinking I really, really want to do environmental law. And it’s always been a big thing that’s bothered me but always done just mini things like picking up other people’s rubbish or
doing beach cleans. And I thought I can’t do anything big because I’m just one person and nobody is going to care. And whereas the more we have discussed it, I thought the more the reason nobody’s doing anything is because we all think like that.

PVB: Right, fascinating. Archie what did you get out of that discussion? Because you and Bella and Emma spent a lot of time talking, and laughing, about plastics and environmental things.

Archie: Yeah well it’s always been a bit of a… in the past sort five years, since we have been growing up, and as we have had lectures on it and a module on it, I’ve really started to connect with the issue that is plastics. I feel like we should be doing more, myself included so.

PVB: Uh huh. Ok. I want to ask you a little more about this subject before we move on. One of the things I am really interested in is how students decide sort of what they care about, what they want to invest their time in. You drew a lot of flipcharts about the things that you really cared about. Did you feel that those were things that you could put together for yourself or did you feel they were more chosen for you?

Alex: Personally, I think they are down to individual’s experiences through life. Something that was an issue for me because of my stage in life was not necessarily an issue for others. And Yaya was talking to me about children who couldn’t go to school or lived so far away that had to walk miles or hours is never something I would comprehend in my lifetime because we don’t live in that country where resources are so diminished. So I think it’s good to get information from others and potentially think about it a bit more because unless it is on our doorstep we tend not to.

PVB: Think about it?

Alex: Those kind of things are individual to the people.

PVB: And how did you find that experience of drawing the things you cared about with another person? Because I am trying to remember, Emma you worked with Rosie didn’t you?

Emma: Yes. I think it was quite interesting because one thing we drew was about the whole education thing and how where Rosie comes from it is very much uni, uni, uni. Whereas where I come from it is like just kind of you know stay in the local area and don’t have any higher kind of ambitions. So that was something I found interesting because it’s, I don’t know, just a different approach that different colleges take.
PVB: And do you feel that – I don’t know if you can speak for other L – do you feel that the two of you can choose for yourselves. You have got the influence of the community you have come from.

Emma: I think so. I wasn’t told don’t go to uni. But I was also not encouraged to do it but went and did it anyway. So I think that yeah it is definitely. I can’t speak for other L’s position, but I am sure it would be a thing where people can if they see actually uni isn’t for me they can find an option because there are so many other options like apprenticeships or full time working. There are plenty of options out there so I do think the individual can kind of you know… college can only advise you so much but ultimately they can’t, they can’t put your hand on a piece of paper and make you write a uni application.

PVB: And at uni, you are sort of talking about GEAR, you have quite a lot of information about getting jobs and becoming employable is that what citizenship education should include or not?

Alex: I think so.

PVB: Yeah? Because?

Alex: People feel free to disagree people but I expect a lot of people will agree with this. But to be… for me part of being a successful citizen in any society is giving back and keeping the economy growing and developing. And in order for us to do that we need to have people in various positions high and low. But everyone needs to keep developing with tying into society with changes and if we don’t learn about it and if we are not educated to get into these jobs from cleaning toilets to… surgeons then things are never going to carry on going forward.

PVB: I could see Yaya nodding a little bit. Did you agree with that?

Yaya: I do agree with her.

PVB: Yeah. Any other views on a good citizen is an employable person?

[Pause].

PVB: No? Ok. So I am going to move on to the last section and just talk about Plymouth University particularly. And I do want to say that what you tell me is completely confidential and anonymous. This is not something where I am going to go back to your teachers or your Deans or even if you are in a class with me. Feel free to be as critical as you want or make whatever suggestions you wish. It’s not something that people are going to ascribe to you. So you are all university students in your first year: should you have a course like this?
Archie: What mandatory?

PVB: What do you think?

Archie: It could be an optional module but I don’t think… well it could be something. But could you make three years of it?

PVB: Ok. So it’s not necessarily a whole degree. Could it be part of a degree?

Archie: Yes.

PVB: Should it be part of your degree?

Archie: I think it depends which degree you are on. Mine. Probably yes.

PVB: So that’s International Relations?

Archie: But there are different interpretations of citizenship around the world. So International Relations it’s sort of in the title. I think you need to have an understandings of citizenship. People’s views, yeah.

PVB: Should you have something like this as part of a law degree, law students?

Alex: Yeah I think so it makes you think bit more about all the different umbrellas under one roof so to speak.

PVB: The different umbrellas being?

Alex: Different people, the different situations. There are many differences going on in one city that we just don’t think about it. People from all different areas of the world bringing different customs, different ways, and they kind of have a way of being adopted, and adapted, to make new ones or variations of. And I just don’t think we always think about it. Within law especially culture can have a massive impact on somebody’s view of behaviours. Why they do certain things whereas another culture would be no definitely not acceptable. So I just think it might give a less judgmental and more impartial view.

PVB: So do you think that this sort of citizenship education, where we have done experiential stuff, and we have had theatre thrown in there as well. That potentially has a home in IR, in Law is it something that students should have to do or should it be optional?

Archie: I think possibly maybe in secondary school not university. I think that…

P: Not university, uh huh?

Archie: I think uni students should have it… it should be there but not necessarily compulsory.
PVB: Not necessarily compulsory, yeah?

Emma: I think it should be more like… because at secondary school you do like PSHE and stuff and kind of. I think it should be more in that kind of curriculum. So like it is not something that kids get assessed on or examined on. It is something that is kind of taught and I think at an earlier stage than now probably the better. Because I don’t think it is something… like I know it is something that heavily affects law students and international relations students. But we are all citizens it does affect everyone so it shouldn’t just be reserved for law students at university level.

PVB: Yes, so at secondary school you have Personal Social and Health Education in the UK and you also have citizenship education which is compulsory. So if I understood you right Emma, you thought this type of citizenship education should happen earlier but it should also be available to people outside Law and International Relations?

Emma: Yep.

PVB: Was that right?

Emma: Yes pretty much.

PVB: Bella, Yaya? What do you think? Does this kind of thing have a place on your degree programmes?

Yaya: Yeah, I think it become elective modules.

PVB: An elective module?

Yaya: Yeah like optional.

PVB: Like an optional one?

Yaya: [unclear].

