Giving back or fighting back? A transatlantic, qualitative study exploring citizenship, social movement learning and mental health.

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AUTHOR DECLARATION

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Date: 9 September 2020

For Hugh and Sandra Maclean

ABSTRACT

This transatlantic, qualitative study privileges how people with lived experience of mental health issues conceptualise the intersections between mental health, citizenship, and education. Using a Mad Studies lens and drawing from the bricolage tradition of emancipatory research, this study aims to understand what role social movement learning has in facilitating collective or political agency. A range of qualitative and collaborative methods were used, including oral history interviews and arts-based methods. Thematic analysis and NVivo software were used to analyse the qualitative material.

Findings suggest two very different types of social movement learning occurring as well as contrasting journeys towards collective, or political agency. In Scotland, there was evidence of a directive and intentional form of social movement learning. In the US, a new pedagogical space was identified, through contact with social movement activities and actors, resulting in a more situated form of learning through action or learning in the struggle. Themes of the relational, validation and *love* are identified as important for developing collective identity as well as collective and political agency. Findings also linked validation to theories of epistemic justice, suggesting that in Scotland validation came not just from the relational but from contact with counter hegemonic understandings of mental illness.

This thesis concludes by making recommendations at a research, pedagogical and policy level. These include moving towards *genuine* participation in "participatory" research, increased academic and institutional support for service user or survivor led

research, the inclusion of Mad Studies curricula in mainstream mental health professional education and the significance of social movement or critical pedagogies in progressing a genuinely human rights paradigm in mental health.

This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge by fusing theories of social movement learning and epistemic justice; demonstrating the key role of social movement learning and Mad Studies critical pedagogies in strengthening the agency and ability of people with experience of mental health issues to collectively enact and claim their citizenship or human rights.

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Thig crìoch air an t-saoghal ach, mairidh gaol is cèol
The world will to an end but, love and music will endure
Gaelic proverb.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

There was a time I sat in on a class and it changed me. It was a session of the Mad People's History and Identity course; the topic was madness and gender. I learnt about the role of trans women in the Stonewall riots and listened to people's personal experience of homophobic bullying in small town Scotland. It really moved me. It moved me enough to have the courage to pick up the phone later that night and tell the person I love the most in the world, the person I feared rejection from most keenly even after so many years, about me. "Dad, can I ask you something…?" Something that day, something in that space gave me courage and power. It was listening to the stories of other people, of their courage and strength. But it was also hearing and learning about the story of *a movement*, a snippet of collective history and collective strength. This experience taught me of the power of this form of education and knowledge to transform, to give courage where there wasn't courage before and of the power that comes from sharing experiences of being human, exposing the human need to be loved and accepted when so many of us are made to feel different, flawed, damaged and dirty.

This study aims to understand how "Mad" people or people with mental health issues experience educational spaces and what is termed "social movement learning" – that is the intentional or informal learning that occurs when taking part in collective action or through engagement with social movements, or through indirect exposure to social movement activities (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999; Church et al., 2016; Hall and Clover, 2005, Hall, 2006; 2009, Hall et al., 2012; Rule, 2011; Cox, 2018). In this research I draw on work which emerged out of collective advocacy and the mental health service

user movement in Scotland and a "citizenship"-oriented approach to mental health (Rowe, 2015) developed by a university on the east coast of the U.S. The study will explore how people articulate what changed for them because of their involvement with these two different projects and the impact on people's personal and political agency. Drawing on the literature of citizenship theory, critical pedagogy and social movement learning, this study aims to use a Mad Studies lens to critically examine the intersections between education, activism, and citizenship.

Social and political context of the study

With the arguable successes of the mental health service user/survivor movements in demands for a seat at the decision making table, and subsequent moves towards a policy and research discourse of recovery, inclusion and co-production, spaces once characterised by collective advocacy, activism and self- determination have been eroded (NSUN, 2019; RITB, 2019; Spandler, 2007; Beresford 2002; Brosnan, 2013; O'Donnell, 2007; Voronka, 2017). Collective, user-led spaces are declining, as more and more the knowledge and collective power of service users as a political and social movement force is dismantled from its social justice roots, becoming assimilated and absorbed into the mainstream. There is a toxic mix of the individualism of neoliberalism and the individualism of the dominant mental health discourse in policy, treatment, and research (Beresford, 2019).

Neoliberalism has seen the expediential "imposition of privatization, market freedom and atomized individual responsibility to all spheres of human life" (Shiller, 2015, in Gijbels et al 2019, p 5). In this context the bio-medical model both medicalises and individualises madness and distress, with responses focusing on medicating people and

on individualised behavioural and psychological change. Recovery, now the mainstream mental health policy discourse in most of the western world, as critical theory and activist collective *Recovery in the Bin (RITB)* argue, has been co-opted, divorced from its survivor-led roots and is now the perfect "handmaiden" of neoliberalism (Rose, 2014). Recovery discourse is described by RITB (2019) as emphasising personal responsibility. It has, they argue, a strong employability imperative, with the ultimate goal of recovery policy being for people to get into voluntary or paid work, to "contribute" or "give back" to society, thereby moving people on and out of services in order to cut costs. In so doing it can be argued these individualised approaches eclipse and obscure the structural, social, economic and political factors which are often the root cause of mental health issues and distress, instead leaving people to feel isolated, weak and broken and that it their own personal responsibility to get better and contribute to society through paid employment.

This is also set against a social and political backdrop of austerity in the UK, where disabled people and people with mental health issues are often the "hardest hit" (Kaye et al., 2012; Disability Rights Campaign, 2020) as cuts to welfare benefits, support services and the voluntary sector continue to bite. Recently the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF.) reported that half of all people in poverty in the UK were disabled people, or living with a disabled person (JRF., 2020). Philip Alston, UN Special Rapporteur into severe poverty, points out that the UK is the fifth largest economy in the world, highlighting the injustice that so many are living in poverty. Four million people in the UK are living in poverty, with 50% under the poverty line and 1.5million destitute (Alston, 2018). The Institute of Fiscal Studies predicts a 7% rise in child poverty between 2015 and 2022, yet Alston believes the UK government is in a

perpetual state of denial about the links between these figures and deliberate austerity measures. Interestingly, he points to a complete disconnect between what government representatives said and what he heard directly from people as he travelled the country. He speaks of "grave and systematic violations of the rights of people with disabilities" (Alston, 2018, p6) inflicted through austerity, particularly the rolling out of Universal Credit and corresponding sanctions which are experienced as dehumanising and cruel.

In their Mental Health Strategy (2017 – 2027) the Scottish Government recognise the wide-ranging impact of mental health and that "failing to recognise, prioritise and treat mental health problems costs not only our economy, but harms individuals and communities" (Scottish Government, 2017, p2). They acknowledge that mental health goes beyond a health matter, that there needs to be a joined-up response involving all public services and an understanding of the fact that poverty is the biggest driver of poor mental health. In so doing they tie in their mental health strategy with their policy to tackle child poverty and reduce inequality in Scotland, the Fairer Scotland Action Plan.

Having been attempting to mitigate the impact of UK government austerity measures, and with new devolved social security powers, the Scottish Government aims to set up a social security system which is based on dignity, fairness, and respect. It also holds itself to a "human rights approach", to the PANEL principles of participation, accountability, non-discrimination, empowerment, and legality. However, in their response to the strategy the Scottish Human Rights Commission (SHRC) raised concern that more than rhetoric is required to make "taking a human rights approach" a reality (SHRC, 2016). They stated that all elements of PANEL need to be addressed

concurrently to progress a meaningful human rights-based agenda in mental health, and in the strategy “participation” and “legality” were particularly weak. SHRC also refer back to actions not taken up in a previous joint report by them and the Mental Welfare Commission (MWC), written in response to the previous Scottish Government mental health strategy called “Human Rights in mental health care in Scotland” (SHRC and MWC, 2015). This highlighted three important aspects in the context of this study for moving towards a genuinely human rights based approach; firstly that service users and carers have “increased knowledge about their rights” (SHRC and MWC, 2015, p 21), secondly that there is strengthened capacity and improved pathways for advocacy and other “human rights supports” (SHRC and MWC, 2015, p 24) and lastly increased “self-efficacy and empowerment” among service users and carers (SHRC and MWC, 2015, p 34). There is mention of the role of access to information and advice, advice lines and “awareness raising” to address these issues, as well as the importance of educating staff and policy makers. However, there is no reference to the role of education, specifically education that is informed by advocacy or activism in advancing a genuine human rights-based approach. This I believe is short-sighted and it is the aim of this study to examine the value and power of education, to understand more fully the potential for education to contribute to systemic change.

In the US, strategy, and policy to tackle mental health at federal and state level is combined with addictions or “substance use disorders.” Recovery is the dominant paradigm and as the US has not ratified the UNCRPD, there is no human rights discourse present as there is in the Scottish policy landscape, or indeed significant reference to health inequalities or the social determinants of health. SAMHSA, the

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, is the agency within the US Department of Health which takes the lead in public health efforts to address and advance "behavioural health" of the nation. At the heart of their latest strategy is the national impact of the opioid crisis. In 2017 11.1 million Americans over the age of 12 reported misusing prescribed opioids, 900,000 reported heroin use and there were more than 42,000 deaths from opioid overdose in 2016. With the rise of synthetic opioids like Fentanyl and Carfantanil there has been a dramatic increase in overdose deaths with 69,029 dying from overdose by end of February 2019. SAHMSA has a two-prong strategy for the period from 2019 – 2023 to tackle both substance use and "serious mental illness" or SMI, which includes mention of "community-based support systems and other peer-to-peer support services". So, although not specifically referencing peer-*led* work, there is a recognition of the importance of work outside systems of care, based in the community and the role of peer work, albeit in the context of support and services.

The 2019 fiscal year budget was announced which laid out the priorities of the Trump administration. This included $10 million to address the opioid crisis and SMI, building on the 21st Century Cures Act. It also included structural reforms to Medicaid, which along with Medicare funds most behavioural health programs and services, asking states to choose between a per capita cap or a block grant. According to Mental Health America (MHA) the budget also proposes a reduction in Medicaid funding by $1.4 trillion, in Medicare by $500 billion and Social Security Disability Insurance by $10 million over ten years. It also slashes the Supplementary National Assistance Program (SNAP) by $17.2 billion, a threat which saw collective action from

participants in this study directly affected by cuts to SNAP food stamps (Howard, 2020).

Both the UK and the US have embraced neoliberal politics and ideology, and this discourse seeps through and affects every aspect of human life. Cosgrove and Karter (2018) argue that it is naïve to think of neoliberalism as simply the deregulation of markets or a right-wing political ideology. Rather it is more akin to a complete worldview, a set of "eyeglasses" refracting truth, science, epistemology, and subjectivity. Neoliberalism at its heart is about individuals being responsible for themselves and the argument that people's needs are better met by the marketplace than through engagement with political life (Cosgrove and Karter, 2018). In this context ways of thinking, acting, behaving and being that fit with market demands are normalised, those that do not are pathologized and considered to be forms of personal deficit or deviance (Esposito and Perez, 2014, Cosgrove and Karter, 2018). Cosgrove and Karter (2018) draw on the Foucauldian notion of governmentality to argue that dominant discourses encourage neoliberal subjects (or citizens) to "govern themselves". Mental health regimes, systems and services therefore are at risk of serving or colluding with neoliberal agendas, contributing to the enhanced surveillance or management of unruly (Rice, et al 2018) or degenerate (Voronka, 2017) bodies. Coupled with the hegemony of medicalisation and biomedical understandings of mental health, the logic then of a "medical neoliberalism" is that individual responsibility, economic productivity and competition trump equity and citizenship (Cosgrove and Karter, 2018, p 671).

Direct challenges to the dominance of the bio-medical, “disease-oriented” model are at the heart of the UN’s Special Rapporteur into mental health report (2017) which calls for the status quo to be rejected, for a “revolution” in mental health. This report calls for a human rights-based approach to system change which “demand[s] structural interventions *in society and outside* the health-care sector” (Puras, 2017, p2). Mirroring what many activists are saying, the report critiques the continuing overreliance on narrow, psychological, and medicalised models and interventions, which focus on the individual rather than structural matters. Social connections and relationships are also highlighted as important within the report, relationships being set within a wider socio-political context. In the report quality of life and good mental health are clearly correlated with strong relationships and connectedness, and a sense of belonging. However, this is also equated with a relationship to and a stake in *governance*.

Community well-being is causally linked to not just individualised or vague notions of empowerment, but rather *political* empowerment and “the strengthening of civil society to increase the involvement of local people and communities in defining problems, and generating and implementing solutions” (Puras, 2017, p15). Several of the recommendations of the report also have relevance to this research; particularly the recommendation to fund and support user-led groups, resource civil society and user-led advocacy.

This study aims to explore the possibilities for a reinsertion of activism and user-led spaces into the current mental health landscape. Also it aims to critically examine the potential for education and in particular social movement learning (Foley, 1999;

Kilgore, 1999; Hall and Clover, 2005; Hall, 2006; 2009; Hall et al, 2012; Rule, 2011; Cox, 2018) to increase the personal and political agency of people with experience of mental health issues. It draws on two very different attempts to move beyond individualised understandings of mental health, one being the development of a "citizenship" approach to mental health in the US and the other being a critical pedagogy approach taken by a service user-led advocacy group in Scotland. At all stages I have sought to privilege the voices of people with lived experience, as well as honour the collective and social movement history of this work, aiming to situate it within a wider commitment to research as a tool for social justice and radical love (Jolivette, 2015).

Introducing Citizenship

"Citizenship" (Rowe and Pelletier, 2012a; 2012b; Rowe, 2015) and most recently "collective citizenship" (Quinn et al.,2020) as an applied framework in the context of mental health has been developed by Michael Rowe. By creating the model of the "5 R's" (Rowe, 2015) of rights, responsibilities, roles, resources, relationships and linking this to a sense of belonging, this approach has included a range of interventions to tackle the social and political marginalisation of people with mental health issues, experiencing homelessness, addictions and incarceration. This work collectively forms the *Citizens Community Collaborative* (CCC) and includes an educational program of citizenship-based classes (The Citizen's Project), financial health interventions, voter registration, and most recently community organising work (Bromage et al, 2017), from which the term "collective citizenship" (Quinn et al., 2020) has been conceptualised. This was a response to the potential over-emphasis on the individual

within the citizenship work, highlighting the connections between citizenship and social movements. A new development of the community organising work is that several people who graduated from The Citizen's Project and joined the FACE group, have also gone on to become members of an explicitly activist group, *Witnesses to Hunger* or *Witnesses*. As the name suggests, this group's focus is not on mental health activism but rather on wider, structural issues of food insecurity and poverty. This trajectory has not been the specific focus of research to date. As such this is the first study to look in depth at this experience.

Introducing Mad Studies

Mad Studies, an emerging form of activism and scholarship, aims to disrupt the dominance of bio-medical determinism, by re-centring the experiences, knowledge and ideas of Mad people, people with mental health issues, service users or survivors. (Costa, 2013) With strong links to collective, social movement history of madness and to other critical theory-based disciplines, Mad Studies offers a hopeful opportunity to challenge and de-centre dominant understandings of mental health and illness. (Beresford, 2014). It offers a politicised lens and a means to scrutinise current policy and political imperatives. Mad Studies also offers a unique lens and "gaze" on the complexities of academic research *with, within* and *for* social movements (Cresswell and Spandler, 2013, p142). *Mad People's History and Identity* (MPHI), a widening participation module, draws on critical pedagogy (Freire, 1995, Giroux, 2010) and Mad Studies (Le Francois et al 2013) in its approach. The curriculum of this course was drawn from a community development process led by the *Oor Mad History* project, with which I have been working alongside for the last 12 years.

Background to the studentship and study

As the Community History Worker with the *Oor Mad History* project I worked alongside activists to record the history of the local mental health service user movement. I shall give a more detailed description of this project in Chapter Five. This work was much inspired by activists and academics at Ryerson University in Toronto as well as the work of the Psychiatric Survivors Archives Toronto (PSAT). As well as creating an archive, we also undertook to develop curriculum based on the experiential and movement knowledge of Mad people. A community development process culminated in the creation of a widening participation module called *Mad People's History and Identity*, a partnership between CAPS, Queen Margaret University (QMU) and the NHS Lothian Mental Health and Wellbeing Team. Due to my personal and political commitment to this work and the broader work of *Oor Mad History* and Mad Studies, I wanted to use my doctoral research to make a further contribution to knowledge in this field.

This study is part of a Horizon 2020 funded knowledge exchange project, CRISP (Citizenship and Inclusive Societies Partnership) which is based at the Centre of Health Policy, School of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland. CRISP was a transatlantic partnership involving several partners drawn from academia, policy, practice, community organisations from Scotland, the U.S, Germany, and Finland. CRISP aimed to share and build knowledge exchange in the key areas of citizenship, recovery, stigma, and public policy. Three PhD studentships were built into the broader knowledge exchange initiative, one of which I was successful in applying for. My studentship was part of the work package

termed "Conceptualising and Measuring Citizenship" and was a partnership with the Program for Recovery and Community Health (PRCH) at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. As such the studentship included a twelve-month secondment to the U.S. This studentship enabled me the incredible opportunity to carry out research in the U.S as well as build on work I had a strong connection to in Scotland. The study was therefore carried out in two locations: in Edinburgh, Scotland and in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.

Aim and focus of this study

Taking a Mad Studies (Le Francois et al, 2013) standpoint, this study seeks to centre the voices and knowledge of "people with lived experience", beginning with people's articulations of what changed for them as a result of their participation in the *Citizen's Community Collaborative* (CCC) in the U.S and *Mad People's History and Identity* (MPHI) in Scotland. Critical, qualitative, and participatory research methodologies and methods were used. Following the bricolage tradition of research, (Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001; 2005) I aim to honour the social movement and collective advocacy history of this work. I shall draw on the literature of citizenship theory and the theory of mental health and citizenship developed by Rowe (2015). I intend to chart the shift towards more collectivist and social movement understandings of citizenship in this work. This study is the first to build on the citizenship and mental health theory of Rowe (2015) by focusing on the role of education in developing political and collective agency. I shall therefore situate this study within the literature and theory of adult education, particularly critical pedagogy, or popular education (Freire, 1995). The research questions guiding this

study were developed in partnership with a group made up of people who formed part of the MPHI project in Scotland. The research questions were as follows:

- What, if anything, has changed for participants following their involvement and how do they articulate this change?
- What aspect of the curriculum or experience do people believe facilitated this change?
- What role can critical education play in building bridges between individual experience (identity) and issues of agency and structure? (context, structural inequality)
- Does social movement learning or content impact on this process, i.e. interacting with "Madness" as a political identity or political project or learning about the activism of others?
- How do participants view the link between identity, structure and agency or citizenship?
- Can MPHI and The Citizens Project enable people to become more "political" or "active" citizens?
- How do those who are involved in Mad Studies conceptualise citizenship?

Structure of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter One, I shall move on to a review of the literature which will be presented in two chapters: Chapter Two will introduce and ground the study within the concept and contested nature of citizenship, situating citizenship literature within a historical context and introducing the work of Rowe

(2015) to develop a theory of mental health and citizenship. Chapter Three will present literature and theory rooted in adult education. This chapter introduces the role of social movement epistemology within radical traditions of adult education, including theories of critical pedagogy and popular education. In Chapter Four I shall detail the research methodology and methods used in the project, including the philosophical, epistemological, and ontological positioning of the work as well as the substantial ethical and reflexive challenges faced on the research journey.

The findings of the study will then be presented in three chapters: Chapter Five will explore how people articulated what changed for them and which aspects of the experience they identified as contributing to these changes in the U.S context. Chapter Six will explore the same in the Scottish context and in Chapter Seven I shall explore the different narratives of citizenship that emerged in both settings. Next, I shall discuss the findings and their implications in Chapter Eight, further developing the theoretical framework for this study which links social movement learning theory with theories of epistemic justice. Lastly, in Chapter Nine, I shall conclude the thesis, reflecting on the limitations of the study and offering several recommendations for future research, pedagogy, and policy.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter has situated the research within a socio-political context and described the background to this transatlantic project. I have introduced some of the main bodies of literature that have influenced the development and framing of the study and I have also outlined the structure of the thesis. I have also introduced the research questions guiding this study. I shall now move on to Chapter Two, which

forms the first part of the review of literature, locating the study within the literature and theory of citizenship.

CHAPTER TWO: Conceptualising Citizenship

> Citizenship implies freedom, to work, to eat, to dress, to wear clothes, to sleep in a house, to support oneself and one's family, to love, to be angry, to cry, to protest, to move, to participate in this or that religion, this or that party, to educate oneself and one's family, to swim regardless in what ocean of one's country. Citizenship is not obtained by chance: it is a construction never finished that demands we fight for it. It demands commitment, political clarity, coherence, decision. For this reason, a democratic education cannot be realised apart from as education of and for citizenship. (Freire, 1998, p90)

Introduction

This chapter begins by situating citizenship within a historical and theoretical context, outlining the different traditions of citizenship thought - liberal, communitarian and civic republican. I shall then introduce key contemporary challenges to traditional citizenship theory, which is often critiqued as a concept dominated by normative ideas of the white, male, able-bodied (and sane) citizen. These challenges come namely from feminist, post-colonial, and disabled perspectives (Lister, 1991; 2001; 2003; Yuval Davis, 1999; Sayce, 2016). From this juncture I intend to focus on literature that locates citizenship within the context of democracy, that is citizenship as political participation and citizenship as human agency (Gaventa, 2000; Lister, 1998; 2004; Parker, 2004; Isin and Neilsen, 2008).

Having set out this contextual background, I will move on to give a detailed overview of literature focusing on citizenship and mental health. This is dominated by the work of Rowe (2015). I shall review early work (Rowe, 1999; Rowe and Baranoski, 2000; Rowe et al. 2001; 2003; 2007; Rowe and Baranoski, 2011) which describes the

development of a citizenship framework and the “5 R’s” of citizenship, or citizenship as rights, roles, responsibilities, relationships and resources (Rowe, 2015). Citizenship for Rowe is also combined with a sense of belonging.

I shall also chart the emergence of increased political, structural, and collective understandings within this body of work, culminating in recent writing on the concept of “collective citizenship” (Quinn et al., 2020). In so doing I aim to align myself with dynamic understandings of citizenship as political and link citizenship to ideas of democracy, activism, political participation, and human agency. I ultimately aim to understand more fully the role of education and participation in social movements or learning about social movements in developing both personal and political agency.

Citizenship theory

Citizenship, conceptually and historically, is an “elastic” concept (Rowe, 2015) and one that is difficult to separate from terms and concepts such as democracy, justice, human rights, identity, difference, struggle and governance (Beckett, 2006, p 22). Due to its contested nature and its inherent dialectical pull between the individual and the state, rights and responsibilities, the rhetoric of citizenship as a concept is used by politicians and thinkers on both the right and the left. Notions of citizenship, the relationship between the individual and the collective, rights and obligations, have preoccupied thinkers and writers since the time of Ancient Greece. Citizenship had its first articulation in the Ancient Greek polis of the fourth and fifth centuries. The notion of the “citizen” literally meant “member of the state” and for the Greeks selfhood was inherently linked to the polity or public realm to which it belonged.

Aristotle believed that citizenship was a core element of being human (Beckett, 2006, p23) and that humans are political animals. It can be argued that there is a shift within late modernity from "war to commerce, and a contemporary alternative to political animals could be citizens as holders of rights protected by the state so they can lead private lives" (Garver, 2012, p1). With the dominance of neoliberalism and a disengagement of the citizenry from the political process, rather than Aristotelian political animals there is a rhetoric of individual citizens who are holders of individual rights, with no link to the polis or public sphere, to society or indeed to others.

Athenian views of citizenship were that it was interconnected with ideas of society, viewing individuals and society as interdependent. Faulks (2000) states that citizenship is reciprocal and social in nature. He argues that it can never be a concept that is purely about a set of rights that free individuals from obligations to others. Citizenship, therefore, implies duties and obligations as well as rights (Faulks, 2000, p 5). He concurs that citizenship is an excellent example of Giddens's duality of structure (Giddens, 1984, p25). It is a dynamic concept, and as "creative agents" citizens will always find new ways to express and extend their citizenship. Citizenship is, Faulks asserts, inherently about human relationships and as such it is impossible to give it a definitive, static definition. It is always contested and dependent on societal, political, and cultural context (Faulks, 2000, p6).

Beckett (2006) argued that early forms of ancient citizenship, where the concept and values of active citizenship are embodied in the individual, is in many ways the complete opposite to later classical liberal approaches to citizenship. Classical theorists, Beckett argues, such as Hobbes (1973, in Beckett, 2006) and Locke (1965,

in Beckett, 2006), saw individual selves as entities in themselves, who choose or do not choose to engage with the polis or public realm. It was during the medieval period that a direct challenge to ancient thinking on citizenship was made, particularly through the work of Machiavelli who moved conceptualisations of citizenship away from a manner of being to that of a process, a method whereby citizens could assert their interests. According to Beckett, Machiavelli's citizenship was also concerned with social order, a preoccupation which continued to influence later thinking (Beckett, 2006, p25). Faulks reminded us of the exclusive nature of Athenian citizenship, where the exclusion of slaves and women was accepted without question, "indeed, citizenship was valued in part because of its exclusive nature and its mark of superiority over non-citizens" (Faulks, 2000, p 18). It was only with the development of the liberal state in the late sixteenth century that citizenship began to include any notions of egalitarianism or inclusion of difference (Beckett, 2006, p26).

Liberal tradition of citizenship

Jones and Gaventa (2002) divide the history of citizenship theorising into liberal, communitarian and civic republican approaches. The liberal approach is characterised by perceiving citizenship as a status which entitles individual citizens to universal rights which are granted from above by the state. Central to liberal thinking is that individual citizens act "rationally" to pursue and further their own interests. Rights to participate are also included in liberal theorising, regarding political participation and mainly the right to vote in representative, rather than deliberative democracies (Jones and Gaventa, 2002, p3). Marshall (1950, in Manza and Saunder, 2009) is one of the most foremost liberal citizenship theorists. Marshall divided citizenship into three

elements, civil, political, and social. For Marshall, who has shaped all post war thinking on citizenship, "citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed" (Marshall, 1950, pp28-29, in Lister, 2003, p15). Thus, citizenship in the liberal tradition is cast as an individualised status. Marshall believed that citizens were entitled to have their basic economic and social needs met, and that the state should ensure these rights were met. He did not believe in the eradication of inequality, rather that the state should protect the poorest citizens from the effects of capitalism.

Communitarian tradition of citizenship

Critiques of the individualised conception of the liberal self-interested and autonomous citizen have been made by communitarian thinkers. Communitarians posit that individual identity is only produced through connection and interacting with others in the community (Smith, 1998, cited in Jones and Gaventa, 2002, p4). We can only realise our individual rights and interests through deliberation over the common good, over shared community interests. As such the group is seen as the defining centre of identity. This helps frame the understanding and central importance of individual and collective identity within the context of this research.

Civic Republican tradition of citizenship

The civic republican tradition integrates liberal and communitarian conceptions of citizenship, situating the self-interested citizen within a communitarian framework of egalitarianism and belonging (Jones and Gaventa, 2002, p5). This tradition maintains

an emphasis on what brings people together. Civic republicanism is underpinned by an individual obligation to participate in communal affairs and it promotes deliberative forms of democracy rather than the representative democracy preferred by liberals. Habermas (1998) and Miller (2000) for example, conceive of citizenship as a common civic identity, shaped by common public culture. This notion of citizenship as a civic identity is an interesting one, civic republicans think this identity can unite citizens, "as long as this identity is stronger than their separate identities as members of different groups" (Jones and Gaventa, 2002, p7). Again, this locates theories and understandings of identity at the heart of citizenship.

Contemporary challenges - Feminist, post-colonial and disabled people's interpretations of citizenship

Contemporary thinking attempts to link liberal, communitarian and civic republican conceptualisations of citizenship. With challenges from feminist, disabled and post-colonial writers (for example see Lister, 1991; 2001; 2003; Yuval Davis,1999; Sayce, 2016) to the white, male, able-bodied citizen characterised in much of the literature, there is a move to more pluralistic views of citizenship informed by standpoint and difference. Lister (2003) who explores feminist conceptualisations of citizenship, argues that citizenship as *agency* becomes a dynamic process rather than a status bestowed, a process forged in part through social movement struggles from below for membership and rights. (Lister, 2003, p15). Also, feminists brought an important critique to the table, namely expanding the notion of what is considered "political" to include the "personal". This has a lot to bear on notions of participation, as civic participation or political participation is a lot broader when it is not restricted to formal politics of the state (see Hanisch, 2010; Lister, 2003).

Citizenship must also be situated within the context of the challenges facing the human race and the planet (Cogan et al., 1999). Issues such as globalisation, the growth of consumerism, war, refugee crisis, mass migration, lack of political efficacy, distrust of formal politics, speak very much to the situation we are facing today. Cogan et al. (1999) base their concept of citizenship on an idea of democracy as a path or a journey, rather than something that has already been attained, believing it is a continuous process of civic learning, deliberation, and action. As such they locate education as a tool for building citizenship. Certain competencies are required to face the challenges of the global world and we must use education as a tool to build these together. The competencies they say are that we construct ourselves as members of global society, that we work cooperatively to solve problems, that we should think critically and systemically, respond to conflict non-violently, protect and demand our human rights and participate in public life at all levels of civic participation (Cogan et al, 1999, p 5).

Jones and Gaventa (2002) suggest we can see citizenship as a *right*, citizenship as *agency* and citizenship as *participation and democratic governance* (Jones and Gaventa, 2000, p5). In terms of citizenship as a right, Jones and Gaventa suggest a recasting of participation in social, political, and economic life as a question of citizenship rights. They argue that classical theories of citizenship often reference political participation as a right, however by extending this to include participation in social and economic life, we *politicise* social rights and construct citizen subjectivities as active agents. Denoting a conceptualisation of citizenship as agency, advocated by feminist author Lister (2003), who ultimately argues for an enabling environment within which all citizens can participate if they so wish.

Barnes et al. (1999) wrote about disabled people and mental health service user groups and argued that collective action and organising by disabled people has been "legitimised" by top-down objectives of user involvement. When the participation of people with disabilities and/or mental health issues is constructed as "user involvement" or "consultation" and often on the terms of others more powerful, it is difficult for disabled or mad people to be equal stakeholders in complex systems of local governance or policy writing (Barnes et al., 1999, p73). In constructing citizenship as participation and democratic governance people can begin to see themselves as active agents of change, as actors in governance rather than being left behind or perceived as passive receivers of services (CAPS, 2010). If people begin to connect with "power within" (Veneklasen et al, 2002) and believe themselves to be active agents of change, they will be more likely to assert their citizenship and demand greater accountability from those in power about decisions that affect their lives (Gaventa, 2002, p 2).

Lister (2003) suggested that the concept of agency can bring together different citizenship traditions of citizenship. She talked of citizenship as a right and citizenship as participation, namely the idea of "active citizenship". Lister makes the case for less formal concepts and expressions of citizenship that recognise collectivist approaches such as self-help and community groups. By extending the notion of political participation in this way, we are able to extend what it means to be political and that it is not just through engagement with formal politics that people construct themselves as active agents rather than objects of policy. In writing about citizenship as a political obligation, Lister references the fragmentation of society, increased individualism and resulting political apathy and self-interest of modern American democracy, typical of

the UK democracy also. She talks of the renaissance in civic republican/communitarian thinking as a reaction against rampant individualism, but suggests it still offers up an impoverished version of citizenship in which individual citizens are "reduced to atomised, passive bearers of rights whose freedom consists in being able to pursue their individual interests" (Lister, 2003, p25).

Lister arguers that the reclaiming of active, collective politics as the essence of citizenship is central to contemporary civic republicanism. Lister cites another feminist writer Dietz (1987), who argued for a vision of citizenship where people are speakers and doers of deeds, "It is only when active political participation is valued as an expression of citizenship in contrast to the politically barren construction of citizenship as a bearer of rights alone that feminists will be able to claim a truly liberatory politics of their own" (Dietz, 1987, in Lister, 2003, p27). Feminists have stretched previously narrow definitions of the political and the citizen, offering a challenge to a sharp separation between the "public" and "private". This raises important questions as to what counts as politics and what counts as citizenship? Lister argues involvement in collective action can strengthen the ability to resist oppressive practices in the private sphere and that there is a dynamic interaction between private and public sphere. Lister believes that activism is important for citizenship and that it contributes to social capital, recognising how collective action can boost self-confidence as individuals begin to see themselves as political actors and "effective" citizens (Lister, 2003).

Parker (2004), writing from a disability rights perspective argues that Lister's conceptualisation of citizenship as agency is problematic because it implies that human agency is a given. In reality, "agency" for people with disabilities and mental health

issues is by no means a given. There are complex personal, social and structural barriers to it. Therefore, for people with disabilities, the ability to exercise human agency itself is at the core of the struggle for full and equal citizenship. This needs to be deconstructed before using agency as a way of claiming citizenship when writing from a disability movement perspective (Parker, 2004, p7). Parker therefore offers a critique of citizenship discourse, of hegemonic ideologies of citizenship that have created a dichotomy between rights and participation that has included only space for the able-bodied subject. She concedes that feminists have offered alternative views and stretched the discourse but there is still limited space for disabled subjectivities, asking the critical question "how do we begin to rewrite the story of what it means to be a disabled citizen?" (Meekosha and Dowse, 1997, in Parker, 2004, p 3).

Sayce, (2016) when writing about citizenship, uses it in the context of the right to full and equal participation in society, which she believes is central to the experience of people with mental health issues. She argues that people with mental health issues experience high levels of inequality, disadvantage and unemployment with many people leading isolated lives and social attitudes surveys still indicating high levels of discrimination. Narratives of professional and scientific progress dominate, and we are told that psychiatric treatments are improving all the time. Therefore, people can shed symptoms, lead fuller lives and become more accepted by society. People are urged through this discourse to become more "normal" to fit in and be socially accepted, almost naturalising exclusion unless and until people undergo the restorative powers of treatment. Sayce offers a counter argument that citizenship should be based on unconditional acceptance of difference – inclusion based on common humanity, not contingent on a requirement to "fit in" (Sayce, 2004, p 9) or assimilate.

One of the key barriers to the full and equal participation of people with mental health issues according to Sayce, is the deficit based, bio-medical model where a paternalistic desire for the state to "look after" people rather than enable their social participation still dominates. People are perceived as "sick" or "ill" first and this therefore shapes how their citizenship is perceived. Therefore, Sayce argues, we need to reclaim the voices of resistance and social change, draw on historical narratives to understand the extent to which people deemed mad have become fuller citizens and the extent to which they can participate socially, economically and politically (Sayce, 2004, p12). This speaks to the importance of groups such as *Oor Mad History* which have sought to record their own history of, not just de-political, individualised narratives of treatment or recovery, but collective histories of social movement action, advocacy and activism.

Yuval Davis and Werbner (1999) offer another important discourse of citizenship influenced by post-colonial theory, which "privileges difference and stresses dialogical and global dimensions of citizenship" (Yuval Davis and Werbner, 1999 p1). Although many writers cite its ancient Athenian roots, citizenship, according to Yuval Davis and Werbner, remains a modern invention, with foundational moments including the Magna Carta, the French Revolution, American Declaration of Independence, suffragette movement, and anti-colonial struggles. Citizenship, they say, moves between contradictory and dialectical tendencies of universalism and particularism, freedom and order, individual rights and collective responsibilities, identity and difference. For them it is always unstable, always inflected by power and by hegemonic discourses (ibid., 1999, p3). Their approach defines citizenship as

inflected by identity, social positioning, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and a sense of belonging.

Fraser and Gordon (1994) talk of a concept of "social citizenship" that again situates us in a dialectical relationship with the state, and a relationship in which people are claim makers and can make legitimate claims. This work again chimes with Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, the dialectic between structure and agency. A concept of social citizenship also places individuals in an infrastructure, a structure that enables us to connect with others that we share citizenship with. According to Fraser and Gordon citizenship is a fluid process, a relational one and degrees of citizenship ebb and flow. We can use the concept of citizenship, they argue, to critique the notion of the "personal", the link between the individual and the collective, the "I and the we", and as such find a critical space from where we can both individually and collectively interrogate and stretch normative views of citizenship and what it means to be a citizen (ibid., 1994). This seems imperative if the emancipatory potential of citizenship in relationship to mental health is to be realised. Education, critical pedagogy, and social movement learning can, it will be argued in this study, inform and create the conditions for this process by opening up such critical spaces.

Finally, in introducing their conceptualisation of citizenship Isin and Neilsen (2008) raise again the contested nature of citizenship, coupled with a proliferation of different citizenship identities and standpoints. In such complex terrain, they set out to understand how subjects act as citizens or transform themselves into actors. Two important aspects that have relevance to this study are that "acts rupture or break the given orders, practices and habitus", for example a protest march or demonstration,

and they "produce actors and actors do not produce acts: actors actualise acts and themselves through action" (Isin and Neilson, 2008, p37), so the act of citizenship itself helps re-create people as active agents, or political actors, through and in collective action. Isin and Neilson use the term "activist citizens" which they contrast with "active citizens". This definition entails that they set the scene, write the script, whereas active citizens act out already written scripts. This hints at rupturing the status quo and of creating new sites of struggle, which is important in understanding social movement spaces and as such of relevance to the theoretical framing of this research, which centres agency and social movement struggle in its understanding of citizenship.

Citizenship and mental health

Having introduced the contested concept of citizenship and located it within a historical context, I shall now move on to focus on empirical work exploring the intersections between citizenship and mental health, which is dominated by the research of Rowe (2015). I shall give a detailed overview, beginning with early work (Rowe, 1999; Rowe and Baranoski, 2000; Rowe et al. 2001; Rowe et al. 2003; Rowe et al. 2007 and Rowe and Baranoski, 2011) which described how the citizenship framework and the Citizen's Project emerged. This culminated in the creation of a citizenship measure (Rowe et al., 2012) and several related papers (Ponce et al 2012; Rowe and Pelletier, 2012; Clayton et al 2013; O'Connell, Clayton and Ponce, 2016). I shall chart the emergence of more political, structural and collective understandings of citizenship within this body of work in order to situate and position my own research (Ponce et al., 2012; Rowe and Pelletier, 2012; Harper and Rowe, 2014; Harper et al. 2015; Davidson and Rowe, 2016; Atterbury and Rowe, 2017; Harper et al. 2017;

Bromage et al., 2017; Stewart et al. 2017; Hamer et al., 2019; MacIntyre et al., 2019; 2019, and Quinn, et al. 2020). Through this overview I aim to flesh out the narrative of citizenship work, in particular the trajectory away from an individualised focus or “intervention”, towards more dynamic, political and collective understandings of citizenship rooted in agency. Therefore, I aim with this literature review to identify the gap which my research will specifically address, namely the role of education in facilitating not just personal, but collective or political agency.

Rowe defines citizenship as a measure of strength of people’s connection to the “rights, responsibilities, roles and resources that society offers to people through public and social institutions and also to relationships involving close ties, social networks and associational life in one’s community”. (Rowe et al, 2015, p14) In describing his conceptualisation of citizenship, Rowe begins with humanity, starting always with the people encountered and their stories before turning to theory. Referencing Janoski (1998, in Rowe, 2015), he differentiates between substantive and formal citizenship, passive citizenship and active participation in exercising citizenship rights through collective political action or social movements. Rowe highlights two pairs of dialectical themes of citizenship in relation to mental health, firstly the relationship between individual rights, freedoms and civic-collective participation. Secondly, the relationship between mainstream citizenship status which comes with citizenship rights and obligations, paired with a marginalised citizenship status which is coupled with restricted rights and obligations (Rowe, 2015, p14). The Five R’s definition of citizenship draws notions of civic participation and volunteerism, as well as theories of social capital and identity. To be citizens, Rowe believes people need material means or resources, the opportunity to connect with others and have meaningful roles

in society, a sense of belonging and an ability to exercise their rights and responsibilities. Recognition of people's inherent worth, is also an important part of citizenship (Rowe, 2015, p14).

Early citizenship and mental health work

It was through work in homeless outreach that the relevance of citizenship began for Rowe, witnessing the stark reality that providing housing to people was not enough to make them feel like a neighbour, a community member or citizen. Early writings on the citizenship approach (Rowe, 1999, Rowe and Baranoski, 2000) argued that rehabilitation or community reintegration for homeless people are not only a task for professionals, but rather for the whole community. Rowe positioned immediately that citizenship is a collective as well as an individual goal: "citizenship of all strengthens the community as a whole, while the non – citizenship of some impoverishes the community and weakens the citizenship of each member" (Rowe and Baranoski, 2000, p2).

It is in these early citizenship papers that Rowe and others tell the story of the citizenship work as it has developed in their local context. Initially the first citizenship "intervention", coming as it did from homeless outreach work, aimed to set up a community coalition or collaboration, to tackle the issue of community integration. Even in these papers, there is a recognition that responses would need to move beyond behavioural health systems and programs and look instead to support individuals to have meaningful roles in and contribute at a community and societal level. Rowe et al (2001) mention the first iteration of a "citizenship project" and immediately situate mental illness in a structural rather than a purely personal or individual context, when

they write, “mental illness must be understood and treated within the individual’s social and economic environment” (Rowe et al, 2001, p14).

“The 5R’s” of citizenship are given an early articulation, where citizenship is described as an individual’s connection to rights, responsibilities, roles, and resources that society makes available. Three levels of citizenship are also articulated, full citizenship, “second class” or “client/patient-hood” citizenship and non-citizenship where the person is severed from or has limited contact with mainstream society. The initial “Citizenship Project” is described here as a community coalition aimed at addressing health and related conditions that are “rooted in a larger social, cultural, political and economic framework” (Rowe et al, 2001, p19) so again pointing to the structural context of the issue. Qualitative and quantitative evaluation was carried out into the intervention and the gap identified was in community integration. They therefore position the citizenship framework as adding a *social* level to person centred and empowerment responses (Rowe, et al, 2001, p24). From this early evaluation of the first incarnations of the “Citizenship Project” the authors highlighted the need to learn how to *cede power* as well as framing mental health and homelessness as structural issues requiring systemic or macro change. Also significant for this study is the central role of education and training in this intervention which is also highlighted.

Another early paper (Rowe et al, 2003) goes into more detail about the pilot citizenship project called “The Leadership Project” which was developed to train and support homeless and formerly homeless people to sit on boards and action groups. Of particular interest is the reference in this paper to the fact that the system and structure of services “worked against representation”, and that people did not have a voice at a

policy or planning level because of the pressure put on people to focus on their own personal recovery, find housing and move away and beyond their homelessness experience. There was also an element of prizing and utilizing this experience as knowledge and expertise, of something of value rather than an experience or identity to be denounced in the name of recovery and "moved on from" that stood out for me in this study. This paper referenced some early impacts of the Leadership Project, which would later become "The Citizen's Project". This included the students developing a sub or mini community akin to a sense of family and the importance of balancing group identity with individual "identity work", raising the significance of identity within this project. Also, the authors state that when *individuals* are empowered, as early evidence demonstrated was happening through the Leadership Project, the authors argued that it follows that people will want to take steps to become more empowered at a collective level, as "those who are governed sit with the governors." This focus on supporting people to have a voice and be represented on committees or boards and at a policy or strategy level is similar to the role of collective advocacy in the UK. It is regretful that this element of the programme seems to be no longer explicitly reflected in the current iteration of the Citizens' Project.

Towards development of a citizenship "measure"

Rowe and colleagues reported on a Randomised Controlled Trial comparing provision of a citizenship intervention, standard clinical treatment and jail diversion services with a group who received standard clinical treatment and jail diversion alone (Rowe et at, 2007). The citizenship intervention at this stage was now composed of classes, wrap around peer support and "valued role" projects. It was a community-based

intervention, yet clinically informed and with psychosocial and educational aspects. Baseline interviews were carried out as well as six and twelve months follow up interviews. Rowe and Baranoski (2011) point to the concept of citizenship gaining more attention internationally and yet the comparative lack of empirical research, echoing Lister (2003) who said the same. As well as introducing the importance of connectedness or connection it is here that Rowe and Baranoski also highlight the significance of reciprocal relationships for social connectedness. Reflecting on the development of the citizenship framework and application through the early iterations of a citizenship project and the leadership project, these are key observations made that continue to have relevance to the work today. It is also in this paper that we can identify the decision to move from the more macro, systemic approach of the leadership project, towards a more individualised focus, supporting individuals to become "fully fledged community members". This is a description of the transition from the Leadership Program to what is now recognised as the Citizen's Project. Students, they argue at this juncture, are treated as individuals and the Citizens Project is concerned with developing personal identities of students as valued members of society. However, the authors also refer to the community building impact of the program as significant. Citizen's Project classes are explained in more detail, describing how in addition to more individual or behaviourally focused classes, students also learn about their rights and responsibilities within the criminal justice system and the Americans with Disabilities Act for example. Students learn they have a right to their feelings and opinions and to be treated with respect. Again, raising the continual tension between individual and collective, agency and structure, the authors continue to locate the work in a macro context, naming the need to address socio-

economic problems of homelessness and poverty. They argue that citizenship and a Citizen's Project are one approach but say that others are needed to enable people the opportunity to claim or reclaim a life as "contributing members and citizens" and "as people who, in addition to being members of society, belong to themselves and not the systems that have been set up to fix them" (Rowe and Baranoski, 2011, p308) .

A "measure" of citizenship

After a considerable amount of groundwork being laid between 1999 and 2011, Rowe et al (2012) report on a large quantitative and mixed methods study to develop a measure of citizenship. Using participatory and concept mapping the study aimed to deepen further their conceptualisation of citizenship and to develop a measure or "instrument" to "assess the degree to which individuals perceive themselves to be citizens in the multi-faceted sense" (Rowe et al, 2012, p445). I note here the conceptualisation of citizenship is in connection to the "individual". This individualisation of the concept is reflected again when the authors describe the focus groups used in the first phase of the research, were asked the question "to *me* being a citizen means…" (Rowe et al, 2012, p445, emphasis added) to generate statements about citizenship. From the statements gathered in focus groups seven domains of citizenship were generated and a forty-five-question measure were developed. Citizenship emerged as a multifaceted concept, the seven domains of citizenship were personal responsibilities, government, and infrastructure, caring for self and others, civil rights, legal rights, choices, and world stewardship.

A slightly later study (Ponce et al, 2012) aimed to identify whether the seven domains of citizenship resonated with people affected by serious mental illness, homelessness,

substance use issues and contact with forensic services and/or criminal justice system and which were most salient. Findings described that people felt personally responsible for their homelessness and for getting their life back on track. Giving back and helping others was also a theme to emerge in this study, and interestingly participants pointed out that to them this was the easiest domain to achieve. This will be interesting to explore further, to what extent the "giving back" element of citizenship is perceived as somehow easier to achieve and more attainable, something that an individual can take control of, whereas other aspects of citizenship such as influencing government for example may be harder to achieve or be impeded by structural barriers. What also emerged as significant in this paper is the persistent barriers to a second chance or "making it" and how these were perceived as almost impossible to overcome. Despite the pull to give back there is a sense of being caught between feelings of personal responsibility and a powerlessness to change.

A later paper tested the reliability and validity of the citizenship measure (O'Connell et al., 2017). Analysis revealed the measure was psychometrically sound and offered a more nuanced understanding of citizenship as a concept related to, but distinct from, recovery, well-being and quality of life. Authors argued this study demonstrated that citizenship includes aspects of "social capital", positively correlating with volunteering and trust in government (O'Connell et al 2017, p 371). Of interest to this study was when reporting on internal consistency of the citizenship measure, it appeared the cluster with the largest number of items was in fact personal responsibility. In relation to the citizenship measure itself the lowest scores were on "government and infrastructure" which on the measure refers to "civic issues and duty to society" and the highest were the domain termed "choices" which refers to "freedom

of expression, self-expectation, being who you are, personal freedom". This suggests that people feel a heightened sense of personal responsibility, emphasising perhaps the value placed in American society on individual and personal freedom, and that there are perceived and structural barriers to people feeling that they have a stake in governance or any form of political agency. These are some of the issues and tensions that will be further explored in my own research.

Citizenship, political and civic participation

Rowe and Pelletier, writing in 2012, begin to turn the focus more towards political and civic participation. Tocqueville's writing on democratic revolutions frames the discussion, his argument that prior to being a government, democracy is primarily a social movement. Tocqueville also warned, say Rowe and Pelletier, that the march towards change may not always be positive and to avoid the risk of despotism, there is a need for democracy to be tempered and channelled by "political involvement" (Tocqueville, 1994, in Rowe and Pelletier, 2012, p 367). Rowe and Pelletier state that it may be possible to redefine citizenship to be more supportive of the *political participation* of people with mental illness and to do this people with lived experience must be integrated into all aspects of the exploration. It is argued that if a person is viewed purely through a biomedical lens, as a disease or a disorder, that person's citizenship is immediately diminished. A person with mental health issues needs to be viewed as having "inalienable rights as a citizen of a *political community*", (Rowe and Pelletier, 2012, p 378) So here we clearly see a placement of the individual citizen within a democratic and political context. "Giving back" again features in this paper as interestingly the authors refer to anecdotal evidence from the citizenship measure

research that demonstrates that the group made up of people who have experienced “life disruptions” (mental illness, chronic illness, homelessness, incarceration) emphasised the “giving back” aspects of citizenship, whereas the group made up of people who had not experienced life disruptions focused on the entitlement and privilege aspects of citizenship. This, the authors argue, suggests that people with life disruptions have a lot to “teach others” about citizenship. I would argue that alongside this there is a need to dig a little deeper into the giving back discourse and why a group of “life disrupted” people may feel or believe this is the only domain of citizenship they can control or enact.

Davidson and Rowe (2016) applied a new concept of *recovering citizenship* to empirical research into citizenship as a metaphor and tool to understand the individual “recovery journey” within the context and goal of a life in the community, addressing they argued the over emphasis of individualised notions of recovery which have obscured recovery as a political and social movement. Atterbury and Rowe (2017) drew on citizenship research to date to reflect on the opportunities and challenges of a citizenship approach to social inclusion for people with mental health issues. They argued for the political and democratic context of citizenship, that it should not just be understood at an individual subjective experience, but rather a “politically constructed role,” and that citizenship “marks the boundary between inclusion and exclusion in a *political body*” (Atterbury and Rowe, 2017, p 285, emphasis added). Atterbury and Rowe query whether a citizenship project can not only support individual empowerment but also help develop a “new social consciousness”, asking the critical question, “can the promotion of targeted efforts to boost local social inclusion,

translate to broader social change?" (Atterbury and Rowe, 2017, p 286). I shall endeavour to explore further some of these questions in my own research.

Stewart et al (2017) also articulated the need to move beyond individual change, towards citizenship-oriented practice and a focus on community development. Stewart et al (2017) compared the US Citizen's Project and a project based on the same model in a Scottish third sector organisation. The aim of the study was to examine participants understandings and constructions of community, community connectedness and community participation. In the description of the Citizen's Project in the US the "What's Up?" component was highlighted as significant. This is the first hour of the class, a structured session where students are invited to talk about what is going on for them right now and get feedback from one other student. It is during this process particularly that people learn that what they say matters and how they say it impacts on their relationships that they learn they have something to offer, that they are of value to themselves and others, resonating with Rowe and Baranoski's study of 2011. "giving back" emerged as significant, resonating with Ponce et al (2012) and Rowe and Pelletier (2012). Participants believed in the need to "give in order to receive". In the discussion on giving back as an aspect of community connectedness or engagement, it is argued that there was a responsibility to "fit in" but that this rested with the community at large as well as the individual. The authors argue that one of the main goals of a citizenship programme is to build on "more positive" aspects of a person's identity in order that people can "move away" from the issues which brought them into services, supporting them to take up "valued roles". In so doing, the authors argue, a positive identity based on assets rather than deficits is fostered which also contributes to a sense of belonging. Stewart et al argue that there is the need to develop

“further social and political movements” alongside a focus on individual recovery journeys, asserting, “there is an urgent need for further development in this area if they are to achieve full citizenship” (Stewart et al, 2017, p 22).

MacIntyre et al. (2019) lay out a justification for why citizenship is a useful concept in relation to mental health in a Scottish context and why it should be included in policy and strategy. Referring specifically to the Scottish policy landscape they reference the Scottish Government’s mental health strategy, which centralises recovery and the right to a life free from stigma and discrimination. However, they argue that people in Scotland continue to experience marginalisation and high levels of social exclusion, so it is evident that people are being left behind. They suggest that framing these issues through a citizenship lens is a helpful way forward. Again, this study references critiques of recovery as a policy discourse and how increasingly professionalisation of the concept has divorced it from its emancipatory roots. They suggest that a citizenship lens has the potential to move the discourse beyond the narrow focus of the Scottish health and social care system on treating symptoms or pathology and instead offers a framework that can centralise rather than obscure health and social inequalities.

MacIntyre et al (2019) argue that introducing a concept such as citizenship can reconstitute people with mental health problems as valued, contributing members of their communities and that it can also help redefine social integration to support individual’s efforts to claim the rights and responsibilities associated with full citizenship. They also argue that an increased sense of citizenship is equated with “active participation” and has been proven to correlate with increased quality of life

and wellbeing (MacIntyre et al, 2019, p1). Again, this paper argues that a citizenship approach can help broaden out or potentially shift the individualised focus on biomedical symptomology. Also, the need to support the individual's journey towards claiming their citizenship. My own research sets out to explore further whether education has a part to play in this process.

Hamer and Finlayson (2015) write also of the journey towards full citizenship for people with experience of mental health issues. Participants in this study refereed to a continual experience of being "othered" and seen as other. This experience led to people being excluded from many of the rights and responsibilities associated with "normal" citizenship. Hamer and Finlayson (2015) link this to societal level stereotyping and discrimination against people with mental health issues. Hamer et al (2019) go on to extend the citizenship framework, linking it to theories of "acts of citizenship" (Isin and Nielsen, 2008; Isin, 2009) in their qualitative study as a lens to understand the everyday, but sometimes subversive, acts of humanity and kindness made by mental health care workers in solidarity with their clients. Acts of citizenship speak to social movement actions, to dissent and protest, of creating "rupture." These acts transform people from passive subjects to political actors and create new ways of being a citizen. This research is also framed within Turner's (1990, in Hamer et al. 2019) theory of citizenship which differentiates citizenship developed from above, via the state and from below through everyday social practices of social movements. By situating the ways that mental health workers and nurses' rebel within an organisational culture which is dominated by biological reductionism and neoliberal managerialism the actions taken are construed as rebellious acts of subversion. Transgressing rigid boundaries for instance through simple acts of human kindness in

this context are powerful, and political, acts of citizenship. This study frames citizenship as action, and highlights for me the need to differentiate between citizenship developed or imposed from above, versus action from below or from grassroots movements.

Individual and collective paths to citizenship

Ponce and Rowe (2018) reflect on both individual and collective paths to citizenship. They argue that citizenship needs to be linked to basic human needs such as a living wage jobs and affordable housing or it risks being sabotaged by a lack of direction and idealism. As such there is a challenge in managing the tensions between grand theories or ideals and real change on the ground. Given their experience Ponce and Rowe explain that as citizenship has evolved as a practice, they conceptualise it best as integrating aspects of power-based models of community development as an approach to systemic change and also more modest approaches or programs aiming at increasing access to resources and support. In relation to individual and collective approaches to citizenship work, they suggest citizenship practitioners and researchers should approach these terms critically, ask questions of them rather than accept them as set constructs. They caution that it is necessary to stay alert to potential overlaps, shifts and how the two interact.

Citizenship and its relation to collective action is discussed in most detail in Quinn et al. (2020), who have developed the most recent iteration of citizenship theory in relation to mental health, "collective citizenship". Tensions between individualism and collectivism are raised, with the role of social movements, activism and collective advocacy in securing the rights of individuals being introduced. They refer to the

highly individualised ways people are treated within mental health systems of care, including the impact of neoliberalism on services, arguing that a collective approach and voice is now "imperative." Collective citizenship is therefore offered as a counter narrative to aggressive individualisation within the mental health context. FACE, the group that I joined and worked alongside, is introduced as an example of a "collective citizenship" approach. Collective action and power shifting are identified as key characteristics of FACE and the authors argue it aligns more with community organising or community development principles rather than traditional mental health interventions. It also emerges that FACE is a relational space primarily rather than a campaigning or activist space. However, the authors argue that FACE appears to offer optimism or hope that community level concerns can be addressed. Lastly FACE members are defined as "collective problem solvers" and "active community builders" rather than individual recipients of care or treatment. This reminded me of the aims of the *Oor Mad History* project, which set out to challenge assumptions about people with mental health issues and for people "to see themselves and be seen by others, as active agents of change, rather than passive receivers of care" (CAPS, 2010, p8).

There is mention in this paper that several FACE members have recently joined a local anti-poverty organisation (*Witnesses to Hunger*) and are now involved in direct action towards structural change. However this experience has not yet been studied in depth, the trajectory of people who have graduated from The Citizen's Project and joined FACE, but have also gone on to join an activist group entirely separate from the mental health system. Considering research to date has recognised the difference between citizenship from above and citizenship below, this seems a hugely significant moment. This is first time people connected to the citizenship project at PRCH have joined a

fully autonomous and activist led space. This trajectory was is of great interest to me due to my involvement in collective advocacy, in survivor and service user led work in Scotland. As such this collective experience, FACE members joining the *Witnesses to Hunger* group, will form part of the gap in knowledge that my research seeks to address. No one has yet sought to use an educational or Mad Studies lens to understand this experience, to understand the learning that people experience when they enter a social movement space. As part of my research I will explore this trajectory to help understand broader issues of the role of social movement learning in promoting citizenship, specifically collective action, or activism.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to locate citizenship literature within a historical and theoretical context. Key traditions of citizenship thought were described as well as contemporary challenges from feminist, post-colonial, and disabled people's perspectives. Conceptualising citizenship as political participation and human agency was described as being at the heart of this study and acts of citizenship (Isin and Neilson, 2008; Isin, 2009) as well as the role of collective action and social movements in the struggle for agency and citizenship were introduced. This chapter also described literature focusing specifically on citizenship and mental health, detailing early work to develop a citizenship framework and citizenship measure (Rowe, 2015). I charted the emergence of a move away from purely individualised notions of gaining citizenship, towards more dynamic, political, and collective understandings. By doing so I also identified the gap in knowledge my own research seeks to address. This study, through a focus

on two very different examples of social movement learning, shall endeavour to understand what role education has in building personal and political agency.

In the next chapter I shall explore literature around adult education and education as a tool to develop personal and political agency, setting out the theoretical framework of my research. I shall also explore empirical literature around citizenship and education.

CHAPTER THREE: Education, citizenship, and democracy

> Democracy is sustained by the agency of the critical and creative citizen, not the conformist citizen. This is of course, both the promise and the problem of democratic life. It is an intrinsically risky business. (Shaw and Martin, 2005, p 85)

Introduction

In this chapter I shall focus on literature that situates education, specifically adult education, as a tool for building agency and the possibility of educating "activist citizens" (Isin and Neilsen, 2008). I shall begin by exploring the work of Martin and Shaw (2005) who theorise a pedagogy which translates private troubles to public issues, a pedagogy which is tied to igniting the sociological imagination (Mills, 2000). Their exceptionally useful work to extend the sociological imagination in an educational context shall be introduced, which situates narrative and reflexivity at the heart of an education that aims to build citizens who are political actors and agents of change. Considering this education is therefore inextricably linked with democracy, I name it as a political act distinct from education as an instrument of the state or the neoliberal policy agency. From there I introduce the concept of critical pedagogy and key theorists in this field. Transformative Learning Theories shall be introduced, namely the work of Mezirow (1991, 2000). Transformative Learning is often criticised as focusing on individual transformation rather than social or political change, so this debate shall be explored. From here I position "popular education" as useful in the context of this research, given its ties to social movements. As such I situate social movements as rich learning environments. Through the work of Illeris (2014) the role of biography and identity in transformative learning is presented. This is particularly

salient given critical pedagogy, popular education and Mad Studies aim to generate learning or develop critical consciousness originating from people's lived experiences, so issues of life story and biography within the transformative learning process are significant. Notions of potential identity change through involvement in political action or social movements are also introduced.

After exploring a range of literature detailing the different forms of adult education and introducing concepts such as critical pedagogy, popular education and transformative learning, I move on to explore a range of empirical literature looking at citizenship and education, beginning with work which aims to identify the underlying hegemonic drivers of citizenship education (Banks, 2008, Merryfield, 2002). By doing so I expose the contradiction at the heart of citizenship education, namely state sanctioned education for assimilation into the status quo versus more radical, socially situated education within or connected to social movements. Social movements are therefore constructed as rich environments to learn about citizenship and democracy. Literature that speaks to this dichotomy, exploring citizenship education within the context of capitalism and neoliberalism shall be explored (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, Mott, 2015, McKeown et al, 2018, Biesta and Lawy, 2004, Giroux, 2010, Aitken and Shaw, 2018, Crowther and Martin 2018).

Lastly this chapter finishes with exploration of models of citizenship education that might promote more critical and collective transformation or critical consciousness (Johnston and Morris, 2010) and literature exploring the potential for adult education within the context of mental health and wellbeing policy agendas (Lewis, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2020). Lewis argues for a liberatory curriculum and critical pedagogy that does

not politically neutralise mental health. She also argues that the radical, social and political purposes of adult education need to be maintained in order that educational spaces within mental health connect to issues of power, democracy and social justice, ultimately that education in this context helps people to develop agency (Lewis, 2020). My own research aims to build on the argument of Lewis, as well as the citizenship and mental health work of Rowe (Rowe, 2015), adding to our understanding of critical pedagogy, the contested nature of citizenship and learning in social movements within a mental health context. Therefore, my research is addressing a gap in knowledge by offering transatlantic, qualitative, and empirical data exploring the potential for education and learning within and connected to social movements as a means to promote political agency for people with experience of mental health issues.