PVB: Ok so several people saying optional. So why optional? And why not mandatory, if I was being devil’s advocate.

Alex: I think with regards to what we have actually done and participated in. I just think the theatre, physical stuff, a lot of students would say this is a complete waste of my time. Why am I dancing round a classroom when I could be doing something else. But what we have taken away and learned from it and the issues that we have explored, I think that side is more what you would expect at degree level. But possibly the dancing around bit is what breaks it up makes it a bit more, erm, makes your day a bit more fun, if that make sense. Takes a bit more of stress out of it, the severity of it.
PVB: Archie you are nodding? Yep?

Archie: Yep.

Emma: I am not going to lie, if this content was taught in a lecture hall, with 100 people sat in a lecture, I would find it a lot more boring. I wouldn’t be as interested in it. I think having the hands on experience, doing all the interactive activities, I think that has made me like more interested in it rather than like than the content itself, if that makes sense.

PVB: Because of the way we did it?

Emma: Yes.

PVB: Right. Ok. Anyone else on that? Do feel free to respond to each other. Just coming back to Plymouth though. Plymouth has this Plymouth Compass. I have given you handouts on it before but not we have not spoken about it specifically. I will just put it up now [Powerpoint slide showing Plymouth Compass graphic]. Plymouth University has this aspirational graduate attribute. Aspirational thing – hope students will be able to develop ‘Critical and Creative Learner, Competent Confident Professional, Sustainable and Global Citizen, Resilient and Thriving Individual’ [reading from slide]. Have any of you seen this before? A couple of have seen it. Alex you have not seen it, Yaya you have not seen it, not really? I will give you a moment to sort of take it in.

[Pause].

PVB: So I will read some of smaller print ‘While at Plymouth we hope you will gain more than just your degree that this helps you navigate through the whole university experience with both the teaching and the extracurricular. We hope that this prepares this for more than just a career, academic, civic, professional, personal’. I am not going to go through all of it. You do get the general gist of it though?

Alex: As much as I don’t like GEAR as the actual exercise I think Emily does a lot of that in her lectures.

PVB: A lot of what?

Alex: Making you think about what type of learner you are, challenging yourself. Thinking about how you can improve or if you can’t improve, whether you are ok with that. Teaching you to be happy with the type of person that you are. So I think, although I haven’t seen that, I think that Emily drives that through the studies when doing her GEAR lectures with us.

PVB: Uh huh. Do you have lectures on GEAR in International Relations? No. Do you have any classes on employment?
Archie: Erm, we could do…

P: Have you had any?

Archie: No. We have had… there have been talks and that sort thing.

P: There have been talks on careers?

Archie: Yeah there was people from NHS.

Yaya: But they just give us a flyer.

Archie: Yeah did you go to the talk?

Yaya: No.

Archie: NHS, loads of public services, teaching that sort... I cannot remember now it was back in October.

PVB: Yeah. So do you think your degree should be a much broader experience where you are encouraged to try and develop some of these things?

Archie: Well I think if a student wants to they can go out and do it.

PVB: If they want to. Sure.

Archie: There are sports clubs and societies for those who don’t like sports. Like other stuff around Plymouth you can do. I think there is plenty to do if you are willing to. Maybe some students are not confident to get out there and try.

PVB: some students might feel that it is just not for them?

Archie: Hmm.

PVB: Yeah? Students are sort of deciding what kind of journey they want and which things they want to get?

Emma: I really agree with what Archie said. It is there if students want to take it. I feel like my course does more than enough to kind of… it gives me all the things I need, it is just whether I choose to take it if that… to utilise what they give me. They give me so much. I know that Emily Packer does talks to those who don't want to do law. Like law as a career even though they are doing a law degree. So it literally has every door open like it is just whether or not the students wish to take it I guess. I don’t really know what much more university itself could do. It is more about the students wanting to do it.
Archie: It depends if the student knows exactly what they want to do. Or they will just go I will just my course and thank you very much and what else I want to do. If you are not sure what you want to do there is support there to help you find a path.

PVB: What sorts of messages does the university give you? What sorts of things have you heard?

Archie: I am first year so I admit I don’t put in as much work as I should. I am sort of here for the crack, the societies, the going out surfing, that sort of thing. At the minute is above lectures. I go to all my lectures. But my priority at the minute is spending time with mates and enjoying it whilst I can.

PVB: Yeah. Do people have similar or different priorities as first years?

Alex: I would say mine is completely different. But again I would say I would attribute that to the fact that I have a family so this is a life changing experience for me. So as much as Archie goes out to get what he can from the social side of it, I am here to get the learning side done so I can move my life onto its next chapter.

PVB: Right, ok. So for you when you say life changing, in what sort of way?

Alex: I worked, I had a fifteen year career with the same company, established in my role, people knew who I was. I was confident in myself within my profession. So now I have to start from rock bottom and learn a whole new sector, different trade so to speak and then get back to a position that I was sixteen years ago where I can put myself back out on the market to start all over again. So gone from being established to almost back to being nobody.

PVB: Yeah, yeah, that can be a challenging experience. I have done a career change before myself and going from the top to starting again is challenging. Looking again at the Plymouth Compass, you were saying that it depends on what the student wants to get out of their degree. What do you think students want to get out of their degrees? And I appreciate there can be lots of really different answers to this question.

Archie: Obviously a good grade. So say I am here for the social but if I don’t get the grade that I expect, I will be upset because obviously I am not wasting three years to come here to go to… my degree, it will take precedence but I’d say all the second and third years say yeah oh you’re first year, you’re fine. If I was you, I would go to the beach. It is a nice day, skip your lecture. I am not saying I do that but, yeah, it really does depend on the… I can imagine that some people are here to literally waste three years because they didn’t know what else do to and they thought it would be a laugh. I came to uni because I knew if I want
to do what I want to do next I know I needed to mature and I thought university was a way of
doing that and a degree is relevant. Yeah.

PVB: Yeah.

Emma: Just to pick up on what Archie said on I am here to get a good grade. I don't think
that should be a priority because I myself would much rather have say a 2:2 and loads of
work experience, extracurricular, rather than a first and nothing else. So I think it is so much
more than just like getting a good grade. Because like yeah it's cool you've got a law degree
what else have you got? I think that side of it is so much more important and having all the
attributes on the Compass is very important as well.