Education, citizenship, and democracy

Martin and Shaw (2005) drew on Bauman's (1999) notion of the "art of translation" between different ways of imagining democracy to conceptualise a pedagogy which cultivates citizens as *social actors* and *political agents*. They explore the differentiation between citizens as malleable, compliant objects versus active, critical subjects and how adult education can act as a "bridge" to translate citizenship from a passive to an active entity. This connects with the writing of Lister (2003) and Gaventa (2000) who characterise citizenship as agency as well as the work of Isin and Neilsen (2008) who provided insight into the difference between active citizenship and active citizens, or "acts of citizenship" and activist citizens.

Of particular relevance to my research is the work of Mills and "the sociological imagination" (Mills, 2000), which is about how sociological principles apply in reality

and how they can help us make sense of the world and our position in it. Also, the sociological imagination is about the capacity for people to see their own personal situation within a wider social and political context – connecting the “private troubles of personal milieu” to the “public issues of structure”. (Mills, 2000, p20) This to me is the fundamental purpose of critical or transformative adult education, to connect the personal to the political, to build agency and facilitate this “transformation” both individually and collectively at a societal level. I therefore intend in my research to understand more fully the ways in which curriculum and pedagogy can act as a bridge between the personal and political, opening educational spaces which can realise the potential of such a transformation.

Martin and Shaw (2005) usefully extended and expanded the sociological imagination to two other forms of imagination – the *narrative* imagination and *reflexive* imagination both of which offer useful frameworks for understanding the educational possibilities within this study. Narrative imagination is of relevance because of the importance of embedding the life story, the historical and lived experience narrative, as well as the potential for transformative curriculums to be generated from the students themselves. This also implies a sense of historical consciousness within the narrative imagination, the capacity to locate one’s own biography within the story or stories of history. Biography is always historical they argue, because our individual experiences are the products of broader historical and social contexts which change over time. Our present understandings of democracy are the result of the struggles for freedom and justice of those that went before us and of course endure today and into the future. As such, “re-making democracy is always the unfinished business of citizenship” (Martin and Shaw, 2005, p88). A second type of imagination is therefore

required of citizens, *reflexive imagination*, "the capacity to see one's self, one's identity and traditions as simultaneously part of both the problem and possibility of democratic life." (Martin and Shaw, 2005, p88). As such education is tasked with the re-making of democracy through generating both narrative and reflexive imagination whereby people can re-imagine themselves and the world around them. Education in this context should encourage citizens towards political voice and agency and that if adult education does not do this it is in danger of functioning as an instrument of the state, therefore "struggling for citizenship is about struggling for democracy and this is both a political and educational task" (Giroux, 2002 in Martin and Shaw, 2005, p567).

Martin and Shaw's argument is that we cannot speak of citizenship without democracy and we cannot speak about democracy without speaking of social justice and equality. They go further and says that education for citizenship - distinct from training people to be "good citizens" – must start from this vital set of moral, political and material connections or it risks us colluding naively with the neoliberal policy agenda. As educators, Martin and Shaw say we must not only show that the personal is political, but also illuminate how policy seeks to reverse the tide of social and political process by transforming the "public issues of structure" back into the personal troubles of milieu" (Mills, 2000, p20). Adult Education has always been important in contesting the terrain of citizenship and can, the authors argue, help find new ways of thinking about citizenship and struggling for it. Citizenship then, real citizenship should reflect and express people's sense of agency, that is their capacity to "act politically" (Shaw and Martin, 2005, p575). Shaw and Martin's overall argument is that developing agency is a key aim of adult education, indeed its central purpose. Crucially critical

adult education should centre then on enabling people's agency and capacity for dissent rather than producing compliant, productive self-sufficient citizens (Shaw and Martin, 2005, p577). This resonates with the work of Gaventa, who argues also that citizenship is "a process which is *claimed through the agency of citizens"*. (Gaventa, 2002, p2)

Critical Pedagogy, Popular Education and Transformative Learning.

I shall move on now to introduce some of the key theorists and influences in the development of "critical pedagogy" with a focus on the work of Freire and Giroux. I shall then move on to look at the contribution of popular education and Transformative Learning theory, in particular the work of Jack Mezirow and bell hooks.

Giroux (2001) was the first to reference the term "critical pedagogy" in his book "Theory and Resistance in Education". Giroux was inspired by the work of Freire (1995), who had taken forward the argument that people need to develop a critical awareness so that they can take action against oppression. Giroux's started from an understanding that education is not only important for gaining employment or being economically viable, but also for developing the "formative culture of beliefs, practices, and social relatives that enable individuals to wield power, learn how to govern and structure a democratic society that takes equality, justice, share values and freedom seriously." (Giroux, 2011 p 4) He suggests a notion of critical pedagogy that interrogates how power, experience and knowledge are shaped in the classroom and argues for education as a tool for, "developing a language for thinking critically about how culture deploys power and how pedagogy as a moral and political practice enables

students to focus on the suffering of others" (Giroux, 2011, p4) and "to educate students to lead a meaningful life, learn how to hold power and authority accountable, and develop the skills, knowledge and courage to challenge common sense assumptions while being willing to struggle for a more socially just world" (Giroux, 2011, p7).

For Giroux, the processes for change and transformation were of upmost importance. Critical pedagogy was about "transforming knowledge" (Bourn, 2015 p 90). Critical Pedagogy for Giroux recognises that all knowledge is created within a historical context and it is this historical context which "gives life and meaning to human experience" (Darder, et al., 2009 p12). Through engaging with the *historicity* of knowledge, "students come to understand themselves as subjects of history and to recognise that conditions of injustice, although historically produced by human beings, can also be transformed by human beings" (Darder et al., 2009 p 12). Again, the primacy of human agency is evident, echoing the strands of citizenship literature I drew out in the previous chapter. This notion of people acknowledging themselves as products of history, that people have the power to tackle or change injustice and how this links to human agency is very significant for my own research.

Paulo Freire and Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Another major influence on the practice and theory of critical pedagogy was Paulo Freire. Freire was involved in literacy work in Brazil. He rejected traditional literacy approaches that focused only on basic skills development and thought literacy education should go beyond just teaching people to read and write and towards "helping individuals gain critical awareness of the systems that oppress them" (Magro,

2001, p88). Freire has been hugely influential in the field of adult education, namely for his critique of the "banking" form of education, which is the traditional model of teaching where the teacher is considered the expert, bestowing knowledge to a the captive audience of students. Freire challenged this form of education, as well as dominant orthodoxies and he "champion[ed] of the voices of the dispossessed" (Bourn, 2015, p 90). For Freire and his followers, education is never a neutral process, it "either functions as an instrument to facilitate the conformity and support for the current system, or it becomes the means by which learners make sense of and critically reflect on the world in which they live and the role they can play in transforming it" (Bourn, 2015 p90). Freire was strident in his belief that education was a political act, students were not empty vessels to be filled with knowledge rather they were the experts in their own lives and pedagogy should always start with their lived experience of the world. This premise is fundamental to many adult educators today as we wrestle with whether education creates critical or compliant citizens (Shaull, 2000):

> There is no neutral education process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the 'practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world." (Shaull, in Freire, 1995, p34)

Freire argued that people had never learned to think critically about their situation and often accept it as inevitable. He believed it was only when people began to become aware and ask questions of their situation that they can give meaning to it. Freire called this a collective process of "conscientization" (Freire, 2000, p 67). Freire also refers to

four levels of consciousness – magical, naïve, critical, and political (Freire, 1973, p44). These levels reflect an increasing critical awareness or journey to "conscientization", with "magical" consciousness being the level at where people feel they are completely impotent to do anything about their circumstances, it is almost like they are controlled by outside forces and their situation is perceived as inevitable. One stage along from this is "naïve" consciousness where people are aware that life is not just something that just happens to you and a sense you can do something about your situation. "Critical" consciousness people discover they can change things, through an understanding of how oppression works. Lastly, the highest level of consciousness is "political" consciousness, where people recognise, they share the same problem with others, this leads them to come together to try to influence those in power. Paulo Freire believed only through collectivity, through dialogue with others, could critical thinking be actualised. So, education was dialogical process which linked experience with reflection and, crucially, action and social justice. Freire's concept of "praxis" is the connection between critical reflection and action, where individuals can transform their world. Education is very much a collective effort and the traditional barriers between "student" and "teacher" or "them" and "us" are broken down. The teacher works alongside students as a co-learner in an approach characterised by dialogue, respect, collaboration, and solidarity. The process is seen as democratic and through informal discussion where topics related to real life are "generated" the curriculum is built. Topics generated through discussions are identified by learners themselves as issues they themselves face such as poverty, justice, work, or racism. In so doing the curriculum and knowledge generated or constructed is formed from the "bottom up"

and comes from the expertise of the people, the issues and that are of cultural and socio-political importance to people themselves.

Transformative Learning Theory

Jack Mezirow has been the main proponent of what is called "Transformative Learning". Mezirow was clearly influenced by the work of Freire and his work has had a big impact on the field of adult education. For Mezirow learning is not just about the addition of new information, similar to Freire's critique of the "banking" model of education. It is more about how our existing perspectives or assumptions about life can be transformed through a process of critical reflection. Similar to Freire, Mezirow acknowledges the impact of social, political and cultural forces which "may hinder, distort or limit an individual's capacity to progress and gain a sense of agency over his or her life" (Magro, 2001, p90). Mezirow, again like Freire, is also concerned not only with reflection, but also with *action*. Mezirow can be critiqued however for his focus on the individual rather than collectivised notions of transformative change. Inglis (1997) challenges the idea that freedom and emancipation can purely be attained through personal transformation. He argues that Mezirow's theory, despite including an emphasis on social action, does not include a critical analysis of power and despite a call for social action, has an over-emphasis on the individual rather than social movements as the agent of social change. This therefore offers a false and inadequate sense of emancipation (Inglis, 1997, p7).

Wright (2011) offers a helpful summary of the influence of Giroux, Freire and Mezirow which suggests that collectively they offer a model of pedagogy which equips students to question dominant values, to achieve an increased level of critical

consciousness about the ideologies which impact on their lives and to place the discourse of education itself within a socio-political context (Wright, 2011, in Bourn, 2015 p98). Bourn goes further to describe several shared principles of transformative and critical educational approaches. These include a global interconnectedness, critiques of power and inequality, concerns with social justice and a recognition that engaging in these debates can lead to a process of critical refection, dialogue and engagement in a period of transformation and change for the individual, but also critically at a societal level (Bourn, 2015, p98).

As bell hooks, another key contributor to critical pedagogy and transformative learning, says the classroom can be a space for transformation, and education a "practice of freedom":

> the classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as a practice of freedom. (hooks 1994 p4)

hooks is a prominent feminist, educator and activist who has contributed extensively to the field of transformative learning. hooks argued that for Black people, education was inherently a political act because it was rooted in the anti-racist struggle. Remembering her early memories of education during segregation, where all her teachers were Black women, hooks said that although these women did not define what they did in theoretical terms her teachers were "enacting a revolutionary pedagogy of resistance that was profoundly anti-colonial" (hooks, 1994, p2). hooks and her peers

"learnt that our devotion to learning, to a life of the mind, was a counter-hegemonic act, a fundamental way to resist every strategy of white racist colonisation" (hooks, 1994 p2).

hooks, although a critic of his "phallocentric" language, was a follower and friend of Paulo Freire. In her teaching she constantly looked for strategies to enact what Freire termed "conscientization," which she rephrased as critical awareness and engagement. hooks also adhered to Freire's concept of praxis, reflecting, and acting on the world in order to change it. hooks very much makes the connection between pedagogy, lived experience and theory. Like Patricia Hill Collins (1990) hooks was committed to keeping theory relevant to the everyday lives of women. hooks wrote eloquently about grounding pedagogy and theory in the lived experience of women and finds theory most meaningful when it:

> invites readers to engage in critical reflection and to engage in the practice of feminism. To me, this theory emerges from the concrete, from my efforts to make sense of everyday life experiences, from my efforts to intervene critically in my life and the lives of others. This is to me what makes feminist transformation possible. (hooks, 1994 p70)

Popular education and social movements

I shall now move on to focus what is termed "popular education" which is broadly understood as education rooted in the interests, aspirations and social movement struggles of "ordinary people" and the relationship between education and social change. Crowther et al. (1999) define popular education as "rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people" (Crowther et al. 1999 p4). Popular education has a

foundational analysis of inequality and oppression and has a political purpose towards a more just society. Importantly for this study, at the heart of popular education is the expectation that the learner should be "regarded as an active citizen in a democracy" (Crowther et al. 1999 p 6). Proponents are open about the fact that popular education is never neutral, in fact it is explicit about its political purpose. It is characterised by "knowledge from below" and the curriculum is "worked up" from the knowledge and expertise of people's real-life experiences. It is again a collective experience, and egalitarian rather than a meritocracy. Critically it aims to be situated at the axis and dialectic between "structure and agency" and to ally itself with progressive social movements (Crowther et al. 1999 p7).

Social movements are defined in this context as "movements of people in civil society which cohere around issues and identities which they themselves define as significant." Social movements articulate a "collective identity", they are usually united by a common cause, a sense that they are "for" something because they are "against" something (Crowther et al., 1999 p9). Della Porta and Diani (1999) outline four common aspects of social movements: shared belief and solidarity, collective action focusing on conflicts and use of protest. (Della Porter and Diani, 1999, p15). According to their analysis, to be considered a social movement, an "interacting collectivity" needs to have a shared belief set and a sense of belonging. It needs to be engaged in political or cultural "conflicts." Conflict in this context is "an oppositional relationship between actors who seek control of the same stake." (Della Porter and Diani, 1999 p15) Lastly another distinctive feature of a social movement which differentiates it from other forms of political participation is its engagement with public protest of some kind. In linking social movements to adult education and,

popular education, Crowther et al. propose as a curriculum of social movements. They argue that social movements, "ask big universal questions about what it means to be human" and they seek to reassert the centrality of human agency (Crowther et al. 1999 pp10-11). Most significantly it can be argued that social movements mediate what C Wright Mills calls the "personal troubles of milieu" and the "public issues of structure" (Mills, 2000, p20). In doing so they bring together the personal and political dimensions of people's experiences (Crowther et al.,1999).

It can be said then that knowledge that comes from social movements or learning about social movements can engage students with a history rich in a narrative of political and personal power and agency. This in turn can lead students to a process of critical awareness, political consciousness (Freire, 1973) or "conscientization" (Freire, 1995) which can ultimately result in a transformative learning experience. Torres argues that adult education be part of a new social movement, or at the very least can be used by social movements as a tool in their quest for policy or political leverage (Torres, 2013 p35). Torres urges us to understand politics as a struggle for power. However, he cautions against social movements being solely understood in political terms. Rather, he conceptualises them as characterised by cultural and moral practices. Social movements, according to Torres, are therefore also based on collective identity and collective, relational spaces (Torres, 2013 p38).

Citizenship and education

Having contextualised my work in the literature of adult education, particularly critical pedagogy, I shall now move on to examine the links between education and citizenship. Much of the empirical literature on the intersections between citizenship

and education focuses on citizenship education or education for citizenship, much of which occurs formally in school-based education, but also within adult education. This section of the literature review shall focus on debates about the different conceptualisations of citizenship education, raising critical questions about the purpose of this form of education. Bagnall (2010), argues that a traditional, contractarian and formal conception of citizenship is the major hegemonic driver for Western citizenship education. This liberal contractarian view of citizenship is grounded firmly in the rights and responsibilities of the individual citizen, offering a normative and homogenous view of what citizenship means. Here the state controls and bestows citizenship on to the individual. To belong or belonging in this context is to belong to the nation state and to be a non-citizen is to be excluded or marginalised from such.

Another conceptualisation of citizenship that is prevalent in adult education literature is a participative understanding of citizenship. As I explored previously, this is a looser construct that allows for more heterogeneity in terms of social and cultural context and is also more concerned with what it means to engage or be engaged as a citizen. In an educational context then this is tied to the knowledge required to engage or participate, for example how democratic processes work or certain skills associated with community participation. Belonging then is a function of participation. Lastly Bangall (2010) discusses an "existential" conception of citizenship which in some ways is the most advanced stage or outcome of the two previous models. Existential citizenship focuses on the experience or experiential aspects of citizenship and belonging. Here citizenship is an affective state that is experienced by and individual and, crucially in the context of this study, a collective. Citizenship here is characterised by embracing

the community, extending into it, and developing commitment and responsibility to it. This in turn contributes to individual and collective identity (Kiwa, 2008, in Bagnall, 2010). To not belong or to be a non-citizen in relation to existential citizenship is to be alienated or unable to identify with said community. Also, of relevance here is that belonging is not tied to the belonging to a nation-state, but rather to communities of interest, common cause, or identity.

Banks (2014) also writes about education and citizenship, arguing that the context of globalisation, mass immigration and rights based campaigns by minority groups have resulted in social scientists and educators asking critical questions about what he terms liberal assimilationist concepts of citizenship which he argues have dominated citizenship education in nation states (Banks, 2014, p1). He describes assimilationist conceptions of citizenship education and proposes a transformation that privileges collective rights and structural equality. Under assimilationist understandings the individual must give up the languages and cultures of their homeland to participate fully in the national civic culture. In this sense it is perceived the rights of the group are detrimental to the rights of individual. Although this model is being applied mainly in the context of school or adult education-based citizenship education in multicultural settings, there is a relevance here for this study; an "assimilationist" versus more critical and transformative approach to citizenship education. If education is not to just function as an arm of the state, and "assimilate" people into being citizens of a nation state or accepting the status quo, then there is a need for more radical approaches that promote critical thinking and more disruptive understandings of what it means to be a citizen. Banks (2014) differentiates between this more mainstream version of citizenship education and a more transformative potential. Mainstream approaches

will re-enforce traditional and established epistemological paradigms as well as dominant power relations. This approach does not attempt to challenge class, racialised or gender discrimination in the educational space or help students make sense of their multiple and intersecting identities. It also does not help students make sense of their place or role in the globalised world. Curriculum focuses on procedures or processes of democracy and critical thinking or collective action do not feature strongly. In contrast, Banks argues, a transformative approach would prioritise paradigms which disrupt and challenge these assumptions and the overall political purpose is to improve the human condition. This approach would equip students with the tools needed to tackle inequality in their communities, countries and globally too. It would help them to make sense of their own identities, connect their own subjectivities to issues of power, inequality and justice and take action to create a just community and society (Banks, 2014, p7).

These different models of citizenship models are linked to Bank's typology of different levels of citizenship; legal, minimal, active, and transformational citizenship (Banks, 2014, p7). Legal citizenship is the most superficial level; that is legal membership of a nation state and according rights and responsibilities. However, at this level people do not participate in political system in any meaningful way. Minimal citizenship refers to people who participate in the political system by voting and nothing else and active citizenship would be considered civic action that goes beyond voting but does not challenge existing social and political norms or values. Lastly transformative citizenship, which has most relevance to this study, would involve civic action which would go beyond existing laws or conventions to promote social justice. Transformative citizens would take action, individually or collectively that might aim

to violate or dismantle current political structures or norms. Banks references Rosa Parks and the lunch counter protests during the civil rights movement as examples of actions that could be termed transformative. This typology has resonance with Isin's (2008) "acts of citizenship" and also Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) concept of the "justice-oriented citizen", which shall be explored in more detail later in this chapter. Such approaches enable critical thinking about the kinds of citizenship we are educating for, a liberal assimilationist or a transformative citizenship.

Merryfield (2002) draws on empirical research and practice in the global South and in an international development context to explore the role of adult education and learning in developing active citizen participation or action. Most relevant for this study is the importance of socially situated learning and indirect or informal learning in community groups and social movements. She explores the spectrum of education for citizenship and democracy from state sanctioned civic or citizenship education in schools or other institutions, to popular adult education and tacit experiential or socially situated learning. Merryfield describes what she thinks of as the most important aspect of citizenship learning; informal, situation-based learning through participation in political life, community building or social movements. She argues that popular social movements disrupt or question norms and should be prime locations for igniting critical thinking and conscientisation, providing opportunities to learn about "citizenship" in the broadest sense (Merryfield, 2002, p11).

Merryfield coined the term "citizen learning" and argued this form of learning does not only happen in social movements, but also during participation in civic society organisations. This included "social learning", for example people reported increasing

their social contacts and an increase in confidence, as well as “political learning”. In political learning people learnt more about policy, social and political issues, people reported feeling more politically aware and a significant number also reported talking explicit political action. There is also the learning that happens in more planned and deliberate ways such as in radical or popular adult education and critical pedagogy. Popular education as pedagogy is proposed as a form of education which lends itself to raising awareness and building a social and political role, ultimately leading to the development of critical citizenship (Cespedes. 2015, p5). Writing in the context of Global Citizenship Education (GCED) she argues that popular education focuses on transformation in the realm of the structural, political, and economic. This serves as a contrast to the more individualistic focus of transformative education (for example see Mezirow, 1991, 2000) and as such is of particular relevance to the approach taken by this study, which aims to understand how education can act as a bridge or tool to link the personal with the political, the individual with the collective.

Educating for what purpose?

Clearly literature exploring citizenship and education asks critical questions about what kind of citizenship we are educating for and what kind of citizens are we aiming to “create”. Focusing on this exact question, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) researched 10 educational programmes as part of a multi- year empirical study into school-based learning that aimed to teach democratic citizenship. From their analysis of the data and democratic theory they developed a conceptualisation of citizenship or three different kinds of citizen in an educational context that again mirror a journey from individualised understandings of citizenship to a more solidaristic and collectivist

model: the “personally responsible citizen”, the “participatory citizen” and the “justice oriented citizen” (Westheimer and Kahne 2004, p 242).This work raises questions about the kinds of citizenship that are promoted within educational programmes and whether the aim is to produce good, compliant citizens or “justice oriented” or activist citizens.

Westheimer and Kahne’s trilateral typology is also a helpful framework in understanding the balance between structure and agency, with personally responsible citizen’s acting within the individual realm, donating blood or food to a foodbank, so acting agentially at a very micro level. Change is tied in with being a responsible citizen, obeying normative rules and taking personal responsibility. A participatory citizen is actively involved in civic organisations or volunteering, she understands the ways that local or national democracy works and acts agentially at a meso level. For example, a participatory citizen might help to organise or run a food bank and change is understood through participation in established systems at a community level. A justice-oriented citizen will not just donate food to a food bank or help out at one, rather they will want to understand the systemic reasons why people are poor and hungry and take action for change at a more macro level. This may involve connection with social movements and a willingness to disrupt established power systems that reproduce inequality at a systemic level. I would argue and hope that a critical education approach, whether it is education for “citizenship” or towards a broader notion of education for democracy, would ultimately aim to build justice-oriented, transformative citizens who will carry out acts of citizenship, take collective action or engage in activism (Westheimer and Kahne 2004, p 242).

Westheimer and Kahne's work also links to the work of Mott et al (2015) who ask critical questions about the role of education within a neoliberal context. They argue that students are taught in the neoliberal university how to be "globally oriented state subjects" (Mitchell, 2003, in Mott et al, 2015) who are entrepreneurial, governable and malleable within advanced capitalist globalization. This neoliberalizing education creates a sense of alienation, disaffection and indifference in students (Russo, 2004, in Mott et al, 2015) and because of this Mott et al argue a caring and critical pedagogy of solidarity is required to counter the alienation of neoliberalism and austerity politics. Alternative educational spaces therefore have the power to disrupt or insurrect, to offer spaces of possibility and transgression.

McKeown et al (2018) also point to education under capitalism as education for pacification and compliance and how a Freirean centred critical pedagogy, education for liberation and emancipation is possible instead. They argue mutual learning is at the heart of social movement learning and organising, of challenging hegemonies and building critical alliances between movements, particularly trade union organisers and the mental health service user and survivor movement. Such learning can embody the ideal of "education for a fully free democracy" rather than education as an instrument of control (Mckeown et al, 2018, p156).

Biesta and Lawy (2006) argue for a shift in teaching about citizenship to "learning for democracy" to counter the individualistic understandings of citizenship that underpin citizenship education. Biesta and Lawy (2006) assert that there is a need to move beyond purely agency-based understandings of citizenship, towards an understanding of the structural constraints made by an aggressive market and a coercive state (Faulks,

1998, in Biesta and Lawy, 2006, p4). They argue with classic liberalism the individual is characterised as autonomous and practicing freedom, whereas with neoliberalism the state wants to generate individuals who are enterprising, and entrepreneurial. Therefore, citizenship under neoliberalism is characterised by a shift from Marshallian, post war social and welfare rights, towards dominance of market rights and market power. At the heart of this ideology is embedded the concept of the active citizen, a dynamic individual, self-reliant and who takes responsibility without being dependent on the state for intervention or support.

Given critiques of citizenship education described above, this context suggests citizenship education has emerged as a method to prepare people, particularly young people, for citizenship. These educational programs are characterised by a curriculum that focuses on duties, responsibilities, and individual rights, as well as individuals making a valued contribution by being active in the community. It can be argued that this kind of citizenship education perpetuates an individualised and neoliberal approach to citizenship as it suggests that citizenship can be attained by the individual working hard to achieve the right set of skills, knowledge and values. This approach to citizenship education is about promoting "good citizenship" not questioning what "good citizenship" is under advanced capitalism and neoliberalism. (Biesta and Lawy, 2006). Therefore, it can be argued that a critical questioning of citizenship and what it is, or what I can be, should be at the very heart of citizenship education and at the heart of democratic life itself.

Giroux (2010) also critiqued higher education in advanced capitalism, saying that what was once a common good, was now a private good. Universities, he stated, are

responding to the demands of a corporate and militarised global capitalism. Referencing Freire, he argued that education was not about preparing citizens for the global market, political indoctrination, or conformity, rather it was a political tool for self-determination and civic engagement. Education for Giroux and Freire was about opening up space and possibilities for the "critical citizen", an education that offered possibilities to:

> journey beyond the immediate confines of one's experiences, entering into a critical dialogue with history and imaging a future that would not merely reproduce the past. (Giroux, 2010, p 192)

Students then are encouraged to become critical agents, with education as a practice of freedom rather than control, creating a space for people to encounter their own power to question and be "critically engaged citizens" (Giroux, 2010 p 193). This concept of encountering one's own *power to question* is a key aspect of critical pedagogy.

Following the above cautions and critiques, I shall now outline literature which proposes a more explicitly political, democratic, and radical approach. Aitken and Shaw (2018), writing about the relevance of Freire in contemporary Scotland, argue for adult education, or "lifelong learning" as it now termed in policy, to reclaim its historic radicalism. They caution that in the current policy climate it is easy for potentially transformative and radical Freirean concepts to be de-fanged and its core messages to be depoliticised, the very "domestication" that Freire warned of. Crowther and Martin (2018) in fact ask whether education is liberation or domestication (Freire, 1972, in Crowther and Martin, 2018). Again, referring to neoliberalism and the demise

and destruction of the social and welfare state, they argue the notion of a public good has been replaced by individual choice. Lifelong learning is at the centre of preparing citizens for this new “welfare order” They argue that in many ways the destruction of the welfare state, politically and ideologically is accompanied with the complete reconstruction of citizenship. At its centre now is the personally responsible citizen who is responsible for their own health, education, and welfare. With the erosion of public space citizenship is reduced to individual freedom of choice and consumerist consumption. Soberingly, then “the concept of citizenship itself becomes privatised” (Crowther and Martin, 2018, p9).

Johnston and Morris (2010) developed a comprehensive framework for critical citizenship education which is useful in the context of this study. In many ways this approach to education for critical, democratic citizenship follows Biesta and Lawy’s (2006) critique of most citizenship education which focuses too strongly on the individual citizen as a bearer of individualised rights, responsibilities, and values. Biesta and Lawy (2006) called for more attention to be paid to the political elements of citizenship, constructing, and positioning democratic citizenship as beyond this notion of individual responsibility, the responsibility to be a better person or citizen. Their position and the position of this study is that education needs to be built around an understanding of citizenship that is *explicitly* political and connected to wider social and political action. In this way democracy is seen as requiring more than just good active, responsible citizens, democracy also requires critical, questioning, and activist citizens.

Lewis (2012; 2014; 2020) has built up a significant body of work looking at the role of adult learning in relation to mental health and wellbeing policy agendas. She argues that adult community learning reduces social exclusion through creating accessible learning opportunities and a chance to interact with other adults in informal, social environments characterised by friendship and solidarity. Lewis's work reinforces the importance of education as a tool to build personal and political agency. She calls for a liberatory curriculum and a pedagogy that does not politically neutralise mental health and the creation of "supportive environments for people to break silence and to reframe personal experience in social terms" – to politicise these" (Lewis, 20, p650). Considering this she suggests caution about education within "wellbeing" policy contexts and agendas, which she is concerned depoliticises the more radical and emancipatory objectives of adult education. Ultimately, Lewis's recent work demands a maintaining of the original political, social, and *radical* goals of adult education and that critical pedagogical approaches have an important role to play in addressing issues of mental health and health inequalities. Namely there is a need for pedagogy in the context of mental health needs to connect to the social purpose of adult education, which is tied to promoting democratic citizenship and social justice, including how power operates. Lewis also claims that education in the context of mental health needs to focus on developing people's "agency" (Lewis, 2020, p 658). My own research aims to focus on exploring this gap further, this identified need for emancipatory or critical pedagogy within a mental health context.

Conclusion

With this chapter I have sought to provide a strong overview of key theories and thinking in adult education, introducing significant bodies of literature such as critical pedagogy, transformative learning theory and popular education. I also explored the role of biography and learning within transformative learning approaches. The debate around the focus on individual versus collective transformation was explored. From here I moved on to examine a range of empirical literature focusing on citizenship and education. I drew on literature that extrapolates the dichotomy between normative, assimilationist approaches to citizenship education and more critical and transformative models. This raised the important question; what kind of citizenship are we aiming to educate for and what kind of citizens are we aiming to educate? I concluded this chapter by introducing the work of Johnston and Morris (2010) who developed a framework or model for critical citizenship education and the work of Lewis (2012, 2014, 2020) who is interested in the potential of community based learning in the context of mental health and wellbeing policy. Lewis's most recent work (2020) aligns closely with my own. I aim therefore to build on the work of Lewis on adult education and mental health, as well as the research around mental health and citizenship (Rowe, 2015) to deepen understanding the role of education, primarily critical pedagogy and learning through social movements on building critical consciousness (Freire, 1995) and agency for people with experience of mental health issues. To address this gap, this study shall be framed by the following research questions:

- What, if anything has changed for participants following their involvement and how do they articulate this change?
- What aspect of the curriculum or experience do people believe facilitated this change?
- What role can critical education play in building bridges between individual experience (identity) and issues of agency and structure? (context, structural inequality)
- Does social movement learning or content impact on this process, i.e. interacting with “Madness” as a political identity or political project or learning about the activism of others?
- How do participants view the link between identity, structure and agency or citizenship?
- Can MPHI and The Citizens Project enable people to become more “political” or “active” citizens?
- How do those who are involved in Mad Studies conceptualise citizenship?

This is the first study to use a pedagogical and Mad Studies lens to explore the intersection of citizenship, education, and mental health. Also, it is the first to offer qualitative material or “data” from two transatlantic settings. In the next chapter I will detail the aims and objectives of this study as well as the methodology and methods used.

CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology and Methods

> The research act is not an attempt to change the world through the process of investigation, but an attempt to change the world by producing ourselves and others in different ways from those produced before, intentionally or not. (Oliver, 2002, p14)

Introduction.

In this chapter I shall situate myself and my research within a theoretical framework and research paradigm. I will firstly introduce the theoretical framework which has shaped my methodological thinking. Then I will describe the methodological choices I made and delineate the methods used, drawing on a range of relevant literature. I shall detail the research process and design, including a description of the places and people involved, recruitment and sampling, data collection, reflexivity, reflection, and member checking, and lastly data analysis. This is a qualitative study located within an emancipatory and critical constructivist paradigm (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994; Giroux et al. 1998; Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe et al, 2011; Rogers, 2012). My work draws on critical (Thomas, 1993; Schwandt, 1997; Madison, 2012) and post-critical ethnographic (Hytten, 2004) and oral history (Janesick, 2007; 2010) methodology. This study draws on a multiplicity of theoretical and methodological positionalities and research methods to inform the inquiry, as such it follows the bricolage tradition of emancipatory research. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; Kincheloe, 2001; 2005a; 2005b; Denzin, 2010; Kincheloe et al. 2011; Rogers, 2012; Earl, 2013; 2017)

Theoretical framework – social movement learning and Mad Studies.

Social movement learning theory has evolved as the central theoretical framework for this study. Social movement learning is intentional or informal learning that can happen through direct engagement with collective action or social movements, or through indirect exposure to the existence of social movements (Foley 1999; Kilgore 1999; Hall and Clover, 2005; Hall, 2006; 2009) Mad Studies, as demonstrated in the practice and activism of MPHI (Ballantyne et al., 2020), is a critical pedagogy project rooted in social movement history and led by social movement actors. As such I argue that Mad Studies based pedagogy is an applied example of social movement learning. This theoretical framework emerged partially from the literature review, in particular from the literature around popular education and also Church et al (2016), writing in Mad Studies, who first brought me to the term *social movement learning* in their reflections on the "Out from Under" exhibition, developed originally from a Disability Studies class, as a form of social movement learning. This theoretical framework has informed the development of the methodology, my methodological thinking, and choices.

Epistemology matters in social movement learning and Mad Studies. Church et al. (2016), reflect on how knowledge arises from differently situated modes of knowing and from the creation of claimed or created spaces (Church et al., 2016, p194). Here we can see links between the knowledge of lived experience, of activism and struggle with Gaventa's (2006) concepts of closed, invited and claimed/created spaces. Church et al. (2016) describes the complexities, in their experience, of navigating different ways of knowing; "…as we moved together through the course, our conversations

scrambled across the borders that separate universities from community sites, service agencies from grassroots organisations, formal from informal learning, credentialed education from activist wisdom, service providers from recipients of 'help', and professional expertise from embodied experience." (Church et al, 2016, pp194 - 209) This concept of "different ways of knowing" helped frame my work, as I too embarked on a journey where I would encounter the borderlands between "expert" and experiential knowledge, top-down, professionally, or academically led "interventions" versus grassroots and bottom-up social movement understandings of change (Church et al., 2016, pp194 – 209).

At the intersection of adult education theory and social movement theory, social movement learning has a strong focus on collective action and social movements as powerful learning sites. Social movement learning therefore speaks to the power of collective rather than individual transformation or emancipation, of movement actors as *collective actors,* and argues that the learning associated with social movements is exceptionally rich (Welton, 1993). This moves the locus of change beyond the interpersonal or individual level, focusing on the impact of the collective or group on the development of *political agency*. Choudry and Kapoor (2010) name capitalism and neoliberalism as the "battleground" of adult education; arguing for the dislocation and rupturing of sterile and orderly learning spaces, privileging instead the more dynamic and informal sites of collective action where people can potentially contribute to change at a range of levels; interpersonally, locally, nationally and globally. There is a sense of revolution and alternative about this learning, which is grounded in the local but encourages a deep interconnectedness and respect for multiple and indigenous knowledges. Responsibility, a term which is intimately bound with normative, neo-

liberal notions of citizenship, in reconceptualised in this context as humanistic, a deep responsibility to each other as human beings.

Hall and Clover (2005) and Hall (2009) claim that social movement is learning that happens informally or formally by a person who is part of a social movement. It is also the informal and formal learning that can happen by someone not immediately part of the movement but encountering its knowledge, actions, or tools. Social movements are termed “epistemic communities” (Eyerman and Johnson, 1991, in Hall and Clover, 2005) and Hall and Clover point out that the various tools that are deployed by social movements such as poetry, protest, art or marches are explicitly designed to reach beyond the boundaries of movements themselves and connect with people out with the movement. Thus, the authors point to the power of social movements to reframe the world with this “ongoing democratic flow of energy” (Hall and Clover, 2005, p3). All of this is learning in, of and from social movements and as Menconi (2003, in Hall and Clover, 2005) argued, people are learning about citizenship in social movements.

Kilgore (1999) developed a theory of learning in social movements, collective learning and the group as a learning system. She drew on the work of social movement theorist Melucci Wells’s (1996, in Kilgore, 1999) work on the extension of Vygotsky’s theory, the Zone of Proximal Development. Kilgore argued that individualised theories of learning do not address the group learning experience, which is characterised by a learning centred on *doing* or action rather than *knowing*, as well as by a sense of collective identity. Kilgore’s theory points to the need for both individual and group components of development. On an individual level she situates the need for a sense of individual identity as well as Marxian concepts of consciousness, to which she

argues that a sense of agency is required to add confidence as well as lastly a sense of worthiness and connection. This resonated with the aims of critical pedagogy and popular education, with the Freirean concepts of critical consciousness and conscientisation (Freire, 1995). This location of the individual identity coupled with a sense of consciousness, which adds imagination. Kilgore argues that when individuals act or take action, they begin to see themselves as actors rather than being *acted upon*. This sense of agency allows people to imagine themselves as active agents, aligning, as was described in the previous chapter, with the principles of the *Oor Mad History* project which aimed to use oral history as a tool to enable people with lived experience "to see themselves and to be seen by others as active agents of change" (CAPS, 2010, p8).

For Kilgore, "worthiness" is the feeling that you are making a worthy contribution, that you are worthy or valued in the group. Lastly, in terms of individual development, she refers to a concept of connectedness. Connectedness for Kilgour is related to concepts of social vision, affinity and empathy with others. Mirroring the process of individual development, Kilgour lays out her ideas of *collective development* which include a sense of collective identity, group rather than individual consciousness, solidarity and organisation. Of relevance to the framing of this study are the concepts of collective identity and group consciousness, both which position the group as a *social actor* and *collective change agent.* This speaks to the collective learning experience of the group and how its sense of collective identity is tied to acting collectively.

Scandrett et al. (2010), however, critique the fact that Kilgore, whose work they say was part of a wider "cultural turn" in movement theorising, for an over-focus on individual concepts such as motivation or identity, obscuring the structural and socio-political contexts in which movements act and operate. They reference the work of Eyerman and Jamison (1991) who called social movements examples of "cognitive praxis", that their political practices are deeply linked and dependent on the creation and distribution of new knowledges. Movements therefore are situated as important sites for contesting the legitimacy of certain kinds of hegemonic knowledge (Scandrett et al., 2010, p 126) and a fertile epistemological landscape for the growth and development of new ways of knowing the world. Scandrett et al. draw on empirical research about movements in Scotland and India, as well as the work of Ettore Gelpi and his conception of lifelong learning in their work on social movement learning. They agree with Gelpi that lifelong learning can happen in a range of settings, both inside and outside of educational institutions. But what must characterise this form of learning is that it is not about imposing a pedagogical ideology, but rather fostering a curriculum that emerges from the context and conditions which people are living and experiencing (Scandrett et al., 2010, p128).

Mad Studies and social movement learning

It has only been in the last few years that the term "Mad Studies" has emerged as a descriptor for a new academic field, one which privileges the voices and knowledge of the mad, the service user, lived experience. Costa (2013) describes Mad Studies eloquently as:

> "…an area of education, scholarship, and analysis about the experiences, history, culture, political organising, narratives, writings and most importantly, of the *people* who identify as: mad; psychiatric survivors; consumers; service users; mentally ill; patients, neuro-diverse; inmates; disabled, or any other one of the many labels our community chooses to use." (Costa, 2013, p2)

Emerging from critical disability studies, Mad Studies offers another lens to look at the world. It turns history on its head, by privileging not the powerful psychiatric standpoint or the history of the asylum, but rather the people who have been on the receiving end of psychiatry, the people labelled as "mad". Just as other social movements have reclaimed their history, such as LGBTQI+ History or Black History, and there has been the development of Gender Studies, Disability Studies, LGBT Studies, Postcolonial Studies and Black Studies. Mad Studies too, aims for a liberatory and emancipatory pedagogy theory and praxis. Mad Studies originated from Canada, centred around Ryerson University, where David Reville taught Mad People's History, following an original course at York University led by Geoffrey Reaume (Reaume, 2006). Reville and his colleague Kathryn Church were uniquely situated in the School of Disability Studies of Ryerson, with strong links to the Toronto psychiatric survivor community. As David and Kathryn facilitated the emergence of new generations of young mad identified academics and activists, Toronto and Ryerson University has emerged as a stronghold of Mad Studies. A Mad Studies stream at the Disability Studies conference at Lancaster University in 2016 raised the profile of Mad Studies in the UK and internationally with a significant body of writing, activism and practice now contributing to this emerging new field (see for example, Spandler et al., (eds.) 2015, Russo et al. (eds.) (2016), Daley et al., (eds.) (2019)) .

Beresford sees Mad Studies as a hopeful alternative, a chance to build a body of knowledge that is framed from out with the dominant medical model, "Mad Studies offers us a rallying cry and a rallying point to inspire and energise" (Beresford, 2015, in Spandler et al. 2015, p259). In the first reader in Mad Studies, "Mad Matters: A Canadian Reader in Mad Studies" (2013) Le Francois et al., in introducing Mad Studies say it is a space where people are no longer automatically reduced to a set of symptoms but are situated within the social and economic context of where they live. When they talk of Mad Studies, they say they are referring to a movement, an identity, a stance, an act of resistance, a theoretical approach, and a burgeoning field of study (Le Francois et al., 2013, p10). It is, they argue, relevant to a range of differing, yet interconnected social movements and a range of academic disciplines.

Le Francois et al. and others involved in writing the *Mad Matters* volume, in tentatively beginning to define the opportunity or possibility of Mad Studies predominantly situate it as oppositional to biomedical psychiatry. They reference Rachel Gorman, who writes in the same volume that Mad Studies is "articulated in part, against an analytic of *mental illness*" (Gorman, 2013, in Le Francois et al., 2013, p13). They situate Mad Studies as an exercise in critical pedagogy and argue that the work of historical memory or recording a collective history that has liberatory potential, as such acknowledging the importance of historical consciousness, the recording of Mad People's History, of collective social movement history, all of which have been central to *Oor Mad History*. Although Mad Studies aims to transform the traditional mental health system, it also aims to be intersectional and make active links to the struggles of other social movements involved in the broader revolutionary project. To practice Mad Studies means:

> …engaging our current world of suffering and injustice and seeking to change it, while simultaneously….dreaming of a society brave and moral enough to eschew the whole paradigm of mental health and illness*,* replacing it with the creation of *real* community and *real* help. (Le Francois et al 2013, p18, emphasis added)

Ultimately, though, Mad Studies is not just about the world of psychiatry or mental health, it goes beyond these limits, "for to study madness is to probe at the very foundations of our claims to be human" (Le Francois et al, 2013, p21). As such Mad Studies urges us de-centre from the individualising and pathologizing discourses of the bio-medical model and embrace a more humanistic outlook, one which values emotion over rationality, experiential, activist knowledge and epistemic standpoint over detached, professional or academic "expertise". Because I came to Mad Studies through our collective work at *Oor Mad History*, through collective advocacy, this has influenced how I perceive of and enact Mad Studies. My connection with CAPS, where people can "self-identify" as having experience of mental health issues rather than requiring a "diagnosis" has meant that a broad church of people and views (people who are diametrically opposed to psychiatry and those who do not sure these views and everything in between) are included in the spaces we characterise as Mad Studies spaces. But that is not to say that "our" Mad Studies spaces do not have the potential to be exclusionary. There are collective concerns that the Mad Studies venture is predominantly White and Eurocentric (Gorman, 2013; Tam, 2013). Spandler et al. (2015) also looked at links between disability and madness. There are important debates in the Mad Studies literature around who and who is not included in the Mad Studies project (Spandler and Poursanidou, 2019), as well as the extent to which Mad

Studies is or is not anti-psychiatry, tied to "closed circuit" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2016, p5) binaries of what it means to be mad or included in the Mad Studies project. Also, debates as to whether Mad Studies is inherently too focused on psychiatry and opposition to the biomedical model. These debates open up important questions about "anti-psychiatry" perspectives, versus more "post Sedgwickian" perspectives that mental health services are part of the welfare state, that they can be critiqued and reformed, but must ultimately always be defended (Cresswell and Spandler, 2009; 2016).

Throughout my time with CAPS I have experienced and "lived" these tensions and contradictions (Cresswell and Spandler, 2016), doing the personal and political labour of finding my place, my identity within this work and more often than not feeling out of place. This uncomfortable, "unsettled" feeling (Church, 1995, Spander and Poursanidou, 2019) was of course further complicated and intensified when I began the PhD process. In fact, it is this in many ways this unsettledness which has been at the root of the methodological choices I made and of course the challenges I faced in living up to my own aspirations to carry out a piece of research which would be meaningful in this fraught context.

Research philosophical paradigm

This study is located within a critical constructivist research paradigm (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994; Giroux et al., 1998; Kincheloe, McLaren et al. 2011; Rogers, 2012), which is characterised by a connection between research and pedagogy. Critical constructivism also has a strong historical consciousness, an ontology shaped by historical realism and the recognition that reality is shaped by structural

socio-economic, cultural, and political forces. Knowledge or epistemology in this research paradigm is co-created between the researcher and the researched and this form of research makes no claim to neutrality or scientific distance. Critical research is rather, non-traditional, explicitly partisan, and political (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994). It is value-driven and concerned with changing and disrupting the socio-political and material conditions in which we live. It does not, like traditional research, "…cling to the guardrail of neutrality" (Kincheloe et al 2011, p 237). Methodologies associated with critical research are dialogical, navigating the dialectic between agency and structure, the ability of individuals to exercise agency and act on structural conditions (Giddens, 1984). As such there are strong ties to be made with critical pedagogy and a critical constructivist pedagogy, which aims to facilitate the process of critical consciousnesses and praxis, whereby students reflect on the structural conditions of their lives with a view to taking action to change them (Freire, 1995). There is a concern in this form of research with subjugated and historical narratives. Critical research is concerned with an epistemology grounded in indigenous knowledges and the epistemology of collective, social movement struggle.

Critical research then is research that attempts to contribute to social change. The work of the critical scholar or activist researcher is informed by the understanding that reality is mediated by power relations and the social relations of capitalism, as well as the implicit assumption that some groups are more privileged under this system than others and that oppression is intersectional. Also, critical research maintains a recognition that mainstream research is often complicit with maintaining and reproducing capitalist power relations (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Critical research then

is concerned with creating the conditions required for a more just society (Kincheloe et al. 2011, 2017 p 237). Bricolage was a term originally used by Levi Strauss (1966) and extended by Kincheloe and others as a metaphor for a form of emancipatory research that uses a plurality of methods and methodologies and in so doing employs "these methodological processes *as they are needed in the unfolding context of the research situation*" (Kincheloe et al. 2011, p244). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) described a person doing this type of research, as a "maker of quilts" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p5) and posited five different types of bricoleurs; the interpretive, the theoretical, the methodological, the political and the narrative.

My position aligns with all of these, which will assist in navigating the complexity of the research and knowledge creation process, but most strongly with that of the interpretivist, political and narrative bricoleur. With an interpretive and deductive approach to epistemology and knowledge creation, the interpretivist bricoleur acknowledges "…there is no one telling [of an] event. Each telling, like a light hitting a crystal, reflects a different perspective" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p6, in Rogers, 2012, p 4). As such there is also an embracing of the importance of reflexivity for the researcher, a recognition that research is interactive and to constantly be aware of the impact of our positionality, our life histories on the research process. A political bricoleur locates power in the research process and like critical pedagogues, wants to create research that is counter hegemonic, that disrupts traditional forms of inquiry to contribute to the dismantling of oppressive structures. Lastly, the construct of the narrative bricoleur resonated for me as according to Denzin and Lincoln objective reality cannot be "captured" (1999, p 5, in Rogers, 2012 p 7), mirroring the discomfort when I encounter this word in connection with "capturing" lived experience.

Experience, stories, or narratives can never be "captured" or owned by the research process. Rather narrative bricoleurs search for meaning in the ways that narratives are shaped by different socio-historical ideologies and discourses. Research of this kind aims to "trouble" the notion of the "univocal" by drawing from multiple voices, sources, and narratives (Rogers, 2012, p7).

As this project aims to place first-hand, lived experience at its core, this concept is a helpful way of framing my understanding of narrative. Narrative also speaks to Freirean notions of being able to "name" the world in order to change it, "to exist humanly is to name the world, to change it…human beings are not made in silence, but in word, in action-reflection" (Freire, 1995, p69). Also important in the context of narrative and epistemology is writing within Mad Studies around the commodification of user and survivor stories by the mental health system, mental health agencies and academic institutions (Costa et al., 2012; Woods et al., 2019; O'Donnell et al., 2019; Voronka, 2019; Sapouna, 2020). Fisher and Lees (2016) talk of the commodification of narrative, previously used by social movements as an emancipatory tool, within contemporary health systems, which they say promote Western and neoliberal notions of citizenship. It has been argued by Mad Studies scholars and activists that storytelling or giving testimony, once considered a radical, social movement act is now controlled and managed by the "psy" complex to suit their agenda.

Often narratives under the "psychiatric gaze" (Voronka, 2019) are commodified as almost pornographic, individualised and "sanitised" stories of recovery and resilience. They tell of the individual user or survivor selected to come and "tell their story", but how it can only be a certain kind of story; "favoured stories feature the uplifting

message that with a little hard work and perseverance you too can be cured" (Costa et al., 2012, p89). Woods et al., (2019) expand on this, situating the recovery narrative as the dominant narrative within mainstream mental health system. Recovery narratives are often expected to be morally driven and uplifting stories, arguably leaving stories which do not fit this mould silenced. Furthermore, O'Donnell et al. (2019) argue that while mental health organisations and educational institutions benefit from personal narratives by way of receiving funding and building research careers, often the lives of the people who took part in the research, those who shared their stories, remain unchanged and disadvantaged. Storytelling then and narrative can privilege certain types of knowledge (Woods et al. 2019) and ways of knowing; individualised and depoliticised stories, often tied to neoliberal notions of citizenship and to the recovery narrative arc. Central to this form of narrative is the idea of the individual as hero of their own story, the individual who strives through adversity and towards economic independence. These stories of recovery, "hope" and "resilience" are not situated within wider socio-political contexts and are also not problematised or subject to critique in terms of their alliance with neoliberalist aspirations (Woods et al., 2019). Woods et al. ask where the spaces are that *alternative* stories can be told? I wanted to create such a space within this research. I endeavoured to work with others to build a collective space which centred counter narratives and epistemologies of the activist and activism, of collective action as much as personal or individual transformation.

Methodological choices

Central to this study is maintaining a commitment to the collective and dialogue, centralising the voices of subaltern, subjugated publics, and epistemologies. This involves working in close partnership with people connected to the study, carrying out regular member reflections (Tracey, 2010) or feedback cycles (Earl, 2017) and using an inductive and dialogical approach to data collection and analysis. My methodological and method choices are informed by critical constructivism and a commitment to ally-ship and solidarity with the decolonising project (Denzin et al., 2008), that is a commitment to disrupt and decolonise Western, positivist research epistemologies and paradigms (Smith, 2012). Ndlovu - Gatsheni (2017) argues that to decolonise our methodology we must expose its "dirty" history and unmask the ugly truth about research's ties with the colonial project:

> Decolonising methodology, therefore, entails unmasking its role and purpose in re-search. It is also about rebelling against it; shifting the identity of its object so as to re-position those who have been objects of research into questioners, critics, theorists, knowers, and communicators. And, finally, it means recasting research into what Europe has done to humanity and nature rather than following Europe as a teacher to the rest of the world. (Ndlovu – Gatsheni, 2017, p49)

Brown and Strenga (2005), emphasise the need to position social justice and emancipation in our research *process* as well as in the outcomes. They also draw our attention to the fact mainstream research is often intervening on exhaustively over-researched, marginalised communities. This forces us to ask critical questions of

research and what it sets out to achieve, and whether research can be of genuine, lasting benefit to people in communities' researchers are researching. Also, if we are to avoid reproducing dominant, oppressive power relations in research, a commitment to re-distributing power in the research process is required. This study and the knowledge being explored aims to add to the work of the *Oor Mad History* project and allies itself with the wider emerging area of critical Mad Studies. It therefore has a collective and social movement history as well as a strong social and political purpose. I shall also be informed by the principles of participatory action research (Kinden, 2009, Pain, 2017), by research as a tool for social justice and "research justice" (Jolivette, 2015). Linked to this are issues of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2003; 2007), of recognising that people with experience of mental health issues, who historically have been silenced and subjugated as objects of medical and social discourse, as "…legitimate, truth telling experts who have the power, agency, and ability to shape the research process from the beginning and completion of the research process." (Jolivette, 2015, foreword)

This also connects to writing on disability and survivor-led research, (Beresford and Wallcraft, 1995; Oliver, 2002; Sweeny et al., 2009; Beresford, 2005; Beresford, 2015; 2016; Beresford et al., 2016; Rose, 2017, Jones and Shattell, 2016) which I draw on for guiding principles. Often research about disability does not represent the experience of disability from the perspective of disabled people themselves and crucially it often cleaves to a biomedical or positivist normativity, rather than recognising that disability is a social and political issue. Social research also struggles to comprehend or represent collective understandings of collective experiences, very much attending only to individualised understandings (Oliver, 2002). Action and praxis are often the missing pieces of the jigsaw (Oliver, 2002, p2). Oliver argues that

attempts are made to redress the balance, for example including a few disabled people in the research, or involving disabled people's organisations in research. However, by doing this without relinquishing control to disabled people there is no confrontation of the oppressive structures, "…despite personal intention in many cases disabled people are still positioned in oppressive ways… we produce disabled people as inferior by our actions, regardless of our intentions" (Oliver, 2002, p6). This for me raises critical questions about our "good intentions" as researchers, and how they are often not enough. Is research critical or emancipatory just because we set out with good intentions to make it so? I was dogged by these tensions throughout the process of my doctoral research and reflect at different points in this thesis on my struggles to reconcile this conflict, to find confidence or feel at home in my new identity as "researcher".

In line with a commitment to emancipatory research, I aim to examine the redistribution of power and control throughout the research process (Oliver 2002; Sweeny et al. 2009) and not just "capture" individuals lived experiences or stories as was referred to earlier in the chapter, There is a need to put more of the power and control in the hands of disabled people and ultimately the goal must be to support and advocate for more survivor/service-user led and controlled research. Rose et al. (2018) highlight how the recent joint Research Councils UK funding call for mental health research, failed to recognise or acknowledge service user or survivor-*led* research. Any influence on mental health research agenda by service users or survivors was restricted to "patient and public involvement". This begged the question as to what influence service users actually have on setting research agendas or conceptualisation if they are confined to "involvement" rather than being able to actually lead or drive the research

or the research agenda (Rose et al., 2018, p 476). Jones and Shattell (2016) also point to the lack of genuine power offered to people with lived experience within research structures and processes, even in so called "participatory" research. Voronka (2019) exposes research as a tool of neoliberal states and therefore structural violence. She raises the spectre of a "slow death" that occurs when mad or disabled people engage with empiricist, mainstream, or "evidence-based research". Mainstream mental health research often "masquerades" as scientific, neutral and value free, with no space for affect (Rose, 2017) and researchers become embroiled in studies which seek to "improve", "manage" or intervene on subjugated bodies (Voronka, 2019, p 81), benefitting governance of unruly citizens and state agendas rather than social justice goals. Voronka chillingly describes the long history of research on mad, queer, disabled, racialised and other "imperilled bodies", who have been subject to experiment and research throughout history because:

> our lives are deemed worthless…productivity can be made from those deemed unproductive; using our lives as objects of study works to reduce us, prevent us and cure us. (Voronka, 2019, p89)

I am interested in following Oliver (2002) who describes the transition between seeing research as an investigatory process, towards seeing research as an *action* involved in *producing* the world (Oliver, 2002, p14). To progress epistemic justice, the dominant bio-medical/neuro-science dominated discourse in mainstream mental health research needs to be redistributed or de-centred, to acknowledge and take seriously the experiential knowledge that disabled people produce about themselves, which includes a shift towards a more social and political understanding of distress and an opportunity

to lead the way in imagining alternatives. As such we need to differentiate between "expert" and "experiential" knowledge (Beresford, 2016). Beresford and others argue for a shift away from a research focus on the biomedical, genetic, brain science paradigms towards newer, more holistic approaches which incorporate a social model of madness and distress (Beresford, 2002; Beresford, 2015; Beresford, 2016; Beresford et al., 2016). Informed by the social model of disability, which grew out of the disabled people's movement, Beresford argues that by re-framing disability in this way the social model of disability transformed the way disability is perceived by disabled people themselves and by wider society. Crucially, it reframes disability as a social issue and not a personal or medical tragedy. It challenges deficit notions about disabled people, it is rooted in the experiential knowledge; a knowledge created by disabled people and has been part of the mobilisation and organising of disabled people towards collective action (Beresford, 2016). Beresford argues that we need a social model of madness and distress to achieve similar outcomes for mental health, this social model of mental health includes a recognition of the social rather than individual origin of distress and service user of survivor-led alternatives and supports, arguing for epistemic justice or the advancement of service user and survivor knowledge, experiential knowledge, as the way forward. This he argues includes the knowledge produced by service-user led research (Beresford, 2016, p28).

Because of my own positionality and identity as someone who has experienced periods of poor mental health and receiving primary care level treatment, I believe that others can speak more authoritatively around the experience of psychiatric oppression. I tend, therefore, to identify as an ally (or as Spandler and Poursandiou (2019) say, an "aspiring" ally) to the mental health service user or Mad movement, through my own

experience of mental health issues, my engagement in mental health activism and advocacy and my intersecting identities as a physically disabled person and gay woman. Therefore, although this project does not claim to be fully service-user or survivor led, I have endeavoured to be informed by the politics and philosophy of survivor led research and to be critically alert to issues of power throughout this process. I have also aimed to be unafraid of emotion, to do the "unsettling" work of "disrupting the rational" (Church, 1995, p73) by incorporating the personal, affective, and the relational. I wanted for this study to honour and recognise the work and collective history that the MPHI course has emerged from. *Oor Mad History* grew out of the mental health service user movement and the history of collective advocacy in Scotland and a desire to document and promote that history. Throughout the study I have actively looked to share and relinquish power and control by taking the lead from collectivist and counter hegemonic understandings of mental health and distress, informed by the history and politics of the service user and survivor movement locally, nationally and internationally. It has been critically important to my politics as a new researcher to work with the collective at all stages of the process, as is demanded by a participatory approach to critical ethnographic research (Thomas, 1993, p26).

My work occupies in many ways "unsettled relations", as Church (1995) described the relationship between the academic and the mental health service user movement. As previously mentioned during the research process, I have found myself "living" the very painful tensions and contradictions described by Cresswell and Spandler (2013), who powerfully illuminate some of the complexities faced in navigating the world of academia and the world of social movements. Cresswell and Spandler differentiate between different "depths" of engagement with movements, arguing for a "deep

engagement" and the concept of the "engaged academic" over scientific detachment or objectivity where social movements are reduced to objects of academic study or sources of data. For me this is of fundamental importance and these contradictions of striving to do research "within" and "for" social movements, as opposed to "on" or "about" them (Cresswell and Spandler, 2013, p142), are at the heart of my struggles as a new researcher. Part of this "striving" meant aiming to centre the collective in my work as much as possible.

Centring the collective

Participatory research in the context of critical ethnography is, as detailed by Thomas (Thomas, 1993, p 28) is "explicitly radical". Participatory research was developed by adult educators and is informed by the work of Paulo Freire, positing that praxis, through cycles of "reflection and action the world can be transformed" (Freire, 1972, p 36 in Thomas, 1993, p28). From this positionality I embedded a relationship with the collective in my work as much as possible, inviting everyone involved in the MPHI work to a meeting to find out more about the research project and give input on its direction. A group, colloquially called "Citizenship Café" formed and I met with them throughout the duration of the research. I set out with the aim of this group informing every stage of the project. In the beginning they gave feedback on research questions and objectives and worked with me to create the interview schedule. They also worked with me to carry out group coding of secondary data, using Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2013) and this work then went on to inform the further secondary data analysis. Through a process of praxis, of continual cycles of reflection and action (Freire, 1995) with the group, this study has throughout the process sought out and

privileged the voices and expert knowledge of people with experience of mental health issues.

This study aims to align itself with critical research methodology, which in turn mirrors and embodies the values of critical pedagogy and indigenous methodologies (Wilson, 2008; Smith, 2012). Such methodologies and chosen methods are ethical, political, participatory, and grounded in the discourse of critique (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008). They aim for open ended, subversive, multivocal and participatory epistemologies. For me the relational is also key and starting my journey with research I wanted to embody a "methodology of the heart" (Pelias, 2004) which meant an approach which was ethical and grounded in love (Darder and Miron, 2007, in Giardina and Lincoln, 2007):

> [we] must recognise love as an essential ingredient of a just society…love is a political principle through which we struggle to create mutually life enhancing opportunities for all people. It is grounded in the mutuality and interdependence of our human existence – that which we share, as much as that which we do not. This is a love nurtured by the act of relationship itself. It cultivates relationships with the freedom to be at one's best without undue fear. Such an emancipatory love allows us to realise our nature in a way that allows others to do so as well. (Darder and Miron, 2007 in Giardina and Lincoln, 2007, p150)

Critical and Post Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography resonated strongly with my position as a new researcher, someone who comes from a community development background as well as someone who is concerned about the political and social context of the work we do and the

potential for research to be a tool for positive social change and action. This methodology situates itself as overtly critical and political and it is about giving voice to those historically and socially silenced. Critical ethnography is preoccupied with understanding and exposing structural issues, shining light on how issues of power operate in a particular social milieu. Critical ethnography uses traditional ethnographic techniques, but digs deeper to uncover, acknowledge, and address structural issues that operate within a particular setting. A definition is offered by Schwandt:

> Critical ethnography refers to ethnographic studies that engage in cultural critique by examining larger political, social and economic issues that focus on oppression, conflict, struggle, power and praxis. (Schwandt, 1997, p22)

According to Thomas, critical ethnography is conventional ethnography with a political purpose. It calls for a focus and reflection on "culture, knowledge and *action"* (Thomas, 1993, p2). So, it is not enough to just report on what we see, there needs to be an element of action, a dynamic whereby the research we engage in is committed to emancipatory goals. Thomas quotes Marx, "Why should we be content to understand the world instead of trying to change it?" (Marx, 1846, p 123 in Thomas, 1993, p2). This focus on taking action, on acting on the world to change it, is another aspect of critical ethnography which drew me to it as a methodology and helped shaped this work.

Critical social research methodologies, which include Participatory Action Research, Feminist Research, Post-colonial, and Critical Ethnography are partisan and political. They do not claim to be detached, scientific or influenced by positivism. They are, I believe, compatible with working inside or alongside social movements, because they

seek to explore systemic issues and how society perpetuates inequality and oppression. Critical frameworks open a space for questioning, for critique, where we can begin to question dominant narratives, interrogate Eurocentric and historically taken for granted, accepted norms. As Kincheloe and McLaren describe, all knowledge and thought is mediated through power relations which are socially, politically, and historically constructed (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994, p139). Without a critical analysis, they argue, mainstream research can inadvertently be implicated in the "reproduction of systems of class, race and gender oppression" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994, p140). This critical perspective can be used, according to Thomas, in political activism, participatory research, policy research and/or community organising or observing from the side-lines critiquing and challenging accepted norms. As such there is a spectrum ranging from "armchair reflection to direct political action" (Thomas, 1993, p23). In my role as a community and advocacy worker, as well as in my new role as a researcher, I see myself as located within the challenging dialectic between social movement organising and emancipatory research where I situate and identify myself as an "aspiring", (Spandler and Poursandiou, 2019) ally of the service user/survivor movement.

Critical ethnography then is concerned with counter hegemony, with disrupting the taken for granted and giving voice to those that are often silenced or marginalised by existing power structures in society. This methodology aims to contribute to emancipatory knowledge creation and to discourses of social justice (Madison, 2012, p6). It also has an overt political purpose. I strongly believe in a broad definition of "political", and the feminist adage that the personal is indeed political (Hanisch, 2006; Lister, 2003). I am in agreement with Kleinman (2007) that we

cannot separate our beliefs, feelings, or behaviours from the broader context of oppression, power and privilege, that we need to maintain a concern with "action" and that just because we say "personal" we do not necessarily mean "private" (Kleinman, 2007, p65).

Madison (2012) cautions us to remember that politics alone are not enough, we also need self-reflection. This element of self-reflection is a careful interrogation of the location and positionality of the researcher. As researchers we must examine our own identities and positionality, reflect on our relationship with the community we are working with, our privilege and power. According to Madison we cannot expect to shine light into issues of power and inequality if we are not willing to turn the lens on ourselves and recognise how these issues play out intimately in ourselves, our personal lives, as well as our roles as researchers. It is therefore important to question our own agenda, and to name and be transparent about our positionality and identity claims. There is a constant need to be vigilant and check ourselves and check out with others how they experience us as we navigate the complex boundaries of how power plays out in the research process. This seems to be especially the case if we are making claims that our research will have meaning for communities and will contribute in some way to change or action. Above all, to carry out respectful research, we must maintain a critical reflexivity throughout the research process. As researchers we must engage in a "deep questioning" of ourselves, continually unravelling the layers of complexity which ebb and flow throughout the qualitative research process. (Tilley, 2016, p11)

Hytten (2004) offers an important critique of Critical Ethnography and offers the potential for a "post critical ethnography" as a pedagogical encounter. She raises the uncomfortable marriage between emancipatory social theory and principles of ethnography, which as previously mentioned has roots in colonialism. Hytten maintains there is still much of worth in critical ethnography and that it is a useful tool in showing how theory and lived experience connect or disconnect and that it offers a way to analyse micro every day, lived experiences in a wider or macro structural context. It therefore offers a useful method to analyse the dialectic between individual agency and structure. Ultimately we need a *post* critical ethnography, where the researcher engages with true reflexivity on issues of the dialectic between micro and macro and abandons the idea that "They know how the world works and how power operates and the researched don't" (Hytten, 2004, p96). This was very much my experience, throughout my work with *Oor Mad History* and MPHI and then also when I spent time in the United States. I strongly believed that the people I worked alongside as part of this research, as well as the people I interviewed, knew far more than I ever could about how power operated on a day to day level within a deeply unequal, raced and classed American city.

Critical ethnography research aims to develop critical consciousness in both the researcher and the "researched", and it has an explicit aim around social justice or promoting social change. It poses a challenge to traditional ethnography which is historically rooted in colonialism and voyeuristic associations of "observing" populations, by maintaining an explicitly political and emancipatory goal (Thomas, 1993). Another argument by post-critical ethnographers is that the work should not just be advancing theory around macro level change, but also be rooted in material

change and action. (Hytten, 2004 p99). Hytten posits that for a post critical ethnographic approach, there needs to be genuine collaboration with community partners, a commitment to a dialogic process and that any findings should be made accessible to the community involved. Analysis of structural or macro issues should be done in an open and participatory way also, and finally the process should be pedagogical. This encouraged me to frame the group work I carried out as part of the project as pedagogical, centred around sharing and creating knowledge together, aiming to learn about research methods and process together as well as learning and sharing ideas about useful theoretical frameworks and ways of understanding.

Oral history

Because I am politically committed and aim to do research grounded in the history of activism and the collective voice, I wanted to ensure the voices lived experience are at the centre and not the periphery of this study (Reville, 2016). Because of this, I chose to draw on oral history methodology and methods to continue to build on the archiving and oral history work of the *Oor Mad History* project. Oral history as a methodology and a method privileges the oral testimony of people's lived experience, it has been used as a tool by marginalised groups and social movements to reclaim their history; a way of democratising history, of opening up a dialectic between history and the community (Perks and Thompson, 2006; Janesick, 2007; 2010). It is a method we have used in our community history project, *Oor Mad History* (CAPS Independent Advocacy, 2010). In that project, I worked with community members who identified as having experience of mental health issues to create an oral history and paper-based archive about an untold history of local mental health activism, or the mental health

service user movement. We carried out together over 70 oral history interviews which form the backbone of our *Oor Mad History* archive. Traditionally any history of mental health is the history of psychiatry or the asylum, so often the history of the powerful. By shifting this historical lens we can begin to tell a different story, to collate the voices of those who are not often heard, those people who have been on the receiving end of psychiatry or people with "lived experience" of mental health issues. This "history from below" is a powerful way to reclaim a sense of collective agency (O'Donnell, 2007, 2010; O'Donnell and Maclean, 2019).

Janesick (2010) claims there are strong links between a critical education or public pedagogy theoretical framework and oral history, and that oral history can be a tool for social justice. Janesick references a "postmodern" oral history (Janesick, 2010, p11). She explains that a postmodern approach to oral history has a strong participatory component which can involve co-constructing narratives with participants and co-researching alongside participants. It also explicitly links lived experience narratives to a particular social justice issue or theory such as feminism or critical theory and is alert to issues of multiculturalism and diversity, so ensuring voices are gathered from a range of sources and cultural backgrounds. This approach to oral history has a political commitment to document the stories of "outsiders", the voices of people normally excluded from mainstream society and in turn mainstream history. As such Janesick argues this approach takes *pride* in celebrating and validating the subjectivities of its participants (Janesick, 2010, p11). Oral history, though, is not necessarily a progressive tool, it depends on the way in which it is used. It does however have transformative potential, to change the focus of history or to open new areas of inquiry (Perks and Thompson, 2006). It has democratising potential. Tooth-

Murphy's (2015) work on queer oral history informed my research, particularly in relation to the oral history interviews I carried out. Tooth – Murphy talks of the "tyranny" of chronological oral history interviews and how they can bifurcate queer narratives.

I used this concept of the tyranny of chronology to inform my study, as other non-conformist narratives such as disabled/Crip or Mad narratives, do not always fit with the chronology of the typical oral history interview. It was through Tooth – Murphy that I encountered the term "chrononormativity", which connects to our understandings of the passage of time, how we as humans pass through temporality and time. Traditional measures of time are watches, calendars and schedules which constitute a violent "reordering" of bodies who once used to mark the passage of time via the seasons. "Chrononormativy", argues Tooth-Murphy, speaks to state sanctioned or neoliberal notions of time and what makes a successful life. Chronological markers such as getting married, having children, accruing wealth are all heteronormative notions of a valuable life. These "assimilationist" narratives can obscure or render silent the lives of people who do not or cannot meet these markers of success. Tooth-Murphy warns us as oral history interviewers not to be complicit with this, to instead find different ways rather than a purely chronological approach to interviewing. To celebrate failure, to give multiple opportunities to reflect and create "different emotional spaces" within the interview to avoid the tyranny of "and what next…and what next". Most importantly as interviewers we need to listen more intently, not let our own story or our next question be loudest in our ears, but to truly listen to the person narrating there's (Tooth - Murphy, 2015).

Oral history as a methodology and a method is arguably a powerful tool in advancing epistemic justice (Fricker, 2007) in that it celebrates and takes pride in subjectivity, seeking out experiential, affective, indigenous, subjugated voices and epistemologies (Leavy, 2011). As such it is compatible with critical constructivist and activist research and has emancipatory and social justice potential (Armitage and Gluck, 1998). Oral history aligns well with a critical constructivist paradigm because it connects biographical experience with the wider social and historical context, as such it is also a powerful for connecting micro with macro, or agency with structure (Leavy, 2011). Lastly it actively seeks out silenced and subjugated voices which are missing within the dominant historical record (Leavy, 2011), again contributing to addressing issues of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007).

A sense of places and people

Scotland

I shall now move on to describe in more detail the two places and projects that formed the basis of this research, as well as introduce the people who were involved. I shall begin with outlining the project based in Scotland and then move onto the US setting. *Oor Mad History* is a community history project based at CAPS Independent Advocacy in Edinburgh, Scotland. CAPS (originally called Consultation and Advocacy Promotion Service, now known as CAPS) is a service user led organisation or disabled people's organisation, in that it is led by people with lived experience of mental health issues and the management committee is dominated by people who identify as having experience of mental health issues. CAPS is an independent advocacy organisation and its aim is to ensure that the voices of people

with lived experience of mental health issues are heard and represented at a policy and strategic level (www.capsadvocacy.org).

In 2019 the Scottish Independent Advocacy Alliance revised its standards and principles reinforcing that Independent Advocacy only provides advocacy, it does not provide any other service and it is "structurally, financially and psychologically separate from other organisations and interests" (SIAA, 2019, p 13). Therefore, although CAPS receives funding from the NHS and local authorities, it puts the people who use it first and remains independent from those that fund it. As such advocacy organisation should be "independently minded" and not be afraid to challenge the agendas of any agency that may threaten the rights or interests of the people it works with. Mental health advocacy organisations also have strong social movement roots, and still retain a commitment to campaigning for change. CAPS provide an individual advocacy service to people with mental health issues in the community or in hospital if they are detained under the Mental Health Act (Care and Treatment) (Scotland) Act, 2003. CAPS is also home to several collective advocacy projects which as are all led by people with lived experience. Collective advocacy is where groups of people affected by a common issue come together to campaign or lobby for change. There are collective advocacy projects at CAPS led by people with experience of eating disorders, psychosis, and Borderline Personality Disorder. CAPS has an Education as Advocacy project called LEARN which runs a range of courses led by people with lived experience. It also has an arts as activism and advocacy project and contributes to the Scottish Mental Health Arts and Film Festival.

Oor Mad History is a community history project based at CAPS. This project grew out of the mental health service user movement locally, and a desire to record the social movement history of activism and collective advocacy in Edinburgh and the Lothians. *Oor Mad History* was originally funded by NHS Lothian Mental Health and Wellbeing Team, now the Edinburgh Health and Social Care Partnership (Mental Health and Wellbeing). I began as a worker with the project in 2008, working alongside a group of activists and people with experience of mental health issues to create an oral history and paper-based archive project. This culminated in the publication of a book (CAPS, 2010) and an exhibition as part of the Scottish Mental Health Arts and Film Festival. *Oor Mad History* has strong connections with the School of Disability Studies in Ryerson University, Toronto, where a "Mad People's History" course was developed. Inspired by the work of David Reville and Kathryn Church (Reville, 2013, in Le Francois et al., 2013, Church, 2015, Landry and Church, 2016), and with encouragement from them to follow a community development process, we have developed a Scottish curriculum centred on the lived experience of madness and distress. I worked with a group of people connected to *Oor Mad History* to follow the Ryerson online *Mad People's History* course. We followed the online content (projected onto the wall of the CAPS office) and the group highlighted what they believed was important to include in a Scottish course. Following this process, "*Mad People's History and Identity*" (MPHI), a six-week widening participation module, was created in partnership with Queen Margaret University (QMU) and the NHS Lothian Mental Health and Wellbeing Team.

MPHI was the first course of its kind outside Canada and was shortlisted for the Herald Further Education Awards in 2016. The course has been delivered to around

fifty students who all identify as having experience of mental health issues. The curriculum has been developed through the community development process described above and by a formal planning group made up of members of *Oor Mad History* and academics from QMU. *Mad People's History and Identity* (MPHI) is team taught by people from CAPS who identify as having mental health issues and academics from QMU, some of whom identify as having lived experience and some who do not. CAPS staff including myself support the process and teach on the course. In 2017 we received a further five years of funding from NHS Lothian to continue delivering the course. We are aiming now to embed the course in the university long term and are in the early stages of developing two MSc level courses in Mad Studies in partnership with Public Sociology colleagues.

MPHI places at its centre the knowledge and experience of people with experience of mental health issues, madness or distress as well as giving space for the students to debate and critique the dominant discourses of mental health (Ballantyne et al., 2020). Informed by critical pedagogy and Mad Studies, the course is characterised by a commitment to dialogue, praxis, and the development of critical consciousness (Freire, 1995). Curriculum was generated from and privileges experiential and social movement knowledge and the teaching is led by social movement actors. This course aims for students, all of whom "self-identify" as having experience of mental health issues, to encounter different ways of knowing, and counter hegemonic understandings of madness (Landry and Church, 2016). This work is of great personal and political importance to me, having dedicated over 10 years of my life to it and I was keen to use this opportunity of doctoral research to further our collective understanding. I also wanted to carry with me the Mad Studies standpoint

of this work to use as a lens as I started my own journey to New Haven, Connecticut and Yale University, one of the most prestigious ivy-league universities in the US, the home of "citizenship" work.

United States

The other location of the study was New Haven, Connecticut, US. I travelled there as part of my studentship and was based at the Program for Recovery and Community Health (PRCH) at Yale University for 12 months over a three-year period. Please refer to my secondment report for more details, which also includes a report from my supervisor Michael Rowe (attached as Appendix Seven). At PRCH they have developed a Citizenship framework and theory of mental health based on the "five R's of citizenship", a measure of a person's connection to rights, responsibilities, roles, resources and relationships as well as sense of belonging (Rowe, 2015, p14). PRCH is a program which is situated within the Department of Psychiatry, Yale Medical School, Yale University. It is a research group made up of academic researchers from a variety of backgrounds including psychology, medical sociology, and anthropology. There is also several researchers and member of staff from a social work background as well as "peer specialists" who are people with lived experience or "peers" who are employed as research assistants and peer specialists attached to specific research projects which often have a program element attached to them. I attached myself to the work of their "*Citizenship Community Collaborative*" (CCC) which is the umbrella group for all the Citizenship work at PRCH which after 20 years is wide ranging, including Financial Health, "*The Citizens Project*" a six month informal education and wrap around peer support project, "FACE" (which stands for Focus, Act, Connect, Everyday) community

organising group and the Citizenship Learning Collaborative which is concerned with rolling out a citizenship approach state wide in Connecticut as well as developing international research and practice links. During my first visit to New Haven in 2017 I joined the FACE group as a member in a personal capacity. I wanted to find connections, and to discover the social movement landscape of New Haven and FACE felt like a good place to start.

The Citizens Project involves a component of informal education in that students enrol on the program and take part in six months of "classes" led by the two co-directors. Students also receive a ten-dollar stipend for attending the course each week. It is run in a church hall in the same building where a food pantry operates, so often the church staff will leave left over packs of lunch for Citizens Project students. This education program has wide ranging classes relating to the "Five R's of citizenship" (Rowe, 2015), rights, relationships, resources, responsibilities and roles as well as a sense of belonging which was described in more detail in Chapter Two of the literature review. There is not an explicitly critical pedagogy approach taken, with classes focusing mostly at an individual or "psycho-social" level, for example confidence building, health promotion or healthy relationships. But there are classes focusing on advocacy, rights and the legislative process which speak more to the collective (Quinn, et al. 2020) and critical elements of democratic citizenship education (Lewis, 2020). The curriculum is tailored to meet the interests and needs of each group. The Citizens Project is directed by two women, one of whom is a peer specialist worker (referred to as Adele in this study), who also provides wrap around peer support to students during the programme and after

people graduate, including for those who move onto FACE and/or *Witnesses to Hunger.*

FACE grew out of an initial meeting held at a local mental health day service around issues of creating change in the community. A group was formed and although many of the people involved since the start and now currently have experience of mental health issues, it is not explicitly a "mental health" group and it focuses on broader issues affecting the community. As a group they meet every two weeks in a community location and often get involved in community events, creating murals with community members. FACE also has strong relational bonds and an atmosphere of mutual, collective self-care.

Witnesses to Hunger started in Philadelphia in 2008 and is a national advocacy organisation led by people with first-hand experience of food insecurity and hunger. A chapter in New Haven was set up in 2014 by three local women with experience of feeding their children on a low income. A group then put together a photovoice and transformative story telling exhibition at the legislative building, City Hall. From there a local chapter was established which is now is one of, if not the most, active chapters in the US. New Haven *Witnesses to Hunger* Chapter is made up of community members with lived experience of food insecurity and allies, advocating to inform policy makers and make change in local communities around issues of food insecurity and poverty.

Who were the people who took part in the research?

Recruitment in Scotland

In Scotland, participants in the study were "recruited" or invited to take part from a pool of people who had previous or current involvement with the Mad People's History and Identity course, as graduates, lecturers on the course or as another stakeholder (commissioner/funder). As such non-probability, purposive sampling (Flick, 2018) was implemented as well as the use of key informants. Patton (2002) described the argument for purposive sampling as lying in, "selecting information rich cases for study in depth…studying information rich cases yields insights and in depth understandings rather than empirical generalisations (Patton, 2002, in Flick, 2017, p 230). Those who were involved in the research were either graduates of the course or people involved with CAPS *and Oor Mad History* who had been involved in developing the curriculum and/or who had lectured on the course and therefore had rich insights and knowledge to offer.

When I heard I had been successful in my application, I put out an open call by email to all graduates and facilitators of MPHI. Then I held an informal open meeting in a local cafe to tell people more about the project and ask for input on the direction of the project. From there a group of people, colloquially called the "Citizenship Café" group was formed who served as advisors and critical friends throughout the study. In addition to this group, I met with two people separately who did not come along to the larger group, this was purely in an advisory capacity. I met with the larger group throughout the research process, more regularly during the data collection phase. I also fed back to the group on my experiences of being in the US, sharing photographs from my visit and generating discussion. This group informed each

stage of the process including formation of the research objectives and research questions and the composition of interview questions. They were also part of early data analysis activities, which shall be explored in more detail later. Overall, the Citizenship Café group was a key part of the research process, particularly in terms of reflexivity, member checking and maintaining a commitment to the dialogical and collective. This connects back to a commitment to collaboration within the research process (Leavy, 2011) and to an ethos of praxis (Freire, 1995). It was challenging, however, to maintain this collective way of working at times because of the pace and expectations of the PhD structure, particularly during the intense final writing up phase.

People were also recruited or invited to take part in the study as interview participants. Again, an open call, by email and word of mouth, was put out to all graduates of the MPHI course and everyone who had taught on the course. The only other recruitment criteria were that I wanted to interview people who had not already been interviewed as part of another piece of research related to the MPHI course. A research project based at Queen Margaret University (Ballantyne, 2019), had recently taken place and I wanted to ensure that a different group or "sample" of people were interviewed for this project. I made the decision therefore that anyone, regardless of whether or not they had been part of the research at QMU, could be part of the Citizenship Café group, but only people who had not been interviewed in the other project were invited to be interviewed as part of this study. Again the inclusion criteria for interviews was connection and involvement to the Mad People's History and Identity course; five people were graduates, three were course lecturers who identified as having lived experience, one was an academic who

lectured on the course and finally one person was a strategic programme manager of mental health services from the Edinburgh Health and Social Care Partnership.

In Scotland nine people were regularly involved in the "Citizenship Café" or advisory group, although people dropped in and out of sessions. Of this group all had been part of the MPHI course, either they been students or had taught on the course. All people in this group identified as having experience of mental health issues. In addition to this advisory group, ten people were interviewed for the research. Of these, five had graduated from the MPHI course and all five identified as having lived experience of mental health issues. All five people interviewed in their capacity as graduates of the course were women, four were white, one was a person of colour. Three people were interviewed who had taught on the course as a representative of CAPS/*Oor Mad History*, as such all three identified as having lived experience. Two people interviewed in this capacity identified as female and one person identified as trans. One other person was also interviewed in their capacity as an academic partner/ lecturer on the course, this person was a white male. I do not know if they identified as having experience of mental health issues or not. Finally, one person was interviewed in their capacity as a commissioner and funder of this work, this person was a white female. I do not know it they identified as having experience of having mental health issues or not. Of the ten people I interviewed in Scotland nine were white, one was a person of colour. I must caution that demographic information was not formally gathered, so these descriptions are based on my own relationships with and knowledge of the people I worked with in this study.

In the next section I will list the people who took part in the research. Cresswell and Spandler (2013) raised for me the issue of "naming" and "anonymity" in social movement research. Typically, within traditional research and certainly in my own experience with university ethics procedures there is a pressure to anonymise "participants". Furthermore, people with mental health issues within traditional research are often characterised as "vulnerable" and in need of protection through anonymity. Of course, I wanted to give people the option of anonymity where they wanted it, but I also wanted to value people within the context of my research as social movement actors, with critical agency, and as such give people the option to be credited for their contributions and knowledge with their full name, not just first name, "rank and serial number" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2013, p 145). I was able to do this in Scotland, and able due to my ongoing relationships with people to make contact again just before submission to double check how people wanted to be named within the thesis. Below then are the names of the people who took part in Scotland, credited with their full names where they gave permission. Also, I have summarised their involvement in MPHI:

Interviewees:

Anne O'Donnell has a long history of involvement with CAPS and collective advocacy. She was instrumental in the early development of the *Oor Mad History* project and teaches on the MPHI course.

Elspeth Morrison was a representative of CAPS/*Oor Mad History* on the planning group at QMU who developed the curriculum and she also taught on the course.

Beatrice Trowell was a student on the very first MPHI course in 2014. She continued to be involved in the work for a number of years. She gave an input one year for the new cohort and also spoke at a conference about her experience.

Sally was a student on the MPHI course and graduated in 2016. She enjoyed the photovoice element of the course and has an interest in the arts as activism.

Jo was a student on the MPHI course and graduated back in 2016. She also took part in the "Citizenship Café" group when she could, as well as meeting with me one to one throughout the process. Jo is interested in the arts as a tool for having a voice.

Lauren Stonebanks was a student on the MPHI course in 2016 and was also a member of the "Citizenship café group." She continues to be active with CAPS and *Oor Mad History*.

Gus Niven was part of the early community development work to develop a Scottish course. They were also a CAPS/OMH representative on the planning group at QMU and they taught on the course.

John Docherty Hughes lectures in public sociology at QMU and was an academic partner in the development of the MPHI course and taught on the course

Allison Robertson is a MPHI graduate and was part of the first cohort of MPHI students in 2014. She is involved with collective advocacy locally.

Dr Linda Irvine Fitzpatrick is a strategic programme manager for Edinburgh Health and Social Care Partnership (mental health and wellbeing). She is a partner in MPHI and funds the work.

Citizenship Café group:

Shirley Anne Collie was a student on the first MPHI course, she continued to be involved with MPHI and *Oor Mad History* and has spoken at various conferences and events.

Esther Fraser was a student on the MPHI course and came back the following year as a support person for a friend. She has stayed involved with the work and has spoken at a range of events about her experiences.

Sue graduated from the MPHI and stayed very much involved for several years, speaking at a range of conferences and events.

Penny Stafford graduated from MPHI and continued to be involved, again speaking at range of conferences and events.

Lauren Stonebanks is a MPHI graduate and someone who is active with CAPS, she continues to be involved with *Oor Mad History.*

Marianne Mackintosh is a MPHI graduate and has continued to be involved with CAPS and *Oor Mad History.*

Nyla Moran was part of the early community development process to develop a Scottish course, she was a CAPS/Oor Mad History representative on the planning group at QMU who developed the curriculum and she also taught on the course

Jo graduated from MPHI in 2017 and has a history of involvement with the user movement and collective advocacy. She is passionate about expressing her views through the arts.

Emily Burns was a MPHI graduate and has gone on to stay involved with the work. They have done teaching inputs related to the work and continue to be involved in teaching on the actual course.

Recruitment in the United States

Recruitment in the US was a more gradual process and also a relational one. Arriving in New Haven, I knew no one. It took time to find my feet, to navigate my way around the city, the university, the department I was in. Gradually though I met people, developed connections, digging deep into personal resources to find confidence where there was none. Somehow travelling to the US in my mid-forties destabilised me, so although it was in so many ways the opportunity of a lifetime, it was also a very challenging time for me. Initially I had been very keen to focus my research in the US on the Citizen's Project, as it had the most explicitly educational content. I was able to sit in on a few Citizens Project classes, however it was not easy to establish a continual contact with that aspect of the work while I was there. This was perhaps due to a combination of my own over sensitivities around intrusion and also it was my impression that the director of the group was highly protective

of the space and somewhat resistant to it being "over-researched" which I wanted to respect.

I realised when I first arrived, I was perceived of as a researcher and academic rather than an advocacy worker or activist. This was hard to dispute as my main role there was to carry out a piece of research. As a result, I wanted to be respectful and so did not push for access to that space.

In the meantime, it became apparent to me after reflection on my own involvement with the FACE group as a member and hearing presentations by the group that FACE had strong links to community organising and activism, a focus that the Citizens Project did not explicitly have. As I was looking for the collective within this work and could also find no active survivor led mental health activist or advocacy groups in the city, I began to think that perhaps the FACE group was a better fit for my project. In order to still maintain a connection to education and my original research questions around "transformative education or popular education" I decided that I would interview people who had graduated from the Citizens Project, but who had gone on to join the FACE group. I also built up a good relationship with the peer specialist worker, Adele, who was the co-director of the Citizen's Project and she also supported people to join FACE.

On my second visit to PRCH in 2018 it became apparent that several FACE members were also starting to join a political activist group "*Witnesses to Hunger*" (referred to throughout the thesis as *Witnesses*), which focused on issues of food insecurity and poverty. This sparked my interest, again due to the explicit political

and activist nature of the group. I met with the leader of this group and asked if I could come along to meetings during my time in New Haven, so I also started attending this group as an ally member. Although I had no personal experience of food insecurity the group welcomed people to join as allies and support the activism of the group. During my time attending FACE and Witnesses meetings, through discussions I had with people individually and in group settings, it appeared to me that a new pedagogical and activist space was opening up as people made this journey from The Citizens Project, to FACE and especially for those who also joined *Witnesses*. I was excited to discover more about what was happening here and how people were making sense of these new experiences and how this might map onto or disrupt the work of Mad People's History and Identity. As such the experience of graduating from Citizen's Project, moving onto FACE and *Witnesses* became the focus of my fieldwork in the US.

I had joined the FACE group as a member when I first arrived in New Haven in 2017 and attended meetings regularly. When I arrived to carry out my fieldwork in 2018, I started going along to meetings again, but this time telling people more explicitly I was there to do research. I had always been open about this from the start but felt in the lead up to interviewing people I needed to be even more explicit. I tried to grab a few minutes at FACE meetings to tell people about myself and the research, which was not always easy as meetings were held in an often a busy and chaotic environment. I asked for feedback from the group on what the research activities might be. As there was a delay with my IRB (Yale ethics process) this inadvertently gave me more time to build up more relationships and trust with people in the group. I was able to ask advice about where best to hold interviews,

and it was here that I asked people if they would be willing to be interviewed as part of the study. As such most of the recruitment was done face to face at meetings of the FACE group. Also, Adele, the peer specialist worker attached to the Citizen's Project and FACE assisted me in arranging interviews, phoning up people and putting them in contact with me.

In the United States I interviewed ten people. Of the ten, seven were graduates of the Citizens Project who had gone on to join the FACE group and/or *Witnesses*. In this group everyone identified as having experience of mental health issues, as well as experience of addictions and the criminal justice system. I also interviewed the peer specialist worker who supported people's involvement in the FACE group, was also a FACE and *Witnesses* member. This person was a Black woman, who had experience of mental health issues, addiction, and incarceration. I also interviewed the member of staff who was responsible for the FACE group at PRCH, this person did not identify as having mental health issues and was a white male. Lastly, I interviewed the Commissioner responsible for this work who was a Black woman. I do not know if she had experience of mental health issues or not. Of the ten people I interviewed, two were white, seven were Black and one was Latino, in contrast to the Scottish interviewees who were predominantly and overwhelmingly white.

Thirteen people took also took part in a focus group activity using arts-based methods. Of this group two people were white, eleven were Black and one was Latino. Eight were men and four were women. Below I shall briefly introduce the people who were interviewed in the U.S and those who participated in the focus group discussion. As I described above it is important to me how people are named

within the thesis. I was not able to give the people in the U.S an opportunity to be credited within this thesis with their full name. PRCH, as part of the Department of Psychiatry, has a default position within research ethics protocols to render participants anonymous and use pseudonyms. I had inadequate advance knowledge of this system and insufficient time to change this standard approach within my own ethics protocol application, so the people that took part in the study in the U.S are therefore anonymised and given pseudonyms:

Interviewees:

Tony is a graduate of the Citizen's project. He occasionally comes along to FACE meetings.

Adele is co-director of the Citizen's Project and "peer specialist worker" at PRCH. She supported people to join FACE and *Witnesses* and was also a member of each group

Miranda is a graduate of the Citizen's Project. She then joined FACE and also went on to become involved in *Witnesses.* She has taken part in direct action with them, speaking at a rally.

Elizabeth is a graduate of the Citizen's Project. She joined FACE and then *Witnesses.* She has been very involved in the Citizenship work at PRCH.

Tabitha is a graduate of the Citizen's Project. She then moved on to become a regular member of FACE. She is very active now with *Witnesses,* attending all their rallies and direct action.

Arthur is a graduate of the Citizen's Project. He joined FACE and then *Witnesses.* He was a regular at meetings during the time I was in New Haven. He was also very active with *Witnesses.*

Bobby is a community organiser and social worker based at PRCH, he facilitates FACE group and supports people's involvement in *Witnesses*

Anna is a Commissioner at the state-wide department of mental health and addictions services, who funds this work

Marion is a graduate of the Citizen's Project, she joined FACE and then *Witnesses.* Marion was homeless at the time and found it difficult to attend meetings, but she would come when she could.

Martin is a graduate of the Citizen's Project who also joined FACE. He was a big advocate for FACE and came along to all FACE events.

Mural making/Focus group discussion:

Jack is a recent graduate of Citizen's Project, member of FACE and *Witnesses.* He joined after I finished the interview stage but was keen to come along to the mural making session and talk about his experiences.

Duke did not attend the Citizen's Project but was a founding member of FACE and joined *Witnesses*. He is very involved in both groups now, doing a lot of the email communications for *Witnesses* and participating in direct action with them.

Tabitha is a graduate of the Citizen's Project, she joined FACE and then *Witnesses.* She is now very active with both groups, attending all FACE activities, *Witnesses* meetings and direct actions.

Elizabeth is a graduate of the Citizen's Project, she joined FACE and then *Witnesses*. During my longest period in New Haven she was very active in both groups.

Martin is a graduate of the Citizen's Project who also joined FACE. He is very passionate about FACE and attends events regularly promoting the group to members of the public.

Lisa is a graduate of the Citizen's Project and FACE member. She regularly attended meetings of FACE when I first arrived.

Arthur is a graduate of the Citizen's Project, he joined FACE and then *Witnesses.* He attended regular meetings and was very active with both groups during my time in New Haven.

Tony is a graduate of the Citizen's Project and an occasional FACE member.

Francois is a graduate of the Citizen's Project who joined FACE and then *Witnesses.* He came to regular meetings of both groups during my time in New Haven.

Frankie is a graduate of the Citizen's Project who joined FACE and then *Witnesses,* he regularly attended meetings during my longest stay in 2018.

Don is a member of staff at PRCH and also a member of the FACE group.

Bobby is a community organiser and social worker based at PRCH, he facilitates FACE group and supports people's involvement of *Witnesses*

Adele is co-director of the Citizen's Project and "peer specialist worker" at PRCH. She supports people to join FACE and *Witnesses* and was also a member of each group

Research questions

As previously mentioned, the research questions for this study were developed in partnership with the "Citizenship Café" group in Scotland. These were the research questions which guided the study:

- What, if anything has changed for participants following their involvement and how do they articulate this change?
- What aspect of the curriculum or experience do people believe facilitated this change?

- What role can critical education play in building bridges between individual experience (identity) and issues of agency and structure? (context, structural inequality)
- Does social movement learning or content impact on this process, i.e. interacting with “Madness” as a political identity or political project or learning about the activism of others?
- How do participants view the link between identity, structure and agency or citizenship?
- Can MPHI and The Citizens Project enable people to become more “political” or “active” citizens?
- How do those who are involved in Mad Studies conceptualise citizenship?

Data collection

Oral history interviewing

Interviewing is the mainstay of oral history work, although many oral historians will go further and include other methods to augment and support interview data (Janesick, 2010). As I followed a bricolage tradition of emancipatory research (McLaren, 2001; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; Kincheloe et al., 2011) I drew on oral history methodology and methods as well as other methods in my study (including analysing existing archive material and arts based methods) selecting the research methods that best fitted my research purposes and the critical constructivist approach (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011).

Janesick (2010) likened the process of the oral history interview to a choreographed dance and an artform in and of itself (Janesick, 2010, p8). Interviewing is an active,

creative process. It is a process of discovery and akin to a "guided conversation" (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). Oral history privileges inductive, open ended questions and situates the researcher and the participant within a collaborative relationship (Leavy, 2011). This form of interviewing aims to celebrate and privilege the agency and knowledge of the participant and decentres the researcher as the dominant knowledge producer. As such knowledge within oral history is not constructed as waiting to be discovered by the researcher, but rather a collaborative form of meaning making, where knowledge is built together and co-created through the interview (and analysis) process ((Leavy, 2011). Of course, this must be set within critical awareness of wider issues of power inequity and how these play out in the interview context.

I set out to honour my commitment to the collective and participatory nature of this study (Lather, 1986, Thomas, 1993) and wanted members of the Citizenship Cafe group in Scotland had a lead role in creating the interview questions and schedule. This built on previous collaborative work to develop the research questions for the study and to carry out initial analysis of existing material. Building then on our existing work together as a group, a workshop was held to look specifically at interview questions. I reminded people again of the research questions and the emerging themes from our analysis of existing data. From here people in the group brainstormed interview questions. I took the flipcharts away and from there drafted an initial interview schedule which was then sent out and checked by the group. Following agreement from the group, this became the schedule used in the interviews (Appendix Three).

In the U.S, the schedule was adapted from the one used in Scotland to fit the American context. Although I didn't have a "group" or advisory group in place in the U.S, I spoke with and got feedback from a range of people about the interview questions, including the peer specialist worker attached to the Citizen's Project and FACE group. I wanted to ensure the wording and colloquialisms made sense. One change from the Scottish schedule, was that the words "course" or "curriculum" did not transfer well. I was advised to change this to "classes" so people would be able to recognise a familiar term to them. This adapted interview schedule is included as Appendix Four.

Interviews in Scotland were explicitly oral history interviews, with the express aim of adding these testimonies to the *Oor Mad History* archive and to the University of Strathclyde Oral History Centre Archive. As such all the people I interviewed were given a participant information sheet and in addition to being asked to sign a consent form were also asked to sign an oral history recording agreement (Appendix Two). The latter is an essential part of the oral history interviewing process as it relinquishes copyright in the audio recording, permitting it to be added to archives. These documents were an integral part of the ethics application to the University of Strathclyde. In the U.S I had to submit another ethics application to the university Institutional Review Board (IRB). As previously mentioned, there is a standardised approach to IRB applications at PRCH, which I did not initially realise, that includes a blanket anonymity policy. I was working with PRCH to complete my IRB application from Scotland and unfortunately there was a misunderstanding between myself and the member of staff assisting me. As such I was unable to secure the adequate permissions to enable the interviews carried out in the U.S to be archived. I was also, as previously mentioned, not able to give people the choice to be credited

with their full names. However, I did continue to maintain an oral history approach to interviewing within the U.S context. As such people in the U.S were given a participant information sheet and a consent form (Appendix Two) but were not required to sign an oral history recording agreement. All interviews were carried out on a Tascam DR 05X digital voice recorder. It records sound files in the WAV format, which is oral history, archive quality and industry standard. All interviews were fully transcribed by me or a professional transcriber who had ethical approval.

Interviews were conducted face to face in locations that were chosen by or negotiated with the person I was interviewing. In Scotland I interviewed several people in their own homes and some interviews were carried out in the CAPS office. I also carried out one interview in the headquarters of a local health authority and another at a university. All these options were pre-empted in my Strathclyde ethics application. In the U.S several interviews were carried out at the PRCH office, one was carried out in the Panera Bread café where FACE met. Two interviews were carried out at Sterling Memorial Library, which is the main library at Yale. This venue was suggested by members of the FACE group as it was walking distance to the Panera Bread café and had free meeting rooms. I offered it as an option to several people and two took me up on the offer. As a venue it struck me as provocative as it is an imposing, building at the heart of Yale, symbolic of institutional and colonial power. Neither of the women that I arranged to interview there had been in the building before, despite living in New Haven for a long time. I met Elizabeth at Sterling Memorial Library on the day that over 90 people overdosed on the New Haven Green. The Green is a large park in the centre of the city, steps away from the historic Yale campus and surrounded by high end shops and restaurants. The Green is also where a lot of homeless people congregate

and where a lot of people use and deal drugs. It was the height of summer, August 2018 and as the day went more and more ambulances converged on the Green. Dozens and dozens of people were collapsing, vomiting, and losing consciousness after taking K2, a synthetic marijuana substitute. K2 is smoked like marijuana and is cheap and easily available across the US. It is a drug at the heart of the opioid crisis. It can have unpredictable and deadly side effects as it is often mixed with other drugs, including the opioid Fentanyl.

The sheer numbers who had overdosed (or had been poisoned) that day were shocking and made national and international news (Curtis, 2018). I was meeting Elizabeth that day, just after lunch she had walked over to meet me and witnesses one of the people who had collapsed and was being resuscitated. At the point we met to do the interview, she did not know if had lived or died. I offered to cancel the interview, trying to be sensitive to what she had just experienced, but she wanted to go ahead. She talked about what she had seen and referred to it in the interview, about how it could so easily could have been her out there. However, Elizabeth wanted to go ahead, she wanted to experience the Yale library, to go inside it. She wanted to take photographs of the outside and we took a selfie. I took my lead from her and we carried on into the library. An extract from my research fieldnotes describes the interview:

> we walked over the Sterling Memorial Library, we took some photos outside. E wanted to take a photo to show her clinician. We went inside and we had a look around quickly upstairs, and then headed downstairs. There was a group study room there and my Yale card worked to let us in! It was quite exciting; I was telling her how I did not feel I belong here. It was a windowless room, with blackboards all-round the room, and a big solid wooden table…After the

> interview E says she'd never had thought she'd be in a fancy place like this. She wrote "thank you for letting me be here" on the blackboard. I was very moved and at the same time uncomfortable by the idea of me "letting" her be here. Afterwards, we looked around upstairs and we threw pennies in the fountain, and then I showed her the painting of the only black man I'd seen in the building, a painting of the first African American student at Yale. "I love my black people" she said and took a photo. She asked me to take a photo of her with the painting. I pointed out the other painting of the first women PhD students who were all white. Then she thanked me again for taking her here, I said "well it's nice to come, especially when I heard you hadn't been here before" … "it's as much yours and mines as anyone else's… (Extract from research fieldnotes)

Memories of that day and the other interview carried out in that building will stay with me forever, particularly because of discomfort raised in me as I could not fail to recognise my own race and class privilege in a setting such as that. Literature from feminist perspectives centre identity and the relational in interviews as well as the possibility and limitation of rapport and friendliness. Oakley's (1981) classic writing on non-hierarchical interviewing was challenged by Black feminist researchers (see for example, Mullings, 2000; Reynolds, 2010) who argued that power relations within the interview process shift according to structural differences in class, age, race, and gender between the researcher and "the researched" (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996, p172) and who questioned the extent to which it was possible for those constructed as the "other" to be *known* at all through the interview process or indeed through any other method (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996).

My interviewing technique was also influenced by the work of Earl (2017). Earl, a researcher also looking at education in social movements, speaks to the relational

aspects of research. This has led Earl to deconstruct the act of interviewing, trying to break down the power dynamics of interviewer and interviewee, recognising there is a liberatory potential to share reflection and moments of revelation together in what she terms the "mutually useful conversation" rather than a traditional research or qualitative interview. This in many ways conflicted with oral history methodology which encourages the interviewer to speak as little as possible so as to give space to the interviewer. I tried to incorporate and navigate both these approaches in my interviews. I did this by including a range of concise, open questions in my interviews in order to give the narrator space to speak, and also ensuring that I did not use verbal encouragement (mmm-hmm, u-huh) which would interrupt the flow of their speech and affect the recording, both of which strategies are important in oral history interviewing.

I was also not afraid to deviate from the schedule, to ask supplementary or probing questions, following as much as I could the narrative path of the interviewee. I was, however, also an active participant in the interview, including where relevant some of my own memories or thoughts when appropriate. This is not always an easy balance to achieve and certainly, the first person I interviewed in Scotland said she would have preferred even more of a "conversation", than an interview. She thought this would have given her a chance to reflect together with me as I had been an active part of this social movement history too. In social movement research, this approach can be appropriate as by occasionally sharing recollections or thoughts, both interviewer and interviewee can spark off each other, perhaps even generating new insights of relevance to the history and future of the movement. Earl argues that in trying to break down the power inequities of the traditional interview, in favour

of an exchange from which both parties potentially benefit, we move towards a "critical give and take" (Earl, 2017, p21), an interview process and research that creates:

> the possibility that we are no longer researcher and respondent, but human beings collaboratively finding a way to assist each other in making the world a better place through creative conversation and reflection (Earl, 2017, p20).

This was a process of learning for me, especially as I come from an oral history background which wishes the interviewer to fade into the background, foregrounding the interviewee and giving them space to elaborate and go down their chosen chronological or non-chronological path (Tooth-Murphy, 2017).

As well as twenty qualitative interviews I also held a focus group interview in the US. This was mainly to address the lack of an "advisory group" in the US setting and build in an explicit collective element to the research process. It has been argued that focus groups and individual interviews are complimentary (Pollack, 2003). Focus groups elicit a rich data set which can augment individual interviews, as well as simultaneously facilitating "consciousnesses raising" (Wilkinson, 1999, p9). As such group interviews work well in the context of my research, which is concerned with issues of critical pedagogy and social movement learning. Group interviews or focus groups offer almost pedagogical opportunities which break power hierarchies and provide space for group conceptualisation and meaning making (Doucet and Mauthner, 2008). Pini (2002) argued that group interviews make visible what was invisible, enable connection between individual and collective experiences and challenge dominant beliefs. As such they provide pedagogical potential for the

development of critical thinking or conscientization (Freire, 1995). I composed a simple structure for the group interview with a question schedule composed of three main questions or topic guides. This schedule is included as part of Appendix Four.

Including the arts as research method

One aspect of critical ethnography which drew me to it, is that it is its broad definition of "text" and the ability to include and draw on an array of sources and forms of qualitative data in the inquiry. In Critical Ethnography it is possible to include the written word, oral testimony, video or film, emails, texts, social media, artwork, poetry and web-based material. As I wish to privilege the voices of people traditionally or often silenced, this ability to draw on a range of data sources was very appealing as people often wish to express themselves in a variety of different ways. It also kept the door open to include arts-based approaches to research, so I included activities like badge making and mural making as ways to stimulate discussion, touch into experiential knowing and generate additional data. Liamputtong and Rumbold (2008), referencing Heron and Reason's "extended epistemology" (Heron and Reason, 2008) argue that "propositional" or "conceptual" ways of knowing dominate research in health and social sciences. Other ways of knowing, more experiential, affective or practical ways of knowing that can be easily translated into action are therefore marginalised. By implementing arts-based methods I aim to tip the balance more in favour of experiential ways of knowing, following Faulkner who argues that experiential knowledge adds much to our understanding of mental health, madness and distress (Faulkner, 2004).

I included a badge making workshop in Edinburgh, where some people made badges to take to protest at an upcoming conference. Other people made badges with statements important to them. I found myself making some badges with powerful quotes from our discussion. Similarly, in the US it became clear that some members of the FACE group were interested in arts based approaches and one member directly requested that we do something more creative, an activity that centred on "not just words". I suggested a mural making workshop to tie in with the murals that the group does at community events. FACE had carried out lots of community murals at events and festivals but had never done a mural together as a group. As such the focus group interview was not just talk based, it involved each person drawing an individual mural of "what FACE means to me". Once people were finished, they were invited to address the group, show their collage and talk about its meaning to the group. After that I had several pre-prepared, semi structured questions to stimulate group discussion. As previously stated, the schedule for the group interview in included as Appendix Four. The focus group was recorded. Unfortunately, due to a problem with the transcription service used by PRCH, it was not fully transcribed, but I listened back to it several times and took extensive notes. I also constructed a word cloud of the words used in the focus group and shared this with the group. We then as a group put all the individual collages together to make one large mural. I went to a local art shop and got the materials we needed to put it all together. It was then presented to the group as a reminder of our time together.

Observation and "fieldnotes"

As this qualitative study draws on critical ethnography, it included elements of participant observation and the writing of fieldnotes. Observation can be interpreted

as more intrusive than interviewing (Tilley, 2016) and was what I struggled most with ethically and politically. From observations of the everyday, interactions, ideologies and discourses, the researcher takes first initial "jottings" and then builds these up into a richly textured, thick description of the setting. (Emerson, Fretz, Shaw, 1995). Initially I had reservations about this concept of observing and writing field notes, I felt a level of discomfort in that it felt almost voyeuristic and exploitative to me. However, as I situate myself as an ally in this inquiry rather than a detached, objective observer or researcher I began to reconcile this discomfort. Maintaining a commitment to *critical* Ethnography rather than traditional ethnography, brings with it a requirement to not just observe, document and report, but to attend to structural issues also, to look beneath the surface. It is not so much about observing people per se, but rather finding out where people locate themselves in existing power structures. Kathryn Church taught me this valuable lesson through our email communications. Also, as critical ethnography has an overtly political agenda, I aimed for any fieldnotes to have an activist stance and purpose.

I tried throughout to be open about the fact I was taking notes and that these would be used in how I made sense of the story of what was happening, both in Scotland and in the US. I called it a "journal" or "diary" as I am very uncomfortable with the term "field notes" or "field work" as if I am somehow writing about sheep in a field. I never shook off my discomfort about taking notes or "observing", which felt to me contradictory to working alongside people or movements. In total I wrote 56, 000 words of research notes or fieldnotes, so it was a substantial body of material. It was a good place to write about the tensions and complexities of the research and this process did strongly inform my personal reflexivity. Part of my discomfort around

"observation" and "fieldnotes", an integral part of ethnography (Murchison, 2010), is their strong association with the colonial project. As Denzin, Lincoln and Smith elaborate, traditional approaches to ethnography such as these "serve as a metaphor" for colonial knowledge, truth and power (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008, p4):

> Metaphor works this way: research provides the foundation for reports about and representations of the other. In colonial context, research becomes an objective way of representing the dark skinned other to the white world. Colonising nations relied on the human disciplines, esp. anthropology and sociology as well as their field note – taking journaling observers, to produce knowledge about strange and foreign worlds. This close involvement with the colonial project continued to qualitative research's long and anguished history. (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008, p4)

The only way I could reconcile this discomfort, particularly in the US where I felt it more acutely as an incomer, was to be proactive in taking notes openly and publicly. I made a point of telling people that I would be taking notes and using them in my research, aiming to be as transparent about it as possible.

Throughout the study I fought to think critically and to try to recognise issues of potential power imbalances between myself as "researcher" and project "participants", particularly in the U.S setting where relationships were initially not so well established. I was also critically aware of my privilege in terms of race and class and how this might play out in the research. It was important ethically to this study to involve people at all stages meaningfully and use member checking and cycles of reflection (Earl, 2016) throughout. Also, it is important to work alongside people, attempting to address the issue of people feeling "observed" or "researching on" rather than "with" people.

As this research built on existing community development and advocacy work in Scotland this helped mitigate this issue as people had a strong sense of collective ownership over this work. However, in the U.S there was a need to have increased sensitivity to this issue as people did not know me, I was new to the Citizens Project, the FACE group and to PRCH. As such people did not know me before I became a "researcher." My previous identities as "*Oor Mad History* worker" or even "Kirsten" as a person were not established, and I had to work extremely hard to build up relationships. This involved a lot of time, physical and emotional labour getting to know people, attending meetings, helping out at events, getting involved as a member of the activist group *Witnesses* and taking part in direct action alongside fellow members. I also spoke to the FACE group, doing my best to explain that although I was there to do research, principally my interest in research was as a tool for activism or advocacy. I tried earnestly to communicate my intentions, that I was aiming to better understand the collective experience, the journey that people take from the FACE group towards community organising, towards political agency. I was dogged by feelings of insecurity and discomfort here, tormented in many ways about how to make my words more than just intentional or aspirational, how to possibly enact research that is in some way meaningful for a collective, a movement.

Member checking or "member reflections" and maintaining a collaborative approach

As someone who comes an advocacy and community work background and who is committed to a collaborative and participatory approach to this study, it was important to me to stay connected to the collective at all stages of the research process. Some people in the Scottish context had been involved with *Oor Mad History* and MPHI for several years and already had a strong sense of ownership over it. A group of people interested in the research was set up in Scotland, meeting informally as part of a group we ended up calling the "Citizenship Café" group. We met in city cafes and the CAPS offices to discuss progress and the aim was to create a safe, dialogical space for people to take part in analysis and discuss emerging themes as a group. As I arrived in the US not knowing anyone, it was more difficult to build in this collective way of working. But as I built up relationships and trust with people there, I was able to engage with the FACE group and ask for feedback and input, although I would argue not with as much depth and regularity as was possible in Scotland. I also was determined to have a group discussion and the best way to have this was through including what was termed a "focus group" in my ethics application. I also met with the group several times to share emerging themes and discuss them together.

"Member checking" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) can be integrated into qualitative research at different junctures throughout the research journey, but it is a method for checking back with participants that the data being gathered (transcripts, emerging themes etc) reflects what the participants intended to communicate (Tilley, 2016, p145). It can take place in a one to one setting, or also a group approach to member checking can be used. One of the main ways I used member checking was in returning

interview transcripts to participants for people to check they were content for me to progress using this data. In my experience, it can be jarring for people to read what they communicated orally in an interview, so it is good for people to have time to read through the transcript and if there is anything they are truly unhappy with, this can be redacted. As community voices are at the centre of this study, I aimed to work in partnership with people in all stages of the process: designing research questions, designing the interview questions, in the analysis of data and in the dissemination stages. This involved critical thinking and reflective practice on my own part, it is not enough to enter into the research process armed with only good intentions. It also involved constantly being aware of the complex power dynamics within research, how issues of gender, race, class, mental health status, sexuality, disability, impact on the process. Also, there was an inherent tension between my desire to build in the collective element in a meaningful way versus short time scales and the structures of mainstream, traditional research culture, particularly university ethics procedures.

According to Tracy (2010), credibility in qualitative research is marked by thick description, triangulation, or “crystallisation”, multivocality and “member reflections”. Crystallisation (Ellingson, 2004, in Tracy, 2010 p843) as opposed to Triangulation which retains a singular notion of truth and is described as the gathering and using multiple types of data, methods and theoretical frameworks. But this is not with the goal of arriving at as one singular point of truth or reaching a more valid truth. Rather it is about delving more in the complexities of the issue at hand in more depth and if we ever arrive at conclusions at all, it is to a “still thoroughly partial” understanding, (Tracy, 2010, p844).

Multivocality in research means making space for a variety of opinion and voices. We must also be aware of the cultural differences between us as researchers and participants. For example, there will often be differences in race, class, gender, age or sexuality between researchers and participants, which result in our seeing, experiencing, and understanding the world very differently. Multivocality in research can be achieved by "intense collaboration" according to Tracy (Tracy, 2010, p844). One way of doing this is through a process which Tracy calls Member Reflections which is distinct from the more familiar Member Checking. As well as taking account of a wide variety of voices in our research, to bring in a true multivocality of voices as much as possible during the data collection process. We can take this further with Member Reflections, a dialogical process where we share with participants the findings as we go along, provide open spaces for people to ask questions, offer critique or feedback. Tracy argues that member "checks" suggest a single truth that was are measuring or checking against, whereas "member reflections", "yield new data which provide a spur for deeper and richer analysis" (Bloor, 2001, p395, in Tracy, 2010, p844). In many ways then, it is not about using this process to simply validate and justify your findings, but rather to embed collaboration, partnership and reflexive dialogue in your research throughout. This was an important distinction to make and I believe I achieved this to some degree, particularly as collaboration was embedded in my work from even before I applied for the studentship. I continued to meet with the Citizenship Café group in Scotland throughout the research process, albeit in declining numbers as time went on. This was also more difficult to achieve in the writing up stage of the process. I did however carry out zoom calls, telephone calls, and remained in email contact with people as much as possible even then. In the US I drew on the

collective and privileged the knowledge of people with lived experience as much as possible, talking to the FACE group about my research and getting ongoing feedback on interview questions and emerging themes from "peer specialists" based at PRCH. I also carried out two group sessions to discuss themes in more detail with FACE members, which shall be described in more detail subsequently.

"Feedback cycles" and social movement research

The writing of Earl (2017) has further informed my "fieldwork" and my thinking around my positionality as a researcher working in solidarity with and for social movements, being "doubly located" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2013, p 142) in academia and social movements. Earl's work, like Cresswell and Spandler's, occupies the treacherous territory between activist, social movements, and researcher. She describes this place as "not an easy place to live" and she describes powerfully how this work, "often stands one side or the other of the interstice between hope and despair, solidarity and frustration and love and bitterness" (Earl, 2017, p1). Earl from her experience of researching alongside the *Occupy* movement, advises that research must engage with movement struggles from the standpoint of ally-ship, instead of "cultural invading (Freire, 1995) as an outsider researcher". This resonated strongly for me with Cresswell and Spandler's concept of "deep engagement" or the "engaged academic" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2013) which I referred to earlier in this chapter. Earl uses the term "researcher as cognitive activist", to refer to researchers who aim to work in solidarity with movements, to co-create and write theory with activists in order for it to be genuinely helpful in their movement struggles. She also adopts the useful concept of building "feedback cycles" with activists engaged in social movements, whereby the relevance of the

research is interrogated collectively and continually. This concept of feedback cycles, of co-creating and co-conceptualising theory collectively have been very useful in my work. I believe this notion takes us beyond mere member checking to a more rigorous and politically informed reflexivity and praxis.

I aimed to develop themes collectively, working with the citizenship café group in Scotland to do this. I also shared my early theoretical thinking with the collective, developing pedagogical moments as we learned about research methods, such as Thematic Analysis (Clarke and Braun, 2013) and discussed theories such as the sociological imagination (Mills, 2000) or conscientization (Freire, 1995) together. Earl also states that being a cognitive activist involves humility, which resonated strongly with me. Research of this kind involves risk and intricate boundary work, "activist researchers" need to have the humility to accept that any findings will be subject to intense scrutiny and possibly discontent, and often the best we can hope for is to generate more questions (Earl, 2017, p9).

Data Analysis process

Before moving on to discuss the data analysis process, I have briefly summarised the different sources of data gathered across the two locations of the study in the table below:

Scotland	U. S
• Existing archive material – MPHI community course planning notes, 35 MPHI evaluation forms • Notes from Citizenship cafe group discussions • Research journal, “fieldnotes” • 10 qualitative interview transcripts	• Existing archive material – 52 Citizen’s Project evaluation forms • Research journal, “fieldnotes” • 10 qualitative interview transcripts • Audio recording and notes from group discussion, word map

Early analysis in Scotland: starting from "us"

To organise and analyse the data I opted to use a "Thematic Analysis" approach, (Braun and Clarke, 2013). This is a way of thematically organising and analysing data based on an open coding system and can be used across a complex data set and alongside various theoretical and epistemological frameworks. I wanted to find a method or technique for data analysis that would allow me to use a highly inductive process to generate organising themes. Also, one that would enable me to analyse my extensive and diverse data set which included interview transcripts, existing archive material. As part of my commitment to critical ethnography (Thomas, 1994) and oral history (Janesick, 2007; 2010) methodologies I wanted to expand and augment one to one interview data and draw on a range of material.

All material was analysed using a Thematic Analysis process (Braun and Clarke, 2013). To ensure "vigour" in my analysis I used both manual and digital (NVivo 11) coding. Braun and Clarke outline a six-phase process of Thematic Analysis which I followed in this study. The first stage involves familiarisation with the data, which is an immersive experience. Moving into the second stage involves transcription of the oral or verbal data. I started off aiming to carry out the transcriptions myself as another way to immerse myself further in the voices and sounds of the people I interviewed. However, due to health issues I had to give up this process after five interviews. The other fifteen were transcribed by the authorised transcription service used by PRCH, who had ethical approval to do this work. From this point an initial set of codes is generated using open coding process. Then there is search for repeated themes across the data set. From here it is possible to develop a thematic "map" or visual of your

findings so far. It is important at this stage to review themes and then to refine and name them. From your final set of themes, you can move on to write the final report (from Braun and Clarke, 2013, pp 16 – 23)

I was able to carry out some data analysis collectively with the Citizenship Café group in the early stages of the project using existing archival data, which then went on to critically inform the rest of the analysis process. I photocopied the anonymised student evaluation forms we were going to look at as a group. I then asked people to work in pairs to go through the material and highlight what they thought was significant. Each pair then fed back to the larger group and I wrote up on a flipchart what was coming out for each pair. This was an exercise in the first phase of thematic analysis, "familiarisation" and the discussions that happened because of this informed the generation of initial codes and the search for themes.

I had intended to do all the coding as a group, but this was difficult to achieve in the time available and with the restrictions in place as a result of the university ethics application, which was a sense of frustration for me and the group. "Data" such as interview transcripts had to remain confidential and only accessed by the supervisory team, as such the Citizenship Café did not have adequate permissions to look at the transcripts as a group. However, as the group had carried out the familiarisation aspect of the work, I was able to use this to inform the coding that I went on to do myself, ensuring that the first level of analysis was collective. I then was meticulous in feeding back (Earl, 2016) to the group as themes emerged, a process which generated rich discussion and further informed the analysis. Citizenship café meetings there were examples of the "feedback cycles" Earl (2016) referred to.

I started by using the work done in the very first collective analysis session to create a table of the extracts highlighted by the group, using their codes if they had applied any or developing my own. This was the very first phase of the process of coding, equivalent to stage two of Clarke and Braun's process. Here is an extract from my first coding table, focusing mainly on research question two, "what aspect of the experience contributed to the changes you experienced?

Extract from text	Code	Research question
It was set in a university	Location, validation	2
It was for people with lived experience	Privileging Lived Experience	2
Interested in learning about the history	History	2
People's own stories	Power of first-hand narratives	2

I held another two workshops to look at the existing data together, building codes and themes. We used flip charts, post it notes and images to explore the codes and themes. In the coding workshops we developed the following tentative themes collectively. There is early evidence here of the description of a shift, change or transformation in how people see themselves at a personal and identity level, as well as a shift in terms of thinking or awareness. Also, significant to note here is the idea of the "lightbulb

moment”, which I tracked throughout the research process and eventually linked to ideas of the sociological imagination (Mills, 2000) or critical thinking (Freire, 1995). All this early work coding and discussing the evaluation forms was foundational to the theorising and conceptualisation of this research. Here is a list of these early codes:

1. Personal growth/seeing yourself differently
2. Shift in identity
3. Increased confidence
4. Connectedness
5. Increased awareness
6. Critical perspectives and critical thinking
7. Safety
8. Power
9. Lightbulb moments

I then took all the flip charts, highlighted transcripts, and notes from our rich discussion. I was also able to go through the evaluation forms again line by line and meticulously code them. I then condensed down the codes and linked them to research questions to give structure and develop the themes further, I took notes to help inform continuing analysis. Here are some examples of the analysis I did linking themes to research questions more closely, namely, research question one, “what changed for you?”, and two, “what aspect contributed to this change?” As you will see, it was at this early stage of the process, that the idea of “journey” emerged, despite some people having a dislike for that word! Also, the power of narrative and first-hand accounts,

historical and social movement content emerged strongly at this early stage of the analysis:

What changed?

Confidence

Impact on how I see myself (identity)

Agency – go on to further education etc

New connections

Transformational

What aspects contributed to these changes?