PVB: Oh ok. So which attributes on there are you thinking about?

Emma: Well, I would have to… I have looked at the Compass to try and set my goals for
GEAR. That's the reason I have looked at it. Obviously I can't say on here, but I have looked
at like cultural awareness and stuff. For me personally about like verbal and written
communication that is something that I have really struggled with. Just being able to… this
sounds silly but being able to like form a sentence this can affect – you can probably see
now. I can't just really say… all of these skills I know I wouldn't get if I stayed in my home
environment. I feel that I had to come and really push myself and it has been really awful at
times. I have had to do things I don’t want. Like as bad as it sounds, this project I knew it
was going to be a small project, so I knew I just couldn't hide at the back of the lecture hall
anymore and sit with my friend that I knew I had to talk and I found that really scary. But it is
just… hopefully, I knew it was something that I had to do so I know it is going to suck doing it
and it will take a long time to do but it is something I have to do and ultimately it will benefit
me in doing it.

PVB: Alex, Yaya could you relate to that at all?

Yaya: Yeah I can agree.

PVB: For you does the Compass mean anything to you when you look at your degree or
not?

Yaya: Yeah. I think so.

PVB: Hmm. Because one of things I have found talking to students and this is more with final
years, they find the amount of money that they putting in for their degree is a really important
consideration. Is that something that you can relate to in any way? The money that goes in,
the debt?
Archie: Obviously it is a big thing isn’t it. You might not even be able to manage a secure job when you graduate because there are so many graduates… jobless and so many people go to university now. I think, yup. It depends on your drive for your course I think.

PVB: It depends on the…?

Archie: The drive that you have for the course. It’s a lot of debt isn’t it.

Alex: I think I would look at it almost in reverse. Because whilst you are building up that debt with student fees, for a lot of students they are paid for you and they not paid back until you earn over and above 25,000. But for me personally I have taken away an income from my household. It is not so much about the debt that is taken away until the time the degree is finished it is about the monthly income that has been taken away from my family immediately. So…

PVB: Are you ok? [Bella had left the room for a while and then returned]

Bella: Yeah.

Alex: …almost you have to look at each area to make sure that what you are doing is worth it.

PVB: Yup. So just sort of finishing off with a couple more things. Thanks very much for that Alex. What I was particularly interested in with the debt side – does that affect what you are choosing? Because you were saying it depends what you want to get out of your degree. Is what you want to get out your degree affected by this question of the amount of money?

[Pause].

Archie: I think some people make more out of university than others. And maybe milk the… get as much value as they can using all the extracurricular… going to all the extracurricular things, using all the support. That sort of thing. Whereas some people can just do as much as they need to really and they won’t use the extra services that sort of thing. But I don’t think that’s really… I don’t go oh I must go to the writing café this week because I need get the most out of my £9,000 a year. But you can see, maybe I should have.

PVB: Does anyone feel differently to that? Do any of you feel – and sorry again being devil’s advocate – I should really try and get the best degree possible, the best cv possible, because of how much I am paying.

Archie: I am not saying I don’t want to get the best cv possible.

PVB: Oh no, no, no, I am just saying, I didn’t…
Archie: I am just saying maybe I should use their services more and I can imagine some people using them a lot.

PVB: I'll put it a different way do any of you sit a lecture and think is this worth it this £9,250?
Archie: Yes [immediately].

PVB: You do.

Archie: When I have worked it out how much each lecture costs [laughter] then sometimes a lecturer might turn up 15 minutes late, oh that’s a bit of money I have just wasted.

PVB: Right. Is that a thought process that... Am, you were going to...

Alex: I think that is generational concept.

PVB: Right what do you mean by that?

Alex: Excuse me, a lot of you might get offended.

Archie: That’s alright.

PVB: Feel free to disagree with each other guys, please.

Alex: I think the younger people feel the world owes them a living. And that they are paying for their education and therefore they deserve to be treated with standards that they deem acceptable.

PVB: And where have you got that from?

Alex: Just you hear a lot of youngsters, there was a kick-off within our degree at the very beginning and there was a lot of ‘I am paying for this’, ‘we are paying £9,000 for this service’.

PVB: Are those things that you have heard other students saying?

Bella: To be fair though I don’t think that is a very good representation. I know what you are talking about and the particular girls you are talking about.

Alex: I am just saying it was a big kick off and generally youngsters there is a sense that they are paying for it therefore they deserve everything.

Archie: I could agree with you on that. For example, if I go to the library and I print something off … and I go I’ve got to pay for this bloody printer [laughter] and I’ve paying nine... Yeah I know.

Bella: I think there is an in between. I agree with both.

Archie: Yeah maybe I am...
Bella: I understand where you are coming from but at the same time obviously because we all do Law I know what you are talking about and with the Kim thing I think that bit was just unnecessary. But when it comes to what Archie was talking about, I do understand the printer thing. But then at the same time there is also a line where if you have got a lecturer who comes in for like two hours and just reads off the slides, you are like I could have just done this at home so why am I here. Like I think there should be a minimal effort…

Alex: I agree with that.

Bella: …on their behalf.

Alex: I do agree with that.

PVB: And is that related, do you think about that in terms of money or do you just feel the teacher could have done more?

Bella: I feel like we are not obviously in high school anymore. So I completely understand they are not going to be you like they did in school, like ‘do this, do this, do this’ because they are lecturers that is not what they are paid to do. But at the same time if we are paying this off I don’t believe they should be doing things that we could literally do for ourselves at home. There should be extra information given and not just I am going to just read this handout, which I could have read myself in my bedroom. Because that’s paying for nothing at that point other than just the resources.

Emma: Although to be fair I see what you mean but then at the same time when a lecturer is very good when you give them this feedback they – I can guess at what you are hinting at with that – that lecturer said they going to take that feedback and they are going to change. So I do feel like the lecturers are quite good at, they are good at, they do accommodate to your needs. So that if you feel that something, like then…

PVB: All of these things could be true at the same time because we are talking about the experiences of our courses. And if I could steer you again in the citizenship direction, do you think uni should be giving you anything more on this front from this sort of citizenship and anything on the Plymouth Compass? I’ll add a rider to that because of the amount of money you are paying.