First-hand accounts

Variety of experiences and perspectives

Validation of own experience - idea of being an "expert by experience" etc

This knowledge being taught in a university – validating

Disrupting dominant narrative

Challenging deficit model

History, then and now

Collective/group solidarity

Journey or story that emerges:

Interest in subject of madness, close to heart

Validating of experience

Exposed to a variety of perspectives

Learning from others – power of collectively (group experience)

Power of history – then and now

Challenging deficit and medical model - “No shame in having a mental issue”, “I am not broken or disordered in any way”

Power of first-hand accounts

Causes self- reflection

LIGHTBULB moments

Results in Politicisation/transformation/thinking critically

Increased agency – confidence to speak up in treatment, go onto education etc

Active citizenship – get involved more in community

Activist citizenship – get involved in activist activities, including advocacy.

Analysing interview transcripts

Early analysis of existing archive material, which was carried out and informed by the collective, also informed the interview questions used in the oral history interviews. I coded the Scottish interview transcripts meticulously, open coding them line by line. This was initially done manually by hand, using the comments function on Word. Please see Appendix Five for an extract from a manually coded transcript. Once I had an initial list of codes and themes generated from the interview transcripts, I took this back to the group. This generated rich discussion which then added to the analysis

process. This happened several times, as it was a dialogical and pedagogical process (Freire, 1995) and these feedback cycles (Earl, 2017) had an active role in the data analysis process. Stage three and four were completed as I went through this process, refining the codes and creating initial themes across the Scottish data set. As you can see from the thematic map below, early collective coding influenced the emergent theorising. Again, I will focus on this extract on themes connected with research questions one and two, to demonstrate the development and consolidation of themes:

What changed as a result of your participation in MPHI?

Validation, self-worth, pride, "alive"

Identity away from medical model

Shift in thinking, critical consciousness

Increased agency, personal and political

Connection – relational, to bigger picture, to the collective (I to we), to other services

What aspects contributed to this change?

Extending the sociological imagination - Historical context and social movement content

Extending sociological imagination - Models/theoretical context

Extending the sociological imagination – power of first-hand accounts

Data analysis in the U.S

By the time I went to the US to start my interviews there, in May 2018, I had a strong list of themes from the Scottish material and in time carried out a similar meticulous process of line by line coding of the U.S interviews as had been done with the Scottish interviews. Once I carried out the interviews in the US, I had long delays waiting for transcriptions to be completed. This gave me more time to work on my analysis of Scottish material. I also took time to work on analysis of the existing data in the Citizen's Project archives, manually coding 54 student evaluation forms, again using line by line open coding (Clarke and Braun, 2013). Here is an extract of codes that emerged from this process:

I've grown as a person
Better outlook
Understanding on life
On life's terms
It is a second chance
New way of a free and clean, sober life
Benefit me and my next step in life
Learned I can share my feelings and emotions with different kinds of people
I have skills in helping others
Learned to better deal with my emotions and authority figures
Learned about me, myself, and I
What I want to be and what I want to do
Others watched me mature into a kinder sensitive person

It was also at this stage that I completed an online course on coding with NVivo software and imported all my Scottish audio and transcripts. I then re-coded the

Scottish material using NVivo. Once US interviews were transcribed these were all coded on NVivo. I coded across the whole US data set and then also coded across the entire Scottish and US data set in order to get a clear picture of similarities and differences. I also coded my field notes or research journal using NVivo, which totalled 56 000 words. This was also done by a process of line by line open coding using a Thematic Analysis approach (Clarke and Braun, 2013).

Towards themes in the US – tears in Taco Bell

I was able on my final visit to New Haven between May and August 2019 to share emerging themes with the people I had been working alongside for almost three years and who meant so much to me. It was important to me to share and discuss my thinking and findings with FACE and Witnesses members before sharing it with anyone else. Initially I wrote all the themes on coloured paper to show them to the group at the end of a FACE meeting in Taco Bell. It was the end of a meeting, people were heading off and it was all rather chaotic. For those that stayed, I tried to get it over with quickly. I ended up just holding the bits of paper up and reading them out, which in the end was not interactive. I got the sense that by the end people did not really have a proper grasp of what the themes were as they had lost concentration. I found myself in tears in Taco Bell. I had invested so much emotionally in this work and it was a big moment to share these "findings" with the group in the US, so when it did not go well, I got very upset. However, I learnt from this process and tried again. I dusted myself off and got in touch with people to arrange another session. This time we agreed to meet at the offices of PRCH, where we would be less distracted. I brought pizza and thirteen people came along to take part. I wanted it to be a thank you to the group as well as a goodbye, as this was towards the end of my last visit. This time I wrote the themes out on smaller

bits of coloured paper and laid them out on the big tables at PRCH. This way people were able to move around the tables to look at them, pick themes up that they thought were important and move them around. It was a successful way of engaging with the themes, allowing people to individually and collectively identity what themes they believed were the most significant. Therefore, the group were leading the discussion and it was an interactive, rich (and enriching) human experience. It was here that we discussed together ideas of "love" in the context of this work. Overall, this process worked far better than my previous attempt and as a result deeply informed the analysis and conceptualisation process. It also left me with genuinely cherished memories.

I was also able to share and disseminate the emerging findings with Michael Rowe and other key people involved in the Citizenship work at PRCH, including the director of the Citizen's Project, the Peer Specialist worker attached to the project and the member of staff involved in community organising aspect of the work. Below is an extract of the themes developed across Scotland and the US, which were developed further by the experience of sharing with the FACE and Witnesses members and the presentation given at PRCH. Again, the research questions were used to help structure the themes. There were certain themes shared across both settings and then themes that are specific to Scotland or to the US, which is marked out in the table below which details themes related to research question one, "What changed for you?"

Themes across both sites	**Scotland only**	**U.S only**
• I am not alone • Validation, increased confidence and self-worth	• See myself and my identity differently now – space away from medical model • Connection to shared history and collective identity	• "Hope", gaining tools, second chances • Self-awareness

This next table details themes which were common in both sites then themes which were particular to either Scotland or the U.S for research question two, "What aspect contributed to these changes?". It is evident that there is nuance across themes, as is demonstrated in the difference between the "relational" theme; for example in the U.S "love" is highlighted within this theme, in Scotland it is not:

Themes across both sites	Scotland	U.S
• Non-clinical spaces • Epistemic justice • Connecting individual, personal experience to the wider structural context	• The relational, social connection, collective identity • Counter hegemonic understandings of "mental health" and "mental illness" • Critical pedagogy, historical consciousness and intentional social movement learning • Broadening understanding of activism	• The relational – social connection, collective identity and love • Pedagogies of citizenship and activism – tied to relational, also to situated social movement learning through action

Lastly, I was able to share findings and get feedback from peers at two conferences, one at New York University and one at the University of Strathclyde. On returning to Scotland I shared the final themes across both Scotland and the U.S with members of the citizenship café group, sharing with them the final thematic map (attached as Appendix Six). Overall, dialogical and collaborative processes in both Scotland and the U.S enabled me to finalise my analysis and begin to write up the final narrative of my findings which shall be presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Ethical considerations

As mentioned previously, in Scotland I had struggled with my new identity as "researcher", whereas in the U.S people assumed I was an academic, and as such my identity as an advocacy worker or my experiential knowledge seemed discounted in that context. I felt I had to keep telling people I did not come from a traditional academic or research background, and that my main interests were in research as a tool for advocacy and activism. I also did not have the existing relationships with people in the U.S, as was described above in the Scottish context. These insider/outsider boundaries highlighted issues of identity and power relations within the research process. Research that proclaims to be critical or emancipatory often grapples with blurred boundaries and as Mnyaka and Macleod (2018) argue adhering to ethical protocols is exactly the location where power dynamics and boundaries are negotiated (Mnyaka and Macleod, 2018, p 141). Boundaries can be blurred when carrying out activist research or research with social movements.

In the context of my study, I was of course preoccupied with the traditional principles of ethics in research, such as not causing harm. However, Queer and disabled

researchers in particular have problematised the universality of a "principalist" approaches to ethics, in particular notions of "vulnerability" of participants. Vulnerability in the context of critical research is a contested term (Treharne et al., 2018) potentially downplaying the agency and action of groups such as people with mental health issues who may be perceived of as more "vulnerable" than others. In my own work, the harm I was preoccupied with was not necessarily upsetting vulnerable mentally ill people, although of course I did not want to upset anyone and did everything within my power to avoid that eventuality, as described earlier. I was in many ways concerned about harm in a different sense, in a more collective sense. I was preoccupied with my own positionality, grappling with whether the choices I made and the actions I took were ethical in relation to the politics of the mental health service user movement and my relationships within it. Research is often critiqued by Mad movement scholars and activists for procuring the ideas or stories of Mad people, of "involvement" of people with lived experience being tokenistic and used to bolster research careers or grant applications (Rose et al, 2018, Costa and Voronka, 2019). Was I enough of an insider to be doing this work, to be trusted to do it, or was I guilty of appropriation of survivor knowledge too? I hoped I had built up enough trust over the years, predominantly relationally, but this felt precarious especially when undertaking a PhD, where despite setting out with the aspiration to do activist or emancipatory research, arguably I would be the person to benefit the most from this endeavour as only one person can be awarded a PhD. I did everything within my power to mitigate this discord by centring the collective and carrying out dialogical research and theorising, but ultimately, I am unsure if I was ever able to reconcile these inherent

tensions. These then, if I am truly honest, were the political, and ethical considerations that preoccupied me throughout the process.

For me, "harm "in the context of my research, is also broader, politicised notion of harm to relations within the movement, to the cause of the movement, to one's reputation within it. I felt continually on a tightrope between myself as self-proclaimed activist researcher, the mad or service user movement and the structure of academic and ethical structures and protocols. I was fearful and anxious a lot of the time as I walked this perilous tightrope, as if any sudden move would result in me being accused of wrong- doing. My ultimate fear was of being perceived of as a traitor, outcast and cast out. My other fears were around letting people down, by trying to do both "academic" research and "activist" research, I had a deep-seated fear I was failing at both. Reflecting on this demonstrates that for me how the ethical and political contexts of research with or alongside social movements are treacherous, complex territory. Again I turned to the work of Cresswell and Spandler (2009; 2013; 2016) and Spandler and Poursandidou (2019) to help make sense of these tensions and to remind myself of the need to be honest and not sweep such tensions "under the carpet" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2016, p11).

"Harm" in traditional research is often conceptualised in individual terms (Ashdown et al, 2018), whereas in the context of social movement research it is important to think of it in collective terms too, as in potential harms to a community or a movement in addition to potential harms to one individual "research participant" (Mnyaka and Macleod, 2018, p 234). As Lewis (2012) claims, any claim to a collaborative "we" in research leads to a "tangled web of power relations" (Routledge, 2009, in Lewis, 2012)

which is certainly what I experienced in my own work. My approach to dealing with these complexities was unashamedly relational and reflexive. At the heart of social movement or "militant" research, is direct participation in and by social movements and the cultivation of long-term relationships. Formation of such relationships are deemed essential by Lewis for ethical research practice (Lewis, 2012). This must also be coupled with continual reflexivity (Fernandez, 2009, in Lewis, 2012). I maintained a commitment to reflexivity throughout the research process, as demonstrated in my research journal, critically reflecting on many of the complex issues above as I attempted to navigate them in real time, as well as in theory. I also talked some of these tensions through with members of the Citizenship Café group, as well as with friends and colleagues occupying a range of positionalities in connection to the user movement.

At all times I wanted to ensure people who were interviewed or who took part knew that their participation in the project was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any point up to the data analysis stage. Before the interview people were given a detailed information sheet (Appendix One) in lay terms about the data generation that they were to be involved in. Participants were also asked to sign consent forms to participate in the research (Appendix One). The information sheet clearly articulated the aims of the research, what the activity would involve, how the data was to be disseminated. In this way I, as much as possible, ensured people were giving informed consent (Miller and Boulton, 2007). People were given the opportunity to ask any questions at the start of the interview and I was also available to talk things through at the end in case people became upset. This concern with people getting upset within mental health research was a preoccupation of the university, tied again perhaps to

traditional views of research participants in mental health research as vulnerable. I was familiar with local resources for support if required and prepared to talk to people about accessing their own or new support networks if appropriate following the interview, although this was not required. I also explained to people how their data would be used and stored and went through carefully issues of confidentiality and anonymity.

As there was the opportunity to archive the oral history interviews in Scotland people were able to make a choice as to how they wanted to be named or to remain anonymous for archiving purposes. People in Scotland also signed an oral history recording agreement to ensure the copyright was assigned to the *Oor Mad History* archive. In the US, all data was de-identified in accordance with PRCH policy, which disappointingly meant that none of the interviews were able to be archived. I touched on this issue of naming people earlier in the thesis as I introduced the people who took part, but I wish to centre it here as an ethical issue. As Cresswell and Spandler (2013) describe, anonymising people can deny agency, can be a silencing. They reference Kathryn Church who felt “ethically bound” to name people (Cresswell and Spandler, 2013, p149). There are also resonances here with the work of Marx and Macleod (2018) who speak of the “erasure” of queer and disabled people through blanket anonymity policies in ethics applications. Naming people was personally and politically imperative to me. I contacted people in Scotland again before submission to double check permissions for using people’s full name as this was my preference. It was a point of huge contrast with the U.S where I was unable to offer people the chance to be named. I was restricted by the ethics structures and cultures of the

university. Perhaps if I had known more about how these structures work and more confidence within them, I could have mitigated this.

Informed consent was a dialogical and ongoing process (Birch and Miller, 2002). Full transcripts of qualitative interviews were given to participants to read through and review if they wished to do so. People were offered the chance to redact certain sections of their interview transcript if they believe it reveals too much or could potentially lead to their identification, although no one chose to do so. One person in the light of reading the transcript decided that they only wanted the recorded oral history interview to be archived and not the transcript after the duration of the study. Once I had decided which quotes to use from the qualitative interviews in the thesis, I also offered to send these out to people to look at and check. This process happened in the final writing up phase and I tied it in with ensuring people were named how they wanted to be named in the final thesis.

Confidentiality and the limits of confidentiality were also explored within the consent process. Any breach of confidentiality could potentially result in emotional and psychological harm or in a wider movement sense affect people's trust in me. It was therefore important to be explicit about confidentiality, namely any limits to what would be kept confidential, so that people were aware of that. The limits or boundaries to confidentiality, generally disclosure of an intention to do harm to oneself or others, or to disclose illegality were also explained to people in the consent process. On the other hand, it was also important to me that people were able to waive confidentiality if they wished, to have their full name credited and to be credited for the knowledge, contribution, and wisdom. Therefore, there were ongoing conversations and

communications regarding naming and confidentiality throughout the research process.

It was also important to recognise that due to the established nature of the relationship between myself as researcher and the group in Scotland, people may have felt obliged to participate in the study. This issue was addressed directly in face to face conversations around recruitment. I explained to people that they were under no pressure to agree to take part because of our existing relationship. Also, if they did choose not to take part that that would in no way affect our existing working relationship or their ability to access or get involved with CAPS or the *Oor Mad History* project. There is also the chance that because of our existing relationship people would, perhaps to please me, tell me what they think I want to hear as they take part in the study. Also, I was concerned people might not feel comfortable talking about some of the “pricklier” issues for fear of offending me. Again, I opted to address this head on in conversation with interviewees, and by ensuring I read extensively and educated myself on what the “prickly” issues of involvement and research of this kind might be (for example, Faulkner, 2004, Beresford, 2005, Sweeney et al., 2009, Rose, 2017, Cresswell and Spandler, 2013). I also aimed to include as many voices as possible in my research, to achieve multivocality (Tracy, 2010). As well as individual qualitative interviews, there were also the collective voices of the Citizenship Café group and the group sessions in the U.S. Furthermore, I included existing or archive data in my research, ensuring the voices of even more people were included.

Another ethical consideration which was raised in the context of my research was the issue of payment. There was no budget attached to my studentship to support the

participation of people of lived experience, so in Scotland I had to find free meeting rooms and pay for any refreshments and travel when required from my own pocket. As I had such established relationships with many people and because of the sense of ownership that people feel over the work of *Oor Mad History* and MPHI, people were willing and wanted to support this research. However, this was not always easy to sustain, particularly as I was away for so much of this time. There was no expectation in Scotland that people would be paid for their time to be interviewed or to take part in the citizenship café group.

In the US I encountered a very different research culture where people are generally always paid for their contribution, therefore receive stipends for attending interviews or focus groups. At Yale it is expected that to take part in research, participants will be paid and there are hundreds of studies advertising for participants and offering stipends on lampposts throughout the city. All participants at PRCH studies are paid. Often the community members PRCH wants to interview or involve in studies have experience of homelessness, addictions and mental health issues so often people need and rely on this money. I did not have any allocated budget from Strathclyde University to provide this, but my supervisor at PRCH agreed that I would be able to pay the people I interviewed from the PRCH budget. Without this I believe I would have struggled to get people to take part. I was, through PRCH funding, able to pay people forty dollars to take part in an interview and twenty-five dollars to take part in a focus group. This for me raised ethical issues around university research cultures, activist versus "research participant" involvement and what role paying people has in terms of involvement and the accountability of research and researchers. I was left wondering if paying people in

some ways allows researchers "off the hook", perhaps affecting issues such as a longer-term accountability to the "researched".

Beckford and Broome (2007) wrote about the ethical issues involved in paying stipends to research participants in a US context. They pointed to advantages that included better recruitment, better retention rates, the fact that "subjects" are recognised or "rewarded" for their participation and lastly that people do not suffer any financial hardship as a result of taking part. However, they also highlighted the potential disadvantages which they asserted were that the sum of money offered could over-ride informed consent, meaning participants would underestimate the potential risks involved in taking part in the research resulting in "undue inducement" to participate, potential bias in subject selection and exposure of participants to risk (Beckford and Broome, 2007, p 84). I recognised some of the potential ethical dilemmas associated with payments, however I felt these were mitigated by the fact my research had relatively low levels of risk as a qualitative study. Also, as payments were embedded into the culture of the department, it felt more appropriate to follow procedure. As most of my recruitment was also based on my community development experience and snowball sampling, as well as the mediation role played by Adele, the peer specialist worker, I believe this also mitigated undue inducement or risk within the context of this study.

Adele assisting me was an important part of the recruitment process for me, I believe it gave me some credibility because of the level of respect that Adele holds within the community. At the time I remember feeling quite proud that Adele was working alongside me, considering it (possibly naively) testimony to the work I put into

building relationships. However, retrospectively, I know from later conversations with her that really she was only doing what she thought was her job. I have a slight discomfort, looking back, that the role that Adele was playing in the recruitment context was again one of a “bridge”, a bridge between me as outsider; white, European, “researcher” and a community of people, of which she was part, who were predominantly Black or Latino/x and working class and the “researched”. As Voronka (2015; 2017) concluded peer work be “bridge work”, with peers acting as “embodied translators” between degenerate and respectable spaces (Voronka, 2015, p 321). In the context of my work, and drawing on Voronka’s analysis, this raised concerns for me about whether peer specialists are often called on within research to bridge the gaping differences in race and class between researchers and “researched” and the ethics of this. I could not help but think that Adele and others in similar roles should not just be “bridges,” they should be directly involved in leading and informing research and research agendas.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the thinking behind the theoretical framework and the philosophical research paradigm of his research, detailing how both informed my methodological and method choices. Through engagement with the literature review process and from the data analysis I identified social movement learning and Mad Studies as the central theoretical framework of this study. Situated in the critical constructivist paradigm, this is a broad qualitative study, drawing on critical and post critical ethnography, oral history, participatory and arts-based methods. As such it follows the bricolage tradition (Kincheloe and Berry, 2004) of qualitative

research. Qualitative data was analysed using a Thematic Analysis approach. I have attempted to show how the chosen research paradigm, theoretical framework, methodology and methods resonate with my own values and politics and to a personal commitment to critical, participatory research that has emancipatory and social justice aims. I have also discussed throughout the need to be self - reflexive and critical of one's own positionality and practice, that we cannot expect to challenge issues of power and inequality in the world at large if we are not able to start with ourselves and our own potential to do harm within Eurocentric, empiricist research legacies and structures. Lastly, I explored some of the ethical issues that I encountered through the research process, including reflecting on ethics in the context of research connected with social movements. I shall now move on in the next three chapters present the findings of the study, drawing strongly on the voices and knowledge of those who took part.

CHAPTER FIVE: What changed for people in the U.S and what aspects contributed to these changes?

In the following three chapters the main findings of the study shall be presented, centring the voices of the people who took part in the research. Chapter Five, this current chapter, focuses on what *changed* for people in America who graduated from the Citizen's Project program and moved onto the FACE community organising group and to *Witnesses* activist group. Also, Chapter Five shall explore *which aspects* of the experience contributed to these changes. Chapter Six shall do the same for the Scottish context, for those who were part of the Mad People's History and Identity project. In Chapter Seven I shall explore the *narratives of citizenship* that emerged in the study in both locations. I shall detail the key themes that emerged from the analysis of material, drawing on extracts from qualitative interview transcripts to illustrate. These three chapters came from the research questions and subsequent data analysis process. The research questions, which guided this study, were as follows:

- What, if anything, has changed for participants following their involvement and how do they articulate this change?
- What aspect of the curriculum or experience do people believe facilitated this change?
- What role can critical education play in building bridges between individual experience (identity) and issues of agency and structure? (context, structural inequality)

- Does social movement learning or content impact on this process, i.e. interacting with "Madness" as a political identity or political project or learning about the activism of others?
- How do participants view the link between identity, structure and agency or citizenship?
- Can MPHI and The Citizens Project enable people to become more "political" or "active" citizens?
- How do those who are involved in Mad Studies conceptualise citizenship?

Introduction

In this chapter I shall explore *what changed* for people in the American context. In America I was particularly keen to understand the experience of people who had graduated from the Citizen's Project and then moved on to join the FACE community organising group or had also become a member of the anti-poverty and food insecurity campaigning group, *Witnesses to Hunger*. I shall present the key themes that emerged from the dialogical analysis process of qualitative interviews, research notes, group discussions and member reflections described in the previous chapter which focused on methodology and methods. Three overarching themes will be detailed in this section: *moving from isolation to connection, a shift in thinking or awareness* and *journey towards personal and political agency.* In the U.S the first theme of moving from isolation to connection was divided into four sub themes; *"I am not alone", "validation, increased confidence and self-worth", "hope, gaining tools and second chances*" and "*self-awareness."*

What changed for people?

Moving from isolation to connection

One of the key themes that emerged was an overall process of *moving from isolation to connection* and this was articulated in a range of ways within the American setting. A large part of experiencing a greater sense of connection or belonging was expressed as no longer feeling as isolated or alone. This came through in the analysis in both settings but was particularly strong in the US. Here people talked of being part of a community of other people who had similar experiences and crucially to having regular contact with people who cared about you. One person described a sense of absolute relief they experienced coming into a space where people cared and "you didn't have to carry your burden on your own anymore", a space where you could share your worries or problems. Relationships then are positioned immediately as central in this study, and what emerged strongly in the American material is that the process towards having greater agency begins with the relational. As such the American analysis was characterised by the fundamental importance of experiencing positive relationships characterised by kindness and care. From that place of the relational, it becomes possible to learn to care about and value yourself. Through this process people describe a process of a beginning to realise that your life matters, that you matter and crucially in terms of collective or political agency, that what you have to say matters, correlating with the findings of Rowe and Baranoski (2011); Harper et al. (2012) and Stewart et al (2017). In the context of my own research this process of learning to value yourself, to believe that your voice matters, is tied with learning to accept yourself, beginning to love and care about yourself. This connection to love, to experiencing unconditional love was a strong theme to emerge in the U.S setting.

We see reference to love in this first interview extract from Martin, a Citizen's Project graduate and now FACE member. Martin refers to how the Citizen's Project helps people no longer feel alone anymore and that it helps people learn to love themselves again. Interestingly, he also talks about how it helps people to learn to love society again too, so elements here of connecting out beyond the interpersonal to the societal. Miranda then describes her experience at Citizens, the powerful process of "learning about herself" and the mental health "process." She also describes learning that she was not alone. We also see in this extract Miranda referring to the experience of realising that there is a community of people who are interested in what she has to say, who are interested in her, her voice and her opinions:

> *Well, Citizen's pretty much is a program that can help people who were incarceration. It also can help the he or she who maybe might have been out of the system for two years, to help he or she to get back on their feet and say hey, you don't have to steal. You don't have to be alone. You don't have to be doing anything by yourself. Pretty much we can help you get back on your feet, help you to love society, but help you to love yourself again.*
>
> Martin, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

> *Well, outside of learning about myself and what the mental health process is about in terms of getting better, is about... I learned again, you know, I wasn't alone. I learned again that I could be just as part of the community as anyone else who was "normal." There was a community especially for me, you know,*

out there. People who were interested in my voice, things that I had to say. What meant... what the meaning of my life was for me, you know?

Miranda, Citizen's graduate, FACE and Witnesses member

Validation, increased confidence, and self-worth

For those who had graduated from the Citizens Project in the US being validated was very significant. People spoke of the validation they experienced primarily as a relational encounter and characterised the Citizen's Project as a validating space. In many ways this resonated with Bangall's (2010) notion of "existential citizenship", rooted in the affective, the experiential, the relational which I referred to in Chapter Two of my literature review. Being in this space was the catalyst to beginning to be able to value oneself, to care about oneself, or as was mentioned above, even beginning to love oneself. One graduate described this eloquently when they said they felt like somebody now, "*I am somebody, I'm not trash*". Some people referenced the contrast with their lives before they started The Citizens Project. People talked about their experiences of violence and trauma, of running the streets, being incarcerated, homeless or in active addiction. In contrast, Citizen's and subsequently FACE are presented as ontologically, emotionally and physically safer spaces. A significant aspect of moving from isolation to connection, was the increased confidence and self-worth that people experienced. This was strongly correlated with being validated as a person and having one's experiences validated. People referred to this feeling of validation, increased confidence and self-worth in different ways, including as "*self-pride*, "*self-belief*" and "*self-respect*". These feelings emerged as the starting place which led people to experience a greater sense of agency. This resonates with Kilgore's

(1999) work on collective learning in social movements, who also linked increasing agency with confidence. I also link this to the concept of "learning to be", involving identity construction as described by Rule (2011, p 219). Rule, in his description of social movement learning argues that as people feel less alone, more connected and valued, this in turn has an impact on their sense of self and identity (Rule, 2011). Taylor's (1988, in Lister, 2015) conceptualisation of identity is also a useful framework to understand issues of identity that arise in the findings. Taylor differentiated between ontological and categorical identity. Categorical identity is concerned with a person's unique sense of self and categorical identity with a sense of belonging and connection with others. This notion of categorical identity contributes to "collective identity" (Taylor, 1988, in Lister, 2015, p 153) which I shall explore in more detail later in the thesis.

In this next extract, Miranda talks of this building of confidence in terms of seeing the "*evidence*" that life is different now because of the Citizen's Project. She describes feeling more in control. She also describes her life before as a "*void place*" where she had no choices and how Citizen's Project has offered her a safer space to find out who she is and what she wants. Miranda says that attending the Citizens Project has ultimately given her a second chance at life. Following on, Arthur describes how the Citizen's Project helped him to become more curious and describes that it helped him to start to care about others and himself. Arthur also refers to the central role of relationships, to building friendships and how this relational work enabled to understand himself better, to become more self-aware and ultimately to express himself more effectively:

Seeing the evidence. Seeing the evidence of that in which I was doing, you know, because before in a different lifestyle, the evidence of that lifestyle was producing me to damage my brain. Damage my family life, damage my home life, so I seen the manifestations of that behaviour. It was more evidence of confidence, it was, I know I can do this. It was, I don't have to live like that anymore, you know? ... I was more in control. I was more in control every day of doing something positive and beneficial.

Miranda, Citizen's graduate, FACE and Witnesses member

Now, that I can look back on it I can see that…[it] was helping me to me be more curious. And more…I started to care. So, it was like I was able to build new friendships outside of my normal. So, it became somewhat…Now it's becoming my normal. To be, to know that it's okay. You can talk to other people that, quote unquote, they said are not like you. Or the way they treat you up. So, it gave me the opportunity to understand myself better. And be self-aware of what is it that Arthur wants. And how to express that and communicate that to somebody else that might not see that at first glance. When we first meet people, after our conversation it's definitely taught me how to be more self-expressive.

Arthur, Citizens graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

Gaining tools, hope and "second chances"

There are many references to a discourse of "gaining tools" in life, and also about people being given and giving themselves a "second chance". The use of the words "tools" and "toolbox" is reminiscent of 12 Step programs of Alcoholics or Narcotics Anonymous (AA or NA) language which refer to the "spiritual toolbox". Research into the recovery or change narratives embedded in AA and NA environments (Denzin, 1987; Cain, 1991; Valverde and White-Mair, 1999; Irvine, 1999) demonstrates the prevalence of a disease model within this context, similar to the dominant disease and biomedical model in mental health. Andersen (2015) argues AA or NA treatment programmes set formulas or templates for acceptable recovery or change narratives, suggesting the significance of institutional settings for narrative construction, "different narrative environments reward different kinds of stories" (Andersen, 2015, p673). This is significant as many of the people who come into the Citizen's Project and FACE will have been through different institutional and treatment settings, which will impact on their narrative construction.

These concepts of "gaining tools" and the narrative of the "second chance" were also correlated strongly to feelings of "*hope"*, of hope for a better future and to being able to move forwards, to move from a negative place to a positive place. This again corresponds to research by Andersen (2015) about stories of transformation in an addictions context, that people need narratives as ways to make sense of their past lives "and to enable construction of…future identities" (Andersen, 2015, p668). These past lives are negative places, described as life before Citizen's Project, characterised by mental health issues, addictions, homelessness or incarceration. In this extract from Marissa, we see one of the main chances for her is that there is now a sense of hope

for the future. Again, she references her ability to now give back to society, hoping that somehow this doing good will come back to her twofold. Tony then refers to hope in the following extract and refers to himself as walking in the light now, as opposed to in the dark. He draws on the Biblical language of miracles, calling himself a walking miracle:

> *What changed for me is the fact that there's hope. I… thought growing up with mental illness that there wasn't going to be no hope for me. We made some mistakes along the way and because I made a mistake don't mean I have to live in my mistakes. The fact that I'm able to give back to society and do something good. If I do something good, the good is going to come back to me.*
>
> Miranda, Citizen's graduate and FACE member.

> *I feel like I'm a day walker now. I can finally walk into the light, and I look at it as myself as a walkin' miracle. There's hope. There's hope out there. I'm a walkin' miracle, and I seen it for myself, my experience for me.*
>
> Tony, Citizen's graduate and FACE member

Becoming more self-aware

Connected to this was also about how Citizens and FACE had affected people's sense of self-awareness, about learning about oneself through connection with and in relation to others. Elements of learning how to almost "govern" yourself or regulate your emotions emerge, reminiscent of Cosgrove and Carter's work on governmentality and

self-management (2018) described earlier in the thesis. “What’s Up?” the activity that happens in the first hour of the Citizen’s Project classes is referenced several times. “What’s Up?” is facilitated by one of the students, asking each person to talk about what is going on in their lives and then asking for feedback from another member of the group. There is no “cross talk” during this process, just the facilitator, student speaking and student giving feedback are allowed to speak and once the feedback is given, the process moves onto another student who wants to talk about what’s up for them. This process of being able to speak about personal matters in the group, to be listened to and then validated by the feedback seems to have had a very powerful effect on people. “What’s Up?” emerged as a key part of people feeling as if they belonged and were valued in the space. This process of “What’s Up?” of speaking out and getting feedback also helped enable people begin to express themselves and start to develop a sense of voice and agency. Here is Arthur talking about his experience and referring specifically to “What’s Up?” Then in the next extract Arthur goes on to describe how he was initially motived to start attending Citizen’s Project because of the ten-dollar stipend, but how this monetary motivation became replaced with something else, with a curiosity about himself and after a while he wasn’t just going for the stipend:

> *Self-awareness. Of my communication and expression. And it’s okay to feel sad and have a community of people that you could talk to. How to express, how to self-express myself. Because they got this thing called What’s Up and you talk about how was your weekend or your day. And it became from me saying a few words to me being more vocal and self-expressed. Like I learned how to…It*

taught me how to be more self-expressed, how to express myself. How to be self-aware.

Arthur, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

Well, in the beginning I was just going…and at first it was a little bit intimidated. And I was just really going just for the ten dollars for them two hours. And after that I became more self-aware. And I became more…I don't want to say involved at that time. But I became more curious about myself. Slowly but surely the ten dollars was irrelevant. Because even after I graduated, I still kept going.

Arthur, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

Connection is a conceptually nuanced idea which people experienced and articulated in a range of ways. People in the US expressed feeling more connected to themselves and to their sense of identity as well as more connected to others in the group. Some people also expressed connection to a fledgling collective or political identity. It was argued that people are experiencing a process of "learning to be" (Rule, 2011) whereby people learn more about themselves and this impacts on their identity construction. This was also linked to Taylor's (1985, in Lister, 2015) theory of identity, which differentiates between ontological and categorical identity. As people move from isolation to connection this strengthens their sense of ontological identity, or unique sense of self. It also impacts on their categorical identity, a contributing factor to "collective identity" (Taylor, 1985, in Lister, 2015 p 153).

People also talked about being more connected to resources and information and other services in the community because of their involvement and participation. Also, people described experiencing a greater connection to what was going on around them, in their communities and in a wider sense, society. There were also conceptual links emerging between connection and belonging, the affective experience of "belonging" and acceptance. Of almost belonging to a family. This again contributes to categorical identity, which is concerned with a sense of belonging and sameness with others (Taylor, 1985, in Lister, 2015). A significant aspect of moving from isolation to connection, was the increased confidence and self- worth that people experienced. This is strongly correlated with being *validated*, being validated as a person and having one's experiences validated.

People referred to this feeling of validation, increased confidence and self-worth in different ways, including as "*self-pride*", "*self-belief*" and "*self-respect*". Validation can be compared to Kilgore's theory of collective learning (Kilgore, 1999) which I referred to in my literature review. Kilgore talks of an increased sense of "worthiness" as an outcome of this form of education. Kilgore differentiated between individual and group distinctions of collective learning. Validation or this move from isolation to connection maps more closely onto individual characteristics of "identity, consciousness, sense of agency, sense of worthiness and sense of connectedness" (Kilgore, 1999, p 191). This feeling of validation which emerged strongly in the American findings, included increased confidence and self-worth emerges as the starting place which led people to experience a greater sense of both personal and political agency. This trajectory towards greater political or collective agency shall

now be explored further as we look at the next two themes, *shift in thinking or awareness* and *a journey towards increased personal and political agency*.

Shift in thinking or awareness

Moving from negative to positive

As people experienced moving from isolation to connection, characterised by an increase in confidence, self-worth and validation, people then described experiencing *a shift in thinking or awareness*, which is the focus of this next section. This theme shall be divided into three sub-themes, *moving from negative to positive, giving back* and *starting to care.* People in America mainly conceptualised this shift in thinking or awareness in relation to their attitude to themselves and how they think of themselves, learning to accept or care about themselves, to love themselves. There were also however many references to being able to move forwards in life, of *moving from negative to positive* places. This is described eloquently by Miranda in the next extract where she describes the power of being able to be seen by others as a "*solution*" rather than as a "*problem*", of finally having something that she could offer. This speaks to a sense of being able to contribute or participate finally, but also to concepts of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2007) and to Lister's writing around voice, empowerment and the "expertise born of experience" (Lister, 2015, p156). People are beginning to see themselves as valuable and realising that their experiential knowledge matters and can impact on change. Arthur too, talks about this shift from being involved in negative activities connected to his addiction in his life before and how he believed this just attracted more negative experiences. He describes that now, after his time at Citizen's Project and coming to FACE he wants to change that, to be part of something positive, to "*think positive*" and bring positivity to others:

Well, the significance of that, because it become... it became very significant for me to be a part of the solution and no longer the problem. Right? It became very... attractive you know, I knew I had something. Finally, now I know I had something to offer, I can help, support. Keep me busy, keep me out of my own head. When Bobby (community organiser and Social Worker based at PRCH, facilitator of FACE group) says, "Well, we need to go show up for this or for that," and if I can go, I go, right?

Miranda, Citizen's graduate and FACE member

Because I'm more of a doer than a planner. And I like being involved with positive change. Because I used to be so much into negative things. Now, I just want to help and bring about positive to people's lives. Like me being so much negative. So much taking. Suffering because of that. So, I learned a lot. Think positive. I can put myself in a situation. So out of that negative, thinking negative results, and negative problems. Suffering, all that negative stuff. Going to Citizens knowing that we do good stuff. You attract good people and good events. So, when FACE came about it was something that I was interested in, to do something positive.

Arthur, MPHI graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

Giving Back

Linked to this notion of moving from a negative to a positive place in life, the discourse of giving back is strong in the U.S findings. People talked about their lives before,

when they had been, as they saw it, a negative influence in their community. One person describing it as having "*taken so much from my community, and now I can give back*". There was almost a sense of atonement or atoning for past sins, of a spiritual language of redemption. People referenced having been a negative force in their community and now being able to be a positive force for good. What also emerges is that the burden of responsibility lies with the individual rather than any blame being placed with societal level or structural factors that might affect someone's choices or behaviours. As one person said, "*it starts and ends with me*", so we can see that people are locating the burden of responsibility for any past misdemeanours firmly within themselves.

Throughout the American interviews we can see echoes of almost evangelical language, of being "born again". There are also echoes of as Twelve Step program narratives (Andersen, 2015), redemption narratives, recovery narratives and narratives of the American Dream when describing this move towards giving back in the community. Also, this connects to the work of Black and Rubenstein (2009) on stories of "suffering" the role of suffering, redemption and hope in narrative construction for older African American men. This research pointed to the role of spirituality, of giving witness and testimony and of survival theology for African Americans. (Black and Rubenstein, 2009, p 297)

Overall, there was a strong motif of normative, neoliberal citizenship discourses, narratives of the "responsibilised citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004) characterised by notions of individual responsibility, throughout and that this appears to be internalised by people. People seem to be acting collectively but still speaking

individually, locating the burden of blame within themselves rather than looking outwards to structural causes or barriers. Here is Martin talking about the shift in him from a negative place growing up to now being able to "give back" to society. He refers specifically to his experience of alcoholism and drug addiction and his words are reminiscent of the construct of the redemptive or transformative narrative (McAdams, 1993; 2006, 2009, Andersen, 2015). This includes references to God or a higher power and strong psychological redemption sequences of recovery from addiction. Elizabeth too demonstrates a narrative of the redemptive self, how all she knew was drugs and people who did drugs, but that it is "up to you" if you want a better life or a better community, "that start with yourself":

> *You know, we all make mistakes in life where we might have done bad drugs, or we might have went to jail for something. I'm a recovering alcoholic and addict. I'd done, I got high, I lost jobs. I was not a good person coming up. I was a bad person, but God turned that life around. Now, I'm giving back to society. I have 25 years clean, sober. Whoever thought that would happen.*
>
> Martin, Citizens' graduate and FACE member

> *The only thing I know is drugs and people who do drugs. Ever since Citizens I don't have to do that. I don't have to be with those people. Because I look at that fact. I see some of those same people when I came from New York doing the same thing. Don't have an apartment. So that's living by the example right there. That it do work. That you can advocate for yourself. You can get housing. You can get assistance. It's just that it's up to you if you want to live a better*

life and have a better community. That start with yourself. It start with yourself because my community is a mess.

Elizabeth, Citizen's graduate and FACE member

Starting to care

It is apparent that as people progress through Citizen's and move onto FACE and Witnesses there is not only an interpersonal shift of being able to care more about oneself, but also beginning to care about others, and notably to start to care about what is going on in the local community or at a wider societal level. As Arthur describes, in his life previously, when dealing with addictions and mental health issues it was hard to care about anything, even oneself. Now he describes the shift that has happened to him as "*I started to care, before I couldn't have cared less".* Although people in the US did not articulate quite the same level of a shift towards more critical thinking as the Scottish interviewees did, there was a level of moving beyond the purely interpersonal or micro level, an emerging element of extending outwards beyond the self, connecting more to issues in the wider community and to wanting to be part of creating change in the community level. According to Lister's (2004; 2015) taxonomy of agency, this corresponds with people beginning to move towards "getting organised" which involves collective, rather than just individual, strategic action. I shall now move on to explore the next theme, "a journey towards increased personal and political agency".

A journey towards increased personal and political agency

A series of doors opening

There is an experience akin to a "journey" or process that emerges from the material, a process towards increased personal and political agency that is occurring for people in both America and Scotland. In the U.S interviews several people referred to Citizens and FACE as "*opening doors*" for them and there was a strong sense of this journey being like a series of doors opening. The motif of a journey that emerges from the American material begins with The Citizens Project as the first door, where most of the work is at an individual interpersonal level. Through that experience and being in that caring and validating space, people begin to value themselves, to believe that they themselves matter and critically that their voice matters. From this place of the relational and increased personal agency, of increased confidence and validation, people shift towards beginning to think about what is happening in the lives of the people around them and the issues that are affecting their communities. What also emerges is that there is not just a journey towards increased personal agency, but also towards more collective agency as people enter more collectivist or activist spaces such as FACE or Witnesses. Miranda, in this next extract describes such a journey. She talks about Citizen's Project being a door that opened for her and then how grateful she was to Bobby, the community organiser and FACE facilitator, who came in and did a class on the political system. Despite finding the session boring, it opened another door for her, to the FACE group which ultimately led Miranda to go along and join Witnesses. Finally, she refers to the experience of speaking directly to the Senator while taking collective action with Witnesses, to being face to face with a legislator.

This was as part of a campaign to stop threats to food stamps from the Trump administration:

> *So, I know... no. So, I know that by my... me... by me being involved in Citizen Project opened the door for that. So, I'm truly grateful to Bobby for coming in, being boring, but also having a lot of information, and which led me to Witnesses, which led me to FACE, you know, to be involved in all these different community organisms... is way different than, you know... it's just different. I'm known... I never really thought, I mean, if you would have told me two years ago, hey you'd be out there talking to [Senator] Christopher Murphy on The Green...*
>
> Miranda, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and Witnesses member.

As people describe their literal journey from Citizen's to FACE, it emerges that people describe FACE as characterised by action, about acting and taking action in the community. In Citizen's people begin to feel that they matter and their voice matters and then through FACE people begin to experience that they matter as a person or citizen and that they have a right to have a say in the democratic process. Then through FACE and perhaps even more so in Witnesses, they can put this into action. Miranda goes on to talk about this process of finishing up with Citizen's and wanting to do more, to "give back" and put her learning into action:

> *Because I could look around and see the issues in my community. And as I got clean, as I got, you know, stayed sober, and as I begin with my involvement,*

> *and completing and accomplishing the Citizens Project, as I graduated, I wanted to do more. I wanted to step it up, and be involved in another area of improving the community that I'm from. The giving back aspect, because that was... that right there... Citizens helped me sit there and learn what I needed, but FACE puts it to action. You know what I mean? That was the vehicle that drove me over to that.*
>
> Miranda, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Taking that step towards taking action in the community felt good and had positive benefits for people. As people find their voice there is a sense of the positive impact this has on their sense of themselves, their identity. In this next extract from Martin we see him refer to the benefits of doing something he perceives of as positive, referring to this process of "*giving back to the community*" as rewarding. He also refers to himself in active terms, as a "do-er", how you can't just sit around talking, you must take action. Tony describes a sense of being "*part of something… something that is positive and something that is important to you, that matters to you*." Again, he refers to this journey from a negative to a positive situation, the motivation he felt to be part of the Citizens Project classes on a Tuesday and a Thursday, something he found positive. It gave him the motivation to leave the house and to be part of something positive. Marissa also describes in the next extract how through the process she had the opportunity to become a "voice" in the community, how she now has a voice and can be heard. This process, in Marissa words, has led to her to feeling that she has "*made a difference*". Martin then expresses a sense of pride and collective identity, tied to an increased sense of agency, he feels when wearing his FACE T-shirt:

It's self-rewarding. Knowing that I'm doing something positive. Something…It's like rewarding because you know that you are giving back to the community. You're bringing awareness to your community. You are out there doing something about it. And not just talking about it. Like I said earlier I'm more of a doer then a planner. I'll sit out there in the corner, handing out flyers, and talking to people.

Martin, Citizen's graduate, and FACE member.

You know, the sense of being a part of something that was important to you, because you know, you can be a part of stuff that's not important to you. You could be a part of stuff that's not healthy for you. You could be a part of stuff that doesn't benefit in no type of way and be right in the, you know, smack dab in the middle of that unhealthy lifestyle, which I know very well about. But to change that and to gradually process from being a part of a negative situation to now being a part of a positive situation was more the lure for me, the motivation to get up on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and want to be a part of something other than staying in the house.

Tony, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.

...well, I got a chance to be a voice. I got a chance to voice, I got a chance to heard. And I got a chance to get feedback, other people what they thought. And I had a chance to have... make a choice. Many levels of things happened in that process, you know. And even the fact of learning. When Bobby came in and

talked to us about elections and how to go about making even further changes by being a voice in the community, by calling up your senator. All these different things that came through there were great helps for us. Well, for me I can say, because I can't speak for everyone else, however, I can speak for myself and say great, made a great difference.

Miranda, Citizens Graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

We can show City Hall hey, you know what? We have this problem but at the same time let's take the problem and turn it into some type of solution. The fact that hey, we all got a voice here. You know, it's amazing how, I've got the shirts at home, FACE, I'm proud to wear the shirts. I'm proud to be, when I'm not even wearing the shirt, I'm proud of the fact that I represent FACE.

Martin, Citizen's graduate, FACE member.

Coming to voice

As part of this journey towards increased agency, people describe almost a "*coming to voice*", of realising they have things to say about issues affecting their communities. People I interviewed talked a lot about speaking up, about not being silent anymore and about "*lifting up*" the voices of people affected by poverty, mental health issues homelessness or incarceration. This ties in again with the concept of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2003; 2007), of recognising people as knowers and valuing the knowledge and expertise from the standpoint of real-life experience. There is a strong sense of

people believing their opinions do matter, that they have agency, and as Tabitha described, realising she has a right to "fight back".

Several people described being more interested in politics now and there was a desire expressed by some to hold representatives or politicians to account and evidence of people feeling more connected to political agency. This was significant because overall, I would argue, there was a strong distrust of mainstream politics and politicians, a potent political dis-connect and disengagement in the US setting. It was as if people believed there can be no reliance on representative politicians to create change, which people need to take action themselves. It appeared to me that many people did not want to be associated with mainstream politics or more generally the state, and in that light did not view themselves as "political" in any way. It was almost as if it were a dirty word because of its association with formal politics and politicians. However, through joining and taking action with Witnesses people are beginning to connect to a sense of political agency.

In this next extract Adele, the peer specialist worker is talking about her experience of being involved with *Witnesses*, of speaking to legislators at rallies or at round tables. She says here it felt good and how before she never cared for politics and never thought her vote counted. She refers to speaking from real life experience, particularly in this instance to the experience of using food stamps and ends with words associated with agency, "*like fighting for our…*":

> *That felt good. Like, I never did anything like that. You know, goin' back to like the politics, I never really cared for it, and not thinkin' that my vote counted or*

anything, and now I see it does, and just getting to know the legislators and everything. 'Cause we do have a big problem with the food stamps and all that. Just fighting for our…I can't explain it. Like fighting for our…

Adele, co-director Citizens Project, peer specialist with and member of FACE and *Witnesses*.

Here is Tony expressing his distrust of the government and formal politics, how he believes action needs to come from the community itself:

I feel we have to do for ourselves. We can't depend on our government. And that's our problem. We dependin' on our government since [inaudible]. Throw that out the window. They're humans just like we are. We got some good people, you got some terrible people. And you got a lot of terrible people that's into the government, so why…Let's do for ourselves.

Tony, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.

For those who started their journey with the Citizen's Project, joined FACE and then took the step move onto *Witnesses*, there were opportunities to take part in campaigning activities. This too had an impact on people's sense of political agency. For people who were marginalised and disconnected from formal politics, this was a chance to have a voice at a different level, of speaking face to face with a Senator or the Mayor. Here is Tabitha talking about her experience of being part of Citizen's, FACE and Witnesses has helped her feel stronger in her voice and how it felt good to

speak to the Senator. Adele, peer specialist worker from PRCH, a FACE and Witnesses member, also talks in this next extract about the experience of participating in a Witnesses rally on the city Green. She refers to the power of having their collective voices heard at that rally, particularly the power of occupying space in that central, downtown area. In New Haven, the Green is a large civic space and it is also where the majority of the homeless population congregate, where the bus terminals are. It also borders with Yale University and is overlooked by the Mayor's office in City Hall:

> *Yeah, it felt good to talk to him. Yeah, it just felt good to get my story out like that. And like I…I'm a quiet person, and sometimes shy, and being involved in these things like F.A.C.E. and Citizen's helped me to speak out more.*
>
> Tabitha, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.
>
> *I'd like to think so, yeah. 'cause, you know, we're just…Especially when we did the rally on The Green. I really felt like that's good. You know, open up our voices, have them heard. I mean, especially downtown, it's all…You know, like you get everybody. You get the poverty, you get the middle class, you know like…And we were right there, right in front of the Mayor's Office too, City Hall. So that felt good to do that. Yeah, I just think that we have to have our voices heard, just to get something done.*
>
> Adele, PRCH peer specialist, Citizen's Project co-director, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Miranda talks here in this next extract about the increased agency she now feels, how being involved in *Witnesses*, speaking to the Senator and also the experience of talking as part of the FACE delegation at an international symposium at PRCH, has given her more confidence She says her involvement has opened up the can, that these programs have, "*flipped the lid on the things I had covered up by abuse and substance use.*" Martin uses inspirational and almost evangelical language in the following extract when emotively encouraging others to not give up, to speak out and have a say, "*voice your opinion. Don't be silent. You cannot be a silent person*":

> *I spoke to the senator; I spoke here at symposium in front of everybody. And I got such a great reception and a wonderful feedback that it really gave me some confidence, you know…because I had some issues in my own life, and I feel like these programs have opened up the can. They kind of flipped the lid on the things that I had covered up by abuse and substance use, and just kind of like put the can, the top of the can, and taped, duct taped it so it couldn't come out.*
>
> Miranda, Citizens' Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.
>
> *I tell people don't give up. Believe in yourself. We can't conquer everything all at one time, but the little bit that you have, and you want to conquer, give it your all and get your voice out there. Voice your opinion. Don't be silent. You cannot be a silent person. You've got to sit up there and say hey, let the people know where you're at and where you're coming from and say hey, you know what? I'm putting my voice out there.*

Martin, Citizen’s Project graduate and FACE member.

Summary

It was from a place of the relational, where people began to feel validated, that people described a shift in thinking or awareness. Because they felt loved and cared for, they began to feel like they mattered as people and that what they had to say mattered. Within this people also described a sense of moving from negative to positive, a powerful feeling of no longer being the “problem”, but “part of the solution.” Positivity, being around positivity and positive people was significant. This then was linked to discourses of generativity and “giving back,” which were very prevalent in the analysis. This discourse had echoes of redemption or atonement, of addiction recovery and Twelve Step narratives of individual responsibility and triumph over adversity. This links to the literature on redemption narratives and generativity (Erikson, 1981; McAdams, 1993; 2006). We see the pervasive impact of Alcoholics Anonymous use of the “repentant role” in American society (Maruna and Ramsden 2004, p 124). Moreover, any burden of responsibility for past “mistakes” or misdemeanours were firmly believed to be located within the individual, rather than looking to more structural understandings. Individualised, psychological ways of understanding are, I would argue, more evident than any form of socio-political analysis.

Another aspect of a shift in thinking or awareness was a shift towards not just thinking or caring about oneself but starting to care about others and what was going on around you. At this point people expressed extending beyond the self, connecting to others at a community and society level. This then led to the theme of *a journey towards*

increased personal and political agency. In America this journey was conceptualised as a series of doors opening, with Citizen's being the first door where a lot of the interpersonal work happened and the other doors of FACE and Witnesses being more about putting what you learnt about yourself into action.

As people entered the more collectivist and activist spaces of FACE and Witnesses, people began to come to voice and to experience a sense of collective identity. This ties to understandings of epistemic justice, of people believing that their knowledge of lived experience matters and has power. People also began to take part and experience collective activities and collective action with FACE and Witnesses so here we see examples of what Kilgore (1999) described as learning through action, learning in action. This is the informal learning that happens when people engage in social movement activities. Lastly what emerged was a fledgling interest in politics through contact with social movements such as Witnesses, whereas before people had felt disinterested and suspicious about politicians and politics, after experiencing collective action and having a voice in that way people described feeling more interested in politics now. In terms of Lister's (2004; 2015) taxonomy of agency, we see evidence of people moving towards "getting organised" or participation in collective, strategic action which is part of the trajectory towards political agency. In the following section I shall explore what was it about the experience, what aspect, which contributed to the changes that people described. This theme shall be divided into five sub themes: *the relational, non-clinical space, pedagogies of citizenship and activism, connecting individual subjective experience to the wider structural context* and *epistemic justice*.

What aspect contributed to these changes?

The relational

In this second part of Chapter Five, I shall now focus on identifying what aspects of the experience led to the changes described. From the outset, particularly in the US, it emerged that the relational aspects of the experience were central for people. In America people often talked about the relationships and support from the facilitator and peer specialist worker as fundamental to the experience and to the validating friendships and social supports made within the group. Some people have little or no family, or their experiences of family are not positive, so there is a real sense that the Citizens Project provides almost a substitute family for some people, that it provides essential support and love.

The two women who run the Citizen's Project were described as "*two mothers*" by one interviewee. There is an awareness of a constancy of support that people know they can contact them at any time, and someone will be there for them. Many people described never having experienced support like this in their lives. Adele, the peer specialist worker, acts in many ways as a "bridge" or "connector" between the community and the programs/groups, recruiting people to come along and signposting them to get involved with other things, including of course the FACE group when they graduate from Citizens Project. Someone described her as leading by example and used the term "*role model*" to describe her. As such the role of the Peer Specialist Worker is seen by people as crucial. What emerges is the importance of this relationship, as well as the support of the wider group in enabling or supporting people to get involved in community organising or activism. There is also evidence that the relational aspects of being part of FACE are significant because people receive support

from FACE to take part in community action or to take that a step further and take part in activism or legislative advocacy.

There is an emerging theme on gaining strength and a stronger sense of agency from others in the group that makes the journey towards increased agency easier. Adele, who is from the same communities as many of the people in the Citizens' Projects and has similar life experiences, is also making the progression herself towards FACE and taking the next step to join Witnesses. Many people reference that it was Adele that told them about FACE or Witnesses and I believe without this relationship and without the support of Adele as people join these other groups and get involved in collective action, not so many would get and stay involved. This "peer" relationship in of central importance to people making a journey towards political agency, and what I believe is particularly significant is that Adele is making this journey herself at the same time. Adele's role then appears distinctive from other peer worker roles, as she is not just supporting people in their individual "recovery journey", rather she is supporting people on a journey towards activism and collective agency.

Love

Love emerged strongly in the context of relationships and the relational too. People said they felt loved and cared for, that they felt friendship and unconditional love unlike ever before. People also reference a connection to a deeper sense of humanity in the American context, of placing love at the centre of what they do, whether that is "learning to love oneself" or others and also how love can triumph over hate is raised. On the whole people in the US were more overtly religious and there is also an emotional literacy present and an existential recognition of the importance of human

connection and love. This I believe has relevance to the kind of activism and community organising that has developed out of the citizenship work in New Haven. Here is Tony referring to love "trumping" hate:

> *Not being so quick to judge. Now it's more like a chance given to me. So, let's give someone else a chance too. It's being fair and knowing we're all on this little earth spinning around. I forgot where I heard it from. But it said love conquers everything and it trumps hate. And it just made me more self-aware of myself and my understanding of what life is. Just being fair. Be more self-aware of what's going on around you…More self-care.*
>
> Tony, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE member.

Collective identity

The concept of collective identity emerges strongly when people talk about their experience of being a member of FACE. This group is more autonomous that Citizens, it is led by consensus decision-making and people feel a strong sense of ownership of the group. It is a described as a community group, a people's group, "our" group rather than a mental health group or a program. FACE is also described as a place of sanctuary and a community in itself, which is significant for people who often express not feeling safe in their geographic communities. Also related to notions of collective identity are the FACE T-shirts, which are mentioned repeatedly in the interviews. These are blue T-shirts with the letters FACE written on the front. They include what the letters of FACE stand for, "focus, act, connect, everyday" as well as other words the group thought were important when promoting the group, such as "love, dignity,

peace, human". People described the pride they felt when they wore a FACE t-shirt and when they were out in public representing the group. Again, this emphasises the sense of a collective identity that people experience, of connection and belonging. Development of collective identity (Taylor and Whittier, 1992; Snow, 2001; Polletta and Jasper, 2001; Hunt and Benford, 2004) has been identified as an outcome of participation in social movements. It is defined by Taylor and Whittier (1992) as "the shared definition of a group that derives from members common interests, experiences and solidarity" (Taylor and Whittier, 1992, p105, in Flesher Fominya, 2010, p 394) and is correlated with shared spaces and collective agency, as well as increased sense of "we-ness" (Snow, 2001 in Flesher Fominaya, 2010, p394). Flesher Fominaya, draws on the work of Melucci (1980; 1988; 1989; 1995; 1996, in Fominaya, 2010) and argues that collective agency is articulated through cognitive definitions about shared goals and forms of actions and that this process is given a shared language through "rituals, practices and cultural artefacts" (Flesher Fominaya, 2010, p 395). A FACE T-shirt is an example of such a cultural artefact, and we see it represented as a symbol of a shared language and a collective identity throughout the U.S interviews. Solidarity and collective identity congruence can be built through collective engagement in protests (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004) or other public "acts of citizenship" (Isin and Nielsen, 2008). Collective identity also speaks to the social and relational aspects of social movement participation, with movements potentially offering people a sense of belonging (Della Porter and Diani, 1999).

Non-clinical spaces

A strong sense of the relational and a collective identity serves as a stark contrast to what people describe of their experiences in a clinical setting. It was very significant

to people that the relationships developed in Citizens or FACE were not clinical or therapeutic relationships, that this was a non-clinical setting and there were no parole officers or psychiatrists involved. This seemed an important element for several people, developing other kinds of relationships that had no compulsion, surveillance or monitoring function. Here is Elizabeth talking about this lack of surveillance, that there was no fear of anyone reporting her to a parole or probation officer:

> *When I was a student [of the Citizens Project], I didn't have to worry about no parole officer or probation or my psychiatrist. Because you notice I was high and now you're going to call them. It's none of that.*
>
> Elizabeth, Citizen's Graduate and FACE member.

In this next extract Jack is talking about this contrast between his experience within FACE versus within clinical settings. He describes how he must "*wear a mask*" with clinicians, he cannot be himself or be honest for fear of the consequences. He evocatively describes how he feels alone in a clinical group, yet at FACE and Witnesses he feels part of something, "*and we are part of each other*":

> *Sometime in a clinical setting I have to wear a mask, due what my therapist says to do, play that role, in FACE you get to shine in your own light, it's about what we say. In a clinical group I'm alone, in FACE and Witnesses I'm part of something and we are part of each other. A lot of times a clinician doesn't validate or listen to me.*

Jack, Citizen's student, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Bobby too, refers to the power of the group support or sense of collective belonging in relation to taking action in the community or becoming an activist. He talks to the experience of learning to represent a group rather than just yourself:

> *And I think that can be really positive, because if somebody's really like getting more engaged in the community and wants to become some sort of activist or whatever, that's kind of learning to like represent the group and not just represent your own self.*
>
> Bobby, community organiser and Social Worker

Pedagogies of citizenship and activism

Pedagogy as described in the U.S context was bound intimately to the relational, a reminder of pedagogy as a social process. Many people referred to the actual Citizen's Project classes, to the content of the classes as well as the relational aspects of the experience. In particular the feedback people get from others in the group as part of the process of "What's Up?" was described as validating for people. It offered people the opportunity to express themselves and to get support, feedback and validation from others. "What's Up?", as described previously, is an hour at the start of every class where one of the group volunteers to facilitate and goes around the room asking people "what's up?" with them. It has developed as a key component of the citizenship pedagogical model. There are quite strict rules to this process, in that it is not a conversation between the two of them and other members of the group are not

permitted to join in, there is no “cross talk” permitted. Again, this has connotations of Twelve Step programme language. Several people referred to the “What’s Up?” process as beneficial and how that process of getting feedback was constructive and helped them learn to interact with others, develop communication skills and manage their emotions in the group. This process also helped them learn how to respect others. People talked about how it helped them express themselves, express and deal with their anger and other emotions, “*I was able to talk out my truth”* as one person referred to it.

This all leads to people feeling that they have a voice, that they have increased sense of personal agency. As one person put it, “*I can advocate for myself, ask questions, open my mouth*”. Here is an extract from my interview with Tabitha, describing her experience of “What’s Up?” In the next extract, Miranda also talked about the process of getting feedback from the “What’s Up?” process and how this made her feel like she had a voice and that she was being heard:

> *In the first session is the What’s Up, and that’s when we get to sit around and say what’s on our minds and what’s going on in our lives. That helped me out to put my feelings and stuff out there, and that usually does help me.*
>
> Tabitha, Citizen’s Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.
>
> *Well, I got a chance to be a voice. I got a chance to voice, I got a chance to heard. And I got a chance to get feedback, other people what they thought. And I had a chance to have... make a choice. Many levels of things happened in that*

process, you know?

Miranda, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Also significant for people were the filmed speeches that students were asked to do at the end of Citizen's Project. Here is Arthur in this next extract talking about how the process of doing public speaking was one the main aspects of the classes that impacted on him and his ability to accept and feel comfortable with himself.

Well one of the main ones, it towards the end. They do an interview with a camera. And it's made for you. And I think it's either three or four different sessions that they show you on camera. And you have to tell them about yourself. And you have to be expressive. And it was intimidating. Like the first one. But, by the second one it was getting comfortable with it, with myself. I was getting comfortable with myself.