Archie: Yeah but some people might, although that there look spot on, like… after three years I would like to be able to think that I could do or I could be encompassing all of that around my student life. I am not sure if that will happen. It would be nice if it did. Some people, some students just won’t want to. Some people may be happy just on their course and just doing their own thing. So I don’t… maybe we should be made more aware. But I
think that there is plenty going on that I get emails and that sort of thing about the talks and that sort of thing and extracurricular stuff that is going on and stuff is always going on with the SU, competitions that sort of thing. I think it really depends on the person.

PVB: People agree with Archie?

Emma: I think some people kind of say I am never going to be good at this so that is me. So for quite a while I was I am never going to be good at talking in groups or like putting myself out there, so I am just not going to do it. But since coming to university it has made me you know but actually you can kind of… I think Emily Packer gave a lecture and she was like oh I am born not good at this so I can never be good at this. So since having those lectures it has taught me that that is not the case. If I want to develop something then I can. I am not born bad at anything. I can… even though probably I will never be the most amazing public speaker but I can certainly be better than when I started.

[Pause].

PVB: Just finishing off now. Now that I have run these activities with you guys, what would be your advice to me? Because I work on several sort of modules on Law and I talk to people from other disciplines, such as Sheena, who teaches you guys

Archie: She’s a legend.

PVB: Do you think we should have anything like this like what I have done with you available to Law students or indeed across the School? Or do you think I am wasting my time or maybe just barking up the wrong tree? Please tell me.

Alex: In all honesty if something like this was to be incorporated into university studies it would fit as in like an activity within like freshers’ week where we went around the campus finding different buildings and we ticked it off and it was to make you work together and talk to new people and navigate around the campus. I think it would probably fit in an activity like that opposed to more than a module.

PVB: As opposed to actually studying? Yeah? Other views?

Bella: I feel it is a definitely a want though.

PVB: Definitely a…?

Bella: A want. I had like literally seven or eight girlfriends who wanted to do this. I all thought they were just ‘Piers and pizza’, that’s the only reason they wanted to do it. But once I actually explained to them what was going on they were still really like irritated that they hadn’t got to it. And like even though I explained that we do it every Wednesday and have to
make a fool of ourselves in front of lots of people, and like they were still really annoyed that they like didn’t get to do it. So I think it is definitely something that people… I know a large group of my friends wanted to explore or at least wanted the chance to explore.

Archie: That is the same here as well.

PVB: Ok. Do you know why your larger group of friends wanted to do it?

Bella: I know [a friend] wanted to do it just because she thinks you are really nice. But I know [a friend], [a friend] and [a friend] and all that lot they wanted to do it because they wanted an understanding of what it was actually about because when you came into the lecture and spoke to us about it. I don’t think any of us got what it’s about. We were all just focusing on the fact that you put pizza on the end of the slide [laughter].

PVB: Oh I am glad you told me that. It is so good to get this feedback.

Bella: So once I actually explained to them, they genuinely wanted because they were the same as me – nobody knows what citizenship is and they wanted to understand that.

PVB: So if I did that again, what do you think I should say? In order to get the message across?

Bella: What in the lecture?

PVB: Yeah if I was to do that advertisement again what do you think I should say instead of using the word citizenship?

Bella: I don’t know. Because Emma and I feel like we still don’t know what it actually is. So I wouldn’t be able to describe it to somebody. I just know how it’s made me feel if that makes any sense.

PVB: Oh that’s really interesting, what do you mean by that?

Bella: I don’t know what the word means but I know it’s made me feel as a person that I shouldn’t be such a singular person, I should be more aware of the community around me and actually doing something for those people.

PVB: Wow. That’s really interesting. Is there any one of the activities that you could put your finger on or more than one of the activities that led to that? Maybe it was the whole thing I don’t know.

Bella: Probably, one, it was Shekinah, because I signed up to do more volunteering after I had gone there. Then actually being in a group with Archie and Rosie probably. Probably not even to do with what we were writing, just the fact that Archie for example is a really funny
person and L is really lovely. I am really used to feeling that if people don’t want to be around me, they can bugger off, I am that type of person and I have just got a very set group of friends but I found it really easy to talk to them. And I thought maybe I should not be so hostile towards people either [laughter]. And that actually take an effort and listen to people. Probably that is a little bit of citizenship as well.

PVB: Right, because you guys had something that you all cared about.

Archie: Yeah we did. We didn’t necessarily make the acting. But however we did broaden our minds on issues such as particularly plastics pollution, the single use plastics, the SU.

PVB: And can I ask you about that theatre play because Alex you weren’t there but you were part of rehearsal and all of you were spectators. Yaya you weren’t there as well you missed that session as well.

Yaya: mmhmm.

PVB: So we had this play about loneliness at university and we kind of finished a little bit abruptly at the end because I thought we had run out of energy. And this looked at a student who was having difficulty in fitting in with others. And I know you don’t like theatre some of you [laughter]. Which is perfectly cool. That’s your choice. But did you get anything from that play? Whether rehearsing for it or intervening in it or watching it?

[Pause].

Bella: More awareness.

PVB: Of?

Bella: Of the subject that we were on about. Because it is the same thing. Like you always just think oh it’s just me.

PVB: Ah right. So when you think ‘it is just me’, because you said this Alex, that it is actually across the age groups [yeah], that different people are experiencing this thing.

Archie: Can I ask a quick question?

P: Ask whatever you want Archie.

Archie: What was the ratio of male to female applications for this? Roughly, I know you…

PVB: We had mostly female.

Archie: Yeah I was going to say it is only me and Fransisco isn’t it, and Jerry sorry.
PVB: And Jerry. And tell me about that because I have experienced that before when I have asked students to volunteer and stuff. That it’s [Archie: I was just interested]... how come there are so few boys Archie?

Archie: I was just interested to know.

PVB: Do you know? Do you want any guesses? Why do the guys not volunteer so much as the girls for kind of stuff?

Archie: I don’t know.

PVB: Because you said you had a group of friends that also wanted to take part.

Archie: I think…

PVB: Guys, girls?

Archie: Chaps.

PVB: Chaps?

Archie: Yeah. [Laughter].

PVB: They’re chaps? Ok. What would… do you know why they would have liked to have done it?

Archie: Erm, they wanted to get more out of uni.

PVB: Get more out of uni.

Archie: And free pizza [laughter].

PVB: And free pizza. Ok, I’m looking at changing parts of a module that I teach to first years, which is about human rights. It is called Con-temporary Legal Issues [laughter]. And I am thinking of… ok tell me, tell me, tell me.

Bella: No. It was just me and Emma were both ok [laughter].

PVB: So I am thinking of doing some of these activities with first years whilst they study about human rights. Do you think that would be a good idea?

Archie: Would that be across the whole school?

PVB: I’d like it to be but I think next year I am only going to be able to do it within my own module.

Archie: Have a test? Which parts would you do?
PVB: Which parts do you think I should do?

Archie: Er, more of the mind mapping possibly. I am not sure that you would be able to get the acting to work.

PVB: I know the acting is going to be challenging.

Emma: It is quite annoying because I know for CLI like we don’t have seminars. I think that [P: I know, I wish we had]… if there were seminars for CLI, I think the theatre activities would work or like any of the interactive activities would work better. But obviously it is quite hard in a lecture theatre like I know in CLI you make us do more group work but it is more difficult when you are in a lecture hall.

PVB: Yeah, I am slightly worried about the theatre because I have realised by doing this exercise that some people just don’t like it. Which is fine, but some people don’t feel confident enough to do it with others. Do you think that should put me off or do you think it can work in very small groups, like a group of three maybe?

Archie: I am not sure how many people would show interest if that, if I am brutally honest.

PVB: Yes please be honest.

Archie: If that… I don’t know. I think almost a bit like PALS where some people… I know PALS is on my course which people don’t turn up to.

PVB: PALS is peer assisted learning?

Archie: Yeah.

PVB: So you have people from second and third year come and help you out.

Archie: Second and third years. Yeah.

P: Right ok.

Archie: I think the ideas, sorry Emma [talking over], I think the ideas are grand it is just how you present it. I think there definitely needs to be more like [unclear].

Alex: I would agree with what Emma said, if it was to be incorporated, in seminars would be more effective than lectures. I don’t think if you had a 100 people sat in a lecture theatre participating or if they knew it was going to be part of a lecture, they wouldn’t bother coming.

PVB: But what about actually putting in the Law or even the International Relations curriculum stuff about your own personal values, the values of others and spending time talking about that? Because I didn’t throw you any literature – it wasn’t a class.
Archie: You could just do a brief overview and [PVB: of the?] and now in small groups of two or three or on your rows. Like sometimes our lecturers do that…

PVB: We sometimes do that in lectures. But what I am thinking Archie is more broadly that if I took the module outline for CLI next year and I put in there your actual own personal values. Because I was asking you guys about what you care about, you yourself not someone in a book. Does that have any place in your programmes at all? Because several of you have sort of said well this is extracurricular really or start of first year?

Bella: I also feel like that would probably in weird way make me understand CLI more.

PVB: Really? Ok.

Bella: Because I quite enjoy CLI but at the same time you guys’ timetables won’t be the same but that is not your fault. When you are sat there and you think oh I have got two hours of this and then two hours of Public Law straight afterwards, you kind of sit there and think I want to go home. But if you are actually sat there and like you are getting to do something other than somebody talking to you, you are getting to think about something that you would like to think about that often you don’t get the time to. It would stimulate you more in the lectures as well or the seminars for example. And it won’t feel like you are just sat there and it is like in your face for a few hours.

PVB: Just being talked at?

Bella: Yeah. And that way people would understand it more because they would want to do it.

PVB: Yeah. So finding a way to connect in this case the human rights material to your own…

Alex: It would help bridge the understanding because human rights I think it’s extremely hard [Bella: it is extremely hard]. And some parts of it almost seem a bit wishy-washy because it is definitive but it isn’t. So you leave thinking what the hell, can you, can’t you, maybe or so-and-so said this and then so-and-so said that. So you kind of feeling I really don’t have a clue. Maybe if we could have the bigger picture and then scale it right down to a little bit, then you could use that little bit to actually then to work back again if that makes sense.

PVB: Yep. And throwing it out to the IR students do you get to do things like this already in IR where you are looking at sort of personal values, discussing them with others, you do get to do it?

Archie: Well, sort of. That global, with the lady, the erm [Yaya: I don’t remember] the earth summit one. We had to go, that was group work. There were a lot of presentations and talks.
PVB: Right, it’s slightly similar to what we were doing on this project?

Archie: Er... well in seminars we were just left to it. Just sort of presenting ideas.

PVB: Right ok. So in your IR degree because we have obviously been talking a human rights module in Law, could there be something where we find a way to talk about the things that we have talked about on this project? Does that have any part in your IR degree?

Archie: It is hard to say really.

PVB: No?

Yaya: No, I think.

PVB: So we are looking at sort of your own personal cares, values and how you construct those with other people and how you are influenced by the environment around you and... difficult to fit into an IR degree yeah?

Yaya: No.

Bella: Probably fits into Law more to be fair, especially with what you teach.

PVB: Especially, yes, connects with human rights.

Bella: I definitely agree that putting it down into a smaller issue as well. Because once I had done this I started thinking a lot more about how I feel about prisoners’ rights to vote and the death penalty and things.

PVB: Because of this project?

Bella: Yeah and that made me understand a bit more.

PVB: How did that happen?

Bella: Because I have always been, I mean I have always probably taken my parents’ views as well, but I have always been a believer that we should always have the death penalty and that prisoners should not have a right to vote. And I always been sort of the type of person who thinks I don’t get why people think that we shouldn’t. And doing this and listening to everybody’s different discussions has actually made me go make an effort and look into the arguments against having the death penalty and against why prisoners should not have the right to vote and actually understanding people’s arguments rather than just mine because it relates to how I should fit into the community other than just thinking it is my voice. Which obviously helped me more with human rights.
PVB: Right, right. Has anyone had any sort of similar experiences in the… because I think several of you said you have encountered opinions and experience in the charities and in other students. Did that lead you to think again about anything from any your courses? Not particularly? No?