Arthur, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Some of the other Citizens classes were also mentioned as significant for people. Several people mentioned the sessions on the legislative process about how the political system operates and how people can individually and collectively influence this. Also learning how to navigate systems in terms of housing or tenants' rights. This also related to increased agency, particularly for one person who after learning about tenant rights, realised she could "fight back" for the first time in the context of her own housing situation. Tony describes in this next extract the importance of learning and

exercising rights, again referring to racial and class inequity where he locates me as someone who will probably already know my rights as compared to him who doesn't because of his past.

> *Rights, yeah and those things when you look those up, but it's all part of life. Because that gives me the oomph to grow because I was like that. I was like pressed down, oppressed…I have to live by example. And my rights, I have to exercise them and as they mean. I have to learn my rights. And then exercise them, maybe for you, maybe you can exercise them because you already know. See, I know but I can't exercise them because I have to learn them just because of my past. It ain't got nothing to do with me. But see.*
>
> Tony, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member

People also said some of these classes helped them learn how to be a "productive" citizen, showing again the desire to contribute or give back to society and also a sense of getting back into society again after being cast aside. As previously discussed, this discourse of "giving back" was very prevalent in the American material again suggestive that normative, neoliberal ideas of citizenship are internalised by people. This is also coupled with a strong theme of being connected to resources and opportunities that people wouldn't have access to otherwise.

Adele, who is a peer specialist worker and a facilitator of the Citizen's Project points to the fact that they aim to share power with the group and the importance of people having this sense of control. She references the 'What's Up?' session where the

students are the facilitators. Adele points to the contrast with clinical settings, how in a mental health centre or the criminal justice system people are told what to do, there is a high level of control and people are "*conditioned to be told what to do*". There is what appears to be an intentional element at Citizen's to work towards putting the control and power back in people's own hands, for people to start to connect with their own power. Adele gives the example of students when they first arrive, asking for permission to go to the bathroom so she makes a point of telling a new class that in this space there is no need to raise your hand to go to the bathroom. This intentional power sharing is an important element of the classes and pedagogy of Citizen's Project:

> *So, we give them that power…when … we sit in a circle, I'm not a facilitator and my supervisor's not the facilitator. The student are the facilitators. The power, it really gets shared. It goes to them period…Because a lot of people, like I say, even when I went into [a mental health centre] to get clean, we are… we do what we're told. So you know, if you don't tell us what to do, a lot… a lot of people don't even know how to move on their own, because they're so used to, you know, the doctor tell you this, or the case manager told you this, or your advisor told you this. There's always somebody telling you what to do, even when you go in the system, being the, you know or the jailhouse system you being told what to do. Tell them when to eat, when to take a shower. So for years those people are being conditioned to be told what to do. So we… they come into Citizens, they even say raise your hand, can I use the bathroom. But that to me is so true. That's the first thing I say when I get a new group is, can you don't raise your hand and ask to use the bathroom. We are adults in here.*

When you go anywhere, you go on a job site, you don't go and ask your boss, can you use the bathroom do you? No…

Adele, peer specialist worker, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Lastly what emerged in the American context was the concept of a pedagogy of activism in action, the learning that people experienced informally through their involvement with FACE or Witnesses. What comes through is that this learning is relational, it is done as a collective and people are learning together. People are also learning *through* action and collective action (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999; Holst, 2011; 2017). This was most clearly seen as people described their experiences learning about how the legislative process worked by taking part in activities led by Witnesses. One of the campaigning techniques was a phone in to the Senators office, so people spoke about that process and how it made them feel like they had a stronger voice. There were also several references to the experience of taking part in a rally on the New Haven green and of speaking face to face with the Senator. All these activities were educational and increased people's sense of agency and power and are I would argue examples of social movement learning or learning in social movements. This pedagogical aspect of the citizenship work is still in progress. As my fieldwork was ending in New Haven, *Witnesses* were planning to organise further training in anti-racist activism for members over the winter months, so it will be interesting to see the impact of this, as well as potential cross-pollination of ideas to the FACE group. Through ongoing contact with the group, I am also aware that *Witnesses* members also joined in recent Black Lives Matter protests locally in New Haven.

Connecting individual subjective experience to the socio-political context

Through the process of moving from Citizens on to FACE or Witnesses people continually referred to the context in which they are living, the social and political issues affecting their communities. What is interesting about FACE is that mental health or the mental health system is not the focus of the group, rather it is about wider community-level change. Adele in this next extract talks about the diversity of the FACE group and how the group doesn't talk about mental health, FACE talks about what is happening in the community and sometimes about what is happening in people's lives more personally:

> *But the [FACE] community group is unbelievable. You got a bunch of diverse people sitting at the table. Not everyone have mental health. Not everyone identifies to have mental health. So you can come to us with mental health and during our group, or within mental health. Because my sister Mena, she's 64, 65, and most of the outings she comes to and volunteers and help us out. So it don't… it's just not people with mental health. And our conversation doesn't talk about mental health. We don't talk about mental health, we talk about the stuff that's going on either in one of the people that's sitting around the table, what's going on in their life, or what's going on in the community.*
>
> Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

FACE looks at community level issues and although one could argue there is not the same level of critical consciousness expressed by the Scottish participants, particularly

with reference to mental health, there is a still evidence of political literacy amongst the American participants. People were directly affected by and living through the issues impacting on communities locally. New Haven, like many American cities is experiencing an opioid epidemic and this was one of the recurring issues to be talked about. Miranda talked about the opioid crisis affecting New Haven, particularly in African American communities. She talked about "cracking down on the bodegas" which are small corner shops and writing to her legislator about the issue. In so doing she demonstrates a linking of her experiential knowledge and increased political agency. Elizabeth called her community "*infected*" by drugs and equated this epidemic to a "genocide":

> *Miranda: Oh, yeah. Come on. I mean, look at the problem that happened in the last three days.*
>
> *Kirsten: What's that?*
>
> *Miranda: With the drugs, with the opiates problem and with the K2. We don't want that problem to happen again, so I mean, I better write to my legislator and let them know. Crack down on these bodegas. Let's go after the folks that are pushing it.*
>
> Miranda, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.
>
> *I live near East Haven, but the part I live is infected. That's where I say the genocide. My community don't look like your community.*
>
> Elizabeth, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Elizabeth in the last extract stated the fact "*my community doesn't look like your community*", a stark reminder of the reality of raced and classed segregation in the city. When I was living in New Haven I rented an apartment in East Rock which is an archetypal, White "Yale bubble", a world away from the communities where the majority of FACE members lived. Arthur in this next extract talks about issues such as drugs, poverty and unemployment which affect his community.

> *We need more detox. We need more programs. Locking them up is not going to solve the question, it's not going to solve the answer. Program is better than putting folks in prison. Definitely jobs. Definitely poverty, like being poor. And not enough jobs. No education when it comes to that. There's things out here but nobody's telling anybody about. So, it's like bringing awareness to the area. Because there is help just some people don't know where to go. So, I wanted to help them figure that out. And support. I believe a lot of people have a lot of mental issues that they deal with drugs. That's another problem. Drugs, jobs and lack of information.*
>
> Arthur, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

People also often referred to the reality of living with the constant threat of gun violence and police violence. Throughout my time in New Haven there were a number of shootings and I learnt from people about the constant fear and dread that many African American people experience on a daily basis for themselves and for their children. People do not feel safe or ontologically secure from the moment they walk out the door, or indeed safe in their own homes either. One of the peer workers told

me all she wanted was a house where it's not "*bang, bang, bang"*. People often referred to inequality in New Haven and that was commonly symbolised by a divide between New Haven and Yale. Here is Arthur talking about the contrast between Yale and what happens on the Green, which is the area in downtown New Haven where many homeless people congregate and drug activity happens, right next to the university campus:

> *Yeah, it's more than just goin 'to events and stuff. I think it's just like more of a community, like what we go through in the community. Like there's not enough of this or enough of that for us to…You know, we want to try to open up other people's eyes to us. Like we were saying not too long ago at one of the F.A.C.E. meetings how you have Yale right here, and down just a couple feet away is The Green, and all the things that happen there. It's just like so different. You're right here, but everything's different.*
>
> Arthur, Citizens' graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

In the American material there is a strong emphasis on the individual, on self-development, self-acceptance and love, but people are also connecting their individual experience to the bigger picture and to more structural, socio-political issues. There is a sense of people starting to want to act on these issues, to take collective action and join forces with others through groups like FACE or Witnesses to be a positive force for good, to be a "good heart" as one person described it. Love is a component of the activism and community organising that is emerging from the citizenship work in New Haven.

Epistemic justice and identity

It also emerges that people are beginning to see themselves differently, to construct different identities and narrative identities (Singer, 2004, in McAdams, 2006). This is seen through the identity reconstruction apparent in the motif of redemption narratives (Maruna and Ramsden, 2004; McAdam, 2006; Black and Rubenstein, 2009), as people make sense of their lives, "life stories serve to reconstruct the past and imagine the future in ways aimed at providing life with some means of unity, purpose and meaning" (McAdams, 2006, p 86). People also begin to view their knowledge differently too, people begin to see the value, the expertise in lived experiences of poverty, mental health, homelessness, incarceration and addictions. People talk about how they are the real experts, not politicians or health professionals and that we need to lift and elevate the voices of poor people or people with lived experience. So, there is an element of epistemic justice that emerges in the American context, of people recognising that their collective knowledge and experience is not a deficit, that it is useful and should be valued as such. Important to emphasise here is the importance of collective experiential knowledge, not just individual accounts or experiences which are often the focus of service user involvement or inclusion. Here is Tony describing how people out there in the communities are the ones living with reality, not politicians:

> *Face reality. That's how I look at it. Face reality. Each letter's a name, but my thing is facing reality, what's goin' on out here? What can we do to help people? Somethin' that the politician people ain't tryin' to…They'll say they want to do this, but what we can do. We, the community people. We're the ones*

that are out there. Politicians can say whatever they want. They're not out there. We're the ones out there. We're livin' it.

Tony, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.

Conclusion

In exploring what aspect of the experience contributed to the changes people described it was the relational which was the strongest theme in the American context. There was articulated through the relationships and social connections developed, initially through Citizen's Project. Comparisons to family were made, with one person saying he "*gained two mothers*". There were continual references to the importance of the role of the peer specialist worker in this context and this relationship emerged as fundamental. This research points then to the significance of the peer worker role in this context, which appears to constitute a unique role. Rather than focusing purely on "managing" the clinical or personal recovery of other peers as an assimilated part of the system, in this setting the peer relationship is connected to the development of political agency.

Development of collective identity and solidarity, as well as love, emerged as significant, what can be described as an increased sense of "we-ness" (Snow, 2001, in Flesher Fominya, 2010). This contrasted with how people described their experiences in clinical settings, which seemed devoid of love or human connection, places you were alone and where you had to hide your true self. FACE on the other hand was talked about as a place where you didn't feel like that, a place where you felt "part of each other", connected to each other. Some elements of the pedagogical experience

were highlighted as significant, for example “What’s Up?” and certain other classes that were part of the Citizen’s Project curriculum.

A new form of pedagogical space appeared to be opening up when people make the transition to get involved with FACE community organising and even more so with Witnesses to Hunger. This is a situated form of social movement learning that happens when people are engaged in social movement activities such as the *Witnesse*s rally about threats to food stamps on the New Haven green (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999). This also corresponds to the work of Taylor and Van Dyke (2004) who wrote about an increase in solidarity and collective identity that arises from taking part in protests or rallies. There was a theme of epistemic justice, people started to value their experiential knowledge through this process, recognising that the real experts on the opioid crisis, on homelessness or on gun violence are them rather than politicians. Lastly there is also the sense that the activism emerging from the citizenship work in New Haven is loving and humanistic, it might not seem as critical or radical as other forms of activism within the mad movement for example, but in the current political climate perhaps there is nothing more radical than a praxis of love (Darder, 2017). The next chapter shall explore the themes which emerged in the Scottish context.

CHAPTER SIX: What changed for people in Scotland and what aspects contributed to these changes.

Introduction

I shall now move on to explore what changed for people who had been part of the *Mad People's History and Identity* project in Edinburgh, Scotland. In the Scottish context the theme of "moving from isolation to connection" is divided into three sub-themes, "*validation, increased confidence and self-worth", "I see myself differently now – space away from the medical model"* and *"connection to shared history and collective identity".* The second theme of "shift in thinking or awareness" has one sub theme, "*asking more questions, critical thinking*" and lastly the third theme of "journey towards increased personal and political agency" also has one sub theme, "*journey towards critical consciousness*". Each of these shall be looked at in turn, drawing on extracts from qualitative interviews.

What changed for people?

Moving from isolation to connection

Validation, increased confidence and self-worth

In Scotland, those who had been involved in *Mad People's History and Identity* (MPHI) also articulated feeling less isolated and alone as a result of their participation, although the relational was not as strong a theme as it was in the American context. People in Scotland described being part of a group and meeting others with similar experiences as having a profound impact in helping them to realise that they were not alone. This was directly linked to the MPHI course being perceived as an accepting space *only* for people who identify as having lived experience of mental health issues.

People expressed how important this was to them, how much they valued the fact this was a "claimed space" (Gaventa, 2006). This notion of a claimed space comes from the work of Gaventa on citizen engagement in policy processes. Gaventa's work has been influential for the *Oor Mad History* project as a framework to understand dominant methods of "service user involvement" or even "participatory research" where people find themselves often operating, whereby service users are "invited in" to consultative or mainstream research spaces. Such spaces (called "invited" spaces by Gaventa) are very different to the "claimed" spaces created and led by social movement actors. Gaventa draws on the work of Veneklasen et al. (2002) in his analysis of power. They detail four dimensions of power; "power over" is ability of the powerful to affect the actions and thoughts of the powerless; "power to" corresponds to agency, the capacity to act, exercise agency and "realise potential of rights"; "power within" refers to the process of gaining confidence and identity and awareness that are "a precondition for action" or agency. Thirdly, "power within" is a useful framework is useful in the context of this study, as it mirrors key findings around the importance of an increase in self-worth, validation, and confidence as well as identity construction. Lastly "power with" is another helpful concept as, similar to theories of collective agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004), it refers to partnerships and collaborations involved in processes of collectivism or collective action (Gaventa, 2006, p23).

Gaventa is interested in understanding the potential for transformative action in various political spaces. Claimed or created spaces, which is how the MPHI space was described by people I interviewed, are spaces claimed by "less powerful actors". They are described by Cornwall (2002) as "organic" and "emerge out of sets of common

concerns" and "may come into being as a result of popular mobilisation, such as around identity or issue based concerns" (Cornwall, 2002, in Gaventa, 2006, p 27). This demonstrates the social movement connection to such spaces, described by Soja (1996) as "third spaces" where "social actors reject hegemonic spaces and create spaces for themselves" (Soya, 1996, in Gaventa, 2006, p27). These spaces, spaces like MPHI, are dynamic and interdependent, there is the sense that people can gain power in these spaces, to use in another space, for example when entering invited spaces. This idea of MPHI as a claimed space helps to clarify the findings of this study. The pedagogical value of claimed spaces in building personal and political agency for people with experience of mental health issues is demonstrated.

In this first extract, Allison, who was one of the students on the first MPHI course expresses a strong sense of no longer feeling alone, of feeling connected to others who also experience mental health issues and also how this helped tap into a hope that things might change, linking to ideas of connecting to a collective strength, a collective identity (Taylor and Whittier, 1992). Following on, Bea talked about attending the course for the first time and how accepting people were of her and how she did not feel judged or looked at for her hand washing. She also describes the power of being in a university space and being able to be herself, not having to hide any aspect of herself or her identity. Also, an emergence of status and identity as a student emerges here:

> *I think doing the course, you realize oh, there's no way you're alone, there is a whole section of society out there that are going through and feeling the same things and that there's a strength to be tapped into and can move on together*

you don't have to chip away at things on your own, there's lots of people out there doing fantastic, fantastic things and you know, they're always there. It's a comfort, so yeah, so that changed as well is that kind of, that kind of just feeling hemmed in. I need to do this. It just makes me think there's lots of different things going on and also that so much work was being done in different ways that you feel that thing are beginning to change, there is a slight change, but we can't miss this opportunity to get it right, you know…

Allison, MPHI graduate.

….like I remember being in the group and I had this thing about my hand sanitising and I had to clean my hands and nobody turned a hair, it was like, fine, you know, [laughter] I mean nobody was like oh you know..."look at her in the corner" you know…and that aspect of it was great. And…the difficulties that I did have, people were so accepting, it was just great, it was great, I was in uni, I was in uni, I was doing a uni course and I was doing it even though I was me and that was fine, it was fine to be me.

Bea, MPHI student.

Bea also goes on to describe the isolation that can be felt when you experience mental health issues, how you can feel “out on a limb”, so speaks to the power of studying alongside other people who experience similar issues. She also connects a sense of no longer feeling alone to other people also expressing frustration at the political situation, so there is a connection to the political context here also. Then Elspeth, who had been

involved in developing the curriculum of the course and lectured on it, describes the connection she felt with others, the commonality and community. In this extract she compares it to a time when she was in hospital and the recollection of the connection and kindness she experienced from other patients, a reminder of the deep human need to connect. There is also an aspect of wanting to give back or return some of that kindness and connection she found in hospital, to give that to others in return. Elspeth was the only person to refer to a notion of "giving back" in a positive, uncritical way. Although what she wants to give back is kindness and solidarity, as well as a form of political education that encourages critical thinking:

> *I think if you experience mental health difficulties then you can feel out on a limb and the experiences that you have can contribute to that, whatever your kind of life story is um when you meet other people and you kind of study alongside other people and you discuss with other people who have experienced difficulties too and who are maybe equally or similarly discontent at the whole political situation and you think oh it's not just me.*
>
> Bea, MPHI graduate.
>
> *…the benefit for me I've really felt is the connection with other people, very similar to when I was in hospital and the other patients were the kindest and most generous people even in psychosis, even in extreme delusion, delusional states, they were still trying to connect, and I really valued that because I just felt so locked in and so kind of stuck in a glass box that nobody could get*

through to me and yet these people tried and tried and tried and that's what I guess I try and do back.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

In this next extract Allison refers to the power of the collective and the sharing of personal stories and experiences. She also describes again the acceptance and non-judgmental nature of the leaning space. People talked about making friends, about the social aspects of the course, again as in America the relational was important. Lastly there is a short extract from an interview with Lauren who references friendship and learning, but also the all-important student discount.

…that's what was so interesting, the amount of awful experiences that had happened to people but yet here we all were and sharing and feeling part of the group, in a group in a way that you felt so safe. Nobody was judging it. In fact, it was only admiration I think in the room. It was just quite a unique and powerful thing, em, to sit in a group and just feel everybody kind of opening up, relaxing and I think everybody sat up a bit, you know, taller…

Allison, MPHI graduate.

I made some friends, and um, what else…learnt some stuff...got a student discount [laughter] all important student discount.

Lauren, MPHI graduate.

As we can see in the above extract from Allison, who describes this sense of sitting up a bit "taller" because of her participation in the course, an increased sense of confidence and self-worth also emerges strongly. We also see a motif of validation in the Scottish material as we did in the American context. A sense of being valued first as a person and having what you say and think valued as being at the core of self-worth and something that people gain from this course and experience. This concept of validation is extended, similarly to the American context, to beginning to internalise a sense of validation, to feel validated in oneself. And again, this leads to people beginning to feel that their voice matters, what they have to say matters. This demonstrates that for this study validation is explicitly tied to agency, to having a voice and to the development of political or collective agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004). This is evident in the next extract, where Bea correlates her feelings of increased confidence with agency, explaining that she began to feel a sense of "entitlement", that she was entitled to have a voice and to be heard:

> *…I think it increased my feelings of self-worth and my feelings of… for want of a better word, entitlement, and I can't think of a better word and…when I say entitlement I mean that, I am entitled to be treated fairly, I am entitled to be listened to, I am entitled to be heard… and I think that's what I mean by entitlement.*
>
> Bea, MPHI graduate.

See myself differently now - a space away from shadow of the bio-medical model

In Scotland it emerges that MPHI offers a space to understand oneself and one's identity away from the shadow of the medical model. Because MPHI privileges counter hegemonic understandings of mental health and creates a space where people can interrogate and critique the dominant medical model, this allows students to explore, sometimes for the first time, other ways of making sense of their experiences. Some of the people interviewed who had been students on the course describe the process of encountering the provocative word "Mad" as an identity or political label and how they experienced that. Others describe the process of beginning to question or reject the psychiatric labels that they have been given and attempting to understand their identity or their distress in terms of their life story, rather than something that can be "medicated away".

Again, there are resonances with increased agency in these extracts, as people describe having the confidence to reject labels or to begin to understand themselves in different ways to the medical model and to "say it out loud." Some people describe how they no longer see themselves as having an "illness", how they make sense now of their experiences in terms of trauma or life experiences. Bea in the first extract describes how in the past she used psychiatric diagnosis to make sense of her identity and to find answers. But now after doing the course she looks at her experience differently and uses labels only when they are useful. Sally in the following extract describes the profound impact on her identity when she says, "*I don't see myself as broken, I see myself as hurt*" and how she no longer relates to psychiatric labels as a way to make sense of her experiences or her sense of self. Also powerful is how the experience on the course has encouraged her to hold onto her story, to understand her story and

herself better and how this has enabled her to grow in her identity as a partner and mother. This speaks to the power and existence of the narrative identity (McAdams, 1993; 2006):

> *…before I'd gone on the course it was very much about my diagnosis or whatever the current diagnosis was and trying to identify myself as this person with bipolar mood disorder or this person with a personality disorder, it was trying to identity and trying to find answers and the labels are still useful for some things, but I now see myself as a person who has difficulties and I see myself as a person who has difficulties as a result of life experiences. I think before the course I felt that the label, the label validated things, I don't feel the same need for that label to validate me, as I said I use labels when they're useful, but em I just, I don't feel the same need to think of myself in those terms….*
>
> Bea, MPHI graduate.
>
> *I can see that they fit in different categories but I don't see them as the illness, I see it as distress and I think I hadn't realised, what its forced me to do is look at my own story and really hold onto it and take note of it and understand my own triggers a lot more than I did before and that is helped me grow as a mother, and a human being and a partner you know, my life has actually changed quite drastically, its hard work, it really is and sometimes I think it would be easier to just think of a diagnosis and kind of go to sleep but I can't now, I door's been opened, I can't really shift….I actually don't see myself as*

having a personality disorder despite having the diagnosis and I see it as attachment, mostly attachment and trauma issues and that's the way I'm dealing with it and like that was all accepted but their language, the entire time we you know was around this model, and I thought what am I doing here, you know, but I thought it was important even if it was just repeating myself over and over that that voice was there, and that was really hard, but that is definitely how I see it, I don't see myself as broken, I see myself as hurt and you know and that's kind of caused some problems in my life's' journey, but I do not feel broken at all and I'm gathering momentum [laughter] like I say I don't know where to go, but I am doing stuff, but yeah I don't feel disordered in any way and bipolar just feels like, I just see a pattern of moods which are understandable and that's why I've got that diagnosis but to me it's all a nonsense and the logic behind it but I didn't have the confidence to say that out loud before.

Sally, MPHI graduate.

It emerged that the experience people have on the MPHI course can enable people to begin to think of themselves beyond their identity as someone with a "mental illness." Also the pedagogical space of MPHI offered an opportunity to begin to evaluate psychiatric labels or terms and the impact of these on people's identity or sense of self. We see this described in the next extract, where Bea describes how before starting the MPHI course, it was her psychiatric label that she used to try to validate herself or to understand herself and now she doesn't feel the need to use that label to feel validated. She doesn't think of herself in those terms anymore and this, in turn, has affected her

personal agency as she has different expectations for herself. It can be argued that these frequent references to self-worth and personal growth relate to how people perceive of their identity, or as one person described it, *"[it] gave me a new way of looking at myself*". So, as people's self-worth grows and a sense of self-acceptance and confidence grows people begin to see themselves differently, to feel validated and this impacts their identity construction. There was not the same level of redemption narrative (Maruna and Ramsden 2004; McAdams, 2006) as was seen in the American context. Gus in the next extract described this powerfully, expressing in the final extract the impact of the experience on their sense of self and possible or future self. However it is also important to note that some people raised this experience was not all positive, that coming into contact with counter hegemonic understandings of mental illness or a critique of the medical model can be threatening and uncomfortable for some as the last extract in this section from Jo touches on:

> *I think before the course I felt that the label, the label validated things, I don't feel the same need for that label to validate me, as I said I use labels when they're useful, but… I just, I don't feel the same need to think of myself in those terms…yeah, it changed, it changed my expectations, it changed my expectations for myself, I suppose one of the things I realised too was the, while there's stigma from other people there was stigma from myself, my own preconceived ideas and there was my own unkindness to myself you know to be looking on aspects of my mental health as a weakness or a lack of strength well actually it's just part of you.*
>
> Bea, MPHI graduate.

It had a massive impact on the way that I viewed myself. And how I view myself now. And it also…I think it gave me a space that allowed me to think about who I had been and who I wanted to be.

Gus, MPHI lecturer.

…it's very threatening, you know this whole, I mean, it's not just about empowering ourselves the course and eh having a shift in awareness, a critical consciousness, its actually very threatening as well to us and our livelihood and eh you know, because we've depended on that model and its, it has given us em good things or things that we've come to depend on and eh and so it can be very threatening to reject it or have other people say you know, rubbish it, when you're not in that place that you're ready to do that yourself. So, I need to be mindful of that and not to ram it down other people's throat or tell them what to think because I don't think that's the way to create change in the world.

Jo, MPHI graduate.

This theme of encountering a counter hegemonic space away or separate from the medical model was unique to Scotland. In the American context the focus, whether in Citizen's, FACE or Witnesses to Hunger was always broader than mental health. There were several classes included in the Citizen's Project curriculum that related to mental health, but these remained bound to dominant recovery and bio-medical discourses of mental health and peer work. FACE explicitly understood itself not to be a "mental health group" and *Witnesses* focused on the broader structural issues of poverty and

food insecurity. Any space for critique or disruption of dominant mental health narratives or discourses was missing within the American experience.

Connection to a shared history and collective identity

In Scotland, the move from isolation to connection also had strong aspects of the relational, to forging a sense of connection with the group and building social relationships. Here is Anne, a lecturer on the course, describing the power of the collective, of a group of people who all identity as being survivors or service users and of the impact on some people of being in a university space. We can see links here to the theme of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2003; 2007), which also emerged in the analysis, of beginning to believe that "you are worthy of being in a university", you are worth something, that you deserve to be here. Also, that this knowledge, the knowledge of lived experience, of mad people's history, is worthy of being in a university, again resonating with the theme of epistemic justice. There is the recognition that universities are not always easy spaces for people to be in and the powerful message it sends out to even be present and occupy that space. Again, the importance to people of adopting a student identity, the status that comes with access to the resources and power of a university. Anne also references here the sense of hope and potential that there are still spaces within universities which can open up potential for more radical work such as MPHI. Linda, a strategic programme manager of mental health services also describes the power of the collective, again referencing the fact the course exists in a university as validating and symbolic.

> *There was something about being in a room with people who identified themselves as being survivors or having had mental health problems or of*

using services, which I always found very interesting and powerful. There was something about that in a, that was explicitly an educational thing, because I think all advocacy is educational in that broad sense of education. But that was really good and powerful and impressive and there was people that hadn't, hadn't been in university, that being in university was a really difficult thing to do, you could see that physically it was difficult for them, emotionally it was difficult for them, ahm.. and people who were quite comfortable with it anyway... and just seeing that mix of people, that was really powerful… I think that was sending out a message to people coming on the course that…you're worthy of being in a university and this is a worthy subject to be in a university, and people getting a library card, and, you know, you're not just on a wee evening class sort of thing… I thought that was really good and I could see for some people it was really important… if I was doing that course I wouldn't care where it was, but I could see for a lot of people it was really powerful, yes I've got a university library card, I've got the IT, amazing and it shows you that there are spaces in the university where you can crack things open a bit and make things better. Or not make things better, but… where you can make a difference.

Anne, MPHI lecturer.

Yeah, people can do it individually and then there's a power in the collective, so I think, collectively it can be very visible, as well. You know, with the exhibitions and stuff like that and the very fact that you're in a prospectus and

it's been advertised as a university course, is all hugely significant and symbolic, I think.

Linda, Strategic Programme Manager.

It appears that the knowledge that there is a collective history to draw strength from that also contributes to people feeling less isolated. It also seems to be a crucial part in the pedagogical experience, where the curriculum content facilitates the connecting of individual personal experience to a more collective history and context. This is linked to the social movement aspect of the curriculum, how students encounter the counter hegemonic history of social movement and activism on the course. I would therefore argue that the validation that people experience, the sense of epistemic justice is linked to intentional curriculum based social movement learning (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999). Also, it emerges that validation is linked to developing a connection to a shared historical consciousness and collective identity.

Edling et al. (2020) argue that traditionally there has been an imperative to implement history in the education of "good citizens". This suggests that the use of history in this context can potentially have moralistic motivations, rather than more a radical purpose. Jeismann (1979, in Thorp, 2013) defined historical consciousness as incorporating "the connection between interpretations of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future" (Jeismann, 1979, in Thorp, 2013, p 188/189). Ammert (2008, in Thorp, 2014) termed it "multi-chronology" and Thorp understood it as the ability to make connections between past, present and future (Thorp, 2013, p189).

Here is Allison describing the power of connecting to this history and developing a sense of historical consciousness (Jeisman, 1979; Thorp, 2013). Some people, including Allison, who had been a part of the user movement in the past or were still involved in collective advocacy were able to locate themselves in the historical activist timeline and found this experience validating:

> *…the course has given validation of the experience, so they feel right okay, more confident and then to go forward and to speak up and to speak out, knowing that there's a whole community behind you.*
>
> Allison, MPHI graduate.

> *…the realization that there was a movement and it's getting bigger and as I say there's so many ways that people can feed in and move this forward and it just felt like you were part of something positive you know going forward and the more strength and being part of that gave you a comfort and a kind of more vigour and confidence that it wasn't just your own feelings that people had not listened to before, but here's other people out there feeling exactly the same, there's ... yeah, we all knew exactly when we were talking about how things could move and change, that you just felt validated what you were feeling and gave you a confidence to be part of the wider…*
>
> Allison, MPHI graduate.

Allison goes on to raise how feeling connected to the wider service user movement was significant. A sense of not just being isolated or parochial, the movement locally in Edinburgh being part of wider movements. Lastly Anne talked about the importance of feeling part of the wider movement of Mad Studies. She described a sense of realising it wasn't just this group of people in this classroom, on this one "wee course" at this one point in time or history, that there was a connection to a movement that was far broader and global:

> *...being part of it felt being part of something bigger, wasn't just us in this room, it was a wider thing around, at the time we were only hearing the word, phrase, "Mad Studies" I think, I can't really remember, yeah, we were part of this kind of bigger movement and it kind of like when I've spoken to people afterwards and they spoke about kind of, kind of being an individual and then feeling part of something bigger, it's kind of, that mirroring of that kind of, this one person and more people with similar experiences doing things and you know, this one wee course, this one wee group being part of something bigger as well...*
>
> Anne, MPHI lecturer.

In Scotland people also expressed moving from isolation to connection, however this was articulated in different ways from in the American context. Notions of the relational, of the power of the social connections, friendships and the group were significant, as they were in America. One aspect that was distinct to the Scottish context was the idea of MPHI as a "claimed space", (Gaventa, 2006), a space that was

just for people with mental health issues, rather than the more dominant "invited spaces" which characterise much involvement, participation and mainstream mental health research. Also, the theme of validation was strong in Scotland. However, validation was conceptually different as it was more tied to issues of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2003; 2007), to the validation of being within a university space, the validation of knowing that lived experience was valued in this space. Also, it is apparent that people begin to see themselves as credible knowers as they begin to see that their knowledge and standpoint is valuable. In so doing the course, this form of social movement learning furthers epistemic justice. Validation was also experienced through a connection to the historical and social movement content of the curriculum, people felt validated when learning about a shared collective history of mental health activism. I linked this to notions of developing a "historical consciousness" (Thorp, 2013; 2104) and to a more formalised, intentional model of social movement learning (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999). This was an educational space which privileged lived experience and the service user or activist standpoint (Brosnan, 2013) and as such promoted counter hegemonic understandings of "mental illness" (Landry and Church, 2016). This has enabled people to enter a claimed, pedagogical space, distinct and separate from the "psychiatric gaze" (Voronka, 2019). This has then allowed people to begin to make sense of their experiences and identity in a different way, leading to a shift in thinking or awareness. It is to this shift we now turn.

Shift in thinking or awareness

Asking more questions, critical thinking, "gasp moments"

In Scotland, the theme of a shift in thinking or awareness is arguably tied to developing critical thinking or conscientization (Freire, 1995). There is a growing understanding

that there are alternative ways to look at mental health and mental illness other than the dominant biomedical model. Through this decentring of the biomedical model people articulated a realisation that they are not to blame for their mental health issues, and they do not need to hold onto or internalise a sense of blame or weakness. In America there was not demonstration of a process of coming to critical consciousness or conscientisation. Rather what emerged in America was a more interpersonal journey of inner growth characterised by the redemption narrative, of developing self-belief and moving to a place of increased agency from there.

People in Scotland who live with a system where the medical model dominates have had an opportunity to explore other perspectives, perhaps for the first time, when they come on the MPHI course. This encounter with counter hegemonic narratives of madness and distress in a space which privileges and centres lived experience results in a shift in thinking, to "lightbulb moments" or as one person described them, "gasp moments". In this extract Bea is describing this "gasp" moment which for her was ties in with hearing about the experiences of others. Sally, in this next extract, also refers to a gasp moment, or a shift in her thinking, towards a realisation in her words that mental health is "not an illness".

> *...by hearing about people's experiences within that group setting, em, there was some, when other people shared their experiences there was some that it was like a real kind of (gasping noise) gasp moment for me, you know and that there, some of the experiences that were shared are still with me now and I still think about them now and I think wow this is the 21st century and that*

happened, em and thankfully you know their experiences weren't my experiences but maybe I gave some people some gasp moment…

Bea, MPHI graduate.

I, I had this…epiphany, this ground break, ground swell shift in my thinking about mental distress and it not being an illness.

Sally, MPHI graduate.

There is a shift towards asking more questions, to more critical thinking, akin to the process of conscientization described by Freire (1995) or to the process of igniting the "sociological imagination" (Mills, 2000). There are references to how this can not only lead to a shift in thinking about oneself and one's identity, but also shift in critical consciousness and ultimately towards increased political or collective agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004). People describe the course metaphorically as a springboard, a transformation or moment of realisation. There are references to seeds being planted, to propagation. One person describes the process of the course as "*alchemy*". Interestingly there was also a strong theme of a shift towards a sense of pride in the shared history and what has gone before but also in being part of the project itself. This sense of pride is also connected to self-worth, to strength and to agency as we see people describe how it makes them "stand up taller in the world" and we can see the beginnings of political or collective agency here as people reference feeling fired up to want to change things, a fire in the belly. Bea in the next extract describes the experience on MPHI as "getting her head thinking" in a different way after being

immersed in the mental health system for a long time. She describes being so immersed in one way of thinking tied in with mental health services, that the course was a chance to step outside that for a moment and begin to question and explore her own experiences and ways of understanding them. Lastly, Gus, a lecturer on the course refers to how the process can impact on politicisation; to political awareness how you see yourself in the world politically. Again, this links with an increase in political agency:

> *….it was just a fantastic group. So you've got… history, context, experience of hearing how people have…what they've come through, their insight into it and so what they've experienced ... the impact that has, it gets that fire in your belly, you know the injustice of it. So, I think yeah. I think the course may light some fires under people's bottoms when we get moving.*
>
> Allison, MPHI graduate.
>
> *…yeah that's it, it's a seed and even giving people the awareness, the tools, what theoretical constructs, the insights to have those discussions I think it propagates through those one to one discussions that people have, you know like you say, that seed and you know when the seed is planted for each of us we will go ahead and plant that outwards and it propagates from that.*
>
> Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

I had gone out and it kind of got my head thinking, it got my head thinking about you know, I'd been embroiled in services, mental health services for almost a decade, eh, and feeling really, really stuck in a particular way of thinking and this kind of got me thinking in a different way, it got me thinking about my experiences, it got me thinking about, eh, where I fitted in to this whole mental health picture, eh and how I felt about it.

Bea, MPHI student.

I think it would encourage people to come, to become more politically aware because then I think it's about if you think of people who have mental illness, as being a disenfranchised group. Then I think, that could really change then how you see yourself in the world politically, as well. I think if you see mental disorder and mental illness and problems being a result of poverty, then I think you're immediately politicizing, which is a good thing. It probably, I think, helps people to pay attention to the social detriments of…mental health. And the fact that these are not evenly distributed across the population.

Gus, MPHI lecturer.

In the Scottish context the theme of a shift in awareness or thinking was conceptually linked to the concept of developing critical thinking, critical consciousness or conscientization (Freire, 1995). MPHI, through being an educational space which privileges lived experience and counter hegemonic understandings of mental health can lead people to experience a shift, a transformation, a "lightbulb moment".

Arguably this is an example of igniting the “sociological imagination” (Mills, 2000). Also unique in the Scottish context is the fact that history, developing historical consciousness through social movement learning emerges as integral to this process of coming to critical consciousness or increased critical thinking. Furthermore, this process leads to developing a sense of shared and collective pride, which comes directly from the social movement learning curriculum content. Through this process there is a politicisation of issues around mental health that were once deemed a-political or medical. This in turn connects to a wider sense of collective or political agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004). This idea of a journey towards increased personal and political agency shall now be explored in more detail.

Journey to increased personal and political agency

Journey towards critical consciousness

In Scotland the motif of a journey towards increased agency emerged as a journey towards critical consciousness or conscientization. Strong and unique, in the Scottish setting, was an articulation of the isolation and individualising experience of being treated and labelled as part of a system dominated by the bio-medical model of mental health. People articulated a journey away from that feeling of isolation, of moving towards having the strength to make sense of your identity and experience on your own terms. Here is Bea describing her journey to having a stronger voice, how she came away from the course feeling that “*wee bitty more powerful*” in her own voice.

> *I think having been marginalised, having been labelled and I think having everything wrong with me put down to my mental health it’s kind of given me the courage to stand up and go "no, actually I'm not putting up with this" …kind*

of having mental health struggles…I think, for a few years disempowered me, but I came away from the course feeling that wee bitty more powerful, that bit more powerful on my own voice and a bit more powerful to say, to actually say, actually its ok to say, "I need help with this" or "I don't feel you're listening to me" or not just myself, its like "you're not listening to that person" it kind of put me in a position where I feel a bit more empowered to support other people too I suppose.

Bea, MPHI graduate.

Coupled with the relational aspects of the experience, the connecting to self and to others, to a sense of collective identity, people also describe the process of being exposed to curriculum content that included more sociological and structural understandings of mental health. This part of the journey connected people to a historical consciousness, a shared collective history, and a social movement context. People describe tapping into a sense of shared anger at the injustices that they learn about, as well as a sense of pride and strength through learning about histories of activism and resistance. These are moments of realisation, of coming to critical consciousness and of realising there are other ways to look at mental health rather than through the dominant bio-medical lens. These "gasp moments", as one person described them, were different for different people but led to a shift in thinking, or a shift in awareness as previously described. This was characterised by a shift to less individualised understandings of mental health, a critique or sometimes an outright rejection of the bio-medical model. This again was experienced at the level of personal agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004), in terms of feeling more confidence and self-

worth. Some people described leaving the course feeling more courageous and powerful and how this power can be used to speak up for oneself with a clinician or ask more questions about treatment. One graduate described this feeling of having a stronger voice and an ability to stand up for herself when she said. "*I am much more certain...about the voice I have and expressing that voice and standing up for myself.*"

This sense of inner strength can be used in a range of settings, not just taking part in protest marches. Also, this increased agency can be used to stand up for others or want to work with others for change, to "fight" or "battle" for change. Collective or political agency was therefore also expressed in terms of people describing becoming involved in activism or advocacy as a result of their experience on the course. Here is Elspeth, who was involved in developing the course curriculum and also teaching on the course, describing the activism that she is now involved in, and reminding us that activism doesn't just need to be about going on marches or waving banners, Elspeth describes wanting to express her activism by helping others express themselves or their identities. In the following extract Bea described a sense of connection to a larger group of people who have had similar experiences to herself. She recognised that her experiences have been better than most, but that there are a lot of injustices and these injustices are at a collective level. So, she described a process of trying to link up the individual "battles", to try to connect these up to the collective "battle". Also, the importance of being able to question the status quo. Bea also talked about how the course impacts on her collective or political agency and how since the course she had contacted her MP more, and importantly that she now felt that she was *entitled* to contact her MP.

I'm kind of an individual, I don't go on marches, you know, talk to rallies and things, that's not how I express my activism, but I like to be there for other people and facilitate other people's self-expression in whatever way they want to express their experience and their identity because its theirs and its valid. I think that's the role that activism can provide people with and we know that people deal with that or express that or harness that in all sorts of different ways, um, it can be how they talk back to their GP, how they look into the side effects, the other effects, the implications of medication or treatment that they are offered, that they find what's right for them, that they don't just think "oh doctor knows best", "I ask more questions" " I don't just listen to what my GP or psychiatrist or CPN tells me to do" one person just summed it completely saying "I'm much more gobby" and it's like yeah! Take control a bit, answer back, don't just put up with stuff and people are doing that in an individual level, one to one with their health professionals, with their health care, because they don't feel alone and isolated anymore, they know that this happens to other people and I think if you have this sense that the injustice isn't just about your own suffering and the weird way in which you're told you see the world, it's about lots of people, it gives you a bit more courage and a bit more strength to say 'No we are going to stand up'.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

…there's always people who are having all these, really unfair experiences and I feel part of that group of people although my experiences have been better than others, but its, its, there's a lot of people that are having battles, eh, and

always people having their individual battles so i suppose I feel part of, part of that and it's like try to make those individual battles that little bit more bigger, that little bit more collective. So just because I'm pleased to receive what I do, doesn't; mean, say actually I think you could do it better, so yeah, so that aspect of it, so the, its ok to question.

Bea, MPHI graduate.

…so I know one thing that it can do it is make people make more demands of their own MPs, I sent an email with regards to mental health matters to my own MP a while back and said "so what are you going to do about this" she didn't get back to me, but em, and so then it can also change the way that you vote and that's just one change, so in my way I'm political, because if you don't ask the questions then they're not going to get answered, so yeah definitely it can encourage people to become more active and lobby for change.

Bea, MPHI graduate.

Lauren described how she felt stronger by learning about the activism of those who had come before. This experience of learning about the history of the mental health service user movement had left her with a determination to fight for human rights in a broader sense, so not just to fight for the rights of people with mental health issues, but for the rights of all people. In the final extract we see Bea also refer to feeling a greater sense of confidence and agency because they are more aware of their rights now. This illustrates the power and epistemic justice that can be internalised when people learn

about their rights in a tangible manner. For some people then the journey towards increased agency is linked to rights, to internalising a sense of having rights and that this process enables people to speak up and take action:

> *I guess, I feel grateful who came before us and who have changed things and paved the way for us to make things even better than they currently are, cause they're not perfect but they're a hell of a lot better than they used to be. I guess its made me more determined to fight, to be treated as a human being on all counts. I felt, I guess feeling grateful, it was, seeing these people who were so sort of rejected by society and um whose opinions were not valued in any way and were just treated like scum and expected to just take their sedating medication and be grateful and saying no we're not going to stand for this crap, we're going to, we're going to fight. I want to keep fighting for us and for other people who are, who need help with their fights.*
>
> Lauren, MPHI graduate.

> *I think what is a … personally, I think it's made me more aware that I have more rights than I ever thought I did have, and I now have a confidence, like I've been through that, I have a confidence now knowing that I have rights to say more about it.*
>
> Bea, MPHI graduate.

Summary

Overall a strong sense of a journey towards both personal and political agency emerges in the Scottish material. Again, this journey begins with the relational and the validation that people experience from being in a space with others with mental health issues. But it also comes from entering a more politicised, activist space when students encounter Mad Studies or social movement learning pedagogies. This again speaks to the importance of a "claimed" political space (Gaventa, 2006). Validation is not just interpersonal, it is politicised and connected to epistemic justice, to the experience of feeling valued through being in a university building, but also from the fact that mad and lived experience standpoints and epistemologies are constructed as valuable within a university space. This more politicised validation is also combined with encountering counter hegemonic understandings of mental health and illness, which leads for some people to experience a shift, a break, a transformation in their thinking. I likened this to the process of igniting the sociological imagination (Mills, 2000) or of moving towards critical consciousness, critical thinking or conscientization (Freire, 1995). Also, the way people learn about "rights" on the course emerges as significant, suggestive that as people learn about rights in an applied and tangible way within a critical education setting, they are more likely to feel stronger, internalise a sense of agency, enact or verbalise their rights outside the classroom.

What aspect contributed to these changes?

I shall now move on to explore which aspects of the experience led to the changes described by people in the Scottish context. This theme shall be divided into five sub-themes, *“epistemic justice”, “relational”, “connecting individual subjective experience to the wider structural context*” and “*broadening the understanding of activism”.*

Epistemic justice

One of the themes that came through most strongly in Scotland was about how MPHI as a pedagogical project and experience addressed issues of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2004; 2007; LeBlanc and Kinsella, 2016). Again, validation is significant here, the value of lived experience, of valuing it and placing it at the heart of the curriculum, as one person described it, “*it’s taking experiences and knowledge that have been disparaged and unvalued and putting them centre”.* Centralising the knowledge and standpoint of lived experience is itself an act of resistance and an act of epistemic justice, a disruption to the hegemonic discourse of psychiatry, dominant bio-medical and recovery-based approaches. Several people referenced how often people with mental health issues are constructed as weak, their knowledge is discredited. This relates then not only to ideas of epistemic injustice, but to testimonial and hermeneutic injustice too, the fact that people with mental health issues are discredited as knowers individually and also a group. By privileging first-hand accounts, the knowledge and standpoint of lived experience the course challenges epistemic and testimonial injustice and this is an essential part of the process of moving towards increased agency.

In this next extract Sally described the experience in the past of not being listened to because of having mental health issues, of almost being treated as stupid. Then John, an academic partner in the project, discusses the contested nature of knowledge:

> *But it was at the same time, utterly really quite devastating you know, that nobody would listen you know and so, so then looking at that and saying well, who's talked about this about listening to people and giving them a voice and listening to you know… having a mental health problem doesn't mean you don't have a clue about what you're talking about.*
>
> Sally, MPHI graduate.

> *I think that's the essence of what this project is all about, is recognizing that, you know, expert knowledge is a contested concept and primarily ought to lie in those who have the lived experience of madness. So, I think that's the, kind of, central crux of what the planning stage was like actually, kind of, trying to situate the lived experience at the heart of the matter.*
>
> John, academic partner, MPHI.

Another lecturer on the course, Elspeth, who drew on her own experiences of hospitalisation and confinement in her teaching distinguishes between the knowledge of health care providers and the knowledge of the patient. This was an interesting point, highlighting the epistemic difference between the intention of health care providers,

no matter how benevolent or well intentioned, from the people who are experiencing the treatment first-hand:

> *This view is true for Dr Clouston [Superintendent psychiatrist, Royal Edinburgh Asylum, 1873] because this is what he's trying to achieve, but…this is how it feels to be in it, and the whole point of the course is to value and place first the views of the people who are actually in it, not those running it, but it's very interesting because you've also got to hold, at least on one level, as well as the patient experience, why this was done, and I create a bit of a space for that too.*
>
> Elspeth, lecturer, MPHI.

For many people the fact that the course was only for people with mental health issues was important and that rather than hiding your mental health issues on an application, it was the main criteria. With the centralising of lived experience in this way, most lecturers identifying as having experience of madness and distress as well as the privileging of literature and theorising by mad people, students described this as validating, that their experience mattered too. Also, the location of the course is in a university proved to be very significant for people and in many ways symbolic in terms of epistemic justice. For some people stepping into a university building itself was significant, given the barriers or exclusion they had experienced in education in the past. It appears that despite some people finding it challenging, that people valued being in a university, being at university and the fact that this knowledge of lived experience was being accredited or seen as worthy of being in a university.

Allison, who was student on the first cohort of MPHI describes here the link between epistemic justice and human rights, about how people feel powerless when they have serious mental health issues. From that place of powerlessness, it is hard to actualise your rights, or believe you have any at all. Allison then goes on to describe the power that came with connecting to the collective knowledge and history of first-hand experience, and the fact that this knowledge was embedded into a course in a university. She also describes feeling more pride and inner strength as a result of her experience on the course. Lastly, she references the concept of developing a new language to describe her experience. This is a powerful point as she describes not having a language to describe her first experiences of psychosis and how people are often silenced or not heard. She is suggesting that the course and wider activism can help people develop new languages, words or ways of describing their experience in their own way, again connecting to ideas of epistemic justice.

> *…when you're not well, you don't think you have any powers or any rights, you kind of forget all that, you just feel so low and useless, but that was quite an eye opener.*
>
> Allison, MPHI graduate.
>
> *…we all have our own massive knowledge, you know, and very specific and accurate knowledge that we know what it's like to have our own mental health conditions…and it just seems all this knowledge is floating about you in the ether and quite often not being listened to, so the idea that the subject of mad [studies]… to actually have a course, an academic, and I don't mean to stress*

the academic side as a highfaluting around. It's not. It's just to have it within, a module and a learning setting and I just thought was fantastic, you know the idea, you put your own experience in context with history, you know, I just thought that was a great idea to try…

Allison, MPHI graduate.

Yeah, well just about having a wee bit more pride in what I'm doing now and realizing that instead of the drip feed of you know, I'm useless, it was I actually … there's a strength in there that you've come through that and you're now sitting here.

Allison, MPHI graduate.

I'm always saying we need to develop a language for … I mean I had no language to describe how I felt about my first time, when I was experiencing psychosis, all I could say was I don't feel well, we need to almost, because it's been hush-hush, there's no language to relate to, so if in the future you know thinking about the past and the historic side, you know, how people are not heard… if through activism we can think and develop a language…

Allison, MPHI graduate.

This correlates with another interviewee, Elspeth, who lectured on the course. She describes how sometimes the way she described her experience "chimed" with a student in the classroom, it was as if new or different words were offered up to describe

or express the experience of madness. Elspeth taps into the power of language and the power of using one's own words to describe our experience rather than using the language or labelling of the psychiatric discourse. She also touches in the next extract on the dehumanising effect of labelling:

> *…but I think it's sometimes the way you express something can really chime with somebody and they say "yeah, that's what I feel, those are the right words for it" and that's what I've done, I've kind of helped people find words so that is just without getting too egotistical that is just lovely to see somebody else flourishing and find a way of expressing what's going on for them.* Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

> *And knowledge about what other people are doing as well, that again is helping people move away from the individualisation of their trauma and their experiences and their suffering and their reactions which are labelled as "maladaptive coping strategies", or whatever the professionals call them. It's not just about you, this is human.*
>
> Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

Relational

In Scotland, the theme of relationships, the relational and connection to a collective identity was also significant. People talked first and foremost about the impact of being in the room with a group of other people who have had similar experiences, of hearing their stories and the impact of that. People also refer to a sense of collective identity

(Taylor and Whittier, 1992) and to drawing strength and power from the group of people in the room. Allison in the next extract described how energising the experience of being in the group was. She talked about how there no sense of weakness, or people was being seen as weak for sharing personal experiences, rather she experienced acceptance and human connection. Bea then described the experience of "locking horns" with someone who held strongly anti-psychiatry views and how they were able to come to a place of respect and compassion for each other. This raises the issue that by entering this space people are encountering others who may hold very different views from their own and the impact this can have. In the course then people engage with inter-subjectivity, a range of subjectivities or what could be called "polyphony" or a multitude of voices. Lastly Elspeth speaks to the power of the collective experience, of realising that what happened to others and crucially asking the action or agency-oriented question, "*what can we do about this*?"

> *I think you felt alive, more alive than you could do, because the rest the time you're not with people you feel you can share and you wouldn't maybe want to share anyway, but in that group it was just ... It's okay. There was not a feeling of weakness you know, or anything, it was more strength and humanity was just overflowing. Yeah, it's the most alive I've felt.*
>
> Allison, MPHI graduate.
>
> *I kind of locked horns with somebody a couple of times and eh, because she was so, so, anti-psychiatry and I just wasn't and we, you know, I think she wanted to argue me down and I wanted to argue her down, but we both came*

to a place where we realised we both had something valid to say and I had to say, we've got to respect each other, because if we're fighting each other, then we can't fight the people that we need to treat us fairly and treat us with compassion and care.

Bea, MPHI graduate.

…and I think just bringing a group of people together in an academic environment like a university, like Mad Studies, like MPHI, it allows people to get together and say "me too", you know "what can we do *about this, can we act together, because its happened to you and me, and me and me and it's not fair…*

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

Connecting individual subjective experiences to the wider socio-economic context

A process of connecting the individual subjective experience to a wider context, the dialectic between agency and structure (Giddens, 1984) was an important part of the process of moving towards more personal and political agency. MPHI, it can be argued, facilitates the sociological imagination, moments which turn a private trouble into a public issue (Mills, 2000). People also describe their experiences on the course as a process of coming to consciousness, of conscientization (Freire, 1995) which appears to have been triggered in a range of ways.

In Scotland people made frequent reference to the contemporary political context. Many people interviewed talked about the context of UK Government austerity policies and cuts to welfare benefits for disabled people. People highlighted the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) assessment processes and the devastating impact this was having on people with mental health issues and disabilities. This referencing to the socio-political backdrop was an important aspect of the way people situated the individual subjective experience in a wider context. It also emerged strongly in Scotland that a pedagogy which privileged first-hand experience, the mad or service user standpoint and counter hegemonic understandings of mental illness were key aspects of the experience that enabled people to make connections between their personal experience and a broader historical and socio-political context.

Also significant was the historical context and content of the course, which was framed in a counter hegemonic social movement history. People also referred to the impact of intersectionality and being introduced to different models and theories of disability and mental health. All of these encounters, it emerges, formed a function of instigating or triggering a "gasp moment", or an "aha moment" where people began to no longer feel alone or isolated and experienced a sense of connection and solidarity with a collective experience, history and identity. I shall now explore the different ways this process occurred within social movement learning, particularly a Mad Studies pedagogy, *"historical consciousness and the sociological imagination"; "counter hegemonic understandings"; "extending the sociological imagination - the narrative imagination"; "extending the sociological imagination – theories and modesl"; "broadening the understanding of activism"* and *"democratising education and critical pedagogy"*.

Historical consciousness and the sociological imagination

It emerged that it was the historical and social movement aspect of the curriculum which had the biggest impact on people in terms of igniting the sociological imagination. People talk about the power of being introduced to a historical timeline, how this connects the individual self to a wider sense of a collective history that stretches back through the centuries. As such the concept of the "historical consciousness" (Thorp, 2013; 2014) is useful in the context of what people articulated about their experience in Scotland. When people heard about the history of treatments it offered the opportunity to reflect on how far things have come, how much things have changed or how much further there is still to go. Elspeth, who lectured on the course, in this next extract describes that what the course does is validates people's personal experiences and situates them in a wider social and political context. Then Elspeth went on to discuss her views on the role of igniting anger in her teaching and pedagogy, pointing to the role of anger and a sense of injustice in igniting the sociological imagination or "political consciousness" (Freire, 1973). She also talked of the power of learning about the history of madness in enabling students to understand mental health is a collective and political issue, rather than purely an individual bio-medical issue.

> *…what I believe the course is doing is validating people's own experience and giving them a wider context of history and other injustices and suffering that in the name of treatment or in the name of control or whatever you want to call it, has been perpetrated on people who have mental health issues or have been labelled with having mental health issues, because their behaviour is out with an acceptable societal norm."*

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

…it’s kind of encouraging people that they can speak up… what I wanted my learning outcome to be… is for people to be angry. A friend said, who is an academic, "that's not a learning outcome" and in terms of our course at QMU it is a learning outcome because I think you have to connect with that anger and feel that anger before you can do something with it, before you stop feeling powerless, I think what we do is we show people in the course through my week, other people's experiences that they have something in common because the experience of confinement, whatever you label it as is an essential human one and human nature stays the same even though the labels have changed over the generations. And if you show people what has been done in the name of medicine or psychiatry to people over the decades, over the centuries, there is this chiming of "me too, me too, me too" but sometimes it’s easier to be angry on somebody else's behalf rather than your own and what our week does is shows… that the way they are being treated is as a group not just as individuals, that they are being marginalised and others and kind of gang together and shoved on the side-lines and it’s about taking that anger, harnessing that anger, being with people's anger and that’s not always a comfortable place to be as a facilitator.

Elspeth, lecturer, MPHI.

Newman (2006) wrote about the role of anger in adult education and how often too much liberal adult education is too “nice” and supportive of the status quo. He speaks

to the three stage organising model used by Australian trade union educators, of "Anger – Hope – Action" which speaks to mobilising around the issues that people are most angry, therefore most passionate about and taking collective action from there. (Newman, 2006, p 56)

Counter hegemonic understandings

What also emerges as significant is the social movement learning that people encountered on the course. MPHI is a critical pedagogy project and is situated within an activist framework, students therefore are not learning about the history of psychiatry, the asylum or individual patient narratives, but rather a history characterised by a collective history of resistance. Course content and curriculum is based on the history of the mental health service user movement, so the history is inherently a social movement history and draws on the archives of the *Oor Mad History* project. This is an example how students encounter counter hegemonic understandings of mental health and madness on the MPHI course. Mental health is constructed hegemonically as an individual, personal "illness", therefore bringing in a history of activism disrupts and challenges, and it is a counter narrative or a counter hegemonic perspective. People reference social movement learning frequently, describing how learning about the history of activism ignited their own sense of political subjectivity and agency. There were references to how powerful it was to hear about the people who have gone before and how they had affected social of systemic change. Allison made reference again to an element of pride that returned when she learnt more about this history of activism:

…the history, activism, the history of activism that is really fascinating and thinking, you know, it's, you've still got depression, but you do still feel useless and pathetic, blah blah blah, but when you feel you're part of something that has moved things forward, it gives you a bit of pride back. the realization that there was a movement and it's getting bigger and as I say there's so many ways that people can feed in and move this forward and it just felt like you were part of something positive you know going forward and the more strength and being part of that gave you a comfort and a kind of more vigour and confidence that it wasn't just your own feelings that people had not listened to before, but here's other people out there feeling exactly the same, there's … yeah, we all knew exactly when we were talking about how things could move and change, that you just felt validated what you were feeling and gave you a confidence to be part of the wider…

Allison, MPHI graduate.

In this next extract Anne talked specifically about the role of history in activating politicisation, the importance of thinking historically and understanding the past. Anne argues that this engagement with history can often be the first step to becoming "political" and therefore taking any form of collective action. She talked about how the present moment in history is defined in many ways by the past, so again referring to the concept of a historical consciousness (Thorp, 2013; 2014).

Politically…more aware of the context in which they're living and where they've come from and not them, but where the current present has been

defined by the past. And understanding that, I think, is really important. And for me, that's always a first step to being more political and to be more active and wanting to change things, because you realize where things came from.

Anne, lecturer, MPHI.

Some interviewees also referenced the way that learning about the historical timeline of activism helped frame their own experiences of being involved in advocacy or activism. Allison described this experience in this next extract. She referred to the fact it can feel parochial to be focusing on local or hospital based issues in collective advocacy work, so learning about the wider national and international service user and survivor movement helped locate her activism in a broader context and enabled her to feel connection and solidarity with a broader movement.

…it really resonated with my experience of activism because I…became involved in the… the 90's in collective advocacy with the patients council at the royal Edinburgh hospital, so it kind…I only knew about that, the particular place that I was in that at that time and I was involved but I didn't , I hadn't seen it plotted out in a wider global…its a global movement and so I found that interesting and…helpful to see my part in that and where I fitted in. It made me feel quite proud actually, I felt quite proud that I was part of that movement, that I contributed something to it, that I'd had something to say and I'd been listened too and…you know, it, yeah, I mean that in itself was a feeling of citizenship and belonging and kind of you know, yeah I was there, I was part of that and that made me really proud and happy I think yeah, it was good.

…You see, it feels very parochial, it feels like you're fighting for your immediate rights and the people around you, but actually to see it in that timeline a global historical timeline makes you, it makes it actually much more impressive and more powerful and it gives you a sense of solidarity with other people in the world and then of course not just the people in the mad people's movement, but that whole, the lecture we had in the class one on intersectionality and how that actually fits in with other social movements and I think that's really important to know about.

Allison, MPHI graduate.

As Allison mentioned towards the end of the above abstract, learning about the intersections with other movements was also impactful. John, an academic partner on the course, speaks to this intersectionality of social movements when he makes comparisons with the history of the LGBT movement and how movements question the dominant narrative. This resonates with the ideas of Rule (2011) around ideas and potentialities of "cross learning" between different social movements:

I can see a resonance in some of the work that I do around LGBT social movement, and queer social movements and kind of, reclaiming the concept of queer to empower people who have been marginalized because of their sexual identities and I think that, when I talk to the students about that in Sociology in the second year, it is such a kind of a moment for them, actually, when I talk about the history of LGBT political struggles and what people had to go through to claim their rights, their rights as sexual citizens. And we're all

sexual citizens, you know, so, it's not just about marginalized sexual rights. So, I do think that that kind of, historical narrative is absolutely necessary in order to understand where, why, and how mad studies has come about and who is at the forefront of mad studies, you know, where, again, it's about this voice, isn't it, this kind of expertise, kind of, where does authoritative knowledge lie? Which is pretty much, what kind of people writing within the LGBT, Queer social movements, positions come from, that questioning of authoritative narrative, so, I think it really adds something to the course.

John, academic partner, and lecturer, MPHI.