Alex: I think the work experience for me with Citizens’ Advice just made me, almost kind like Bella was saying, think of the opposite side of the coin. Because in my previous job we always lending was to those who could afford it and had good incomes and stuff like that. But I never saw past that when it got to a point when a bank couldn’t help. That was it we just used to shoo them out the door. That was where the bank’s responsibility ended. And in doing this it makes you think well actually if that institution’s responsibility ends there then who picks it up and where does it go. And should it end there? Should they do more? So…

PVB: That reminds me of what Emma was saying about things that are outside of your bubble – sitting behind the refugee in the car. Yeah, yeah. I just noticed the time and realised we have gone way over. But actually it was a really nice discussion, the way in which everyone came in and contributed and responded to each other. So again, thank you so much for all your ideas, it has really helped the project enormously. I can’t say how grateful I am to you and how fascinated by your experience and what you have been telling me over the last hour and a half. It has been really, really interesting for me.
Workshop 4 write up

Date of workshop: 27.02.19

Notes last added to or edited on 02.03.19 (save for this date being added on 02.07.19)

10 students attended (Charlie was away).

We first did the feared protector exercise. I explained this was to use the space, get moving. It was one of Boal’s exercises. The students seemed to enjoy this. They ended up going round in circles. I asked afterward for any thoughts and again largely silent. They managed to identify some of the people they were frightened of and one or two of the bodyguards.

We then had lunch.

The law students went upstairs at intervals to get feedback on an exam.

They sat in their groups. I spent time talking to Rosie, Jerry, Emma and Yaya about their experiences in the work experience. Rosie did not go but she had been to some charities in first semester as part of a module. They had met the people that ran the charities. I asked what they saw and did. Jerry said he talked to people. He was surprised at how sociable it was. Many of the people there knew each other and talked to each other and to him. I asked him why he was surprised and he said that when he saw homeless people on the street they did not seem like that. I then asked Yaya about her experience she said that she did not really have any expectations before she went (Rosie said the same). Yaya said one of the people who came in was there because of universal credit. Yaya did not talk very much about what she saw. She did say that the people were very pleasant and nice. Emma said that she was surprised that it was an office she was expecting something different. Jerry said that one of the people in Shekinah had told him that he would see him in the nightclubs (Archie had mentioned this also). Jerry found people had mentioned universal credit. He was critical of it. I asked why. He had had experience of this being on benefits when he was on a gap year. He had tried hard to avoid it and go onto the new system which he managed.

I told them this is what we had done in the last session (a reflection on the work experience). I said that they were now to work on an issue that they cared about (was important to them), they could change and affected them. The group dynamic between them was slow so I suggested brainstorming some ideas in a list and I provided them with the flipcharts they had drawn earlier.

I asked Rosie to join Archie and Bella because Charlie was not there. This made a group of three. I explained to Rosie what the others had been working on. The group dynamic here had been slow last time. They were looking at how several things in a
person’s life could all go wrong from one incident. They brought Rosie in well and I left them to it.

Before we got started, I did some Image Theatre with them. We did the Sculpting of Bodies, Power Chair and the Vampire of Strasbourg. The Sculpting one they found difficult (some of them) to imagine what to do. Some of them took to it quickly (Fransisco and Archie – who are friends). I advised not to harm anyone and respect personal space. Afterwards they said that it was difficult to find out what to do without talking. The Power Chair worked well in that they all took positions quite quickly. Bella interestingly was last and just stayed where she was. Julie innovated and pulled up a chair and stood on that. I explained this was exploring the difference someone being superior and someone else being inferior. The Vampire game worked quite well – they bumped into furniture a bit but I told to go slowly. They were slow to scream out and Yaya opened her eyes at a few points and seemed unsure what to do. There was a lot of laughing. I asked afterwards for reflections and they seemed unsure what to say. I asked if it became easier once they were the vampires. Archie said it was because he could stick his arms out. I explained that it was about going from the position of avoiding to the position of seeking others like an oppressor. This could have been done better as the connections between what the research was about and theatre was perhaps not obvious enough.

I left too little time for planning and rehearsals as we only got to these by 2pm.

I then gave an explanation of Forum Theatre – a summary or recap. I stressed there were no rules except for a few – to select the protagonist as not someone reliving a moment of oppression, to have a provocation that the other students could relate to, and to aim for about 5-10 minutes.

Fransisco’s group moved straightaway to the separate classroom and began to rehearse. The other groups were slow going so I went to talk to them to help them along. I then went to check on Fransisco’s group. I volunteered to play a part – and was given the role of the parent. I wished to do this so I could learn more with the students and to help them with their plays. I played the role of the mother of a student (Julie) who was lonely and ostracised at university. The first scene involved Julie and I arriving at university. I was distracted and not interested in what she was experiencing. Then Julie saw some other students and they were not interested in her. She saw them again in class and they again shunned her. Julie called me to talk to me and was too busy. Finally Julie was seen begging on the street and passers-by paid her no attention. I talked to the students afterward and said there needed to be an explanation how Julie came to be begging on the streets. How did it reach that point? I also suggested playing the scenes again but with exaggerated emotions. We all did this and it worked well in that the students responded and acted their parts well. I then asked them all individually what they were called, where they were from and what their interests were. This helped develop their characters. They seemed confident that they could get this ready after a little more rehearsal for the next session.

I returned to the other room. Here Jerry’s group had developed some ideas from scratch very well. The group had some quiet people in it but clearly they had worked
well. They had developed a story of a person being deported where many things had wrong in their lives. I asked how this had happened and Jerry referred to government policy. I advised to look for something simpler so the other students could connect with it. I suggested that perhaps this was a person who was going to be deported and not availed himself of legal advice because of all the other things going wrong in his life. They took this on.

The other group were not making any headway. I spent some time with them brainstorming what they were interested in. They lighted on pollution and plastics. Rosie said she had studied this in first semester and it had really made an impression on her. We began to think of possible storylines. One was where a person threw away things containing plastics or micro plastics. We talked about people leaving rubbish on the street or the beach. I asked what would happen if they said something to a person on the street throwing away rubbish. They said they would be told to mind their own business or ‘calm down’. They felt they could say it to their friends but not to a stranger. Rosie said she would say something under her breath. I asked what would happen if they staged this – would the other students feel provoked by it. (I talked to them about Invisible Theatre and how it worked and Archie and Rosie were very interested). This group began to make fun of what they doing. Archie came up with an idea of a bottle being thrown in the sea and a fish being caught it. He asked if I could play the fish. We all had a good laugh at this. I then observed that it was difficult to think of a scene where the actual damage to the environment is played out. After all what does one plastic bottle matter? They agreed. We then observed that this was the problem with attitudes to the environment that people think that individual actions do not make much of a difference. I then suggested perhaps an easier thing to work with are those attitudes. They could display a range of attitudes and see if in actual fact these provoked the other students. One of them suggested that this was something people could just shrug their shoulder to. We all agreed this was one of the main problems with the attitudes to the environment.