Extending the sociological imagination - the "narrative imagination"

Epistemology, epistemic justice and the contested nature of expert knowledge emerged as significant and within that the role of narrative and first-hand accounts. This linked to the theory of the "narrative imagination" and the power of narratives to ignite the sociological imagination (Mills, 2000). Martin and Shaw (2005) pose a dichotomy between citizens as malleable, compliant objects versus citizens as active, critical subjects and how adult education can act as a "bridge" to translate citizenship from a passive to an active entity. They extend the notion of the sociological imagination to two other forms of imagination – the *narrative* imagination and *reflexive* imagination. Narrative imagination is embedded in the life story, the historical narrative and experience of students in the classroom as well as the potential for transformative curriculums to be generated from the students themselves. This also implies the capacity to make connections with one's own biography, through engaging with layers of other stories, texts and narratives, historical and present day. Martin and Shaw argue

that biography is always historical because our individual experiences are always the products of broader historical and social contexts which change over time. Our present understandings of democracy are the result of the struggles for freedom and justice of those that went before us, enduring today and into the future. They argue that a third type of imagination is therefore required of citizens, reflexive imagination, "the capacity to see one's self, one's identity and traditions as simultaneously part of both the problem and possibility of democratic life." (Martin and Shaw, 2006, p88)

Due to a commitment to centring lived experience and the user/survivor standpoint in the curriculum, story and narrative were interwoven into the course, curriculum, and the wider experience. Narrative imagination was therefore experienced and articulated by people in different ways in the study. People described the impact of hearing the stories of other people in the group and the impact of this. Students heard other people's stories in group activities and discussions in class as well as informally in the breaks. Students also described counter hegemonic narratives within the course material, articles or literature and didactic lectures. These included narratives from history, particularly in the lecture on treatments which included patient letters from the Royal Edinburgh Asylum and a chapter from the Canadian Mad Studies book which includes three women asylum inmates from the 19th Century. Students were also exposed to narratives from visiting lecturers who came into the classroom in person. During the week which focuses on the history of treatments a visiting lecturer comes in to talk about her first-hand account of receiving ECT and several people referenced that person's narrative as a very powerful or transformative experience. Here is Jo talking about the experience of listening to this person speak and how it resonated with her own personal history of receiving ECT. In the next extract Bea refers to the

powerful experience of being in a room with others who have had similar experiences, maybe not the same "battles", but how it "opened her eyes" to hear what others had experienced:

I've had ECT, not nearly as much as Kerry had, I've had it about 20 odd times or whatever when I was younger and a lot of it I didn't remember till reading her piece and hearing her talk and it brought back all those memories and actually it was quite traumatic hearing about it. I thought she was really careful in how she delivered that talk and she did it in a way which made it safe as well, so although it was a time where I was reflecting on my own experience and you know feeling, it was a sense of grief in a way, of you know, of that and living through that again, but hearing her talk about how she's come out the other end and now challenging that treatment and doing it in a really kind of powerful and empowered way was really inspirational. But I think that's the thing I would have particularly taken, there were other great things as well, but her, her talk stood out for me in terms of that.

Jo, MPHI graduate.

I think it kind of opened my eyes a bit more and appreciation of what that battle must be like, I didn't have that battle myself and I really appreciated being in a situation where people were sharing and were learning about that and I think for me probably … you've read about it, but I think there's a difference about being in the room together and somebody sharing that is very, very powerful. It doesn't affect you the same if you're just reading a newspaper, it's not that

you don't focus, but I think actually hearing people, that gave me a greater appreciation.

Bea, MPHI graduate.

Lastly, several people referred to the experience of doing the Photovoice assessment, where students chose or took a photograph and wrote a narrative about their personal experience, but also linking ideas and literature they encountered on the course. Allison referred to the power of this process:

> I really hit the nail, that's how I felt, it's as if the photovoice and using the methaphor sent me down a different path and helped me separate from the sheer intensity of the emotion, but get to, look outside my experience, it was quite revolutionary for me.
>
> Allison, MPHI graduate.

Encountering a polyphony of narratives

Also related to the power of the group or the collective, it is important to recognise the role of the relational in the context of the sociological or narrative imagination too. There is a strong theme of the value of encountering a diverse range or "polyphony" of narratives and the impact of this. People come into the MPHI classroom with vastly different experiences of education and of the mental health system and of life more generally. Students who came on the course encountered and interacted with a diversity of people and views that they might not ordinarily have experienced. Related

to polyphony was the significance of intersectionality. For example, several people referenced the impact of learning about trans people's experiences and hearing narratives from that positionality in the context of madness and distress. Overall a general theme of inter-subjectivity comes up, the role of bringing together a group of people that share certain experiences in terms of self-identifying as having mental health issues yet the diversity of positionalities and identities that still exist within that group. Here is Gus talking about their experience of learning about intersectionality.

> *Because the concept being that mental health then intersects with all these other parts of peoples' lives that can compound that kind of...their path through life is even more affected negatively by all these different things. So, whether or not you're disabled, or you're gay, or you're black, or any of these, or you're female. Any of these things that can then compound on the fact that you have mental health issues as well. Or mental ill health at that time. That then leads you to being treated as less than human. So, I think it was kind of looking at that kind of privileged, white, male, position of dictating who's mad and who's not type of thing, I think, I remember from that.*
>
> Gus, MPHI student and lecturer.

Extending sociological imagination – theories and models

People also referenced the fact that being introduced to certain models and theories was another way to reframe their personal experience. Again, this is an example of counter hegemony in action and another way of activating the sociological

imagination. As Bea describes it here in this extract, it was a chance to see things in a "different way".

Learning then about the social model of disability for example and how this intersects with madness and distress was significant for people, also being introduced to sociological understandings of mental health were impactful. This also links to the work of Rule (2011) on cross-learning between social movements. Rule (2011) draws on Scandrett et al. (2010) who wrote about social movement learning at micro, meso and macro levels. Using that framework this would be an example of a meso form of learning, engaging with the social model of disability leading to a paradigm shift. Inclusion of a range of models and theories serve the function on the course of decentring a narrowly defined medical understanding of mental health and opening up a space where people can begin to question and develop critical consciousness. They also take the focus away from individual symptoms or managing an "illness" to look out towards the broader roots and causes of mental health issues, and the impact of socio-economic circumstances, race, gender or class for example. This also raises questions about the role of theory in this work, about striking a balance between keeping the course accessible and yet recognising the potentially liberatory role of theory in the context of social movements and social movement learning.

hooks (1991) wrote about theory that arises from lived experience. She wrote about theory in the context of her own life and pain, of wanting to understand simultaneously that was going on around and within her. hooks wrote:

> I came to theory because I was hurting – the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory, desperate, wanting to comprehend – to grasp, what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory a location for healing. (hooks, 1991, p1).

hooks also cautioned that this work of theorising from lived experience has to be intentional and directed towards liberation, "theory is not inherently healing, liberatory or revolutionary. It fulfils that function *only when we ask it to do so and direct our theorising towards that end*" (hooks, 1991, p2, emphasis added). With MPHI then and I argue with critical or Mad pedagogies, "we ask it to do so" and we direct our theory and theorising "to that end".

Broadening the understanding of activism

Another counter hegemonic aspect of the content of the MPHI curriculum was stretching the discourse of activism or what it meant to be an activist. Activism conjures up images of protest marches with banners and to be an activist means taking your place on this march and making demands in a very public way. For at least one of the lecturers it was important to challenge the mythology around what it means to be an activist. Also, it appears that people discovered on the course that there are many ways to be an "activist", including speaking up for yourself and others. This seemed to resonate with students as there were several references in the interviews to this idea that people began to believe they could be an "activist", and that this didn't have to mean waving a banner or tying oneself railings. As Bea described, "I can be an activist in my own quiet way." There are also references to the need to protect grassroots activism or advocacy, and how there is the need for all kinds of voices in the modern-day service user or survivor movement, including the angry or more radical voices. Here is Anne O'Donnell, who lectured on the course describing how she wanted people to understand advocacy and activism in a more nuanced way:

> *I really wanted people to understand what advocacy was and what it does for people, and I also wanted to kind of get people to think beyond the idea of activism, is not like, it doesn't have to be kind of the cooling towers in some big coal fired station or you know, being, joining Greenpeace and going off on one of their boats… it could be small simple things, it, there's a whole range of things and that people could get involved in ways that made sense to them, that fitted with what they can do, so for instance, I like going on a march, I like the solidarity I get from it. I like being visible and vocal, but its, that's just one*

way, some people that's physically impossible or psychologically impossible, if you've got agoraphobia for example and you don't like crowds, or you're paranoid, but there's, and these only achieve so much, you need a whole range of things, so I Was hoping people could find ways they could start working towards making a difference in ways that made sense to them and what was going on in their lives. So that was very important to me, to break down that kind of preconception, I can't be in activism, I'm not brave, an activist, I'm not brave enough or clever enough…and to see that change was possible and that advocacy and even the course came about because of people being active and wanting to do stuff and make changes, so that was collective, that was the advocacy bit of activism. Being an activist is a kind of contested concept, we're all activists in different kinds of ways, you can be an activist in your head without going out into the streets with a banner.

Anne, Lecturer, MPHI.

Elspeth, another lecturer on the course refers to her personal approach to activism, and how for her it is tied to self-expression and helping others to express themselves and have a voice:

I'm kind of an individual, I don't go on marches, you know, talk to rallies and things, that's not how I express my activism, but I like to be there for other people and facilitate other people's self-expression in whatever way they want to express their experience and their identity because its theirs and its valid.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

Also interesting was this idea described in the next extract from Anne of building the collective strength to “mentally resist” or to resist in people’s mind, the dominant narratives around disabled people and people with mental health issues which are pervasive in the media and in society. This is particularly acute in the context of austerity when rhetoric has been around benefit scroungers and cheats. So here we can begin to see how activism or collective action can be an inner process, how it can be about connecting to an inner strength in order to then be able to resist stigma and discrimination, and ultimately how courses like MPHI can play a role in this process. Anne also refers to educational spaces as spaces to question the portrayal of disabled people by the government and the media, to realise that they are not alone and that they are deserving and worthy of support:

> *We live in a time, like for instance, I went on benefits in 2003, I was on incapacity benefit, I wasn’t' under the same stress to get a job and get off benefits, it was there, but I wasn't under the same stress that people are now. So that's having a huge impact on people and I think it’s, there's a lot of things that we can do, that disabled people as a whole are doing to resist that, but I think one of the, to resist, we also need to resist it in our minds, it’s not just trying to, writing letters and protesting outside job centres, you've got to do a lot of thinking in your head about all the myths and stories you've been told about The Benefits Streets programme, that kind of poverty porn programmes, the stuff you get all the time, there's still a lot of very discriminatory and oppressive ideas out there and I think a course like this gives people, and that*

would include people teaching on it, space to think clearly about what actually is going on and valuing my perspective on it, because if you are getting that all the time from the government and the media, one person can be very full of doubt, ahm, I know a lot of people doubt themselves, maybe I'm not really that well, maybe I could be doing more, because there's such a load of stuff and then you actually talk to them you realise, you're doing the best you can and you're not, you know, you deserve this money ahm and to have an income, a stable income, so you can actually focus on really getting better ahm...or living the best life you can, even if that doesn't kind of conform to any ideas of being "better." So I think it's really important, to summarise in this day and age to have space to be able to mentally resist and challenge some of the preconceived ideas, or the ideas that are being forced down our throats and also to connect with other people and to see that it's not just me being really crap and not getting off benefits, there is a huge context and you can only, a course like this can really make that very clear, that everything, nothing happens in a vacuum, no one is an individual on their own, it's all connected and from talking to people I think that's what a lot of people have got from it, which is brilliant.

Anne, MPHI lecturer.

Elspeth, another lecturer on the course refers to the pedagogical impacts of social movement learning, where she describes how people can harness the power that comes from this learning in different ways, being more assertive with their GP with regards their treatment for example. Bea who was a student on the course describes in this next extract initially thinking that activism was not for her, and then realising that there are

different ways to have a voice or to affect change. Lastly in the context of social movements and learning about activism, Sally describes here how the course made her reflect on her personal experience of activism. Sally's earlier activism was not related directly to mental health but was connected to her experience of poverty and being a single parent. She makes interesting references to the fact it felt "*small*" because "*it was about our lives*", but it was about people affected by poverty speaking out, about the activism of real-life experience. Sally's quote resonates in many ways with the anti-hunger and poverty activism that is emerging within the American citizenship context, speaking to the connections between movements and experiences of structural violence.

> *I think that's the role that activism can provide people with and we know that people deal with that or express that or harness that in all sorts of different ways, um, it can be how they talk back to their GP, how they look into the side effects, the other effects, the implications of medication or treatment that they are offered, that they find what's right for them, that they don't just think 'oh doctor knows best'.*
>
> Elspeth, lecturer, MPHI.
>
> *…at first, at first I thought I can't do that, I can't do that, I can't be part of this, em, and, but I can, I can and I am, you know and while I'm not em, while I'm not a big shouter, its, what I took from that was I don't have to shout to be an activist, I don't have to be out there with my placard, I don't have to be out there shouting how unfair it is, I can do things quietly and em in my way and*

what feels comfortable for me and if everybody was to do things quietly and in their own way then it would make a huge difference. so, if everybody is doing their individual battles, it's all one big collective battle in the end, eh, so, yeah, so activism for me, what it means for me, is doing what I can, what feels comfortable and if we all do that then... that's great.

Bea, MPHI graduate.

I had touched, again my activism was very much as a lone parent, um, you know and I never looked at my mental health as a problem, I kind of knew it was but I didn't do anything about it. My referrals, I just ignored you know what I mean, it wasn't a way I saw myself, so historically….it was citizens commission into the future of the welfare state, so I get, it was the early days for him as well um, yeah it was when Labour had come in and there was, it was all around social justice, Blair's government and to have like a user led voice and eh it felt revolutionary, I was slightly disappointed by the final document, but it got quoted in the house of lords and Polly Toynbee did a huge debate and you don't realise, cause it seems we're talking about small stuff because it's our lives, it feels so small and then it was taken out of the arena and those voices were put in context and like when I was at the debate it was packed you know and i didn't have the courage to be up there and be one of the people being interviewed, but it was quite revolutionary [laughter] you know, it was there and god, I can't quite believe it when I look back and there's just snippets now, but my life was all about poverty you know…

Sally, MPHI graduate.

Democratising education or practices of critical pedagogy

Lastly there were some references in the Scottish material to the process of critical pedagogy itself, particularly from people with who identified as having lived experience of mental health issues and who lectured on the course. People described how in their work with MPHI they attempted to embody non-traditional and non-didactic forms of teaching. Also, how lived experience, the process of linking the personal to the political or public was at the core of the process. Anne in this first extract refers to the intention that the course would offer a space for people to ask questions, to think critically and how the process of critical education is fundamentally about understanding ourselves differently and seeing the world differently.

> *Yeah, and education in a non-didactic, in a more you know, sort of a critical pedagogy sort of thing, ahm, where you're opening up space for people to ask questions, you're offering them information and inputs to support their thinking ahm...you're looking for, you're hoping for a response that is not just 'oh that's intellectually interesting' but kind of, I understand myself, I understand the world differently.*

Anne, MPHI lecturer.

Elspeth in this extract refers to the experience of teaching from a standpoint of someone with lived experience, as being from the same standpoint as the students. She raises interesting issues of outsider/insider in a pedagogical context and the power of

a lecturer or teacher epistemologically positioning themselves proudly as a mad person, offering new words, and new ways of making sense of the experience of madness:

> *It was interesting to kind of go and facilitate or offer to facilitate as an 'expert by experience' when I was very much on the same level, or felt I was on the same level as the people who were going to come along to the course, so it wasn't as an outside, it really was from being in that community and saying 'Hey, I've found this way of looking at things, do you want to come and look at it this way as well?'*
>
> Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

Linda, who is a partner and funder of the work describes the process of moving away from a deficit understanding of mental health and illness, and the power of education.

> *…it leads people out of where they might have been and their frame of reference of thinking that they have this condition and the only thing about it is it's a deficit and it's something to be fixed. And it's something to be cured. As opposed to something that's a part of you and it's and, it's something that you can live with and you can live with well. It can be an absolute asset to you, as well as a huge drain on you, as well. So, yeah, I just, I loved it. For me it was really a special day when we had the event in Queen Margaret about a year or so ago when we heard all the stories from the students of their*

experiences and what difference it had made in their lives, which was just incredible.

Linda, Strategic Programme Manager.

Conclusion

In Scotland epistemic justice and challenging epistemic or testimonial injustice underpinned the aspects of the course that people identified as significant. By de-centring hegemonic discourses of madness and mental health and introducing alternatives students had the opportunity to begin to value their subjective personal experience but to also move beyond that, to reframe their experiences through contact with other people on the course, the content and curriculum of the course and also by entering a critical pedagogy space. This enabled students to experience epistemic justice, to believe that their knowledge and experience mattered. I argued that MPHI was an educational space that offered opportunities to ignite and extend the sociological imagination (Mills, 2000) and move towards critical thinking, critical consciousness or conscientisation (Freire, 1995). Ways in which this manifested itself were through developing a historical consciousness (Thorp, 2013; 2014), social movement learning (Kilgore, 1999; Hall and Clover, 2005) and the centring of counter hegemonic understandings of mental illness (Landry and Church, 2016, Church, 2015).

The power of narratives to ignite "gasp moments" and the sociological imagination emerged, highlighting the role of the narrative imagination (Martin and Shaw, 2005). Linked to this was encountering a diversity or polyphony of narratives, including

intersectional narratives and intersectional movement struggles or learning from the "struggle of others" (Cox, 2018). People also described how being introduced to sociological theories and models was transformative and opened new understandings and frameworks (hooks, 1991) and that in order to be liberatory pedagogues need to be intentional and directional about theorising from and for lived experience (hooks, 1991, p2). Lastly there was reference to the power of critical pedagogy, the impact of social movement learning and that this experience led people to feel an increased sense of political and collective agency. As such it emerges that social movement learning can stimulate and ignite the sociological imagination, the linking of the personal to the political. This in turn challenges epistemic injustice, builds epistemic justice as well as collective or political agency. In the next chapter, Chapter Seven, I shall explore the contrasting narratives of citizenship that emerged in the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Contrasting narratives of citizenship.

Introduction

In Chapter Five I explored how people articulated what has changed for them because of their participation in the citizenship work in the US and what aspects of the experience led to these changes. In Chapter Six I did the same for those that were part of the Mad People's History and Identity critical pedagogy project in Scotland. This current chapter shall build on the two previous chapters, focusing more closely on how people in this study conceptualised and made sense of citizenship. I shall explore the discourses and narratives of citizenship that emerged from both the American and Scottish contexts. In the first section, focusing on the US, I will draw on five overarching themes; "The loved and loving citizen" which will explore the relational aspects of how citizenship was expressed, primarily in the American material. "The good citizen?" which focuses on the concept of "giving back" which emerged strongly in the American material and the concept of the "responsiblised" citizen (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). "Citizenship as action, collective action" shall highlight people's conceptualisations of citizenship as action. People also described a sense of disconnect with politicians and formal politics, which shall be explored. I shall finally look at the theme of, "The activist citizen" introducing a critical understanding of citizenship as action, collective action, and the citizen as activist.

I shall move on from there, to a second section which will explore conceptualisations of citizenship within the Scottish material. I will begin with the theme "citizenship or citizenshit?", building a critique of the neoliberal citizen, disrupting normative understandings of citizenship. This was a strong theme to emerge from Scotland,

where people were suspicious of the term citizenship (or as one person referred to it, "*citizenshit*") and advocated a radical revisioning of it. From here the theme of "problematising the good citizen" shall be explored. Lastly, I shall finish by discussing the conflicting narratives of citizenship that emerged in this piece of work.

Narratives of citizenship in the US

The loved and loving citizen

In the American setting there is a strong theme of human connection, humanity and caring. It emerges that the collective identity and sense of belonging created through Citizen's Project and then FACE is foundational for people moving on to get involved in collective action or activism. This suggests an emergent sense of belonging and collective identity connected to social movement involvement, as described in my literature review by Della Porter and Diani (1999). It also resonates with, as previously mentioned, notions of "existential citizenship" (Bangall, 2010). There was evidence of the impact of feeling supported, validated, and cared for as well as the key role that the peer specialist worker played. All these relational aspects are key to people believing that they matter as people, that they have a right to exist as human beings and to have a voice. Citizenship therefore is conceptualised as relational and it is enacted in relationship to and with others. This corresponds closely with the work of Rowe et al. (2016) whose "5 R's" of citizenship include "relationships" and "a sense of belonging". Likewise, Lister (2003) by reasserting the importance of human agency in feminist understandings of citizenship, embedded it within cultural and social relations (Lister, 2003, p 38). She draws on the work of Gould (1988, in Lister, 2003) who saw human beings as social beings, "in the sense that individual self-development both occurs in the context of social relations and characteristically in collective

activities directed towards collective as well as individual ends" (Gould, 1998, in Lister, 2003, p 38). While weaving a thread of human agency through her theorising of feminist citizenship, through the dualism of the personal and the public, Lister also situates the self as the "relational self" (Held, 1993, in Lister, 2003, p38).

People leave the Citizen's Project feeling more loved and cared for, that they are valued and that they deserve to be in the world. As people move on, with the support of the Peer Specialist Worker, people take this love and what they have learnt about themselves with them to FACE. It is as if the relational aspects, the support and caring, foundational in Citizen's and in FACE are a precursor to talking action in the community or getting involved in more political forms of activism. This sense of connection and belonging appears integral to the journey towards increased personal and political agency. In the following extract Elizabeth touches on several points, including the poverty affecting her community. Elizabeth references "humanity" and how FACE and Citizen's has taught her that she is a human being first, and that she is now no longer alone in facing the world. Elizabeth also refers to being able to move forwards because of Citizen's and "implementing" or bringing this personal sense of progress with her as she joins the FACE group. All of this she argues helps her to "face" reality without drugs and "do better", help herself and help others.

Martin then describes how he experiences FACE as loving and caring. He explains that he joined FACE because he wanted to connect with others in his neighbourhood and to think about how to get involved with others to help make the world better. With relentless positivity he refers to a desire to turn problems into solutions, to make the world a brighter place. This suggests that the redemption narrative (McAdams, 2006)

plays a role in how people articulate and enact citizenship within the American context, as well as how they construct their sense of self or identity within that.

And just the deficit all around because there may be poverty in my area, but there's job things in other people community where it's not even showing, you see. And this where humanity comes in. FACE it showed me that I'm a human first…so it taught me a lot of things and I can move forward coming from Citizen, you know, implementing through FACE, that I can face reality without any drugs. I don't have to be … I can express how I feel. I can live on life terms meaning that I can face my tomorrows, you know. Yesterday was history. Today is the present right now. Tomorrow is a mystery, but I want it to be what I can do better, you know, for myself and for others. Because I know I'm not in this alone.

Elizabeth, Citizen's graduate and FACE member.

I just feel it's a loving and caring organization. I got involved with FACE to interact with people by saying good morning, by finding out where people are coming from. Every day living by saying good morning, how are you doing today? How can we help one another in the neighborhood that I live in? How can we help living in the world that we live in, how we get involved, how we can help one another? To understand people today, FACE has been really helpful over the years by finding out what's the solution. How to take a problem and turn it into some type of solution.

Martin, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.

Tony too talks of love; he talks of having love and compassion for other human beings and how love and a loving heart are his gift to the world. He refers to a verse from the Bible, which reinforces the importance of religion and religiosity to many people in the American context and how this might inform their desire to help others, give back or take action in the community. This is also seen as significant in the literature around generativity and redemption narratives (Maruna and Ramsden 2004; McAdam, 2006; Black and Rubenstein 2009). Martin uses almost evangelical language in the next extract and a Biblical reference when he calls himself a Good Samaritan, a "*good angel*" with a good heart who wants nothing more than to help people.

I have compassion. Much as I have learned to have compassion on myself, I have compassion for other humans, and I think my gift was love, but with a heart of...Not a like a [inaudible]. You know. Love and…There's a scripture in the Bible that said…Christ said…he said I'm gonna' send you amongst the wolves, and I want you to be as sharp…How did he say that. He said be wise as a snake and soft as a dove, and that's how I see it. Be wise, 'cause you know you got people that's out there to take you out. There's [inaudible] out there that want to destroy you, and be wise about it. See it, get away.

Tony, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.

I just love helping people and I'm able to be a part of, I'm able to sit up there and say, "Hey, today may not be a good day, but you don't have to be alone.

Alone I can't, together we can work together. And with the heart I have, I don't mind being a Good Samaritan, a good angel with a good heart to help someone, whether he may need help, or she may need help. One thing about me, I don't mind helping someone and to even offer you a cup of coffee or tea or let's have lunch together.

Martin, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.

When exploring the role of love and caring in relation to the citizenship practice or acts of citizenship in the American context, we clearly see the way the FACE group love and support each other. There was almost a sense of the group looks after each other first, building a mutually supporting and caring community within, and then goes out into the community or the world. This was exemplified when one of the group member's mother was ill and then passed away. When Arthur's mother was in hospital several of the group, including myself, went to the hospital to support him. Later when she died, a large group of FACE members, including myself, attended the funeral home. It was an expression of collective love at a time when a member of the group was in extreme pain. Adele, who is the peer specialist worker attached to this work and also a member of FACE and Witness herself, refers to this situation in the next extract, expressing grief as a universal human experience. Although Arthur was the individual group member experiencing the loss of his mother, there was a sense of the collective, shared, human experience of grief or losing a parent:

Even with some like Arthur losing his mother. And the… and the impact it has on other people lives. But the impact it has on our life too because we

experience it. So, who the best to try to assist Albert, the people that done went through it already. so, when I told him, Arthur you I understand, I… as god is my witness I was telling him, I understand all your feelings that you're going through. That you're not alone. Everybody else love their parents just like you love yours.

Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

When Miranda talked about citizenship, she described her involvement with Citizens, FACE and Witnesses as helping her become a "*better person*", how she wanted to be able to share her problems with others, open up and help others. So, for her citizenship was about helping others, helping people get their lives back on track and again this having a second chance another motif of the redemption narrative or redemptive self (McAdams, 2006):

It was a seller to me because I never thought I would be able to sit up there and open up and let you know, hey you know what? I don't think I would be able to hold a decent conversation with you that hey, you know what? It's more than just getting a siphon. I want to be able to help me to be a better person. To help me to open up to let you know hey, you know what? I have this problem, I want to be able to share it with you. I want to see my life get back on track. That's the way I saw citizenship. That's the way I would love to see citizenship help other people. You can get your life on track. Hey, you made a mistake. That's where you were and now, this is where you are. The fact that hey, you know what? I got a second chance in life.

Miranda, Citizens' Project graduate, FACE and Witnesses member.

FACE conceptualisations of citizenship were also tied in with everyday acts of kindness, personified by what the group calls "ten people a day", an idea from a FACE member for each person in the group to say hello to ten strangers a day. This process aims to make people feel good and also brighten the world. Several people in the group really took to this idea and it came up in several interviews. Bobby in this next extract talks about "ten people a day" as an idea and how although seemingly small, it is a small act of resistance in the individualised and hostile world we live in today. Adele in the following extract talked about the process of walking along the street and saying good morning, a conscious effort every day to carry out acts of kindness and to reach out in common humanity to strangers, even Yale staff or students, who are often "way upstairs":

Duke came up with…like ten people a day, like smile to ten people a day. And a lot of F.A.C.E. members have taken that on, and it's like…to me, that's resistance. It's like resistance against not acknowledging somebody else. That's like wherever that came from, that it also…breaks apart the solitariness of the people…[we] need to be together to change things. It's also like this resistance to… either unkindness or just lack of acknowledgement…. …It's like this sort of like micro revolution. You know what I mean?

Bobby, community organiser and Social Worker, FACE facilitator.

But… But I… because of the world is like that, I… I'm not like that. Because I make it my business to when I'm walking down the street and a person pass me, it's important to say good morning. Now whether you say good morning or not, it's not about you responding back, it's about me saying that good morning and moving forward. Because I know I'm kind. I'm being good to somebody. So I don't care, like the Yale students and the Yale staff around here, they is so way upstairs, and you know, moving around. But I'm not here for them. I'm… God put me on this earth, not Yale. You know what I'm saying?

Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and Witnesses member.

The "good" citizen

As we have seen the concept of being able to move forwards, to shift from being perceived or feeling oneself to be a negative influence in the community, to now being a force for good was significant and meaningful aspect of what citizenship means for people in the US. This was strongly correlated to the concept of now being able to "give back" to society or help others in the community, as was explored in depth in chapters four and five. As such the discourses of citizenship that emerged from the U.S are very much tied to notions of "giving back". This links to literature within positive psychology and generativity (Moran, 2013; Black and Rubinstein, 2009; McNeil and Maruna, 2007). Here is an extract from Elizabeth who referred to how it benefits her, helps her to help others. That she can move forwards and how she wants to focus on "helping" the community. In the first sentence she mentions, "*I don't have to die like that*", by which she is referring to the drug overdoses that were happening in the city at the time and how because she feels she has moved forward so much, she

reflects that she need not die like that now. Elizabeth goes on to describe the pride she felt at having taken part in the Citizen's Project and how it connected her to other groups such as FACE. She credits Citizen's Project with her beginning to do voluntary work and starting to "give back" and also that she could now be seen as "acceptable." Again, this seems to link strongly with normative and neoliberal notions of the active citizen and volunteerism (Dean, 2000):

> *I look and I'm concerned about my life today that I don't have to die like that. I can empower myself with information I have that I can move forward. That I can help myself by helping someone else. You know, I know as dual diagnosed and as helping the community it's not just about me…As a citizen and just starting from Citizen Project, I'm just to proud just that I got to participate in that program. Because if it wasn't for Citizen Project, I wouldn't know nothing about no FACE or either the communities. Because I started all the volunteer, giving back when I started Citizen. I got myself clean and clear. I could listen. You know, I could be acceptable.*
>
> Elizabeth, Citizens Project gradate and FACE member.

In this next extract Tabitha also describes her desire to give back, to take the experience and resources she gathered through involvement with The Citizen's Project and share that with others, again she wants to help others. Tabitha describes her goals to become a drug and alcohol counsellor or peer worker, to use her personal experience and experiential knowledge to help others. Tabitha goes on to describe her involvement in FACE and Witnesses and her desire to give back at a community level. There are

different levels of giving back, giving back to other people who are affected by similar issues and giving back at a community level:

> *I would like to…You know like…things that I've been through in my whole life with the prison and I had lost my mother a few years ago, and my daughter moved out of state, you know, so I go through a lot of emotions and depressions and stuff. But, like the community. I know there's a lot of people out there that have similar situations like I do, worse situations, and I just want to give back, like help them out. Like the resources that I have, I like to share and help others out. That's really what I want to do. My goal is…Well, I want to be like a…I still do. I still have a goal to be like a drug and alcohol counsellor, or even a peer supporter or something like that, and…Yeah, just give back, really. I'm still learning about it, and I just like…I do like the atmosphere, and I know pretty much…Most of the people that are there, and I like how we can just sit down and talk about things that are coming up, or just things in the community. And, I've always been interested in that, working in the community, givin' back to the community. And that's why I've joined not only F.A.C.E., but like the Witnesses to Hunger and things like that.*
>
> Tabitha, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

For Elizabeth FACE is a "community thing" and she refers to words that make up the acronym FACE, saying it is about "facing, acting and connecting, every day". She also refers to the FACE T-shirt, designed by the group, which emerged consistently in the study as a symbol of collective identity and ownership. Elizabeth talks about the first

FACE t-shirt and how the words "human, love and respect" featured on it and still matter to the group. It seems the connection with Bobby and the FACE group has been an important part of her recovery, again that she is not on her own and also that she feels that through this work she can make a difference in her community:

> *I mean its uplifting. I attend two or three programs now and educate me concerning FACE. Bobby, you know, I like for it to expand more. But it's depth that Bobby already know and that's why it's a community thing. And facing and acting and connecting every day. The Face to me, see FACE came with the first slogan of like I told you. On our first t-shirts was human, love and respect. And all those aspects we a year later we came up with FACE. FACE in action and connecting every day. When you look at it, because it's easy as I'm a dual diagnose to go backwards. It's easy. It's easy to do wrong. And then right. And see by being connected with Bobby. That makes sense to me that not only just me, but people in the community just like we bring. That's the community what we concerned about. My community, what I can make better. I can make better, little old me….just little things what make a difference. It does make a difference.*
>
> Elizabeth, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

This aspect of helping others of giving back to the community is described by Arthur as an aspect of people beginning to want more for themselves. Arthur says this journey makes you more aware, more self-aware, but also aware of "what is going on around you", so connecting again with issues at a community level. Martin, also a Citizen's

Project graduate describes feeling like "he is somebody" now, he has value, has status and also believes that he can now "make a difference" and give back to his community:

Because it makes people want to be better for themselves. And therefore, they want to help other people. Because it's just something that is…It's a feeling that I can't quite put my finger on it. But it makes you more self-aware of what's going on around you.

Arthur, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

I am somebody. I can make a difference in my community. How important for sit up there, about a week ago, to sit up there and plant some trees in my community. A hurricane storm came in and knocked down big trees and they came to the community and they asked me and a couple of other people, can you come help plant some trees? We went out there and we plant trees. It taught me how to be appropriate, how to communicate. To have that willing desire to give back to your community, it's amazing.

Martin, Citizen's graduate and FACE member.

When people were specifically talking about their involvement with the FACE group there were several references to feeling good, about feeling "uplifted" and a sense of personal growth because of their connection to the group. This appears to often be in reference to a feeling of personal wellbeing resulting from altruistic acts, from "helping" others or helping the community. Miranda in one of the next extracts

poetically describes this experience, drawing on redemptive language. She describes coming into "*bloom*", "*becoming a blooming part of my community*" rather than a "*dead dud…in the ground drowning*." Next Elizabeth then describes how she "*feels good*" at the end of the day when she comes home:

> *Because you got a flower, you start with the seed, you got to water it, you got to put it out in the sun. It's a process, and then, boom! When it's time you got the blooming, you go the flower. And I think that the blooming is happening in my life. The seeds were planted, right? These groups watered that seed up, set me out in the sun, and I'm now a blooming part of my community. A blooming part, not a dead dud anymore, I'm not just in the ground drowning, but I'm actually taking a root, hmm? The roots came out, they're spreading all in the soil. And I'm creating... and now I have the propensity to create other bloomers…I was just moved... it's so moving. It's so moving, it's very powerful. It's not a.... a taken lightly thing with me. I don't take this lightly.*
>
> Miranda, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

> *When I go home and turn my key on at the end of the day, I feel good. I can reflect on all these people who want to get better.*
>
> Elizabeth, Citizen's graduate, FACE member.

Citizenship as action, collective action

Through their involvement with Citizen's Project and then FACE or Witnesses people describe beginning to open their eyes more to what is going on around them, to feeling more "connected" to issues going on in the city such as food pantries, the opioid epidemic or issues of homelessness. We see a linking up to the wider societal picture. What also emerge is a desire to do something about these issues, to take *action*. A narrative of citizenship begins to emerge that is linked to action, to taking collective action, to political agency as well as personal agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004). This suggests that people are starting to move beyond being "good citizens" to become "justice orientated citizens" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). In this next extract Miranda described her journey from Citizen's to FACE and how she is putting his learning from Citizen's into action through FACE. She differentiates FACE from Citizen's when she describes Citizen's as focusing more on interpersonal issues whereas at FACE "*we don't go round the table and discuss personal stuff*". For Arthur FACE is about action, "*we're in action, we're doing*" and this action is happening in relation to issues in the community:

> *Now I can put what I learned being a graduate of Citizens, now I can put it into action.*

> *We get to put what we learned in action in FACE group from Citizens. We learn... it's like a class, you know, we learn, we get out issues out, right? And then we go, because we don't talk about many issues at FACE like that. We don't go around the table and discuss personal stuff. We're in action, we're doing... we're looking at the issues in the community....well, taking action*

means to put into practice what you've already learned. You know, and seeing it make a difference, and you know, and being a part of that difference is monumental to most people, well, to me I can only speak... it's huge. So, yeah.

Miranda, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and Witnesses member.

Arthur also describe Citizen's Project as learning, and he describes it evocatively as a door into oneself, a door into learning about yourself. This emphasises the important interpersonal aspect of Citizen's Project for people and the work that happens there are at an interpersonal level. Then by moving onto FACE, by going through the next door this is something different, it is about more than just the individual it is about "being part of something bigger than myself", and it is about taking action in the community. This extract from Arthur emphasises the importance of the interpersonal, individual work that happens for Citizen's and Arthur describes how that helped him express himself and understand what he was looking for. However, FACE is about something different, it is about the community, taking action and being part of collective and positive change. It is significant that for Arthur the journey he has been on, starting with Citizen's has been part of this process of "starting to care", of him starting to look around and care about what was going on in the community, to care about himself and to care about the world around him. As Arthur describes in the next extract, before he started at Citizen's, "he couldn't have cared less", so this was a transformative process for him:

For me Citizens is a learning. It's like the door to learn about yourself. To learn about myself. And then FACE is more like, okay I know what I want. And

I want to be a part of something bigger than myself. So, it's completely different because FACE people go out into the community. And we plan impact the community. With Citizens I was learning how to express myself. To know what it is that I'm looking for. And then FACE is more about community and being part of a positive change.

Arthur, Citizen's Project Graduate, FACE and Witnesses member.

I could not have cared less. Before Citizens I could not have cared less. Now it's like wanting to change, wanting to be a part of something bigger than myself.

Arthur, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and Witnesses member.

Tony describes the transition from Citizen's to FACE beautifully when he says Citizen's Project is about "*interactin' inside*" whereas FACE is about "*reactin'*", again emphasising the journey from a focus on the interpersonal, an inner journey, towards a more active, agential role where "*we get together and see what we're gonna do for the people*":

Well F.A.C.E. is more reactin'…Well, we get together and see what we're gonna' do for the people, what ideas we're gonna' have, what we're gonna' do. Citizen's Project is more for…You're interactin' inside.

Tony, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE member.

Miranda talks about how being involved has raised her awareness of what is going on around her and that is part of citizenship, that awareness of consciousness raising, the need to take action and not just hide in a corner. Miranda also describes feeling like a citizen in a wider sense, that she feels connected to the rest of the world. She does not want to hide from issues or be silent about them, rather she wants to be action or justice oriented, asking, "*I wonder what can be done about that as a citizen*?":

> *A citizen shouldn't... it shouldn't be a difference, right? Everybody's a citizen whether they're... wherever they are at, what process they're in. And being a part of that citizenship as a whole... you know, just raises my awareness of what's really going on, and that I can't afford to be off in a corner somewhere drowning in my sorrows.*
>
> Miranda, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.
>
> *I actually feel like a citizen of... jointly connected with the world and what's going on. Not running from it, not hiding from it, not seeing something bad going on, and saying, oh, that's terrible, but instead saying, wow, I wonder what can be done about that as a citizen? Or I wonder what can be done about that, if a child is walking with no shoes on, or hey... finding out what the needs are and trying to see if we can guide those people. Reaching out to people that can help, you know? So, I think as a citizen, once you've gotten to a place where you've become more about the solutions and not the problems that you can be able to help solve some problems. You know, help be a support.... even if it's*

just the support for someone. As a citizen I learned that from being in that closed room with different personalities and different, you know? I don't know.

Miranda, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Miranda goes on to say that she is a citizen of the USA and that she sees the world differently now, she has empathy for others and is connected to others and to wider issues. Miranda says that she now looks into politics and political issues and think about how they will impact on herself and her family. She also describes again this sense of feeling more connected to issues affecting her community and societal issues and how her awareness is open, speaking to a sense of political consciousness that she didn't have before. Miranda describes how she no longer feels in the margins of society, that she is now connected to other "*law abiding, tax paying, voter*" citizens. She talks about no longer being in the "*corner, in the shadow*" and that she is getting used to seeing "*what being a real person…is about*." Through Miranda's words we can hear neoliberal discourses of who counts as a valued citizen, as a real person. Discourses of the normative citizen as working, paying taxes and voting are described as something to aspire to and emulate. Miranda's words seem too to almost condemn her past self to the shadows as undesirable and degenerate. She concludes by referring to the universality of the term "citizen" that regardless of whether people are Black or white, "*mental-health or non-mental health*," "*substance-abuser*", "*homeless or not homeless*", we are all citizens "*with a role and a responsibility*". In some ways this suppresses or denies structural inequities, constructing all citizens as equal:

Hmm. Well, as a whole, like a citizen of the United States of America, as a citizen of that in which I live, I see the world differently now. I'm concerned and have empathy for other people, I look into political things to see how... what is going to affect me and my family, and my friends, people around me. I feel connected to the food pantries, and I feel connected to resources if you will, in the community as a law abiding, tax paying, voter, citizen person. I feel a part of a different dynamic or element of society with its differences, with it's... you know, everything else that's going on. Awareness, my awareness is open. I'm not in the corner, in the shadow, you know. I'm really getting to see what being a real person if you will, is about. Realizing that I am a part of a community of people in the citizenship of the United States of America who in New Haven, Connecticut has the same issues as someone in Chicago, or California. We're all citizens of this nation with a role and a responsibility to do whatever a situation if we're approached with it calls for, you know? Even Black, White, Hispanic, or Asian, being a citizen's just being a citizen…mental health, non-mental health, substance abuser, not, homeless, not homeless.

Miranda, Citizens' Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Adele, who co-facilitates the Citizen's Project and provides wrap around peer support as well as being the peer specialist involved with FACE and Witnesses. She occupies a unique standpoint as Adele is also experiencing this journey from Citizens, to FACE and then to Witnesses alongside the others as she joins these groups as a member too. In this next extract she states that FACE is about action, that the murals that the group does in the community are about taking action to counter violence. Adele references

specifically gun violence in New Haven here, the reality that "*New Haven has been bang, bang for a minute now*", and "*so many of our young kids are dying*". She also raises the issue of the opioid crisis. With FACE focusing on peace, love and respect it is almost as if FACE is perceived of as an antidote to the violence in the streets and communities of New Haven. For Adele FACE is the opposite of violence, it is the chance of something different. In Adele's descriptions of the FACE T-shirt, it seems almost symbolic of collective identity and resistance to violence. Adele then goes on to describe the approach that FACE takes to engaging with communities, how FACE always works in partnership with local communities and community organisation, asking permission and being respectful of the work already happening in communities. She also speaks to the power of the collective, that there is "*power in numbers*":

> *Whatever change that that's going on, at that particular time, we meet and we talk about and then sometimes we do action about it. Because this is what the murals are all about. That to me that's an action to you know…So, we made up our shirts with peace instead of violence. So, we put peace stuff on that, and then we went into the community to ask them what do the words that we put on our shirt mean to them. To take away also… Like New Haven has been bang, bang for a minute now. It's like so many of our young kids are dying. And they… now they dying for the opioid heroin epidemic. But I think FACE is where what it… where we talk about peace and love, and respect, we want others in the community. Because when I walk down the street and I want my shirt too… this bugs me. But I wore my shirt that there be more… a week before I left to go to Florida. And some Asian lady kept staring at me. And I'm like, what the hell, you know. She said, I know you see me keep looking at you, but*

I'm looking at your [T] shirt. I was like, wow. I said, oh this is my community shirt. The old one that I had on. She said, we need more of that in this world. So, to me I think our shirt stands out from the opposite of the violence and the… all the negative stuff that's in the community, our T-shirts show that different. Definitely.

Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

"Never stand off by ourselves, because I think power's in numbers. So, the more people we have the more power we have. So, we will always ask the community can we enter. Because you got to be careful how you enter and exit…But we never do we enter a community without permission, and not try to stand up on our own."

Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and Witnesses member.

From my analysis it seems that the narratives of citizenship articulated in the American context mainly typify the "good citizen" of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework, although there is some evidence of a slight shift towards the "justice oriented citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne 2004) , particularly as people move into the activist space of Witnesses to Hunger. It is at this point that I identified a new space of social movement learning developing, an unintentional, situational form of social movement learning, which is characterised by learning in the struggle or learning through action (Kilgore, 1999; Cox, 2019). Also, we can use the concepts of "power within," power with" and "power to" (Veneklasen and Miller, 2002, in Gaventa, 2006)

to help understand how citizenship is being conceptualised in this setting. First, the relational and interpersonal aspects were significant, which contribute to people building "power within", that is the gaining of self-identity, confidence and awareness that are a pre-cursor for collective action. (Veneklasen and Miller, 2002, in Gaventa, 2006, p23). Also, the power of the relational and the collective, also speak to "power with", or the synergy, partnerships and collaborations that are part of the processes of collective action. This too feeds into "power to", which is basically the capacity to act, to exercise agency and to realise the potential of rights. (Veneklasen and Miller, 2002, in Gaventa, 2006, p23). This also I believe maps closely onto Kilgore's theory of collective learning (1999), which differentiated between individual and group components. Kilgore argued that individual distinctions were related to identity, consciousness, sense of agency, worthiness (which I compare to validation which emerges strongly in this study) and sense of connectedness (which maps closely to the relational theme in this study). In terms of the group distinctions Kilgore terms these collective identity, group consciousness, solidarity, and organisation, all of which emerged as strong themes in my analysis as seen in the two previous chapters.

Disconnect with politicians and formal politics

For many in the FACE group there is a suspiciousness of politicians and that real change can only be affected in the community by the grassroots. In this next extract Tony, for example, describes his mistrust of politicians and how he believes with the advent of a Trump administration, money and corporations are compromising American democracy, "*the wealthies are comin to take over*." Tony goes on to emphasise that it is the people in the communities, the people "*out there*" that are facing reality. He argues that politicians can say what they like, but it is the real people

who are living it, that we cannot trust politicians or the government to enact change, we need to start doing this for ourselves. Arthur also does not have much time for politicians, accusing them of lying and not fulfilling promises. He expresses his frustration with formal politics, of being lied to:

> *I like what I do. I'm more into the community thing. I'm not into the politician. I let them do their thing, but we out tryin' to get people to vote and stuff like that, and I like that I'm out there talkin' to other humans in the community. That is…It's a whole different story. Right now, what I'm startin' to see in politics that's goin' on, since Trump became President, he was a wealthy man, he's not a politician… It seems like all the wealthies now are startin' to step up and say forget you politician people. We're takin' over. We're gonna' run this country. And that's what it look like. The wealthies are comin' to take over.*
>
> Tony, Citizen's Project graduate and FACE member.
>
> *Face reality. That's how I look at it. Face reality. Because I know they got a…Each letter's a name, but my thing is facing reality, what's goin' on out here? What can we do to help people? Somethin' that the politician people ain't tryin' to…They'll say they want to do this, but what we can do. We, the community people. We're the ones that are out there. Politicians can say whatever they want. They're not out there. We're the ones out there. We're livin' it. You're just runnin' the outside of it. They said oh, we know the problems that's goin' on there, and we said we're out of everything. You're in the city. You got everything. You're into everything. We're out of everything.*

We're the ones just votin' for you, then we ain't getting' nothing, but a thumb up the rump. So that's what I say. But that's just like I said, what can you do if we don't go out there to talk to these people how to get things done? I feel we have to do for ourselves. We can't depend on our government. And that's our problem. We dependin' on our government since [inaudible]. Throw that out the window. They're humans just like we are. We got some good people, you got some terrible people. And you got a lot of terrible people that's into the government, so why…Let's do for ourselves.

Tony, Citizen's graduate and FACE member.

But something more of the line of all these politicians lying to us just to get into places. And then they don't do anything they said they were going to do. More of like frustration, being tired. Being tired of being lied to.

Arthur, Citizen's graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member

The activist citizen

As explored in my review of the literature, citizenship can be conceptualised as agency and participation (see Lister, 2003, for example, or Gaventa, 2001). I would argue that predominantly the narratives of change that emerged in the U.S context were foremost located at the interpersonal or micro level and the community or meso level. However, there was some evidence of this shifting as people moved into the activist space of *Witnesses to Hunger* where there was the opportunity to participate in direct action

targeted at politicians and aiming to tackle systemic level or macro level change, specifically the issues of food insecurity and poverty.

For those who had joined *Witnesses,* as well as referencing action and collective action, some people also made connections and references to activism or the identity as activist or an activist citizen. So, we can see the impact of this journey from Citizen's to FACE and Witnesses in terms of feeling part of a collective, taking action together and also connecting to a wider sense of political action or activism. This impacts on people's sense of agency and speaks to the pedagogical aspect of the experience, how people's involvement with activist activities is also educational. Marion, an older African American woman, describes again this sense that FACE and *Witnesses* makes her feel like she's not the "*only one that's tuned into what's going on*". Marion had extensive experience as an activist throughout her life, she had been part of the *Black Panthers* in New Haven as well as *Mother's for Justice* and other activist groups many years ago. She referenced some of her own social movement history in her interview. In this extract she refers to the early days of the women's movement, where white women were agitating for their rights, a fight that was different to that of Black women's which was also linked to emancipation from slavery. Marion refers to how some of the White women had to go "underground", similar she says to the Underground Railroad used by enslaved African Americans to escape to freedom. Marion locates herself in a social movement history. Marion goes on to say that she describes FACE as "organising" (community organising) and that FACE is about activism without violence. She describes in one sentence how in her experience "*they want to take your identity away from you*" and during the conversation referred to how being homeless made it difficult to attend meetings consistently. Marion told me of

how she would be kicked out of her shelter early in the winter mornings and have nowhere to go before the *Witnesses* meeting would start at 12pm, so she would just ride the buses round and round the city until then. For Marion, the activism and organising she associates with FACE and Witnesses reasserts and connects her to an identity as an activist, an identity she had lost touch with. Lastly Marion states that FACE is related to politics and trying to make a difference. Again, she references the fact that FACE is not just sitting around talking, it is about taking collective action, "*…you got to speak out, you have to, you have to rally…*".

> *It just makes me feel like I'm not the only one that's in tuned to what's going on. That there is… and you don't know quite what it is, but you know it's not right. So…yeah because I remember when white women were fighting for their rights, when the feminist's movement got… became active. And I remember that some of the things they went through, I kept up… as young as I was, I kept up with everything that was going on with women's rights. And they had struggles in the courts down there with about their husbands and children weren't safe with some of their husbands that was taking them. And how they had to make like the Underground Railroad, they took their children and went underground. They had the people that was helping them. I remember all of that, yeah I was a part… I was part of it…*
>
> Marion, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.
>
> *Yeah, I see it as an organizing, I just see it as… it's organizing. Well I see FACE as saying what… not forever it takes only in the proper aspect of making*

change. And they believe in activism without the… activism without the violence. Yeah. Yeah so I see activism as, yeah because it's almost as if they want to take your identity away from you.…

Marion, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Well because you're in the politic, it's about politics and trying to make a difference. Somebody has to do it, you know what I'm saying? Somebody's got to do it, so why not Face, you know, why not Face? So instead of you was just sitting around doing nothing, at least you know… Right. Right. And if you don't cry out they always say that, where the wheels that's squeaking gets the oil. So…You got to speak out. You have to. You have to rally.

Marion, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

People's involvement with *Witnesses* has enabled FACE members to be part of a more explicitly political or activist group. Tabitha describes *Witnesses* in this next extract and how she did not know how to be an activist before and through *Witnesses* she is learning. She refers to *Witnesses* as "*fighting*" against the removal of food stamps from the poor, or against wider injustices against those living in poverty. Tabitha also talks of the power of organisations like this to open people's eyes to the realities of people's lives, resonating with the concept of epistemic justice and the value of experiential knowledge. So, we can see the role social movement learning of this kind contributes to epistemic justice. Tabitha also talked about her experience of being part of the Rally that *Witnesses* held on the Green to protest and raise awareness of the threats to food

stamps. Tabitha talks about the rally and how it felt good to "open up…our voices…have them heard". Also, it was powerful for her that the rally was right downtown, right in from City Hall where the Mayor's office is. For Tabitha it felt good to get this message heard, to do something and take collective action.

> *Witnesses is a good organization. And I always like gettin' involved in organizations, and this is another reason why I like this, because I never knew how to be an activist, and there was a little part of me that wanted to, and now I know…it's like…which is good. Witnesses is like fighting…helpin'…You know, 'cause they want to take away food stamps, and just take away a lot of things from the poor or the poverty. And I just think it's…The kids too. Not just adults, but children suffer too, of course. So, I just think it's just a good organization to open people's eyes and see like we need help.*
>
> Tabitha, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

> *I'd like to think so, yeah. 'cause, you know, we're just…Especially when we did the rally on The Green. I really felt like that's good. You know, open up and our voices, have them heard. I mean, especially downtown, it's all…You know, like you get everybody. You get the poverty, you get the middle class, you know like…And we were right there, right in front of the Mayor's Office too, City Hall. So that felt good to do that. Yeah, I just think that we have to have our voices heard, just to get something done.*
>
> Tabitha, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and Witnesses member.

Adele and others also spoke about the power of being involved in activist activities, such as the rally on the city Green. Protests or rallies can be defined as "acts of citizenship" (Isin, and Nielsen, 2008) and also are examples of social movement learning through action (Kilgore, 1999). In this extract Adele is describing the impact and power of taking part in such an act. She describes it as powerful and that she felt like she belonged, that she was getting her voice heard. There is a sense here that to truly belong one needs to feel they have a voice and that their voice is heard. Adele complained about the quality of the bullhorn that was used and that they will need to get a better one next time so people on the streets or at the bus stops will be able to hear and they will literally have a louder voice. She also refers to the relational elements of the experience, how she got to know people in the group better through this shared, enjoyable experience and that it was educational to learn about this "*politic"* stuff. This reinforces the social movement learning aspect of the experience, there is an educational component to taking part in activist activities. Interestingly she also refers to "belonging", echoing the sense of belonging and collective identity that can come from engaging with social movement activities (Della Porter and Diani, 1991):

> *Powerful. I felt like I belong. I felt like I was getting my voice heard. The only thing I didn't like was the horn, that bullhorn felt like it was cheap. So people from the street couldn't really hear us because it was a cheap, you know, bullhorn. I think if we going to rally like that again, we should have a better horn, so people can hear. Enjoy… the reason why I enjoyed it for one, it helped me get closer to the people in that group because I don't know a lot of them in there, because they younger than I am. And it… it helped me build a*

relationship with them. And just to get to know them and have a good time while we rallied. But I feel like now that I had built a relationship with going into the rally, plus it's educational to me about the politic stuff.

Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and Witnesses member.

Miranda describes *Witnesses* as looking at the "*political issues that are affecting the community*", namely hunger, food insecurity and the food stamp program. Arthur too refers to *Witnesses* as more "*political*" than either Citizens or FACE and he explicitly uses the word "*activist*" to describe it. He also says *Witnesses* is about raising awareness about issues which might affect politically and socially marginalised groups, such as homeless people, raising awareness with homeless people about the threats to food stamps for example. Again, Arthur centres action, it is not just talking about issues, it is about taking action and it is "political":

Witnesses to Hunger is an organization who we also too look at political issues that are affecting the community. Hunger, Food Stamp Program, mothers who are fighting for laws and policies to be changed around certain issues and... whoa, what... that's a heavy duty one right there. And only through the commitment of sticking with the proc... sticking with the process that I can even go even deeper. That's what intrigues me too. is the fact that I can go even deeper into the issues and the problems that are in my community. See..

Miranda, Citizen's Project graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

That got started not too long ago either. And it's about, I think it's more political. More like an activist. And it's engaging with the awareness of the homeless that's going on. And about politicians. And how to organize events for us to raise awareness. The right people to take notice. It's not like talking about it. It's more like doing something about it. It's more political.

Arthur, Citizens graduate, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Returning to Adele, what follows is an extract from her interview when she was describing the experience of a roundtable discussion about food insecurity and food stamps with the state Senator and the Mayor. Adele refers to this encounter as "*too for real*", that she would never have met them if she wasn't part of this work. She made me laugh when she said incredulously, "politicians? No. No, no, no, no". Adele talks about feeling honoured to meet the senator, that she felt like she "*was somebody*". Adele compares meeting the Senator and the Mayor as almost like meeting a celebrity, as she only ever saw politicians on the TV. This speaks to the disconnect that many people feel, particularly African Americans, with formal politics and a sense that politicians don't operate in "reality", that they occupy the same fantasy, unreal TV world as celebrities do:

Adele: Oh that was too for real. I would have never met him in this lifetime if I wasn't in this… out in the community. I would have never did this. Politicians? No, no, no. No. No.

Kirsten: How did it feel to…

Adele: I felt honored. I feel like I am somebody. I felt superior to tell you the truth. To be asked to come to a forum like that to see them. To see them on TV all the time.

Kirsten: Yeah.

Adele: But to… but to see Rosa Delores you know sitting right two seats from me, and when I was spoke, she was looking at me, gave me her undivided attention. I really felt honored to. I feel like they was celebrities and I got a chance to see a celebrity.

Kirsten: Yeah.

When Adele was talking about taking part in activism with *Witnesses* it led to a broader conversation about the nature of citizenship and belonging. Adele referenced the 5R's of Citizenship and how if she doesn't have her needs met she doesn't' feel like she is a citizen. She says that the US citizen, the citizen of the American Dream, is "*supposed to have everything they need*". The US citizen is also supposed to "*fit in, like they belong*". However, Adele argues, to genuinely feel this sense of belonging, people need to have their most basic needs and rights met. She refers to the right to education, housing, food. Adele also relates this back to hunger, which Witnesses campaign on, saying that she doesn't feel like a citizen if she's hungry or doesn't have enough food. By doing so Adele raises critical questions about what is required for people to belong or feel like an equal citizen:

I mean if I don't have my needs met, so how do I feel like I'm a citizen? How do I feel like I belong in that space or place? Because I don't have education, or I don't have medical insurance, or I don't have housing. I don't feel like I've… I'm no United States citizen. Because the United States citizen are supposed to have everything they need. Yeah. And then they supposed to fit in. Like they belong. People feel like they belong when their needs are all met, when they got housing, when they got an education, when they got food on their table, you know. With the poverty that it's so low. When your poverty is so low, even if I don't have a loaf of bread, I don't feel like no citizen, because citizens they eat bread. We should… I should… even if I don't have food stamps or cash or a job, I should be able to go into somewhere and get a meal and be full. It might not be the meal that's healthy for me, but it's something to put in my stomach. There's a lot of us like that walking around here. Whatever it is connected to then we feel like we belong, we belong like a citizen. That's what it says. Well said, but again if you take one of them way, I don't feel like I belong. And you can add more R's to that. Respect. Because if I, like I said, if I don't belong, I don't feel like a citizen. If I'm not eating, like I said, I don't feel like I belong. I don't feel like I'm no citizen.

Adele, Peer Specialist Worker, FACE and *Witnesses* member.

Narratives of citizenship in Scotland

I shall now turn to examine and explore the narratives of citizenship in the Scottish context; how people conceptualised citizenship and what the construct raised for them. Overall, there was an undercurrent of critique and suspicion of the term "citizenship," as well as a strong preoccupation with the social and political landscape of Brexit and austerity Britain. People were concerned about the potential uses and misuses of the construct of citizenship and how governments and the state can use it to manipulate and control. In Scotland people also questioned the term "responsibility" and were critical of the idea of the neoliberal, "good," "responsibilised" or "personally responsible" citizen (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). Several offered a more radical reinterpretation of responsibility, tied to responsibility for social and political change. This linked to people making sense of citizenship as deeply connected to collective action and political change. In many ways for people in the Scotland context, citizenship was only accepted as a positive or comfortable term when linked to ideas of activism or collective action. This then centred very much the idea of the citizenship as agency and the citizen as activist.

In this section four themes shall be explored, "citizenship or citizenshit?", "problematising the good citizen" and "conflicting understandings of citizenship". I shall then move on to discuss the conflicting narratives of citizenship which have emerged in this research.

Citizenship or citizenshit?

For people who have been involved in a Mad Studies critical pedagogy project, there was a sense of suspicion about the term citizenship due to its association with

neoliberalism and the ways citizenship as a concept and idea has been manipulated by the state in the past. Active citizenship for example was a key policy of David Cameron's "Big Society" and core to New Labour's policy before that. In the climate of austerity in the UK several people involved with MPHI raised the issue of welfare "reform" and cuts to disability benefits as well as the rhetoric about disabled people in the media as benefit scroungers and cheats. With this political and social backdrop, people in Scotland were somewhat critical of "citizenship" and saw it as a concept which could be weaponised against disabled people. Here is an extract from a conversation with a member of the Citizenship Café group, who describes her suspicion that citizenship is "*de-fanged*" politically, that it is not about changing the status quo, rather about helping people to fit into a broken system or broken society. She vehemently rejects the expectation to "*give back*", believing it feeds off people's sense of individual shame and guilt about their addictions or mental health issues, that it is all their fault. So, this serves as a strong contrast to the narrative in America, which embraced the notion of giving back. As this person below states, "*it's about putting people back into a broken system*", therefore raising critical questions about the purpose of citizenship work. If citizenship approaches are not about challenging the status quo, then are they just focused on trying to fix the individual in order to slot them back into a "*broken system*"?

> *Is there any change? Is it tokenistic? Sounds de-fanged and done to rather than done with and that it's about putting people back into a broken system, putting a lot of pressure on people in recovery to "give back" to society, like "now it's your turn to give back". Fuck off! Like I've been feeding off the state for 30*

years? I think it is praying on people's sense of individual guilt and shame, it's my fault.

Extract from a conversation described in my field notes

Several people referred to the context of the Brexit and how the referendum result had made them question their sense of belonging to the UK. Here is Anne describing living in the UK post-Brexit and questioning now her right to be here a non-British citizen. She connects that to the experience of having a mental health problem and how this can affect your sense of belonging. She raises the important question of whether citizenship as belonging is something that is granted or something that we must take or claim. Lauren also referred to the impact on Brexit on her sense of understanding and emotional reaction to the concept of citizenship. Lauren spoke of how she was attacked on a bus days after the referendum result. Lauren also referred throughout her interview to how racism has impacted on her sense of belonging throughout her life, so if citizenship is about belonging how can people of colour feel like they belong in the context of structural racism and white supremacy? So, for Lauren the concept of citizenship is an uncomfortable one, it is "*odd*":

I think post-Brexit it is a complicated thing, um, like for myself for myself personally not being a British citizen, or subject, what are my rights and that makes you question what is my belonging here in a way I haven't done for a long time. Am I right to be here? And that ties in, if you've got a mental health problem, you've been kind of marginalised to some extent, so if you have, where

do you belong and if citizenship is about belonging, is it something that is granted to you or is it something that you can claim.

Anne, MPHI graduate.

I was, I was attacked three days after the Brexit referendum by somebody who thought I didn't belong here and thought that meant that people like me were going to be sent back to wherever it was we came from.

Lauren, MPHI student.

Citizenship is odd because I don't, because I've always been made to feel like I don't belong in this country, I was born here, my dad was born here, yeah my dad's side of the family is whiter than white and my mums side is not, and she came here and her parents brought her and her siblings here when she was 10. But throughout my childhood, there's always been people telling me that I'm, I don't belong here and as a result I kind of don't feel that I belong here. I've had too many years of being told I'm not Scottish enough to do Highland Dancing, the only reason that the judges are giving you trophies , medals and trophies and the, these highland games is because they don't want to be accused by, accused of racism by your parents [laughter] yeah I was 5,6,7 at the time, that was normal.

Lauren, MPHI graduate.

Lauren also makes important point that people of colour and other marginalised groups are not automatically seen as citizens, rather minorities are “other”, somehow less than human. As such there is a need to “reclaim” citizenship as currently it is for white privileged people. Lauren also references the different political climate in Scotland versus the rest of the UK, preferring to identity as a Scottish citizen rather than a British citizen as she sees Scotland as more welcoming as a country. This underlines the point that the wider political context impacts on people’s sense of belonging or citizenship:

> *…we're not automatically citizens, we are other, we have to prove our worth before we can be accepted as a citizen. It’s not just for minorities, visible minorities, you've got people with disabilities, whether invisible or visible, you've got people who come out of the criminal justice system, they're also seen as less than human…we're not seen as human, and therefore get treated differently, get treated worse and, so I guess we'd have to reclaim citizenship, but I wouldn't want to reclaim citizenship in England because I don't like where it’s going. So, to me, citizenship is, it’s weird it’s something for white privileged people, but the rest of us, we kind of have to fight and work twice as hard to be thought of as half as good, still. I mean I call myself Scottish, rather than British…Scotland seems to welcome everyone, so I like the idea of being a citizen of Scotland, the UK government and the way it is, not so keen on that.*
>
> Lauren, MPHI.

Elspeth describes living through the uses and misuses of citizenship by successive left and right-wing governments. She points to the political ideology termed “The Big

Society" by David Cameron, which aimed to integrate the free market with solidary based volunteerism. Elspeth sees the enduring legacy of this ideology in mental health where the third sector and particularly a volunteer labour force are expected to pick up the pieces of an under-resourced mental health system. So, the complexities and politics of volunteerism are raised by this extract, that it can be argued the state abuses the good nature of its citizens. Also, that there is almost a compulsion for people to do voluntary work, that it is good for them and for the good of society. Linda, who works in mental health services pointed to the irony of how her job is often about encouraging people to be active in the community, yet she can't admit to being active in that way herself:

> *I've lived through so many misuses of philosophy and ideas from, moving from a focus on society to the focus on the individual to being told that there is no such thing as society, to then other governments afterwards saying, well we have to look at the big picture, It's about "big society" which basically just means you're not going to get paid for the job you're going to do, you have to do it voluntary because it's for the good of the community and that's just put what makes money in front of what doesn't make money but enriches people's lives. I see that particularly in non-essential services in the third sector, that it's down to volunteers to pick up the pieces in mental health and in other situations of people in need, so I think active citizenship can be really easily abused as a philosophy of power to keep people in their place, to not give people power, to no give people a voice, but to keep them doing small mundane things, to keep the status quo going, and that, that's very dangerous.*

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

I guess, in my job, we spend a lot of time thinking about people in the community. And people need to be engaged with their community and then I go home at night, and think, "I'm not really that engaged in my local community. What is an active member of the community? What is that? Does that mean you're participating in your local community council? Does that mean that you're on the neighbourhood watch? And there are, I guess there are really traditional views of being active in your community.

Linda, Strategic Programme Manager.

For Elspeth there was a danger citizenship is equated with forcing people to "fit in" to society rather than change it, to become more "normal". Citizenship was also for Elspeth tied in with people moving away from bad habits or addiction and becoming productive citizens, so a sense of citizenship as an individualised concept that can be used to make people conform to notions of what it means to be a good citizen. Elspeth also refers to the "*othering*" and "*writing off*" of people of mental health issues and disabilities in society and the political climate that results in a powerful hegemonic narrative of personal responsibility and how if you fall down a hole, it's your own fault. This links again to neoliberal discourses of citizenship, which centre personal individual responsibility and choice:

What a lot of citizenship can be, kind of, viewed as, or perceived as is "fitting in" um, its giving you ways you can be "more normal" you can move away from

bad habits, you can move away from drug culture, you can move away from criminality and you can be a more productive member of bigger society.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

…in terms of being part of society I think or being an "active citizen" I think the state does a really good black and white job of demonising people who don't fit in, stigmatising them, othering them, excluding them, but I really don't think they're being properly supported to fit in. Having recently…been involved in trying to claim for some kind of financial help to deal with all the many conditions that I have… what it focuses on all the time, when you are filling in the forms, when you are speaking to someone, is what you can't do, and you have to really focus on what your deficits are and you have to really focus on how you are unable to function, to receive some sort of paltry sum that's supposed to remediate that in society…. I think as long as you have a society that focuses on othering people and writing them off more and more people are just going to fall down in that hole and they're going to fall that hole forever...and government and top level agencies just seem to be standing at the top of the hole saying "it's your fault you're down here". I know for some people you know, maybe there are ladders available, but if they could just...cover over the hole or not push people down it and I think the way government goes at the moment its if you have any vulnerability or weakness you are pushed into that hole and we know from many historical examples where that leads.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

And I think maybe citizenship can do that as well, in terms of making people aware that with certain issues, with certain diagnoses we are still part of community, we are still citizens, we are entitled to be treated with dignity and respect. And it's becoming maybe for people a chance to be part of the best possible bigger picture that could exist, not just, well citizenship if for the good and the great and the working and those with families and those who live stable productive economic lives and have 2.4 children, two cars, a tumble dryer, their own apartment, their mortgage, society can be bigger than that it can support everybody, you know.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

Sally too, refers to the political and social context in her this next extract, again suggesting that rather than diagnosing individuals we need to diagnose society, or in other words not place the blame on the individual but rather the societal issues. She raises in this context an issue which was in the news at the time, of Oxfam workers being found guilty of sexual exploitation as well as the *#Me Too* movement. Sally expresses frustration with the continual emphasis on blaming and shaming high profile or famous individuals, rather than looking at the fact that sexual abuse is endemic and structural in our society, that it is connected to abuse of power. She argues that the focus should not be kept at an individual level, we should be addressing issues of sexual abuse by questioning the power structures that exist in society. Sally argues here that courses like MPHI, which think critically about how power operates in society, have an important role to play in facilitating the focus widening out, to start

this process of questioning power. In many ways then Sally is articulating that an analysis of power relations is of central importance.

> *…they've just displaced it all onto the person, you know, it's a major problem, we need to diagnose the problem not the person, the problem is actually society…all the stuff around at the moment about charities like Oxfam and sexual exploitation and what's happening in the film industry and all the sleaze stuff… these have been there forever and we're…in the moment we're coming in at a place for naming and shaming individuals, but we actually need to look at power and how that operates and how we're all complicit in that. We're all involved in it, it's all, it's all about that…and the fact that we live in a highly unequal society and…yeah we need to look at all these things in tandem and say right let's sit down and work out what are we doing wrong not is what is that person doing wrong and lets shame them, but what are, how is this going wrong, let's all look at it together and see what we've created here and why it's not working you know, so courses like this which are about looking critically at power structures are really important and chances to kind of connect that to other discussions and movements and all of that are really important.*
>
> Sally, MPHI graduate.

Problematising the good citizen

There was concern that there is pressure from society and mental health services to be the "good citizen" or the "personally responsible citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne,

2004), in alignment with the construction of the neoliberal citizen who is contributing to society through working and paying their taxes. This "good citizen" gives back to society through voluntary work and "takes responsibility" for themselves rather than making demands of the state or being a drain on government resources. Linked to this is the notion that a citizen is only valuable if they are working, if they are contributing economically to society. Also, of concern to people was the use of citizenship in a mental health context, and whether it was ultimately just another name for recovery which many believe has been co-opted and used to obscure the socio-political roots of madness and distress and as a rationale to cut services. Or again if citizenship in the context of mental health would potentially be another rod for people's backs, encouraging them to take individual responsibility for their own citizenship as well as their mental health issues in order to become a good, recovered, mentally ill person or mentally ill citizen. One person described to me feeling like a "*shit citizen*", because she was not working or volunteering, had no partner. This taps into a painful sense of somehow falling short of neoliberal expectations, contributing to a sense of failure, deficit or lack. Much of the Scottish discourse around citizenship therefore was around disrupting the normative ideas of what constitutes a good neoliberal citizen, in line with more critical and collective understandings of citizenship. Also, it was about looking outwards, rather than inwards, for any sense of blame.

People also had strong opinions and critiques of the concepts of responsibility, again responsibility was redefined collectively to mean a responsibility to others or a responsibility to work together with others to take collective action. Bea talks about how for her she feels responsible to talk opening about mental health to try to break down stigma in the community. Anne then talks about responsibility in relation to a

conservative or neoliberal ideology of the responsible citizen and how this maintains or even creates the status quo, rather than creating change:

> *…but I also feel part of the responsibility to … and maybe this is wrong, but for me my responsibly it's to help the community understand and to breakdown stigma and things like and things like that, and talk openly about it…*
>
> Bea, MPHI graduate.

> *…this idea of, what I was talking about making changes and being disruptive and having a responsibility can be taken to that kind of more conservative neoliberal idea of being a responsible citizen which means paying your taxes and doing your bit of charity work…but in a very kind of keeping the status quo or even making the status quo, yean making things a bit harder for poor people.*
>
> Anne, MPHI lecturer.

Linda, a strategic programme manager of mental health services, talks too about the strand of citizenship that is bound up with responsibility in the context of the MPHI course. She ties it to self-worth, that to feel like you have responsibilities you first need to value yourself. Linda believes she has witnessed people leaving the MPHI course with more self-worth and as such people believe that they do have responsibility and that they take this responsibility to the next level. She references people speaking about the course at international conferences, how the experience has transformed people's relationship to themselves and others and how ultimately this has resulted in a desire

to stand up for the rights of other people with mental health issues. So, this moves the concept of responsibility away from a personalised, de-politicised sense of responsibility or "giving back", towards a more collectivist and rights-based perspective. Linda also talks about citizenship as a vehicle to claim our rights and acknowledge our responsibilities. She describes the MPHI course as a vehicle or space to open up debate about what the rights of Mad people are and as a vehicle to drive social change:

> *I think the kind of responsibility that for me lies in acknowledging that people, because to feel responsible, you also have to have a sense of self-worth, and I think it's difficult for people to see that they, perhaps, are pioneers for people with mental health difficulties. It's difficult to see themselves as pioneers when they don't maybe, have any real sense of self value or your self-worth. And I feel I've seen a lot of that at the beginning of lots of these courses. I think people, probably the majority of people do walk out of the course with a real sense of self-worth and; therefore, feel that they do have responsibilities. I think you've got lots of examples of people who have taken that responsibility to a different level, I mean you've got people going to international conferences to speak about the work and how it has transformed their perception of themselves and how it has transformed their relationships with other people, and how it has made then more willing to stand up for the rights of people with mental health issues and so, you can see people taking responsibility in that way and probably people who didn't think that they had the ability to do that.*
>
> Linda, strategic programme manager.

I think of citizenship in two ways really; as a vehicle through which we can claim our rights, and a vehicle through which we can acknowledge our responsibilities, and often those things don't come together and they don't need to necessarily come together, I think as a vehicle through which we can open up debate about what people's rights are, as mad people, and how we can use people's experiences like as a really powerful, positive dynamic for social change…

Linda, strategic programme manager.

Anne talks of being a citizen in the broadest sense, about how it links to being connected and part of something and crucially how it is about wanting to change things or make things better. For Anne we should challenge or disrupt what is expected of us as citizens, the notion of what is the right thing to do in this world. Anne argues that being successful or a good citizen is connected to material wealth, rather how do we connect to others, how can we get looked after and look after others and how we create change:

…yeah so to me, that kind of in the broader sense of being a citizen, it's about being connected, about feeling part of something, about wanting to make things better…about wanting to support other people, so it's not just oh I want to change this law, it's about how do I look after other people, how do I get looked after myself when I need that, how can I do that in a kind of collective, validating empowering for lack of a better word way? Also this kind of opening up this sense of what is good to do, what is right to do, what is expected, so it's

not just, a mortgage, a job, a fancy car, that me being a good citizen leads to me saying no I'm not going to do that… its yeah, it's taking a bigger sense, not just me and my mental health problems and my use or non-use of mental health services, but where do I connect in the overall thing?

Anne, MPHI lecturer.

In this next extract Bea explores what citizenship means to her, she believes it is about having a voice and about being seen as credible and valuable. For Bea it is important to contribute to society, that she is listened to and make to feel like she is valued as a person. She also believes people should be able to make contributions, perhaps through voluntary work, without fear of then being forced or coerced into work that could make them unwell. This is in reference to the current political pressure on people with disabilities to come off benefits and get into work, any work. Allison points to the fact that when you are a patient, when you are in hospital, you are not always aware of your rights. She also believes that as someone with experience of depression and psychosis she did not feel like she had any rights, or they were taken away when she was detained. So, for Allison the course was important because it reminded the students that people with mental health issues do have rights. Allison then goes on to argue that the course itself helps people connect to the feeling of being a "*full citizen*". Again, she describes that having mental health issues can make people feel like they are second class citizens and that they are not good enough. So, for Allison the course made her feel like she was a full citizen, and also that she was part of a collective sense of power in the classroom from being with that group of people. Allison also reflects on feeling like a "*richer*" citizen now and how she has more confidence to speak up,

so there are references here again to citizenship as agency or voice as was also seen in the U.S material too:

…with citizenship I mean for me there's different elements of what that means, it’s about having a voice, it’s about being credible, being seen, lots of things like that that traditionally we've not had as a in our status as service users and em an important thing for me is about making a contribution, that's how I feel part of society is, it’s about being listened to, being made to feel valued eand having the means to make a contribution without being coerced or forced into doing something that makes you ill…

Bea, MPHI graduate.

…when you're a patient… you're not very aware of your rights, all that seems to diminish and so I think, a citizen that lives well within the community has rights and responsibilities and I think the rights when … speaking from having depression and psychosis, you don't think you have any rights so being reminded of those rights helps you sit up and say well, I've got a right to be angry or I've a right to complain or a right to say and not expect any repercussions from that.

Allison, MPHI graduate.

I think that's it, it gives you … I think given the course, it brings you back into feeling like a full citizen, because I think, for me anyway, depression or mental

illness can make you feel that you've not got full citizenship, that you're second class in some way, or you're not good enough, and I think the course, for me, it was like… no, you're a full citizen who has had an experience and the only way we can learn and build on all the stuff, all the research and things and knowing the power that we have in that room, as I say plug us into the grid. Sometimes and I hate this because so much awfulness has happened, but sometimes I feel richer, sometimes that's hard to see but there is such a richness in ... I maybe feel a richer *citizen now in experience and confidence and yes, I don't feel ... as I say it just inflames, you just feel so angry and it gives me confidence to speak up or take it to somebody who will speak up.*

Allison, MPHI graduate.

For Lauren citizenship has a component of classism and privilege, which you need to be an active citizen, to be contributing and doing something in order to be viewed as a citizen. She points to the fact that there are barriers to being active as a citizen, particularly for people with disabilities or living in poverty:

You're not a citizen unless you're doing something that um grants you citizenship and then you've got, that just reeks of privilege, you'd probably be able to buy citizenship, so if you've got the money you can be a citizen, if you're poor, no, screw you, you're second class, but it, it reeks of class-ism in a way because not everyone can be active.

Lauren, MPHI graduate.

Elspeth makes a comparison between citizenship and the work of Mad Studies and how the work of MPHI and Mad Studies more widely is not about forcing people to conform or move on or fit in, rather it is about valuing and validating a community and identity that is seen as other or outsider. There is an argument here that language and labels can be reclaimed and that the positionality of mad people or people with experience of mental health issues is a valid standpoint to speak from. Towards the end of the extract Elspeth refers to a community saying, "*this is who we are…this is how* we *see the world actually, look at the patient journey, not just what you think you are doing to us*". This use of the word "*we*" speaks to the existence and validity of a collective voice or stance, a collective identity:

> *I think the difference in what we're doing with Mad Studies is we're validating an outsider community as valid, that we're not treating people as failures because they're not fitting into the bigger societal picture that's being sold to them, we're saying "you've always been othered and you know that's ok, you can hold these labels in a different way, you can reclaim your identity as Mad, not necessarily as a pejorative thing" and I think that's where there's maybe a bit of commonality with kind of queer studies and queer theory about reclaiming those labels, about self-owning them rather than having them as prejudicial. So I think that's the difference between citizenship and mad studies, is that mad studies is about validating that outsider- ness, giving a voice to that outsider-ness and not white-washing it, allowing it to be what it is, but from that position of a community saying, "well this is how we are, treat us with respect for how we are, don't patronise us, don't ignore us, don't put words into our mouths, these are the labels that we give ourselves, this is how we see the*

world actually look at the patient journey, not just what you think you are doing to us.

Elspeth, MPHI lecturer.

This last extract from Anne draws together several elements of the critique about normative citizenship including the concept of the neoliberal, responsible citizen. Significant in this extract is Anne raising the issue of food banks and arguing for people not just to help out or donate at a food bank, but to look at why food banks exist in the first place, which is very much the argument of Veneklasen and Miller (2004). So again, this is rejecting the charity model, asking people to question power structures, government policy, economic and social inequality. Anne also makes the links between active citizenship and activism and the citizen as activist:

This idea of, what I was talking about making changes and being disruptive and having a responsibility can be taken to that kind of more conservative neoliberal idea of being a responsible citizen which means paying your taxes and doing your bit of charity work, but in a very kind of keeping the status quo or even making the status quo, yean making things a bit harder for poor people, like food banks you know, um, its great they exist but the real thing is why do they exist, I mean why is the need for them there, they exist because people see there's a need, but why? So yes help out, donate to a food bank, but also do something about why people, people on benefits getting sanctioned and so they need to use them or why people in paid work are needing to use them. Um, so yeah to me probably active [citizenship] means activist, but you can be seen as

an active citizen simply because you vote and you pay your taxes and you're a member of...some local residents group which is campaigning against the travellers having a place to camp safely. So I suppose it's kind of horses for courses, my idea is, it means you don't just sit there and have a moan, you try and make changes, you try and connect, you try to learn.

Anne, MPHI lecturer.

Conflicting understandings of citizenship

From the American material we can see that citizenship remains rooted in the relational and starts from a place of feeling valued and validated. This corresponds with the work of Lister (2003) who conceptualised feminist citizenship as socially and culturally embedded. She argued that self-development happens in the context of social relations and collectivity. Lister also described the "relational self" in the context of agency and citizenship (Gould, 1988, in Lister, 2003, p38). Loving and caring for others is an important aspect of how people describe their activities with FACE or Witnesses. We see a thread of shared humanity, particularly in the FACE group which is first and foremost a "caring" group. When Arthur's mother died many members of the group attended the funeral, sent him a care package when he ended up back in residential rehab. As a collective, the group wanted to reach out to him around the shared human experience of grief. To me this spoke very much to making space for love in the context of activism.

Linking to the narrative of the "loving citizen", we see strong discourses of the "good citizen", of being the citizen that "gives back" to the community. This is similar to the

concept of the "personally responsible citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). For people in the American context it appears that a good citizen is one that gives back. There are strong discourses of being a positive rather than a negative influence in the community, of second chances. I link this focus on the good citizen that gives back to the literature around generativity and positive psychology, which uncritically posit the benefits of "giving back" (Erikson, 1981; McAdams and Logan, 2004; McAdams, 2006; 2009). Also, there are strong motifs of the redemption narrative, or the redemptive self (Maruna and Ramsden, 2004; McAdam, 2006; Black and Rubenstein, 2009). We also see the motif of the repentant self, common in Twelve step program discourses (Maruna and Ramsden, 2004). In this context volunteerism is strong, reminiscent of the concept of active citizenship which is a core component of neoliberal citizenship. Active citizenship, central also to New Labour and conservative ideology in the UK, which emphasises more the duties and responsibilities to serve your community, rather than the rights of citizenship of marginalised citizens (Dean, 2002). Lister (1994) argued that in so doing citizenship was "privatised" and it amounted to an attack on welfare rights. (Lister, 1994, in Dean, 2004, p 16)

Throughout the U.S material there was the presence of normative, neoliberal discourses of citizenship and also discourses of "neo-recovery," (RITB, 2019) which appear to shape what counts as or what makes a good, valid or valuable citizen. Recovery in the Bin (RITB), a survivor-led critical theory collective, argue that recovery as it is operationalised in current policy and practice has become a handmaiden of neoliberalism (Rose, 2019). They say that neoliberal values of individualism, welfare cuts and greater individual responsibility reflect attitudes or values prevalent in society today such as "deservingness, obligation and choice" while

“downplaying others” such as “solidarity and community” (RITB, 2019,). RITB argue that positive psychology or “compulsory positivity” is at the heart of neo-recovery and this is seen in many of its conceptual frameworks such as CHIME which stands for “connectedness, hope, identity, meaning, empowerment” (Leany et al., 2011, in RITB, 2019). Recovery is underpinned by individualised psychological, educational and behaviour change theories. This therefore suggests that recovery as operationalised as neo-recovery and the discourse of neo-recovery contributes to individualising and relentlessly positive or redemptive narrative discourses as were. RITB also point to the power relations of neo-recovery, as distinct from grassroots recovery or recovery as conceptualised originally. Originally recovery was a service user led movement, however now it is mainly led and controlled by professionals. Peer roles are created within this system, but these roles often do not have equal power status or influence. Research too is impacted by neo-recovery, as it continues to be predominantly controlled by professionals “using their language and measurements” (RITB, 2019).

FACE emerges as an important part of people’s “recovery”, people begin to feel that they “are someone” or as Elizabeth described, “I got myself clean and clear…you know, I could be acceptable”. People describe wanting to “make a difference,” and highlight the feel-good benefits of giving back and altruism. By being involved with Citizen’s and FACE people no longer feel like they are in the margins, “the shadows” or “drowning in the water”, they feel more like normal “tax-paying, voter citizens.” This was by far the strongest discourse, the discourse of becoming a “personally responsible citizen” (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). However, as people began to engage with forms of activism and collective action, particularly through contact with the campaigning group Witnesses to Hunger there began to be evidence of more

collective and critical understandings to be found. Through this we can see that the discourse is shifting away from an entirely individualistic understanding of citizenship, perhaps even towards the "justice oriented citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). Citizenship began to be correlated with and articulated as action, taking action. It appears that Citizen's was very much about an interpersonal learning experience and FACE is about putting that learning into action, so the motif of a journey comes through, the importance of the foundational work at an interpersonal level that happens at Citizens Project where people are validated and begin to feel that they have value. As people make the transition to FACE, this desire to act, to take collective action leads to people beginning to see themselves as agents of change and activists. People describe being more connected to issues going on a community level, and as Marissa said asking what action can I take, or "*what can I* do *about this as a citizen*?"

A form of social movement learning (Kilgore, 1999; Hall and Clover, 2005) is happening when people move from FACE to *Witnesses*. People are learning from being at *Witnesses* meetings and campaign strategy about how the political system works and how to run a campaign. People are also learning from taking part in collective action, learning to speak up and that their voice and experiences matter. This ties in with theories of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2004) and shows the potential for this form of social movement learning to facilitate epistemic justice, challenging epistemic violence and injustice. Actions such as the rally on the Green were significant for people, a powerful space to have a voice, to feel powerful in your own voice and that others need to hear what you are saying. Several people also referred to the experience of speaking to politicians' face to face, speaking to the distance and disconnect that people in America described in relation to formal politics and

politicians. Adele thought of politicians in the same way as TV or movie stars, as a fantasy, she felt "*honoured*" and "*superior*" to meet with them (I think it should be the other way around). A general mistrust and disconnect was articulated with formal politics and politicians, suggesting that real change comes from below, from the community. Miranda believed in the universality of "the citizen", that it doesn't matter if you are "*Black, white, mental-health or non-mental health, substance abuser, homeless or non-homeless*", "*a citizen is just a citizen*," Adele however articulated more critical views of the reality of being a United States citizen, the citizen that is supposed to have everything, that "*fits in*". But as Adele argues, "*if I don't have education, or I don't have medical insurance, or I don't have housing… I'm no United States citizen. If I'm not eating, I don't belong, I don't feel like I'm no citizen*". Adele therefore began to problematise the notion of the ideal neoliberal citizen, the citizen of the American Dream.

In Scotland, the term citizenship was uncomfortable for people, odd. There was a suspicion of the intention behind it because of how the concept has been used in public policy and political ideology historically. Also, people were acutely conscious of the current political and social backdrop, where Scotland and the UK have experienced twelve years of UK government austerity policies and an increasingly hostile environment for disabled people as well as racialised people. Overall people expressed a concern that citizenship could be another "rod for people's backs" and weaponised against mad and disabled people. That it was "de-fanged", a-political and about fitting people back into a broken system rather than transforming the status quo. People worried it was about forcing people to conform to normative understandings of what being a citizen means. Similar to concerns that activists have about recovery,

citizenship in a neoliberal climate is therefore correlated with individualism, with creating economically viable citizens, about volunteerism, “giving back” and ultimately getting back into paid employment. People’s value is therefore tied to their economic status, rather than any essential, intrinsic human value. There is pressure therefore to be a “good” recovered or recovering mentally ill citizen. Therefore, people in Scotland were thinking critically about the concept of the “personally responsible citizen” and for them the ideal citizen would be the “justice-oriented citizen” (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). This narrative of critique is in sharp contrast to the narratives of citizenship which emerged in the American setting, although through people’s involvement with Witnesses to Hunger there are signs of shift being described towards more “justice oriented” citizenship.

For those in Scotland citizenship was only a comfortable term when it was linked to collectivist and radical reinterpretation. Terms such as “responsibility” and “giving back” were disrupted and problematised, someone argued they fed off individual shame and guilt. Citizenship was correlated with having a voice, speaking out, activism and collective action. Citizenship is equated with agency. In Scotland people emphasised the role of developing collective or political agency (Lister, 2004) through the process of social movement learning (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999). Some people though spoke to the power of citizenship as a way of demanding equality, that “*we are all citizens*” and entitled to be treated with dignity and respect. Asking, how is it possible to gain citizenship or equality for everyone, not just for the “*personally responsible citizens*” with “*2.4 children, two cars and a tumble dryer*?” Others spoke to the MPHI course as an enabler of citizenship as voice or agency, through the collective identity and collective agency (Lister, 2004) experienced and gained in that

space. This connected to the role of social movement learning (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999, Scandrett et al., 2010, Rule, 2011) in generating collective or political agency and addressing epistemic justice (Fricker, 2004). Lastly there was reference to the connections between citizenship and rights, how it is a vehicle to claim rights and open up debate about what people's rights are. This connected with references to the role of educational spaces such as MPHI in generating critical debate about what rights means for people in the context of their lives. Also, it is significant that this pedagogical space was informed by critical pedagogy and Mad Studies.

Conclusion

Overall, we can see two approaches and indeed two countries that are indeed very different and very difficult to compare. This study did not set out to prioritise a comparative element, rather it sought to centre people's lived experience perspectives from the two settings to understand more deeply issues of citizenship, mental health and education. We can see that each setting has a very specific social, political and ideological context, and it is clear that the backdrop in which the pedagogical approaches are played out has an impact on the trajectory of citizenship that emerges or how the people in this study perceive of themselves as citizens. I shall move on in the next chapter to discuss the findings of the study in more detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Discussion

Introduction

In this chapter I aim to synthesise the main findings of this study and comment on how they contribute to understandings of the intersections between citizenship, mental health, and education. As previously mentioned, social movement learning has emerged as a useful theoretical framework and analytical lens (Kilgore, 1999; Foley, 1999; Hall and Clover 2005; Hall 2006; 2009). I therefore aim to illustrate how the findings of my study help illuminate the power of social movement learning to build collective agency in a mental health context. Four main discussion points shall be highlighted in this chapter. Firstly, the role of the relational, of validation and love in developing collective or political agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004) is explored. Secondly the concept of validation shall be extended beyond the purely relational to demonstrate how it relates to social movement learning and epistemic justice (Fricker, 2004). This includes the role of "hermeneutic resources" (Newbigging and Ridley, 2018) or tools such as the "the narrative imagination" (Shaw and Martin 2005), historical and social movement curriculum content and the impact of these on development of collective agency. By doing so I situate epistemic justice as an outcome of social movement learning, thereby making a significant contribution to theorising in this area.

Thirdly, I shall examine the different processes or models of social movement learning within the two settings in more detail through exploring the power of educational spaces. Fourth, the contrasting journeys towards increased agency that emerged in each setting shall be explored; the prevalence of the generativity (Erkison, 1964;

McAdam, 2006; 2009) and redemption narrative (Maruna and Ramsden, 2004; Black and Rubenstein, 2009) within the American journey contrasted with a path towards critical thinking or conscientization (Freire, 1995) within the Scottish narrative arc. Impacts on identity construction are also considered within this. Lastly, I explore how the contrasting and conflicting articulations of citizenship disrupt, or "bump up against" (Landry and Church, 2016) each other, with a particular focus on the narrative of the "personally responsible citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004) which emerged strongly within the American material but was critiqued in the Scottish. Within this I shall explore recent writing in both the citizenship and Mad Studies field with a view to situating my own study within these two bodies of literature. By doing so I aim to develop a unique contribution to knowledge, which shall be outlined further in the conclusion of the thesis.

1. The loved citizen

In the findings of this study the relational, human connection and the development of collective identity were of central importance. It was from here, from that position of the relational that people began to believe that they matter as human beings, their voice matters, their opinions and what they have to say matter. This was particularly the case in the US, where arguably people had experienced the most extreme forms of marginalisation and disenfranchisement. This process of experiencing validation can be compared to what Kilgore (1999) termed "worthiness", a feeling "of worth". People came to the realisation through these group experiences that "I am not alone", that there were people in these spaces that cared, and this was life changing for some people. Also, there were recurrent references to a loving and caring space. This was

very significant in the way people talked about the Citizen's Project, particularly the deep significance of the relationships with the director and peer specialist worker which were consistently recurrent and compared to surrogate family. People in Scotland also referred to the importance of the social relationships, friendships, and connections they made as a key part of their experience too. This was related in particular to the importance of being in a group made up of others with experience of mental health issues, so the existence of a "claimed space" (Gaventa, 2006, p22) and how this contributed to validation or "worthiness". People gained a sense of connection and solidarity from being with others who understood, who may have come from very different backgrounds or standpoints but with whom a lot was shared. People therefore articulated the sense of realising "I am not alone" in relation to connection to being in the same room with others who have experience of mental health issues. People also gained solidarity with the narratives of first-hand experience included in the teaching and curriculum, so the importance of narratives was highlighted in the Scottish material and shall be explored in more detail later in this chapter. People also connected with the social movement content of the curriculum and found solidarity, collective identity and "power with" in that relationship. Validation in the Scottish context was also tied to notions of epistemic justice, for example the fact that the course and the knowledge within it was being taught in a university. This development of a collective identity can also be linked with notions of a collective self (Sedikides et al., 2013) which I shall explore in more detail next.

The collective self

Sedikides et al. (2013) proposed a tripartite model of the self-system, composed of the "individual" self, the "relational" self, and the "collective" self. The individual self

refers to the subjective uniqueness of a person, the characteristics, traits, behaviours that differentiate one person from another person. The relational self refers to the dyadic bonds or attachments shared with others and the collective self to the membership, similarity, and identification with valued social groups. Within the concept of the collective self, characteristics are shared with "ingroup" members and help define roles within the group. Such characteristics differentiate the "ingroup" from "outgroups" (Sedikedes et al., 2013, p 237). This demonstrates the social nature of the self and that all three components are vital to identity construction. Sedikides et al. revealed a hierarchical relationship between the three selves, with the individual self at the top and being the major motivational driver, followed closely by the relational self and more distantly by the collective self. This tripartite self-system can also be compared to theories of collective identity which have been previously introduced and speak to the social and relational. An increased sense of social connectedness emerged in both the settings of this study; people consistently articulated they felt less alone. There was an increased sense of "we-ness" (Snow, 2001, in Flesher Fominya, 2010) that was experienced, reaching beyond the individual self, connecting with the relational self as people made social connections with others. As people joined together to take community based collective action as part of FACE or *Witnesses* in the U.S or felt a connection to a Mad or Mad Studies movement in Scotland, evidence of the collective self-emerged strongly in this study. These concepts of "we-ness" and the collective self-link also to notions of collective identity.

Collective identity

Flesher Fominaya (2010), drawing on the work of Melucci (1989), argued collective identity was articulated through cognitive definitions about shared goals and forms of

action. Collective identity, was, as previously mentioned given a shared language through certain rituals and practices and also cultural artefacts (Flesher Fominaya, 2010 p395). Gamson (1991) also drew on the work of Melucci (1989) and argued that collective identity construction was a process where the "we" of collective action is elaborated on and given meaning. Gamson asserted that some groups made this a reflexive process, building the searching question of "who are we?" into the inner dialogue of the group. This was certainly the case with the FACE group, who continually had conversations around the focus and purpose of the group.

Gamson argued that there were three embedded layers of collective identity, organisational, movement and solidarity. Organisational collective identity is built around individual "movement carriers" (Gamson, 1991, p 40) that people identify with, the broader movement layer is wider than any one person and then the broader still solidarity level of identity speaks to collective identity formed around shared social locations such as workers or black women. Gamson's work drew on his own movement activity with teach-in protests about the war in Vietnam. These teach-ins were based on the Freedom Schools of the civil rights movement, where usual teaching was suspended in favour of learning about Black history or the struggle for civil rights in the South. One of his main claims is that the locus of collective identity is socio-cultural and not limited to the individual identity or self. As such the language of collective identity is expressed publicly, mirroring what Fominaya (2010) said about the language of collective identity as well as the work of Taylor and Van Dyke (2004) who spoke to the role of public protest or other publicly performed acts of citizenship (Isin, 2002) in the fostering of collective identity. Social movements then, according to Gamson, are tasked with bridging these individual and socio-cultural levels.

Gamson asserts that this bridging happens by the enlargement of the personal identity "to include the relevant collective identities as part of their definition of self" (Gamson, 1991, p 41). This is very significant, and I believe this bridging or merging of the personal identity to include aspect of a collective identity was very much what people described as experiencing on the MPHI course. Also, there is evidence of this starting to happen as people joined the FACE group and *Witnesses* in the U.S setting. "Movement carriers" were evident in the U.S, particularly the strong Black women leaders of *Witnesses*. They were also seen in Scotland, where movement leaders were involved in teaching on the course. We can also see evidence of the "language" of collective identity within the MPHI curriculum which includes examples of activism and resistance throughout history. A language of collective identity was also expressed publicly when people joined "acts of citizenship" (Isin and Neilson, 2008) such as rallies or protests with Witnesses. As people expressed or articulated a sense of collective identity it was also apparent that layers of movement and solidarity were very strong in the Scottish setting and emerging in the U.S setting.

It is apparent therefore, the most powerful and enduring collective identities are those where the levels of organisational, movement and solidarity become integrated into a participant's sense of individual self. In this study there is evidence that the enlargement of personal identity is a fundamental part of how people describe their experience in both settings. This happens through connections with others in the group, the development of social relationships and the experience of being validated and cared for. Personal identity construction can be extended beyond the purely psychological or cognitive boundaries of identity theory, when placed within an analysis of power as in the work of Veneklasen and Miller (2002, in Gaventa, 2006) which I have drawn on

throughout. Ideas of identity construction within social movement learning shall now be explored in the context of my findings.

Identity construction and social movement learning

Identity construction is an important component of adult education and social movement learning theorising. Kilgore (1999) agued there were individual and group components of collective or social movement learning. On an individual level, and argued above, she highlighted the concept of "worthiness", which I compared to the theme of "validation" that emerged so strongly in this study. Examples of validation emerging in my analysis included people describing vividly the caring and validating nature of the Citizen's Project space in the U.S context. In Scotland people described the fact that the course was situated in a university, that the knowledge of lived experience was being taught in that setting, was validating. Kilgore also asserted that the individual components of the learning process included identity, consciousness, sense of agency and connectedness, all reflecting the centrality of identity, agency and the relational within this form of learning. At a group level Kilgore referenced the importance of collective identity, of group consciousness, solidarity, and organisation. All of which resonate strongly with my findings where strong themes of collective identity and solidarity emerged. Rule (2011) described a process of "learning to be" in his writing on social movement learning and the cross learning between different movements. Learning to "be" is very much concerned with identity construction. Cox (2018) talked about an educational process of "collective self-creation" within movements (Cox, 2018, p 10) which meets a very powerful human need to remake and find ourselves anew. Cox argues that under capitalism we are alienated and there is an urgent human need for reconnection, that there is value in "asking real questions about

the situation we are in, whose interests it serves and what it might take to change it" (Cox, 2018, p 13). Similar in many ways to the aims of a Mad Studies perspective as previously set out in the literature review chapter: "for to study madness is to probe at the very foundations of our claims to be human" (Le Francois et al., 2013, p21).

A development of collective identity therefore strengthens individual identity and this leads in turn to an increase in both personal and collective agency. Freire (1995) spoke of the power of education in this process of developing collective agency, or critical consciousness and I believe the findings of this study speak to this also. Freire believed that education can "give voice to the voiceless and destroys the culture of silence that helps maintain their oppression" (Gamson, 1991, p 44). Critical pedagogy, spaces like MPHI, and the new pedagogical space opening up in the U.S context to offer students an opportunity to understand their experience in socio-political terms and begin to realise and actualise their capacity to act on and transform that reality. This akin to the Freirean process of conscientization (Freire, 1995), a reflexive and dialogical process of coming to know oneself as an agent of change (Gamson, 1991, p 45). Pedagogy, according to Freire, is entirely relational, echoing the findings of my own study. Students and teachers are constructed in relationship to their social and historical contexts and the very nature of the educational relationship is dynamic and dialogical. Pedagogy as a relational process is situated within a "profound love for the world and for people" (Freire, 1995, p 70). Conscientization or political consciousness (Freire, 1973), an ability to understand on socio-historical terms the conditions of our lives he termed "naming the world" and this is "an act of creation and recreation…not possible if it is not infused with love. Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and

dialogue itself" (Freire, 1995, p 70). Love emerged as a strong theme in my own work and I shall now move on to explore this in more depth.

Love

Overall, this study points to the importance of love and the relational, of respectful, validating, and loving relationships in fostering personal and political agency. Also, the importance of love in an educational and social movement context. With love emerging as a central theme in this study, this somehow highlights and holds a mirror to a lack of love within the mental health system. It exposes a system increasingly beset with risk aversion, a dehumanising culture of power imbalances, enforced professional boundaries and bureaucracy. This raises poignant and significant questions about the place of love in our systems of care.

Writing in a special issue looking at love within the care system, Thrana (2016) draws on the work of Honneth (1995) on recognition, which has also been influential in the development of citizenship and mental health theory (Rowe, 2015; Stewart et al. 2017). Honneth's theory includes love as a form of recognition, one that is foundational he argues for humans to participate in any form of public life, "the experience of being loved is for any entity a necessary prerequisite in public life" (Honneth, 1995, pp 47 – 48, in Thrana, 2016, p 75). This focus on love though, has not so far been emphasised in the literature to my knowledge. Recently the Scottish Care Review has placed love at the heart of their process, including the establishment of a "Love Work Group" as part of the review process to look at what love means for young people in care (Scottish Care Review, 2019). Child advocacy campaigners including Kenny Murray, who is care experienced and the director of the charity "Who Cares?"

have long argued for a care system based on “love” (Big Issue, June 2019). Hamer (2012) also states that the mental health system has become risk averse at the expense of therapeutic relationships. Considering this, perhaps it is time to critically reflect on the role of love and caring, of humanistic relationships within the mental health system.

Freire spoke passionately of the need for humanizing relationships and love in an educational sense. At the heart of his pedagogy is a deep exploration of what it means to be a critically engaged citizen and a human being. As Darder (1998) argues, Freire’s idea of love was not an insipid, soppy or romantic notion of love, or inspired by a false form of generosity, rather it was an “armed love”, “the fighting love of those convinced of the right and duty to fight, to denounce, to announce” (Darder, 1998, p41). This reminded me of some of the participants in Scotland who talked in this study of more radical notions of love, self and collective care within social movements. Witnessing love in the context of activism during my time the U.S. also made me think about the importance and role of love in the context of the Mad Studies movement.

Freire believed in the revolutionary power of teaching and education and called it an act of love, “love is an act of courage, not fear…a commitment to others and to the cause of liberation” (Freire, 1970, p78, in Darder, 1998, p40). This also points to the hope offered by this form of pedagogy, that these spaces offer a praxis of hope in times of fatalism and desperation, such as those we are living in now (Darder, 1998). Darder also tells us that in the context of neoliberal capitalism ideological forces set out to undermine and delegitimise collective action and voice, education and critical pedagogy in particular can “reignite and reanimate the political self”, provoking self

and collective determination to speak out against dehumanization and injustice and "restore our inalienable right to full exercise of citizenship" (Darder, 1998, p 34).

Agency and the relational

One of the key themes that has emerged as central in this study is the role of the relational and I argue that for the people in this study, feeling valued or validated as a human is a key factor in the development and enhancement of agency. This was evident in both settings, and particularly strong in the U.S. The findings of this study strongly resonate with the theoretical contributions of Lister (2003; 2004; 2015) and Gaventa, (2006) which I drew on in my literature review, correlating with a conceptualisation of citizenship as agency. My work highlights the importance of social movement learning in developing agency; that is people's capacity to see themselves as political actors or activist citizens. In my literature review I also drew on the work of Parker (2004) who wrote from a disability studies perspective and argued that agency for disabled (or Mad) people is not a given. Agency then and the fight for agency is at the heart of the struggle for equal citizenship or a just society for Mad and disabled people.

Agency is a sociological concept which refers to an individual's ability to act and have an impact on society. A dialectic between the individual and society, agency and structure (Giddens, 1984) is at the centre of debates about agency. Taylor (2011) spoke to the collective and relational nature of agency, "the capacity to act is not simply an individual resource, but it is contextual and depends on the ability to mobilise self in the context of and with others – it is relational" (Taylor, 2011, in Lister, 2015, p146).

Lister (2003) situated human agency at the centre of her theorising of feminist citizenship and developed a taxonomy of agency in her work around poverty. This taxonomy offered a framework to understand the actions performed by people living in poverty ranging from individual, micro acts of survival, to personal – strategic strategies, everyday acts of resistance and including collective forms of resistance, advocacy and political action. This trajectory offered helpful insight into the experiences of the participants in this research. I suggest, in the U.S context are moving from "getting by" or individual acts of personal survival, towards "getting organised" or enacting collective political action through their membership of FACE and even more so through engagement with activist group *Witnesses* (Lister, 2015, p 146) and mediated through a process of social movement learning (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999; Hall, 2006; Hall, 2009).

In Scotland there was evidence that MPHI was a collective form of resistance in itself. Participants in Scotland described their experience very much from the place of "getting organised." Lister argues that valuing the agency and knowledge of people in poverty itself acts as a "counter narrative". This resonated very strongly for me with ideas around epistemic justice which was originally conceptualised by Fricker (2003; 2007), of valuing the lived, experiential knowledge of people including people living with or in poverty (and/or who have experience of mental health issues) who are often discredited as knowers. I shall explore this connection in more detail subsequently.

Bandura (2000) also theorised human agency, arguing that in social cognitive theory there are three forms of agency, personal, proxy and collective. Most research focuses on personal agency, the cognitive, affective and motivational aspects of how personal

agency is operationalised or exercised. Bandura recognises that people do not live entirely autonomous lives and often have to work together to achieve the outcomes they desire. Collective agency then refers to the "shared belief" that people have in their "collective power" (Bandura, 2000, p 76) to get results through interdependent, collectivist means. Politically there is, therefore, a dualism between people who trust in government systems and those who do not. This level of trust impacts on the kind of collective or political action that people take, with those who believe they can achieve change through "collective voice" and have trust in elected officials or government systems participating in mainstream political activities. Those who believe in social change through collective action, but do not have the same level of trust in government systems, will engage in more confrontative or combative tactics outside traditional political channels. This was demonstrated in the U.S setting of my research, where people displayed a strong suspicion of formal politics and politicians.

However, through engagement with *Witnesses* and in turn with social movement learning, people in the U.S context appeared to be becoming more aware of the power of "collective voice" and developing a sense of shared belief that they could act together with others to take collective action. In Scotland, my findings demonstrated that the Mad Studies curriculum was informed by collective agency and the collective voice inherent in the history of the mental health service user movement. There is evidence that through engaging with the MPHI curriculum and wider experience that participants themselves developed an increased sense of collective agency. Agency therefore is a key concept in the context of this study, particularly the fundamental role of the relational in developing collective agency.

2. “You cannot be a silent person”: validation, social movement learning and epistemic justice.

In this section I intend to build on the above discussion which situated the important role of the relational and validation in building collective agency. I shall now focus on the power of this process, the power of social movement learning, to challenge epistemic injustice. Epistemic injustice as presented by Fricker (2007) is conceptualised in two forms that are of much relevance to the findings of this study. Firstly, testimonial injustice refers to how a speaker is undermined in their capacity as a “giver of knowledge”. It occurs when the person listening is prejudiced against the person speaking, because of their identity or social positioning, for example because they have a criminal record, are homeless or have been detained in a psychiatric hospital. Because of this prejudice the listener or “hearer” affords less credibility or value to the speaker and in so doing wrongs them in their “capacity as a giver of knowledge” (Fricker, 2007, p 1 and p 7). This experience of not being believed, feeling invalidated or dismissed as a knower even within the context of one’s own life, is a very common experience for people with experience of mental health issues (see for example, Sanati and Kyratsous, 2015; Crichton, Kidd and Carel, 2017; Kurs and Grirshpoon, 2018, Grim et al. 2019) which was evidenced in my findings. This may contribute to why it emerged as so significant for people in this research to build up a sense of inner validation, to move away from a place of feeling isolated and invalidated to a place of believing that they mattered as people and that their ideas and knowledge have value. This in many ways is an interpersonal and relational process, involving engaging with positive social relationships, but it is also an epistemological process. This process was demonstrated in my study as people began to value not only

themselves as people, but their knowledge, their first-hand experience and standpoint. In Scotland participants repeatedly described the invalidating and pathologizing experience of being diagnosed or treated under the mental health system and their frustrated attempts to make sense of their identity from that positionality. For several people it was a real "gasp moment" to realise that there were different ways to look at mental health other than from a purely a bio-medical model perspective. There was a sense of liberation for some when people began to realise that they did not have to just define themselves in terms of their psychiatric diagnosis. It was through entering a Mad Studies pedagogical space that students came to this realisation.

Fricker's (2007) second form of epistemic injustice is called "hermeneutic injustice". This is conceptualised as a step before testimonial injustice, so almost a constant undertow to the acts of testimonial injustice happening at a dyadic level between individuals. Hermeneutic injustice is when someone is "wronged in capacity as a subject of social understanding." (Fricker, 2007, p7) It is when a "gap in collective interpretative resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences." (Fricker, 2007, p1). Fricker argues that through using these forms of epistemic injustice as a lens to understand everyday epistemic practices such as how we transfer and convey knowledge to others, whose knowledge is seen as legitimate and, of fundamental importance to this research, how people make sense of and understand their own, personal and collective "social experiences" (Fricker, 2007, p2).

By analysing epistemic practices, we can also reveal how power operates in society. As Fricker writes it is no accident that certain groups in society experience greater

hermeneutic injustice than others, epistemic injustice reflects wider structural inequities. Certain social groups are more “hermeneutically marginalised” than others and according to Fricker “participate unequally in the practices through which social meanings are generated”. (Fricker, 2007, p 6). As such the experiences and realities of groups, in the context of this study people with mental health issues, are left “inadequately conceptualised” and as a result misunderstood. Fricker refers to a “collective hermeneutic gap” which prevents a social group from fully understanding their social experience, which is of course “strongly in their interests to render intelligible” (Fricker, 2007, p 6).

Lastly it is important and important in the context of this study, that we link issues of epistemic injustice to activism and political or collective action. Fricker acknowledged epistemic injustice needs to be tackled at a collective level, arguing that “eradicating these injustices would ultimately take not just more virtuous hearers but collective, political change”. (Fricker, 2007, p8). As such Fricker situates the ethics of epistemic practices as political. I therefore argue in the context of this study that through processes of social movement learning, the “collective hermeneutic gap” is being decreased. Through social movement learning students value themselves as knowers, as holders and givers of knowledge. At a collective level, through the development of collective and political agency, by engaging in social movement learning people are learning to “render intelligible” their social experiences.

Epistemic injustice and mental health

Mental health service users as individuals and as a movement have developed a substantial body of knowledge and theory, which is largely de-valued as compared to

knowledge created in academic settings and mainstream mental health research (Beresford, 2000; 2016). This connects to issues of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007), extended to explore issues of the subjugation and degeneration of mad people's knowledge within dominant "psy" discourses which serves as a threat to the citizenship and humanity of people with mental health issues (LeBlanc and Kinsella, 2016).

Carel and Kidd (2014) expanded Fricker's original theory to the healthcare and illness sector. Carver, et al. (2017) used the concept of epistemic justice and applied it to the experience of crime victims who also have experience of mental and emotional distress. They describe the struggle faced by people with mental health issues to be seen as full citizens, that they have "social identities bound to historical, customary and ongoing stereotyping, discrimination and prejudice" (Carver et al., 2017, p54). Carver et al. (2017) also employed the useful term "hermeneutic breakthrough" which provided me with a useful framework to understand the "lightbulb" or "gasp" moments described by people I interviewed in Scotland. Carver et al. (2017) introduced this concept of "hermeneutic breakthrough" by describing the history of the hearing voices network, where a client of one of its founders described "her own experience of hearing voices as an understandable consequence of social and political disadvantage" (Carver et al., 2017, p 56).

Sanati and Kyratsous (2015, p 481 in Kurs and Grinshpoon, 2017, p 341) researched epistemic injustice in the treatment of people deemed to have "delusions" (a medicalised term to describe what others would call hearing voices, visual or auditory hallucinations). They argue that being given a psychiatric diagnosis colours *all* aspects of a person's life, even how people view and understand themsleves. In terms of what

is called “epistemic privilege”, or whose knowledge is privileged or held in high esteem, psychiatrists and other “Psy” professionals continue to be deemed the most authoritative due to their training and perceived expert medical knowledge. As such the psychiatric standpoint is viewed as epistemologically privileged and therefore the most authoritative (Wardrope, 2015, in Kurs and Grinshpoon, 2017, p 341) with lived experience marginalised and viewed as anecdotal, unscientific, and unreliable. Mad Studies, of course, sets out to challenge this injustice.

Kurs and Grinshpoon (2017) explored epistemic justice for people with mental health “disorders” both within clinical settings or therapeutic relationships and within social domains, linking epistemic justice with citizenship. Kurs and Grinshpoon (2017) argue that although people with mental health issues have the status of full legal citizenship, because of issues of epistemic injustice, of stereotyping, othering or labelling this group is consistently wronged in their epistemic capacity, their trustworthiness and insight called into question. (Kurs and Grinshpoon, 2017, p 343) Silencing or epistemic violence are also terms that are useful here, where people with mental health issues are denied the opportunity to be epistemic agents and treated as “non-knowers” (Hookway, 2010, Dotson, 2012). This experience of epistemic violence, of being silenced and invisible, was articulated many times by people in this study, strongly in the Scottish setting but also by people in the U.S. Newbigging and Ridley (2018) speak of to the impacts of epistemic violence on levels of isolation and personal identity, which they equate to being rendered invisible, almost to the point of erasure of existence. (Newbigging and Ridley, 2018, p 37).

Social movements and epistemic justice

Findings from this study indicate that social movements, and their histories, have a role to play in combatting epistemic injustice. As a movement, mental health service users, survivors or Mad people have always foregrounded lived experience and first-hand narratives to counter the hegemonic dominance of psychiatry. By privileging experiential, affective or "lived experience" ways of knowing, the service user or survivor movement aims to develop an alternative ontological and epistemological basis for the understanding of mental distress (Newbigging and Riley, 2018, p 36). Mad Studies pedagogies, such as MPHI, which are led by movement actors and centre social movement knowledge, utilise the same strategies.

Newbigging and Riley (2018) carried out a large-scale mixed methods study into the impact of independent advocacy in England. Their findings demonstrated that individual advocacy (one to one advocacy, often within hospital settings) was effective at addressing testimonial injustice, with the advocate being able to act as an "epistemic witness" and secure the epistemic agency of their advocacy partner. However, it was recognised that individual advocacy was unable to have an impact on hermeneutic injustice. Newbigging and Riley assert that to do this people need to be enabled "to reclaim or develop a different understanding of their experience" (Newbigging and Riley, 2018 p 42). Advocacy, they argue needs to be help people access *alterative resources* to re-conceptualise and make sense of their experience and this represents a fundamental challenge to the dominant biomedical discourse. This process requires a more in depth approach than one which looks to strengthen the service user "voice and representation" and the need for alternatives is most urgent for those most marginalised by their experiences of the mental health system (Newbigging and Ridley, 2018, p 42).

Newbigging and Ridley's work in this area helped consolidate my understanding of the findings of this study, particularly the power of social movement learning to offer such "alternative" frames of understanding.

I argue that the social movement learning evident within MPHI and that is emerging in the American context as people enter into the informal learning space of *Witnesses*, has a valuable role to play in addressing issues of epistemic and hermeneutic injustice. In the findings of this study the experience of those involved with the MPHI critical pedagogy project speak very strongly to this. Findings demonstrated that the course offered people alternative ways and frameworks to make sense of their experiences in different ways rather than through the hegemonic biomedical lens, for example through introducing students to counterhegemonic and sociological understandings of mental illness. This demonstrates that Mad Studies pedagogies offer the deeper, hermeneutic tools required to think about personal, subjective experiences in socio-political ways. Similarly, people entering the more activist and collective space of *Witnesses* start engaging with issues at a more systemic or structural level. An example of this was when *Witnesses* members attended anti-racist activism training or join *Black Lives Matter* rallies. These experiences offer hermeneutic tools for people to begin to reconceptualise their experience, perhaps in time leading participants in the U.S to shift blame for perceived wrong doings from self to society. I shall now move on to situate the two settings in this study as social movement learning and explore the role of social movement learning in challenging hermeneutic injustice.

3. “I am entitled to have a voice”: Power of educational spaces and social movement learning.

Social movement learning

My findings demonstrate that both MPHI in Scotland and elements of the citizenship work in the U.S (namely the pedagogical space of *Witnesses*) are examples of social movement learning. MPHI is a Mad Studies project and endeavour, a course which aims to disrupt hegemonic understandings of mental illness and centre first-hand experience with the intention of opening a claimed space where people silenced, discredited and shamed as knowers and bearers of knowledge can have a voice. As such MPHI is itself a subversive, activist act which attempts to address issues of epistemic, testimonial and hermeneutic injustice.

By being in a space where dominant ideologies are destabilised and decentred, a curriculum born of social movement and social movement learning, students encounter alternative ways of making sense of their experiences in a non-medical paradigm which stimulates a journey towards increased personal and political agency. Also, the traditional binary between teacher as expert and student as empty receptacle is dismantled as the pedagogical dynamic is dialogical and focuses on learning for critical consciousness or conscientization, which is a cyclical process of reflection and action. Also significant is that the teachers are social movement actors, so the epistemic standpoint of the teaching is grounded in collectivist and political understandings of mental health. It is clear then that MPHI is an example of the intentional social movement learning described for example by Kilgore (1999), Hall and Clover (2005) and Hall, (2006; 2009).

Using this as a lens and from the findings of my research I have also been able to identity a new form of social movement learning emerging in the American context. As people moved into *Witnesses*, we can see evidence of a new space opening within the citizenship work, one which is distinct and separate from the mental health system. As people enter this space they are beginning to learn in action and through action. *Witnesses* is an explicitly political activist group, focused on collective action on the systemic issues of food poverty. I believe what is emerging is an exciting form of social movement learning which is not explicit or intentional but rather situated and happening in movement, in the struggle (Foley, 1999; Hall, 2009; Cox, 2018) as people begin to take action collectively through FACE and then take part in activism with *Witnesses*. Kim (2011), writing about characteristics of learning in social movements in an environmental activism context, argues that this form of informal learning is passionate, self-directed, and self-rewarding, more so than other forms of learning. Echoing Welton (1995) my study therefore demonstrates the power of collective emancipation and transformation and of social movements as powerful learning sites.

It can be argued that the social movement learning happening in the collective spaces opening up within the citizenship work in the US, as well as having links with popular education (Crowther et al. 1999). is also form of public pedagogy (Sandlin et al., 2010) or learning the occurs out-with formal educational institutions, in public spaces such as social movements. Public pedagogy draws on the work of Dewey (1916, in Sandlin, 2010) around education and democracy, who considered schools as incubators for a critical citizenry, as spaces where citizens, citizenship and therefore nations are produced. Eyerman and Jamieson (1994) referred to social movements as "temporary public spaces…moments of collective creation that provide society with ideas,

identities and even ideals (Eyerman and Jamieson, 1994, in Bate et al, 2004 p 10). This idea of a temporary public space and moments of collective creation fit well with new public and educational spaces opening up in the journeys people are taking between the Citizen's Project, FACE and *Witnesses*. These spaces are spaces in formation, they are spaces which are "becoming", not yet fixed or formed. The spaces are collective and connecting, founded on interpersonal relationships and affective ties, offering up ideals of mutual support and solidarity in an increasingly dangerous, unpredictable world. As Cox (2018) argues, social movements problematise the ways in which we lead our lives, what we hold dear and as such social movement learning can play an important role in political consciousness raising and probing into what it means to be human.

Social movement learning, counterhegemony and hermeneutic tools

A key finding from this research therefore has been the ways in which educational spaces, in particular those associated with social movement learning, can help connect individual, subjective experiences to the wider structural or socio-economic context and as such offer the hermeneutic resources people require to reframe their experiences. In Scotland, one of the most significant findings was that being on the MPHI course and encountering counter hegemonic understandings of "mental illness" (Landry and Church, 2016) enabled people to begin to question, not only their own identity, but also to think more critically and ask critical questions of the dominant mental health discourse. This focus on counter-hegemony and a decentring of the dominant bio-medical model happened in range of ways. Firstly, the privileging of first-hand narratives and counter narratives that derive from lived experience. Also, significant though was that the curriculum acknowledged and privileged not only the

narratives of individuals or the individual perspective, but rather knowledge and theorising generated from the collective or service user/survivor movement was placed at the centre of the curriculum. So, the course is explicitly situated within a social movement context. I would argue that this addresses issues of epistemic injustice through the decentring of the dominant narrative of psychiatric knowledge and the bio-medical model of mental health. People in Scotland also talked about how validating it was to be attending a university course in a university building, about the validation that came from this knowledge, from mad people's history, being valued within such a setting. This suggests the MPHI course itself is seen as an act of epistemic justice.

Extending the sociological imagination – the role of the "narrative imagination" in the MPHI curriculum

I linked the importance of first-hand accounts and narratives to the concept of the "narrative imagination", an extension of the sociological imagination (Shaw and Martin, 2005) in the Scottish context. People taking part in MPHI were exposed to the narratives of others in a range of ways, primarily from being in a room with other people who have mental health issues and hearing their stories in the classroom setting. There were also narratives embedded within the course content and literature that students were given to read, this included historical narratives that people found particularly powerful and intersectional narratives as well as the narratives from visiting lecturers. People also expressed their experiences and narratives through the arts. A theme of the arts as a process of enacting testimonial and hermeneutic injustice emerged in the Scottish material. Overall a strong theme emerged of the role of inter-subjectivity, of the power of the narrative imagination in facilitating the connecting of

the subjective experience to a broader context. As such the narrative imagination can be described as an example of a hermeneutic resource or tool.

Snyder et al. (2019) in their paper examining Mad Studies as a meta curriculum, argue that mental health and madness are included in university spaces, but often in ways which pathologies or disenfranchises mad people (ibid., 2019). Alternatively, they say, centring madness or a Mad Studies approach in pedagogy and praxis can disrupt hegemonic ways of knowing, thinking and being (Snyder et al., 2019, p 485) From their experience of teaching in critical disability settings they conclude that Mad Studies as meta curriculum creates spaces where traditionally marginalised students are reconstituted as valued creators holders of important knowledge. They also argue that such pedagogy offers students new tools to understand and critically evaluate what counts as knowledge, and I argue offers students the tools required to challenge hermeneutic injustice. Snyder et al. reference the work of Alexander, and argue that mad studies pedagogy can incite a process of "*unlearning*", of: "transgressing, disrupting, displacing, inverting [of] inherited concepts and practices… so as to make different conversations and solidarities possible" (Alexander, 2005, p 7, in Snyder et al., 2019, p497).