At the end it seemed like these two groups had the beginnings of a scene but were still a long way off. I suggested they could rehearse next time and we would see where we got to. They agreed.

I brought everyone together at the end and said there was no exercise to end on. We would see what we produced next time and if it worked, if it did not, not to worry as it was trial and error.

**Reflections**

1. It might be an idea to see if the students wanted to continue working with me on Invisible Theatre as a way of performing these plays out in the student community or in the city.

2. I wondered whether Archie’s group were not engaging much because they did not find it serious enough. The comment in the literature that if it is play, the more intelligent participants will soon tire of it. Or it could just be the group dynamics and/or personalities. Archie has joked around a fair bit since he joined. Bella was been a little non-committal the last session and
she also finds some of the activities puzzling and is unsure how to respond.

3. The flipchart produced by Jerry’s group was very interesting and detailed.

4. One of the reasons that I might have felt uncomfortable whilst doing this, apart from the emergent nature of the approach, is that I was breaking social norms of my profession. I was conducting activities that are normally not conducted in a higher education classroom.
   a. It might be worth exploring some literature on this – stepping out of the professional mould or crossing lines.
   b. What exactly was I doing that breached social norms (and what were those norms).
   c. There will be sociological literature on this – deviance, maybe. The emotional experience of that.
   d. A question for Bryan.

5. Reiterate process consent prior to last workshop

6. Rethink whether I should play a part in Fransisco and May’s group’s scene. If yes, then how combine with role of the Joker. If no, then how deal with it – replace (with who) or get rid (and then consequence of change with students)? Latter option looks unattractive.

7. Pilot Focus Group and Interview schedules e.g. with Athina, Paul
   a. Disadvantages of the workshop method (trial and error?)

8. How approach journals?
   a. Bring to interview
   b. Bring to focus group
   c. Tell students private?
APPENDIX 12

Sample of students' notes and drawings

Flipchart paper from workshop 3 (Fransisco and Julie) – identifying issues that they cared about, they could change and that affected them.

Flipchart paper from workshop 4 (Emma, Jerry and Yaya) – preparing for Forum Theatre.
APPENDIX 13

Lists of themes, sub-themes and codes

Please see Chapter 3, sub-section 9 on data analysis for further explanation.

List of themes by chapter

The themes below may differ slightly in places from the sub-headings in the chapters. The sub-headings in chapters varied from the themes below to aid the reader's understanding of what transpired in the research space.

Chapter 4: The students’ understandings of citizenship and how they act in their communities

- A lack of knowledge and exposure to the term citizenship
- Citizenship was associated with being brought up by one’s parents to be a good person
- Citizenship as feeling part of a community
- The importance of context (especially relationships) for civic agency

Chapter 5: Student transformation (1): a felt sense of citizenship and critical reflection on their communities

- A personal and felt understanding of citizenship
- They adopted new views and became critically reflective of their own values
- Learning to understand the perspectives of others
- A ‘humanising’ of individuals at the edges of or excluded from their community
- Critical and authentic reflection on beliefs, norms and values

Chapter 6: Student transformation (2): forming social bonds in Forum Theatre and cultivating senses of agency
Forum Theatre allowed students to explore and experiment with civic identities and agency

Experiences in Forum Theatre led to critical and authentic reflection (especially on lack of social bonds)

Experiences in experiential learning in the charities and Forum Theatre led to realisation of the potential (and obstacles) for civic agency

Chapter 7: Contrasting the workshops with the students’ experience of university

Use of personal goals and backgrounds to make sense of experiences

The beginnings of a critical perspective toward their own learning

The appeal of voluntary participatory activities that furthered personal projects

A variety of approaches to citizenship education

A personal and social approach to citizenship education

List of sub-themes and codes

Sub-themes and codes before the activities

A Citizenship had various meanings, or was unknown; involved a sense of belonging and helping others; reflecting on it is a positive thing

- A1 Citizenship varies
- A2 The students didn’t know or were unsure
- A3 It involved a sense of belonging to a community
- A4 The idea of citizenship as being part a community (or how you fit into the whole) leads to norms of helping others and lack of selfishness or prosocial thinking
- A5 Thinking about citizenship is a good thing – to think about the bigger picture, more than yourself

B Acting as a citizen involved developing relationships with a community, often by contributing to it; this was facilitated by the culture of the community and having confidence

- B1 Being influential was about developing relationships in the community
- B2 They felt more or less encouraged to act by the culture of a town or city
- B3 You do not have much influence as an individual student
• B4 Acting in public required confidence, especially if you were going outside of your comfort zone, doing something new or unusual

C Some arrived at university with understandings of citizenship (see above – note some did not) that came from parents and schools

• C1 It came from school education for baccalaureate students but not for others
• C2 For several, it came from their parents
• C3 By living in another country

D There was more evidence of influence by schooling rather than university discipline although this changed as the project progressed (e.g. some were studying human rights)

• D1 Some felt there was no influence because they were new at
• D2 Others mentioned their previous studies
• D3 Some used terms from their studies to answer questions in interview

Sub-themes and codes looking back on the activities

E The research project was far more helpful than a Law module on employability (called GEAR⁴), mostly because GEAR was compulsory and seen as a tick box exercise

• E1 This activity is far more beneficial than doing GEAR
• E2 This has generated interest whereas GEAR is something I have to do
• E3 When comparing GEAR with the project

F A variety of understandings of learning – by doing, refreshing knowledge, retaining information

• F1 Learning by doing
• F2 Reminding oneself or refreshing new
• F3 Retaining information

G The appeal of citizenship education

• G1 For work experience or skills
• G2 Genuine curiosity about citizenship
• G3 They wanted to continue things they had done before
• G4 Once they attended they found it broke up the routine of study and class (especially with socialising) and they enjoyed it, and resonated with them
• G5 Note: self-selection of eager students

H They disagreed on whether citizenship education should be linked to employability

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⁴ Graduate Employability and Achievement Record.
• H1 It should include careers education and employability
• H2 Others disagreed:
  • H3 It should be both about personal and social awareness or development
  • H4 Should it be personal

I All agreed that citizenship education cannot be mandatory
  • I1 This type of activity involves reflection which cannot be forced
  • I2 If voluntary, it makes it easier to build relationships with staff
  • I3 Let students decide if it is important for them

J The research project activities would be a good initiative
  • J1 To study something they are interested in and could connect to the bigger picture
  • J2 It encouraged them to understand the perspectives of others
  • J3 Explore a broad range of issues especially those that they were not told about before coming to uni
  • J4 They met and spoke to people they wouldn’t normally meet
  • J5 The interactive nature (especially forum and image theatre) was problematic:
  • J6 There was disagreement about whether it fitted into/ in with other disciplines
  • J7 For many of the above reasons it would work well in Induction Week:

K Citizenship will only be pursued by students if they wish to, most want good grades or a good cv, and some see their studies in monetary or transactional terms

  • K1 Students should be free to decide what they wish to get out of university (note some disagreed)
  • K2 Students can be encouraged to think differently e.g. that they can learn new things, to build their confidence
  • K3 And most wanted to get a good grade (2:1) and/or a good cv (some disagreed)
  • K4 There was some evidence that they thought in monetary terms about their studies

Sub-themes and codes emerging in each activity:

L Experiential learning (interviewing a stranger on the street) (‘what does citizenship mean to you and was it important’)
  • L2 Discovering different perspectives led them to think of citizenship as a multifaceted idea that was highly differentiated between people depending on their lifecourse
M Discussion and reflection (discussions of citizenship can reveal a person’s background and exposure to differences)

- M1 A urban (heterogeneous) and rural (homogenous) split:
- M2-4 (personal side to citizenship)
- M3 It was profound because it linked to personal development
- M4 This personal link made them think about for themselves

N Critical reflection (journal exercise followed by drawing pictures of common concerns)

- N1 They were able to appreciate differences in perspective between each other:
- N2 By listening to each other they learned about the perspectives of others:
- N3 Did not get much out of the exercise where discussing things on which they agreed
- N4 Their analysis led them to become more aware of wider social issues but they nonetheless felt powerless about

O Authentic reflection exercise (drawing a map on the floor of concentric circles of things that influence us and things we could influence)

- O1 They thought about the reasons for their differences:
- O2 To be more accepting of differences:
- O3 Did not get much out of it because of what was written down by others
- O4 Distrust of media

P Critical and authentic reflection on experiential learning (discussing the experience of being in the charities)

- P1 The immediacy of the experience was powerful for some:
- P2 Students were able to see the people who needed help as human beings – the experience ‘humanised’ them (took away the ‘othering’?)
- P3 The ‘humanising’ caused them to reflect on the attitudes taught to them by their parents and on stereotypes previously held:
- P4 And these experiences were not always positive:
- P5 There were some experiences that surprised, even shocked some of the students (even those who had done similar volunteering before)
- P6 Human interaction, friendship was crucial
- P7 Opportunity and incentive of being on a research project lent them credibility and encouragement to discover things
- P8 Being immersed in something (that was taboo or outside their experience)
- P9 The most impactful exercise for some

Q Forum Theatre (group work)

- Q1 Chose topics because of personal experience:
- Q2 It encouraged them to think beyond their own individual concerns
- Q3 Systemic analysis? Or just simply seeing the relationships between ideas?
R Forum Theatre (rehearsal)

- R1 Initial reaction to doing theatre was negative then they changed their minds
- R2 For some they couldn’t produce a script that they felt reflected their personal experience
- R3 Critically reflection led to an underlying problem of indifference and specifically British culture of deference to strangers:
- R4 The lonely student play resonated with both students and researcher:
- R5 They were reluctant to challenge the student counsellor and they did not find the interventions realistic:
- R6 Cathartic, bonding and going beyond the individual sphere:
- R7 Many of the ideas related to culture and social norms
- R8 Role playing led to self-reflection on one’s own behaviour
- R9 Learning was a social experience

Sub-themes and codes emerging across the whole project

S Critically reflected on their beliefs by questioning the reasons for them
- S1 Critically reflecting on one’s own beliefs which arose from image theatre and group exercises

T Their experience dispelled stereotypes or misperceptions, and led them to see the perspectives of others
- T1 Dispelling stereotypes or misperceptions through openness of others and experiential learning activity (work experience)
- T2 Adopting new perspectives through the theatre activities
- T3 Age did not matter, issues were universal

U Their experiences humanised others (homeless persons, refugees etc) because they could see the ‘person’ behind the issue
- U1 More humanising in that they thought about the person or individual behind a social issue

V Humanising others, dispelling stereotypes and sharing common concerns – all lessened fear
- V1 Humanising people lessens fear
- V2 Finding that others shared your fears led to sense of belonging in the student community
- V3 Dispelling stereotypes lessened fear of speaking to others (think more about what you say to people) (FG ex) (linked to having ‘credibility’ of being on a research project)

W On citizenship – a feeling that one should be less ‘singular’ and be and have become more aware of what is happening in own community
W1 Don’t know what citizenship is but know how it makes you feel
W2 Similarly those who had studied citizenship and been very active were more aware of being part of a bigger whole:
W3 Greater social awareness made citizenship much more than volunteering and voting

X Limits of the exercise: at least one student could not connect his experiences to his own sense of citizenship and others felt it raised more questions than answers
  X1 Did not learn anything about role as a citizen because he is in the majority
  X2 Didn’t know anything at the start and still don’t know, but got questions and want to explore
  X3 The limits of the exercise

Y They critically reflected on their own actions (the reasons for it)
  Y1 Think about why and with what result
  Y2 Wish to volunteer at charities
  Y3 Collective agency by sharing common concerns?
  Y4 Would like to act more but do not feel capable in Plymouth (if from different region)
  Y5 The project gave them licence or credibility to act in public by talking to strangers (go beyond their bubble?)

Z They felt more engaged in university and participating more
  Z1 More engaged, participating more