Historical consciousness in the MPHI curriculum

It was clear from the findings of this study that the historical aspects of the curriculum in MPHI had an impact on people. I compared this to the development of historical imagination or "historical consciousness" which Jeismann (1979) defined as incorporating "the connection between interpretations of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future" (Jeismann, 1979, in Thorp, 2013, p 188/189).

Darder (1998) in her exploration of the work of Freire, discusses the role of history in developing subjectivity and consciousness. Freire saw history as vibrant possibility, rather than determinism and in the power of education to construct people as active subjects, objects and citizens rather than merely passive objects of a static history:

> …without an understanding of history as possibility, tomorrow is problematic. In order for it to come, it is necessary that we build it through transforming today. Different tomorrows are possible…it is necessary to reinvent the future. Education is indispensable for this reinvention. By accepting ourselves as active subjects and objects of history we become beings who make decisions. It makes us ethical beings" (Freire, 1997, p 55, in Darder, 1998, p 36).

Darder's work provides insight to help understand of the value of social movement history content in the MPHI curriculum. I believe the findings of this study demonstrate the power of historical and social movement curriculum content, the development of critical historical consciousness, as a hermeneutic resource. Also, we see, through the words of people in this study, evidence of people accepting themselves as "active subjects" and becoming "beings who make decisions" and take action.

Sociological theories and frameworks

Secondly the different models and theories of mental health that were explored in the course were significant for people as well as the introduction of basic sociological theories. An example from the findings of this study is someone describing being introduced to the social model of disability. This points to the role of theory in developing hermeneutic resources or the ability to reframe interpersonal experience politically. Similar to Pearson et al. (2016) who carried out qualitative research into

the impact of a disability studies frameworks, there is evidence of a transformation or shift that occurs personally and politically when people enter the educational space and encounter alternative understandings of mental health and theoretical frameworks, such as the social model of disability, which also provide alternative ways to make sense of one's personal experience. hooks (1991), as I touched on in my literature review, wrote about theory that arises from lived experience. She wrote about theory in the context of her own life and pain, of wanting to understand simultaneously what was going on "around" and "within" her (hooks, 1991, p1). hooks also cautioned that this work of theorising from lived experience has to be intentional and directed towards liberation, "theory is not inherently healing, liberatory or revolutionary. It fulfils that function *only when we ask it to do so and direct our theorising towards that end*" (hooks, 1991, p2). With MPHI then, with critical, Mad pedagogies and with social movement learning more generally, as previously argued "we ask it to do so" and we direct our theory and theorising "to that end".

Pedagogical encounters in the U.S experience

In the US people referenced several aspects of the educational experience that contributed to this concept of a change in consciousness or shift in awareness. As well as the central role of validation and the relational it was clear that space for self-expression was important and the opportunity of learning to manage one's emotions and behaviour in a group setting. Several people referenced the process and experience of getting feedback during the "What's Up?" process at the start of the Citizen's Project class as impactful for them. People also referenced curriculum content, particularly the classes around navigating housing systems and rights, which people described as helping them feel more powerful or able to "fight back". Another class that was

mentioned by several people interviewed was the one on navigating the political system, how the political system in the US works at a City, state and Federal level and how people can have an influence. This class, taught by the worker who facilitates the FACE group who has a community organising background, had a big impact on several of the people interviewed and was a key part in them going on to get involved with FACE, to taking that next step towards increased political or collective agency.

We also see examples of the importance of the relational and informal social movement learning when people moved on from Citizens Project and away from formal "classes". For example, people talked about learning from each other, from the Peer Specialist Worker and from the facilitators at FACE. People also referred to informal social movement learning in the context of *Witnesses*. I argue that when joining *Witnesse*s, FACE members entered a social movement learning space. They had the opportunity to learn more about how the political system worked and how to influence it during discussion in meetings. They also experienced a strong sense of collective identity from participating in collective action (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004). People also learn from observing more experienced advocates or activists. At the time I was attending meetings *Witnesses* was engaged with action at a Federal level and held rallies on the Green outside City Hall. They also set up phone trees to phone senators and representatives at a city and state level and attended a sit-down meeting with the Senator face to face on several occasions. All of this was referenced as educational, and as having an impact on both personal and collective agency. People expressed that they got a lot out of "politicking", connecting to a strong sense of agency, believing that their voices were being heard, especially when literally face to face with the Senator.

In 2019 *Witnesses* arranged a one-off session of Anti-Racist training with a local community organising project. There was an explicitly anti-oppressive, anti-racist framework promoted in this training, offering a structural and activist analysis of racism and anti-racism. This was a separate, independent educational space where people were exposed to the historical and social movement context of racism and white supremacy. In many ways it mirrored a critical pedagogy approach as an example of an intentional, politicised educational act, or popular education intended to encourage politicisation and critical consciousness (Freire, 1995). Also, these experiences can be framed as hermeneutic tools that potentially enable people to reframe their interpersonal experience politically. As *Witnesses* commits to a series of these anti-racist and activism workshops over a period of months, it will be of interest to monitor the impacts of this other form of intentional social movement learning on the group.

Overall, a strong theme to emerge from this study was the concept of linking subjective personal experience to the wider context. This was conceptualised by participants as part of a shift in thinking or awareness that then led to action or collective action. This "journey" to having a stronger voice or increased collective agency was expressed very differently in Scotland and in the US. As such it illuminated contrasting narratives of citizenship or what it means to be a citizen in Scotland and in the U.S. I shall now move on to discuss these narratives of citizenship in more detail in the next section.

4. Giving back or fighting back? Conflicting narratives of citizenship

Narratives of citizenship in the U.S.

From my time in America, it became clear to me that predominantly people articulate their experience and their desire to see things change at an individual, redemptive level. People speak mainly to the redemptive power of what they have experienced in terms of now being able to "give back" after "taking" so much from their communities. It was almost as if people felt they had been a negative influence, that they have been a burden on their communities, particularly if they had experience of addiction or incarceration. But the burden or blame was located firmly within themselves, they did not blame anything other than themselves. There was an element of almost evangelical language, of atonement, of atoning for past sins by now being part of a group that gives back or does good in the community. As someone described, "finally I had something to offer". There was a sense that people got a lot out of now being able to give back, to contribute, and that it felt good to be part of the solution and not the problem and that this was of great importance to people. Strong motifs of love, often rooted in faith and religiosity were present in how people described and narrated their citizenship.

Discourses of giving back

A discourse and theme of giving back was one of the strongest to come through in the US and this was clarified further for me as being of central importance to the group during processes of feedback cycles (Earl, 2016), group discussions, and most strongly in the analysis of the mural making session/focus group discussion. Coupled with this discourse of giving back was a strong moral compass and an acceptance of personal responsibility, a sense that everything started and ended with the individual, rather than

looking to structural or system level oppressions that bear down on us. This was seen in the way that people held a feeling of personal responsibility for their own situation in life, their addiction or history of incarceration. It was also expressed in terms of how people articulated their experience of being a FACE member or how they perceived their role in creating change. All of this, it can be argued, would suggest an internalisation of neoliberal discourse around personal responsibility. Predominantly therefore people interviewed in the US expressed narratives of citizenship which are largely compatible with the concept of the “personally responsible citizen” (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). The personally responsible citizen acts responsibly in the community, is law abiding and will volunteer or give back to the community. Core attributes of the personally responsible citizen include a moral component, citizens must be of “good character”, be law abiding and honest and responsible members of the community.

In America people are also subject to the powerful discourses and narratives of self-help, positive psychology, and the American Dream, where anyone can succeed, anyone can overcome anything if they just work hard enough (McAdams, 2006). The American Dream is a very pervasive hegemonic narrative. In my study there were echoes of twelve step language and discourse present, again a narrative which promotes individualism and religiosity. So, there was a dichotomy, as in FACE and *Witnesses* people were acting collectively, but thinking individually and in some ways internalising a sense of responsibility and blame. From a Mad Studies perspective, I would argue that people are also exposed to the individualising, pathologizing narratives and discourses of the bio-medical model, inextricably tied to the recovery and citizenship approaches which in turn are subject to the toxic individualism of

neoliberalism. This too will impact on people's narrative identity and construction. In its current articulation the Citizen's Project curriculum focuses on the relationship with self and includes some classes on the connection of the self to the state, for example in terms of an individual claiming rights or navigating political or housing systems. However, citizenship is still framed as an individual claiming or taking the path towards full citizenship.

Giving back, generativity and the redemption narrative

I linked this discourse of "giving back" to the literature of generativity (Erikson, 1981; McAdams and Logan, 2004; McAdams, 2006; 2009; Maruna and Ramsden, 2004; Black and Rubenstein, 2009; Anderson, 2015). Generativity is a psychological concept, understood at the individual level (McAdams and Logan, 2004) and overall is defined as a concern for and commitment to the welfare and wellbeing of future generations. McAdams and Logan identified several other components of generativity including that it can spring from both selfless and selfish motivations and that it is influenced by culture. What stands out in the context of this research is the fact that McAdams and Logan assert that generativity is "expressed in the stories people construct to make sense of their lives" and the "life stories of highly generative adults affirm the power of human redemption and renewal" (McAdams and Logan, 2004, p1). This offered a useful frame for me to understand the narratives of the redemptive self I saw emerging from the qualitative data and from the verbal testimony people gave in group settings. McAdams's work on generativity, the redemptive self and identity construction (2006) helped inform my analysis. McAdams wrote of the great Americans love story with stories of self-transformation, "Americans love redemptive stories of the self, and some Americans even believe that they live them" (McAdams,

2006, p 82). He refers to the story of the redemptive self as a self-defining personal myth (McAdams, 1993, in McAdam, 2006) and wrote about the role of such stories in the construction of personal identity. This is an internalised and evolving story of the "narrative identity" (Singer, 2004, in McAdams, 2006, p 86). In telling these redemptive stories, of triumph over great adversity people are able to reconstruct the past, imagining the future in different ways, aimed at "providing life with some means of unity, purpose and meaning" (McAdams, 2006, p 86). McAdams also uses the term "redemptive sequences" within narratives, which I found were prevalent in the narratives of the people I interviewed. Redemptive sequences are not representative of real events in people's lives, but rather ways of telling stories about oneself, narrative strategies that people use for identity and self-making (McAdams, 2006, p 90).

Authors such as Maruna and Ramsden (2004), writing in the context of criminology and recidivism provided useful insight into the "repentant role", common within Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous narratives that emerged as a strong theme in my own research. Andersen (2015) also wrote of the formulas and templates of narrative construction within an addiction context, revealing a strong motif of "second chances" which is something my research concurred with. Useful too was the work of Black and Rubenstein (2006) on suffering, redemption and hope on narrative construction. Their research with the life stories of older African American men demonstrated the role of survival theology, spirituality and giving testimony within the narrative identity. I argue therefore that in the American context it is through narratives of the redemptive self that people re-construct their identities and develop the tools to challenge testimonial injustice.

Religiosity and spirituality were ever present in how people narrated their stories, reinforcing the prominent role of faith in the lives of the people who took part in this study in the U.S, particularly for African Americans. Given the centrality of church-based faith in people's lives, it was perhaps not surprising that faith would influence people's motivation and enactment of citizenship or activism. This religiosity could also connect to the powerful discourses of love which emerged in the analysis.

Hutchison (2011) wrote that social movement theory and literature has paid little or no heed to the role of religion and spirituality in progressive social movements; despite the fact, religious infrastructures being fertile ground for motivating people towards political activism. Smith (2014) too pointed to the neglect in academic literature about the intersections between the "sacred-social" (Smith, 2014, p1) and social movements. It is an anomaly, given the starkly central role of organised religion in so many movements - the Civil Rights Movement, the Polish Solidarity movement, the Nicauraguan Revolution of 1979, the South African anti-Apartheid movement among many others. Morris (2014, in Smith 2014) wrote specifically about the role of the Black church in the Civil Rights Movement and how it provided an institutional centre to the movement; how it offered an organisational and autonomous mass bass, leadership made up of clergy as well as an independent financial base. Crucially the church also provided meeting places to collectivise, strategize, take strength and energy from testimony and prayer, helping people "to collectively commit themselves to the struggle" (Morris, 2014, in Smith 2014, p29). During my own time in New Haven, I learnt something of the city's own links with the civil rights movement, including the role of the Black Churches as "way stations" for slaves travelling to

freedom on the Underground Railroad (DeLauro, 1997). It is clear the histories of faith and social movement intertwine.

Towards hermeneutic resources or tools in the U.S setting

Within the American context there were also references to an extension beyond the self, as people also began to think about and care about what was going on a community level. There were references to the everyday realities of structural violence for people in New Haven, to racism and gun violence, to the opioid overdoses happening on the "green", to classed and racialized divisions in the city. So, there was some evidence of a shift in consciousness happening because of people's experiences with the Citizen's Project, and the trajectory towards FACE and *Witnesses*. This would suggest that as people enter the social movement learning space of *Witnesses* there is greater potential to address issues of hermeneutic injustice and to develop hermeneutic resources.

From the findings of this study, it appears this shift in consciousness has been stimulated mostly by the relational aspects, again the experience of being validated and cared for, was the place from which people began to feel stronger in themselves and in their own voice. It emerged that a central relationship was with the peer specialist worker. I think for many people interviewed it was this relationship that was the most significant, and it was the peer specialist worker who had let them know about FACE and had "led" them to FACE and was a role model in that respect. I noticed that because Adele the peer specialist worker was making the same journey as others from Citizen's, to FACE and then to *Witnesses* it was as if she was role-modelling the process. McAdams et al., (1995) spoke to the importance of "indigenous social networks", arguing that it was "more due to networks of people who are linked to each other by a specific interpersonal bond than to formal organisation or individual incentives that collective action is aggregated" (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilley, 1995, in

Bate et al 2004, p 24). This is very true of the relationship between the peer specialist worker and the Citizen's Graduates, FACE/*Witnesses* members who have strong interpersonal bonds with her. These bonds are key I think in encouraging people to move on from FACE and to join *Witnesses*. In many ways my study demonstrates that these relational bonds or ties are a crucial element of the process or journey towards increased collective agency or taking part in collective action for those in the U.S setting. This also raised for me questions about the wider role and purpose of peer workers.

Schmutte et al. (2020) speak to the complex nature of peer work, that originates from its assimilation into dominant mental health systems. Namely "whether peers who work inside of the mental health system can preserve their integrity and reformist vision while being paid by the same system they had been, or are protesting against" (Schmutte, et al., 2020, p 246). Schmutte et al. refer to the recent international charter of peer support which offers an up to date definition,

> peer supporters are defined as people who have experienced mental ill health and are either in or have achieved recovery. In their role as peer supporters, they use their personal experiences, along with relevant training and supervision to facilitate, guide and mentor another person's recovery journey by instilling hope, modelling recovery and supporting people in their own efforts to reclaim meaningful and gratifying lives in the communities of their choice (Stratford et al., 2017, in Schmutte et al., 2020 p 247).

This definition is embedded in the hegemonic language of "mental illness" and recovery. Schmutte et al. (2020) admit that if peer support continues to focus on supporting individual self-care or self-management, rather than what they see as its

original conceptualisation, combined with a blurring of what the role actually means, then there is the risk inherent tensions will become more acute. They point to a question that seems to be at the centre of the paradox, does peer support serve the needs and interests of its clients, or the needs and interests of the mental health system? (Schmutte et al, 2020)

Voronka (2016) wrote about the paradox of the peer worker, drawing on her own experience of acting in that capacity. Her ethnographic research revealed that the participation of peer workers is only perceived as useful when the "target of our experiential knowledge is directed at managing abject populations." Vonronka (2015) argues that "when we make attempts to deploy our knowledge to challenge the regimes of truth and practices that govern us, this work is troubled or managed" (Voronka, 2015, p1). These complexities can also be understood within the framework of epistemic justice. Peer work, in its current incarnation is wedded to the biomedical model and dominant mental health systems. Therefore, dominant models of peer work are not able to offer hermeneutic resources to help people make sense of their experiences in alternative ways. By extending the solidarity of lived experience, we can see how issues of epistemic witnessing might occur (Newbigging and Riley, 2018) and that peer work can make inroads into addressing testimonial injustice. My research points to the fact peer work in context of activism and collective action, within this trajectory towards political or collective agency has the potential to address issues of hermeneutic injustice. In many ways this is new territory and further research is required to understand this further.

The Good Citizen? Disrupting normative discourses of citizenship

In Scotland, the discourse of "giving back" was not as strong as it was in America. This was I believe linked to how people perceived the term "citizenship" or a citizenship approach, which was with suspicion. Citizenship is often linked to notions of responsibility and contributing, and it can be argued that this discourse has been manipulated by successive governments who have continually sought to roll back the welfare state. Those that I spoke to in Scotland were alert to this and when asked about citizenship they immediately framed their thoughts around some form of critique of neoliberal discourses of citizenship, particularly from the experience of disabled people and people with mental health issues.

In the UK and in Scotland disabled people and people with mental health issues are subject to individualising narratives and discourses. Disabled people have been particularly demonised as part of austerity politics (Cross, 2013) and have disproportionately been affected by the UK government's political choices (Alston, 2018). In his report into poverty in the UK, Professor Alston stated that austerity was a political and ideological choice, and that the "government made no secret of its determination to change the value system to focus more on individual responsibility, to place major limits on government supports and to pursue a single minded…focus on getting people into employment at all costs" and claimed that this mentality "has wrought misery and harm to the fabric of British society." (Alston, 2018, p3) The political context of austerity and Brexit was mentioned by nearly all the people I interviewed in Scotland, where people described feeling under surveillance and referenced the degrading assessments and devastating sanctions people are undergoing when they are called in to re-assess their eligibility for welfare benefits,

particularly as people are "migrated" towards Universal Credit. There are high numbers of suicides by people with mental health issues and disabilities as people are exposed to these assessments, to increased poverty and pressure to find work (Stewart, 2019). Also tied to this is that disabled people are conditioned to think that we are only valued if working, that a valued or valuable citizen is a citizen who is "giving back" or "contributing" through paid work, an economically viable citizen, a key argument made in the early days of the disabled peoples movement. One of the people interviewed as part of this study referred to the need to "resist in our minds". When people come together in groups, in collective and educational spaces, we can begin to resist in our minds, to together challenge some of these neoliberal discourses, we can begin to realise there are wider forces at play and that, as one person described, "it's not just me being rubbish and being on benefits". By widening the lens out to look at the wider structural and political picture education has an important role to play in challenging these discourses. By discussing and learning about the impact of austerity in people's lives, educational spaces are where we can begin to imagine other possibilities and to realise we are not weak, or broken, or disordered, but rather we have strength and courage individually and collectively.

Recently critiques made of recovery have emerged, casting recovery as a politically co-opted concept, a concept used to place the burden of responsibility to "recover" onto the individual whilst at the same time obscuring the socio-political context which is often a major contributing factor to an individual's distress (Harper and Speed 2012; McWade 2016). Critics and activists point to the neoliberal context in which recovery operates and how it is often operationalised as a justification to cut services and keep the discourse focused at a personal, individual rather than a structural or systemic level.

Rowe and Davidson (2016) respond to this critique and offer up citizenship or more specifically “recovering citizenship” as a potential way forward. They point to how recovery has been misused and how it has not “paid enough attention to the material, social, cultural, political and economic environments that support or undermine an individual’s recovery” offering citizenship as an alternative framework for the “social inclusion and full participation in society” of people with mental illness (Rowe and Davidson, 2016), There is they say, a “two-path” approach to citizenship, individual support and community change and here they reference the collective work that is required to address systemic exclusion. Davidson and Rowe from here argue that recovery needs to reconnect with its social justice and social advocacy roots, stating that a focus on personal recovery has “crowded out” recovery as a political and social movement. They argue for a returned focus on social and economic equality and human rights for people with mental illness, to recover or reimagine “what is possible for people with mental illness” (Rowe and Davidson, 2016, p 20). Recovering citizenship would offer a framework for a clinical practice too, a practice that would refuse to see community level issues as “someone else’s problem”.

Most recent conceptualisations of citizenship in a mental health context have included Quinn et al.’s (2020) work introducing the term “collective citizenship”. Drawing on Dean (2004) they ally collective citizenship with the republican solidaristic model of citizenship, characterised by agential power, individual or collective human action. Quinn et al. (2020) point to the inherent tension between individualism and collectivism within citizenship theory and argue that the two should be held in creative balance, to avoid one crowding the other out. As they present their concept of collective citizenship, they argue that collective approaches and voices and imperative

to counteract the aggressive individualism that characterises mental health. Collective citizenship, as seen through the work and actions of FACE, is characterised by group membership, collective decision making and power shifting. FACE in many ways is a new collective space that has emerged from the citizenship work in America, which personifies a desire to move beyond purely individualised understandings of mental health. However, it has also grown from an academic and privileged university space, a space which remains intimately bound with the bio-medical model and psychiatry, with individualised notions of citizenship and one which will arguably never be completely free of power imbalances.

Recent scholarship in Mad Studies demand that we need to stand back and ask difficult questions about service user involvement in mental health, research and education systems and be critical of discourses which seek to "include" or "involve" people within such dominant systems of power. (Voronka, 2017; Costa and Voronka, 2019). The service user movement emerged out of a reaction against, anger towards dominant systems. As the service user movement progressed, with the development of service user involvement, consumer involvement policies in the UK and a consumer driven, neoliberal economic policy, the trend towards involving service users and carers began. Without neglecting to acknowledge the huge strides in progress that have been made in conjunction with this, what we now face is a situation where everything is assimilated into the mainstream and into the mental health system. Independent activist or advocacy led spaces for reacting against, for resisting are few and fragile. With the advancement of "inclusion" into the dominant system, with the inclusion of people with "lived experience" into the mainstream, there is little collective resistance left. As Costa and Voronka ask "What…is our inclusion producing, what it is undoing, and

what it is upholding? And who benefits?" (Costa and Voronka, 2019, p5). They go on to say that any hope that benign inclusion will dismantle ruling power relations, "while seductive, is nothing short of manufactured neoliberal fantasy":

> Our participation, it may turn out, can become a way for psychiatry to maintain authority. Worse yet, it can become a means to erase the histories in which service user/survivors had already been participating and actively fostering critical engagement and knowledge production long before mental health systems decided disability citizenship mattered. (Costa and Voronka, 2019, p7)

This perspective asks us to remember the long tradition of service user activism and politics that existed before the advent of recovery or citizenship. We are called on to honour this tradition, to add to it, keep it alive, and not to relegate it to history.

One of the significant findings of this study is the value people place on non-clinical spaces, of spaces that are separate and distinct from dominant mental health systems and systems of care. It is not just enough for allied health professionals or researchers to "invite" service users into existing spaces on their terms, rather they should help create, preserve or ally with the precious and politically essential spaces that are created, controlled and led by people with lived experience. Spaces which are epistemologically grounded in the experience and activism of Mad people or mental health service users/survivors. Also, this research also demonstrated the importance of decentring the medical model. This does not mean rejecting it entirely, but chipping away at its dominance, shifting it out of the limelight and allowing other perspectives to be heard. This was shown powerfully in the Scottish context, where the power of

counter hegemony in the curriculum was evidenced. This destabilising of the dominant paradigm enables the space for hermeneutic resources to be developed to help reframe subjective, personal experience.

I found in my research how much people valued the space away from being pathologized or medicalised, both in Scotland and in the US. Spaces in this study, MPHI, Citizen's Project, FACE and *Witnesses* were characterised by connection, validation, love and collectivity. Hirsch (1989, in Bane, 2004, p25) termed such spaces "havens" and characterised them as spaces where consciousness raising was facilitated through "non-hierarchical, loosely structured, face to face settings isolated from people in power, where people can speak freely about their hopes and concerns". Critically then there is value still in spaces that are led and controlled by people with lived experience, where people experience being "in control" and not "controlled", the value of "claimed" rather than the constant "slow death" (Voronka, 2019) of trying to have a voice and create change within "invited" spaces, spaces which are framed as inclusive, benign, power-sharing and democratic, but are not experienced as that. Service user knowledge and activism is often generated in resistance to, not assimilation into, dominant systems. (Voronka, 2019, p92)

Conclusion

This study offers qualitative material drawn from the first-hand experiences of people with mental health issues who have been involved in a Mad Studies critical pedagogical project which privileges counter hegemonic understandings of mental health as well as intentional social movement learning (Foley, 1999; Kilgore, 1999; Hall, 2009). This study also draws from the experiences of people engaged in the early

days of a more unintentional, informal and action-based form of social movement learning (Hall, 2009) and public pedagogy (Sandlin, 2010) in the US, involving people who have experience of mental health issues and addictions, homelessness and incarceration.

Contrasting narratives of citizenship emerged from the American and Scottish material, offering a deeper understanding of citizenship in a mental health context. In America people described what changed for them as an internal process of transformation, where they were able to have a "second chance" at life and "give back" to society. I drew on the literature of generativity to help understand the prevalence of the "redemptive self" evident within narrative and identity construction (McAdams, 2006, Maruna and Ramsden, 2004). Through this process of identity and narrative reconstruction, testimonial injustice was addressed as people began to believe in their own voice and that it deserved to be heard. In Scotland, the journey described was one towards critical thinking, critical consciousness or conscientization (Freire, 1995). People described a process of moving away from the shadow of biomedical understandings of mental "illness" and taking up the alternative frameworks offered by MPHI to reframe their personal, subjective experience. As such I argued that social movement learning, in particular Mad Studies pedagogies, offer students hermeneutic resources which can enable them to make sense of their experience in socio-political terms.

The findings of this study speak to the power of relational and educational spaces, critical pedagogy and social movement learning (Kilgore, 1999; Foley, 1999; Hall and Clover 2005; Hall 2005; Hall, 2006; Hall, 2009) on people's sense of personal and

political agency. Hall (2005, in Hall, 2009) described three different forms of social movement learning; the first being the informal that occurs when people are part of a social movement, through acts of citizenship. Second the intentional learning that happens by people who are part of a social movement and lastly the formal and informal learning that occurs amongst the public when encountering movement actors, movement activity and epistemology. In Scotland, for people who had taken part in the MPHI project, the role of historical and social movement-based learning within the classroom and curricula emerged as significant, as well as the inclusion of counter hegemonic understandings of mental health. This is an example of Hall's second form of social movement learning, intentional learning led by movement actors. Whereas in the US it was in the transition from Citizen's Project to FACE and Witnesses that social movement learning happened, which is an example of Hall's first form of social movement learning, the situational and action-based learning which occurs within and through social movement activity.

This study emphasises the importance of pedagogical spaces, characterised by critical pedagogy and social movement learning, to allow people the opportunity to come together in a collective, to question, critique and build agency and resistance. These incredibly important spaces give people the chance to imagine other possibilities, a "collective dreaming" (McLaren and Farahmadpur, 2004, in Hall, 2009, p 46) of the "river of life", as Hall (2009) poetically describes it: "the space where our knowledge, our hopes, our dreams become connected to each other, to those of others in our communities and the world and to those who have gone before and will follow." (Hall, 2009, p46)

I would argue the findings also raise the importance of non-clinical spaces and spaces that separate from the dominant mental health system, led and controlled by people with lived experience/service users or survivors. Again, this addresses issues of epistemic and hermeneutic injustice through centring and privileging the knowledge and activism of lived experience and raising up voices that have historically been silenced and, it can be argued, continue to this day to be denigrated and subject to state sanctioned and structural violence. Linked to service user or survivor-led spaces, the overall importance of non-clinical spaces emerged as significant in both settings; loving, validating spaces that are distinct from bio-medical systems of care. This also highlighted to the role of love, a theme that emerged strongly, particularly within the American setting. Love, within our activism, our educational spaces and within our mental health systems of care was raised.

Lastly the study reinforces the importance of collective, grassroots, service user or survivor led initiatives and activism within the contemporary neoliberal climate and dominant mental health discourse. This includes collective advocacy and activism led by people with mental health issues, which honours the social movement history and political organising of people with mental health issues. Also, the need for a move towards genuinely service user or survivor led research as well as influence over the future mental health research agenda. I shall now move on to conclude the thesis, including a discussion of the limitations of the study and finishing with several recommendations for pedagogy, research and policy.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

At the outset of this research, I set out, in collaboration with the Citizenship Café group in Scotland, research questions which guided the project. The original research questions which guided the study were as follows:

1. What, if anything has changed for participants following their involvement and how do they articulate this change?
2. What aspect of the curriculum or experience do people believe facilitated this change?
3. What role can critical education play in building bridges between individual experience (identity) and issues of agency and structure? (context, structural inequality)
4. Does social movement learning or content impact on this process, i.e. interacting with "Madness" as a political identity or political project or learning about the activism of others?
5. How do participants view the link between identity, structure and agency or citizenship?
6. Can MPHI and The Citizens Project enable people to become more "political" or "active" citizens?
7. How do those who are involved in Mad Studies conceptualise citizenship?

In this thesis I have sought to answer these questions primarily by centring the words and voices of people with lived experience and through meticulous, thorough analysis. Two different projects, the *Citizenship Community Collaborative* in the US and *Mad*

People's History and Identity in Scotland, both of which aim to move beyond an individualised approach to mental health, have been explored. Both these projects contain educational components and my central research question was to explore the role of education in creating spaces for people to build collective agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004). Citizenship work in the U.S has developed recently to encompass "collective citizenship" (Quinn et al. 2020) which endeavours to shift the citizenship paradigm from individuals claiming their citizenship rights, to focus on the role of groups, community organising and activism in achieving full citizenship. In Scotland, MHPH draws on Mad Studies and critical pedagogy and aims to de-centre hegemonic understandings of mental illness, promoting critical thinking and critical consciousness (Freire, 1995).

When describing what changed for them, and therefore addressing research question one, people described a process of moving from isolation to connection. People felt more valued, loved, and cared for because of their experience and described being able to value themselves, to see themselves as valuable and that their voice, has value. It is from this place of the *relational* that people can begin to experience a shift in thinking or awareness that culminates ultimately in a sense of collective identity (Melucci, 1989; Gamson, 1991; Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004; Flesher Fominaya, 2010) and moving towards an increase in collective or political agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004) from there. Validation in this study was also tied to the philosophical concept of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2004; 2007), particularly in the Scottish context. People talked of the isolating experience of being diagnosed with a psychiatric label under a bio-medical model. Validation then, came also from entering a critical educational space which privileged and valued first- hand narratives and alternative, counter

hegemonic understandings of mental health, including activist and social movement generated epistemologies.

By using social movement learning as a theoretical framework, I aim to make an original contribution to knowledge and understandings of types of learning, as well as the experiences and impacts of such learning, that happen within social movement sites allied to or connected with mental health. In Scotland, when exploring what aspect of the experience contributed to the changes, and therefore addressing research question two, it was the power of privileging counter-hegemonic understandings of mental illness which stood out. This in turn enabled people to reframe their personal experiences within social, cultural, and political contexts which is a key element of developing critical consciousness (Freire, 1995) and collective agency (Bandura, 2000; Lister, 2004). I therefore demonstrated how social movement learning challenges not just testimonial injustice, but hermeneutic injustice through the provision of "hermeneutic resources" or tools (Newbigging and Ridley, 2018). People were able to reconstruct and reframe their identities away from the hegemonic discourse of psychiatry, often as activists, albeit "quiet" ones. I compared this to the internalising of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2004) or "power within" (Vaneklasen and Miller, 2002). Within this, the key role of history, historical consciousness (Thorp, 2013; 2014) and narrative imagination (Martin and Shaw, 2005) within the curriculum was established as well as social movement learning led by social movement actors. By synthesising such theories, I aimed to extend our collective understanding of Mad Studies pedagogy, as well as social movement learning and make an original contribution to theorising in this area. I also addressed research questions three and four.

Within the American context another significant contribution of this research is that it provides insight into the journey of moving on from the Citizen's Project, where the focus is very much on individual self-development as well as the relationship between the individual and citizenship. This study focuses on people's experiences of moving on from Citizens and joining the FACE community organising group and the *Witnesses* activist group. As such it focuses more on citizenship as agency and activist components of citizenship. Only one other study has investigated the experience of FACE in detail (Quinn et al. 2020) where the concept of "collective citizenship" was introduced. With the findings of this study, I am therefore contributing to understandings of citizenship and collective citizenship, as this is the first study to include a critical conceptualisation rooted in social movement pedagogy and Mad Studies.

As FACE members join *Witnesses*, I was able to identify a new form of informal social movement learning (Hall, 2009) space opening up in the context of the citizenship work, where people learn "in the struggle" (Cox, 2018) through direct engagement with a social movement and movement activities. Again, this enabled me to address research questions three and four. It is also a unique contribution to knowledge as this experience has never been researched before. Analysis of the American material has also offered up insight into the role of the relational and love within education, social movements, and systems of care. This positioned the role of the relational as fundamental in developing collective agency. Non-clinical spaces were identified as important to people and the spaces of Citizens and FACE described as safe, loving and kind. This served in many ways as a mirror held up to systems of "care" which were described as lacking in safety, love, and kindness.

Also, of importance within the American context was the theme of "giving back" and how people located what changed for them through their experience at an individual, redemptive level. People expressed wanting to give back to their community, after having been a negative influence. Blame for this was located within the self, rather than looking to any social or political understandings. This theme of giving back I compared to the literature of "generativity" (Erikson, 1981, McAdams, 1993, McAdams and Logan, 2004, McAdams, 2006) and how it "is expressed in the stories that people construct to makes sense of their lives" (McAdam and Logan, 2004, p1). This emphasises how the stories people tell about their lives impact on identity construction, helping me to answer research questions four and five around how people articulated connections between identity, social movement learning and citizenship. Through narratives of the redemptive self, people can reconstruct their identities, their lives, and begin to develop the tools required to challenge and imagine other possibilities.

Different journeys towards increased collective or political agency emerged in the study, as well as conflicting narratives of citizenship. By analysing these narratives, I was able to answer research question six about whether participation in each of the project settings enabled people to become more active or political citizens. I also analysed how people involved in a Mad Studies project conceptualised citizenship, highlighting how this critique disrupted or "bumped up against" more normative understandings of citizenship. As such I was able to address my last research question, question seven. In America the journey described was strongly influenced by generativity and narratives of the redemptive self (Maruna and Ramsden, 2004; Black

and Rubenstein, 2009) which was different to the journey which emerged in Scotland, articulated more as a path towards critical thinking or conscientization (Freire, 1995).

I believe this study raises questions about the impact of the two divergent locations, approaches, socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts on how people's understandings of citizenship and themselves as citizens. MPHI developed out of a mental health advocacy context and as such was service user led and privileged the standpoint of service user activism and movement knowledge. *Oor Mad History* has also been influenced by the development of Mad People's History and Mad Studies in Canada and MPHI is unapologetically a critical pedagogy endeavour. Having embarked on a partnership with a university to deliver the course, issues of institutional power continue to be navigated as we move forward with the development of this work. We have witnessed the power of maintaining a "claimed space" within the university, so rather than opening up the course to anyone with any interest we have kept a space that is open only to people who identify as having mental health issues. This claimed space has clearly had an influence on the collective and political agency of graduates. As we move forwards, we will face a challenge to protect this claimed or service user led space, while opening alternative spaces open to anyone who wishes to encounter this knowledge. Also, we need to stay vigilant to the potential exclusionary, "closed circuit" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2016) definitions of what it means to be mad and look to ensure all our "Mad Studies" spaces stretch this discourse. Perhaps then we need to stretch the discourse of Mad Studies itself, ensuring people with a diverse range of views, experiences and identities feel more validated and accepted, and can find a home within these collective spaces.

In the US, a very different landscape was apparent. The Citizen's Project was an "intervention" or a program, situated within the broader citizenship work and located within an Ivy League university which has high levels of prestige and institutional power. Overall, this work has not been service user or "peer" led, but rather driven by service provider and academic agendas. However, I have seen first-hand the incredible work, incredible *relational* work, the Citizen's Project does to help people to begin to believe in themselves and their right to be a citizen. There is no doubt that this is an essential first step towards increased agency for people marginalised by their experiences of the mental health system, incarceration, addictions, and homelessness. FACE is described by members as a "community" group, in and of the community, rather than a program or intervention. It remains though directly part of the wider citizenship work, emerging as a space where people could move beyond thinking of themselves at an individual level, to what was going on in the community and "give back". As people joined *Witnesses*, however, they were entering the space entirely separate from the citizenship work, from any auspices of Yale. Also, what emerged as fundamentally important in the findings of this study, was that people were entering not a program or intervention, or even a "community group", but rather they were entering an *activist* space. It is encountering this activist space and knowledge which I believe is enabling people to participate in an unintentional form of social movement learning, which is difficult to replicate in any "program".

Two very different narratives of citizenship emerged which also speak to the contrasting cultural and political contexts of the US and Scottish settings. In the US we saw citizenship articulated as relational and the idea of the "relational self" (Lister, 2003) as integral to agency and citizenship. A theme of the "loving citizen" emerged

as loving and caring for others was such an important part of how people enacted their citizenship. Also, the discourse of the "good citizen", which I correlated with the "personally responsible citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004) was very strong. Again, this was tied to neoliberal discourses of "giving back" and volunteerism, of second chances and redemption after times of active addiction or incarceration. I linked the discourse of giving back to literature around generativity and positive psychology, as well as to narratives of the redemptive self. It was clear influences of religiosity; Twelve Step program and the American Dream narrative influenced the stories people told about citizenship. As did the powerful presence of faith and religion in people's lives. Overall, the discourse of the neoliberal citizen was very strong within the American context, the citizen clinging on to the American Dream. However it was apparent from my analysis that as people entered the activist space of *Witnesses* there was evidence of a shift from a purely "personally responsible citizen" narrative towards the "justice-oriented citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004) and people began to describe citizenship as tied to action, taking action and collective action.

In Scotland, a contrasting narrative of citizenship emerged, one characterised by "fighting back", rather than "giving back". By asking people involved in a Mad Studies or critical pedagogy project their views on citizenship I saw critical thinking in action. Citizenship as a term or a practice was problematised, due in many cases to its use and misuse by consecutive governments in the U.K. People in Scotland described citizenship as a-politicised, de-fanged and more about fitting people into a broken system rather than attempting to transform the status quo. Terms such as "responsibility" and "giving back" were critiqued as well as the notion of the "personally responsible citizen". Therefore, the only way people appeared to be

comfortable with the idea of citizenship was when it was tied to activism, to having a voice and collective action. Overall then the dominant discourse was one of the "justice-oriented citizen" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004).

Social movement learning, by addressing testimonial and hermeneutic injustice, also bridges the personal with the political and socio-cultural aspects. Through the two examples explored in this study, we saw how development of collective identity strengthens personal, individual identity and this leads to increased personal and collective agency. Drawing on the work of Gamson (1991) I demonstrated how contact with social movement learning expands the personal identity to include aspects of collective identity. By developing "we-ness" (Snow, 2001, in Flesher Fominaya, 2010) and "power within" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004) people are developing the identity, confidence and agency which are fundamental prerequisites to taking part in collective action.). This study makes an original contribution to knowledge by demonstrating the key role of social movement learning and educational spaces in enabling people to genuinely enact or claim their citizenship or human rights, and to the power of education to transform, offer hope and encourage people to join together with others to take collective action. As Barbalet (in Moreton – Robinson, 2005) states, "…in the absence of education and economic resources required to exercise civil or legal and political rights citizenship remains empty for all practical purposes" (Barbalet, 1998 in Moreton-Robinson, 2005, p4).

I wanted to return to and end with love. Within conceptualisations of the relational, love was revealed as a significant and unexpected theme. Due to the significance of love, particularly within the American setting, this study speaks to the role of love

within education, within social movements and community organising. I concluded that by characterising such spaces as loving and caring, people in this study inadvertently held up a mirror to the mental health system and other systems of “care” which were described as devoid of love and care. Also, a mirror to hold up to our social movement and pedagogical spaces too, reminding us to keep love at the centre of them.

Given the times I am writing in, which would be remiss of me not to mention, love seems of more importance than ever. I started this PhD in 2016, the year of the Brexit vote in the UK. It was also the year Trump was elected president of the US. Almost four years later, as I write, we are living through a global pandemic and our current social reality would have been unimaginable to me when I started out on this journey. Human connection and touch are refracted through screens. I watch, powerless, as the unequally distributed effects of the pandemic play out in different social and political contexts. Large-scale democratic protests in Hong Kong, in the U.S with Black Lives Matter and recently in Belarus, coupled with the authoritarian and the militaristic response, suggest deep civil, racial, and political unrest. As we “emerge” from lockdown, questions about who emerges and who are left behind are on my mind. Impacts on Mad and disabled people, impacts on how we organise, educate and resist are still to be determined, but as always social movements will play a role (Cox, 2018). Overall, I am left with an immense sense of humility and deference to the “collective dreaming” (McLaren and Farahmadpur, 2004), the imagined, alternative futures that emerge from the collective voices of the people I spoke to during this experience. Namely the importance of solidarity, love and “armed” love (Darder, 1998), which I hold onto tightly, as we navigate these dangerous days together, yet apart. A few days before I was due to submit this thesis, when I was struggling to see the value of it in

the dangerous and precarious times we are living through, my friend and colleague Anne O'Donnell sent me these words, restoring some hope once again:

> to be hopeful in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also compassion, sacrifice, courage and kindness...The future is a an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think human beings should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvellous victory (Howard Zinn).

Limitations of the study

Research, including qualitative research, continues to be held against the "gold standard" (Rose, 2019) of the positivist and empiricist tradition, devoid of affect and politics. As Rose argues service user led research is often called out as "unscientific, anecdotal and produced by people who were over involved" (Rose, 2019, p3). This current study privileges the knowledge, theorising, and political action of people with experiential knowledge, and was most certainly produced by people who could be called "over involved," including of course myself. It is aligned with a critical research and popular education (Crowther et al., 1999) standpoint which make no claim to un-bias or neutrality and therefore this work could stand accused of not being scientific or detached enough. However, as Rose also argues mainstream mental health research often "masquerades as neutral and value free to render themselves legitimate" (Rose, 2019, p3) and the nature of neutrality in research is contested. Bias or over-involvement is often perceived of as a weakness in the context of more traditional research. However I would argue for research connected to social movements it is a strength and without being "over involved" or an

“insider” I would not have been trusted with the richness and nuance that was shared with me by the people who took part.

This study does not claim to be survivor of service user led and the agenda for the research was in many ways directed by the focus of the studentship. I attempted, however, to bring as much of the philosophy, politics and practice of service user led research to this work and be informed by the collective as much as possible. However, within the current structure of doctoral research and funding there were restrictions on this which I found challenging. There was no funding available to pay people as co-researchers or to pay people’s expenses to attend meetings. Also, as a new researcher, I had limited experience of collaborative or participatory research methods, for instance how to code effectively in a group. I had to rely on my previous experience of group and community work to do the best I could. Combined with the restrictions of the ethics framework of the university it meant that it was not possible in the end to code all the material with the group. Overall, the intention to make this a collective project has not been as achieved as fully as I had hoped at the start. I must sit with that discomfort, the constant nagging sense that I could have done more or done it better. I reflected on this in more detail in the ethical considerations section of the thesis, but I wish to return briefly to it now. When I think of the “limitations” of this study I am brought back once again to this familiar and constant discomfort. Similar in ways to my reflections on “harm” in the context of the ethics of this research, limitations for me are also connected with my fear that this work will be critiqued or pilloried from a movement perspective. That by doing this work I was guilty of appropriating movement ideas, of “selling out” or falling short. Or of not being “Mad” enough to do this work. Perhaps some of this

fear comes from the potential "closed circuit" (Cresswell and Spandler, 2016) nature of Mad Studies, manifesting in tensions about who is considered part of the project and who is not. As someone who has always felt on the outside, like so many others, this is an uncomfortable feeling. We need to collectively find a way forward in the Mad Studies movement that ensures we do not doubly exclude people who already feel excluded from so much.

I have aimed to bring myself to the research process as fully and open heartedly as I possibly could, risking at times my own mental health in the process. It was the relationships that I have established with people in Scotland and then the relationships I went on to build with people in America were what I consider a strength rather than a limitation or weakness of this study. Again, the relational, love, remains at the heart of why research matters to me, which I realise flies in the face of traditional empirical research. In the research that I am passionate about though, I believe that it is a strength and a political choice to privilege this epistemology. It is therefore from this place of the real and the relational that I name myself as an "aspiring" (Spandler and Poursandiou, 2019) "cognitive activist" (Earl, 2016).

I have endeavoured to weave my processes of self-reflection into this thesis as much as possible, not just restricting them to a reflexivity "section" or to this section on limitations. I can see that my standpoint, my navigation of the insider/outsider paradox was complex and that this was experienced differently in both settings. In Scotland I was researching a piece of work that I was immersed in personally and politically. I was interviewing people I had worked alongside for several years and

had existing friendships and relationships with, which some may take issue with regarding issues of sufficient "detachment". I then took my advocacy and Mad Studies "glasses" with me as I crossed the Atlantic and landed in what was in many ways an alien environment. This will have affected how I viewed the work there, which could be perceived of as a weakness of the research. However, it could also be seen as a strength. On one hand I was dazzled and excited by being in a different environment and culture, of being in a more racially diverse setting and of being at Yale. On the other hand, I strove to use my Mad Studies background and political stance to ask critical questions of what I was experiencing in America and not fully succumb to the Yale dazzle. PRCH was not just an "ordinary" academic environment, it was situated in the psychiatric department of a medical school at one of the most prestigious universities in the world. Despite a community, off-campus setting, the "psychiatric gaze" and institutional power was inescapable.

In many ways the two settings of this study seem almost impossible to compare, given the vast differences in political and social context, the aims, and objectives of each project and between the participants of each setting. Any differences that emerge then, perhaps are not unsurprising. It is worth remembering that I did not set out to do a purely comparative study of each project. Rather the focus for me has always been on the voices and lived experience perspectives which came from each unique setting and the wisdom and learning which come from these narratives.

Finally, it could be argued that in both locations the people who were most closely involved with the projects were more likely to get involved in the research. I had no access to people who had dropped out or for whom the projects had not resulted in

any change or in fact negative change. Also, it is important to me to note that in U.S the year following the interviews, three people relapsed. One person ended up homeless again and one other ended up back in jail. Therefore, it is important to recognise that any change is vulnerable, precarious, and subject to the material and political conditions and realities of people's lives. Also, it reminds me of the importance of remaining humble and not over-claiming success or change within a research context.

Recommendations

Research

I am left with more questions than answers. Particularly I am troubled by what is called "participatory" research. I feel like there is almost a second, "ghost" thesis I could write which mirrors this one but delves even deeper into the undercurrents and painful messiness of trying to do this work. I agree with Jones and Shattell (2016) in asking for honesty and transparency about the challenges of moving beyond the rhetoric of participation and doing "mad research". As they say it is not enough, to simply "plug in" participation to existing research structures. I can only speak from my own experience of doing doctoral research, but PhD students who want to undertake critical or activist related research will continue to come up against barriers until there are structural changes in research culture. I would recommend in the meantime that PhD researchers are given support and advice, or mentorship, on ways and means to build into the ethics and entire research process ways of doing research collectively. As Jones and Shattel (2016) say, "how can we ask again what "mad research" looks like. What mechanisms and protocols would support egalitarian, collective decision making?" (Jones and Shattel, 2016, p 2).

The findings from this study demonstrate the power of claimed spaces (Gaventa, 2006) or spaces that are led and controlled by people with lived experience in the pedagogical and research process. As such I would recommend that universities and other institutions such as the NHS seek to fund, and support to a greater extent research led or controlled by people with lived experience, including service user led research. Within this I also want to emphasise the contribution to service user led and social movement research made by collective advocacy groups. While often not afforded the same status as research conducted in or allied to the academy, the work of collective advocacy projects are works of pure service user led research.

Referring to the U.S context I recommend further research about the impact on narrative and identity construction as people begin to develop identities as activists. There is evidence in my analysis that the language of and encounter with activism is beginning to infiltrate the ways Citizen's graduates are narrating their journey towards collective agency. A future in depth narrative analysis is recommended to further understand this phenomenon. Also, a study exploring the role of peer work within the context of "collective citizenship" practice would be of value. Lastly, I recommend further research into the role of faith and spirituality in the collective citizenship work.

Pedagogy and activism

In terms of pedagogy my recommendations are that the curriculum of MPHI continues to be informed by the findings of this study, embedding counter hegemonic understandings of mental health, first-hand narratives, and social movement history within the curriculum. As we move towards more and more towards online pedagogies, amplified also by the current health crisis we are living through, I

recommend that the MPHI team look for creative and impactful ways to bring some of this learning online. In so doing we can aim to protect the claimed space of MPHI and open up new pedagogical spaces using online and blended learning which could be open to all, including those that work in services.

As the Strategic Programme Manager interviewed in Scotland said, there is value in people working in mental health or allied health services to encounter this counter hegemonic knowledge too. As such I also recommend embedding more Mad Studies informed curricula in mainstream education for trainee allied health professionals.

I am also mindful of the continued importance of Mad Studies pedagogies developing in spaces distinct and separate from universities and recommend that activists and others with an interest in Mad Studies or critical pedagogy in the context of mental health seek out a range of community-based locations for this work, keeping maximum control within the movement itself.

A cornerstone of this work has been about love. Love was a strong theme to come out from my research in the US. As people described the pedagogical and social movement spaces of Citizen's, FACE and Witnesses, and the relationships within them, the language of love and loving was used. This in turn held up a metaphorical mirror to a lack of love in clinical spaces or the mental health system. I am therefore left with questions about the place of love in our mental health system. Also, it seems important to hold up this mirror to our pedagogical and social movement spaces, keeping love and respect at the centre of them too. It will therefore be important to continue to reflect

and think critically about our Mad Studies spaces, ensuring they can be a safe home for a wide range of people, views, and perspectives.

My recommendations in the US context are also related to pedagogy. As the citizenship work in the US continues to develop "collective citizenship" scholarship and practice, I recommend including some local and national social movement history and learning within the Citizen's Project classes/curriculum in addition to classes which focus on the legislative system or voting. This would give a historical context to the Citizenship work and also enable people to gain strength, agency and inspiration from learning about the actions of those who went before, as this has been the experience of people in Scotland involved in MPHI.

Policy

As I detailed in the introduction of this thesis, where I set out the policy context of this work, the Scottish Human Rights Council argued that more than rhetoric is required if we are to move to a genuine human rights paradigm in mental health (SHRC, 2016). According to the UN Special Rapporteur a "revolution" is required in mental health care and in the mental health system. Puras (2015) spoke to the urgent need to challenge the narrow bio-medical and disease orientated binary of the current mental health paradigm and instead focus on issues of civil and political rights, participation and user led initiatives. Pedagogical spaces such as those described in this study offer a chance for people to develop their individual and collective agency, to find their voice and to act collectively. By engaging in these spaces, epistemic justice is addressed, testimonial and hermeneutic injustice (Fricker, 2007), enabling people to better understand and claim their human rights. This points to the role of adult

education as a powerful tool for social movements in their leverage for power (Torres, 2013). Also to the importance of radical and critical pedagogies within a mental health context (Lewis, 2020).Therefore, if policy makers are genuine in a commitment to transformative change or “revolution” in the mental health system, to a true human rights approach then educational spaces and social movement learning as outlined in this study have a significant role to play. I would recommend further research to develop this point further, exploring more in depth the links between critical educational spaces and a human rights paradigm, as this level of detail has been out with the capacity of this current study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One - Participant information and consent forms, Scotland

Participant Information Sheet

Name of department: School of Social Work and Social Policy

Title of the study: 'Mad People's History and Identity' and 'Citizens Project'; Conceptualising Identity, Agency and Citizenship.

Introduction

My name is Kirsten Maclean and I am studying for a PhD at the School of Social Work and Social Policy at the University of Strathclyde. Some of you will know me through my work with Oor Mad History, which is part of CAPS Independent Advocacy. I have worked as the Community History worker at Oor Mad History for ten years.

As many of you know I have been involved in developing the "Mad People's History and Identity" (MPHI) course in Scotland which is a partnership between Queen Margaret University, CAPS Independent Advocacy and NHS Lothian. Last year I applied for a PhD related to the Mad Studies work we are involved in. I reduced my hours at CAPS to 8 hours a week and am studying full time at Strathclyde University.

The PhD is about "citizenship" and mental health and as part of it I spend a year in America, at Yale University. At Yale they run a course called "The Citizens Project" as part of their "Citizenship Community Collaborative" where they have developed a citizenship approach to mental health. I will spend 12 months based at Yale working with them and learning about their approach as part of this project. I am interested in how this compares and differs to our course, MPHI, in Scotland.

This research project is part of a European Union funded partnership called CRISP (Citizenship, Recovery and Inclusive Societies Partnership). The "citizenship" part of the project is in partnership with Yale University's Program for Recovery and Community Health which is based in New Haven, Connecticut, USA.

You can contact me by email at kirsten.maclean@strath.ac.uk or you can phone me on 07769 223152.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

Aims of this project:

This project aims to look at both the Mad People's History and Identity course in Scotland and The Citizens Project/Citizenship Community Collaborative in the US, to find out how people who have been involved of them make sense of issues of identity, agency and citizenship.

The project is aiming:

1. To find out what those involved with "MPHI" and "Citizens Project" believe has changed for them as a result of taking part in the course/class and how they explain that.
2. To find out which parts of the curriculum or experience resulted in people experiencing a change.
3. To investigate the role of education in making people feel like they can have a voice and have a say in society as an active citizen.
4. To find out if learning about the activism of other people (e.g. social movements like the mental health service user movement or the civil rights movement) makes us feel like taking action in our own lives and communities.
5. To talk with and find out from people what they think about issues of identity, agency and active citizenship.
6. To share ideas between Scotland and the US, around a "Citizenship" way of looking at mental health and a "Mad Studies" way of looking at mental health, what do these two approaches have in common, what is different and could they add anything to each other

Do you have to take part?

No. Participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you do not have to take part. If you decide not to take part this will not affect in any way how you are treated in the future or our existing relationship.

If you do agree to take part and then change your mind, you can withdraw at any time and again this will not in any way affect how you are treated in the future or our existing relationship.

What will you do in the project?

I would like to invite you to take part in a one to one interview or a group interview (focus group) to give your views. The location of the interviews will be at a place convenient to you. Possible locations include CAPS Independent Advocacy, Queen Margaret University or other community settings that are convenient and accessible for you. One to one interviews will take from 30 mins to 1 hour to complete, focus group interviews will take around 1 hour to complete.

You are also welcome to attend advisory group or "Citizenship Café" meetings. This is an informal space where you can catch up with others involved in Mad People's History and Identity ,find out what is happening and take part in this research project. I will update on progress and ask your opinions on what I am finding out. If you are interested in attending this group, please let me know and I will give you the details of the next meeting.

Why have you been invited to take part?
You have been invited to take part because of your involvement with the Mad People's History and Identity project.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?
There is the low potential risk that you may have an emotional reaction during or after an interview. We can talk about this possibility in advance and decide how best to support you if this were to happen. I also have a list of support agencies that I can give you if this would be useful.

What happens to the information in the project?

If you agree to take part in an interview, I will record your interview on a digital voice recorder. The interview will then be uploaded on the computer and stored securely on the university's secure online storage (H Drive). The interviews will then be fully transcribed. All interviews will be anonymised so you will not be able to be identified from the transcript. All interview transcripts or any other information will be securely stored, either in a locked cabinet if paper based or on University of Strathclyde's secure computer drive (H Drive).

I will send you an audio copy of your interview and a full transcript. This is for you to check you are happy with the transcript and that you give consent for it to be used in the next stage of the research. If there is any part of the transcript you would like to remove, just let me know and we can arrange that.

Once your transcript has been agreed by you and you are happy it is a fair and accurate description of what you said, it will be analysed as part of the research. The transcript will be fully anonymised, so no one reading it will be able to identify you. The people that will look at the full transcripts are the immediate research team (myself and my supervisors). Members of the advisory group may look at sections of the transcripts at the analysis stage. As you know the MPHI group is a relatively small group, so please be aware that some of the words or information you use in your interview may mean it is possible that someone that knows you may be able to identity you. When you check the transcript, please keep this in mind. If there is any part of the interview that you think might identify you and you are not comfortable with that, we can remove that section.

It is possible for you to withdraw sections or your entire interview up until September 2018 when I start the analysis of the interviews. Please bear in mind if you take part in a group interview (focus group) it will not be possible to withdraw what you said afterwards.

Once the study is finished it will be up to you to decide what happens to your interview. If you would like your interview to be kept as part of the "Oor Mad History" oral history archive then we can do that, or if you would prefer your interview and transcript to be destroyed then that is fine too.

I plan to share what we find out from the project with a wider audience, so I shall keep you informed about any events at the end of the project and make sure that you are invited along to thank you for your participation.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

What happens next?
If you would rather not be involved in the project, I am grateful for your time in reading this and thank you for your consideration.

If you are happy to be involved in the project, I will send you a copy of the consent form. We will then arrange a date and time for the meeting.

You will then be invited to take part in an interview at a time and place that is convenient to you. I shall bring a hard copy of the consent form with me to go through with you in person. I will be happy to answer any questions that you might have.

I welcome feedback on your experience of taking part in the process. You can contact me at any time to offer feedback. If you would rather speak to someone else, you can contact Gillian McIntyre, Chief Investigator (details below).

Thank you for reading this information, if you have any questions after reading this please get in touch. I'm happy to meet up before the interview for a coffee if you have anything you'd like to discuss.

Researcher contact details:
Kirsten Maclean, PhD researcher, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Lord Hope Building, University of Strathclyde. You can contact me by email on kirsten.maclean@strath.ac.uk

You can contact me by telephone on 07769 223152.

Chief Investigator details:
Dr Gillian MacIntyre , Senior Lecturer, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Lord Hope Building, University of Strathclyde. You can contact Gillian by email on gillian.macintyre@strath.ac.uk

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Secretary to the University Ethics Committee
Research and Knowledge Exchange Services
University of Strathclyde
Graham Hills Building
50 George Street
Glasgow
G1 1QE

Telephone: 0141 548 3707
Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

Name of department: Social Work and Social Policy

Title of the study: "Mad People's History and Identity" and "The Citizens Project": Conceptualisations of identity, agency and citizenship.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of data analysis (September 2018), without having to give a reason and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw and I don't want my data to be used, any data which have been collected from me will be destroyed.
- I understand that anonymised data (i.e. .data which do not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once the analysis stage begins (September 2018) and that focus group data cannot be withdrawn.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio recorded as part of the project

(PRINT NAME)	
Signature of Participant:	Date:

Recording Agreement

Name of Department: School of Social Work and Social Policy

Name of study: “Mad People’s History and Identity and “Citizens Project”: Making Sense of Identity, Agency and Citizenship

Thank you for agreeing to deposit your interview with the above study with the Oor Mad History archive. The purpose of this recording agreement is to ensure that your contribution is added to the collections of the Oor Mad History archive in strict accordance with your wishes. All material will be preserved as a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lectures, broadcasting and web archiving, with open access unless you state otherwise. By signing this form you agree to assign the copyright in your contribution to Oor Mad History and you agree to give them the right to keep your oral history recordings and also potentially add them to other existing local or national archives. Interview data as well as any other information gathered on the consent form will be handled strictly in accordance with General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

Please indicate below whether you agree to make your contributions available for:

	YES	**NO**
1. education or research in colleges, universities, museums, etc.		
2. public reference in archives, libraries or museums		
3. art or other exhibitions		
4. theatre and public performance		
5. publication (books, discs etc.)		
6. broadcasting (film, radio, television etc)		

a. documentary

b. fictional

7. internet sites with potential worldwide access

If you wish to restrict access in any way, please write these restrictions here (e.g. only made available in 5 years, 10 years etc) :

Please indicate that you give permission for your contribution to be stored:

1. **as an MP3 (sound file) and WAV (high quality sound file) file on Strathclyde University's secure drives during the study**
2. **as a WAV (high quality sound file) stored electronically as part of the Oor Mad History archive**

YES NO

How would you like to be named? Please tick one box only:

Either: own name (please state your name as you would like it to appear, e.g. first name only)

☐ ________________________________

Or: anonymous

☐ ________________________________

Or: pseudonym (please choose a name)

☐ ________________________________

I hereby assign copyright in my contribution to the Oor Mad History archives

Signed ________________________ Date __________________

Name ____________________ Address ____

____

Researcher contact details:
Kirsten Maclean, PhD researcher, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Lord Hope Building, University of Strathclyde. You can contact me by email on kirsten.maclean@strath.ac.uk

You can contact me by telephone on 07769 223152.

Chief Investigator details:
Dr Gillian MacIntyre , Senior Lecturer, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Lord Hope Building, University of Strathclyde. You can contact Gillian by email on gillian.macintyre@strath.ac.uk

Office use only:

Name ________________________ Signed ________________________

Interview no. ________________________ Date ________________________

Appendix Two – Participant information and consent forms, U.S.

APPROVED BY THE YALE UNIVERSITY IRB 8/1/2018 VALID THROUGH 6/12/2019

Yale University

Adult Consent/Adolescent Assent for Participation in a Research Project

200 FR 2 (2017-1)

Study Title: "Mad People's" History and Identity and The Citizens Project: conceptualizations of identity, agency, and citizenship

Investigator: Michael Rowe, Ph.D.

Funding Source:

HSC #: 2000023005

Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study designed to examine the understandings of citizenship theory in relationship to mental health. You have been asked to take part because you are currently participating in "The Citizens Project".

Procedures:

If you agree to take part, your participation in this study will involve your participation in a one hour audiotaped interview, to speak about your experiences with the "Citizens Project". We are also requesting your permission to audiotape you as part of this study. The tapes will be kept in an encrypted password protected Yale University server. You may also be asked to participate in an audiotaped focus group to explore issues of identity and citizenship. We anticipate that your involvement will take one hour for the focus group participation. There is no payment for your participation in this study however, you will receive a bus pass to cover transportation to the interviews.

Risks and Benefits:

There are no known or anticipated risks associated with this study; however, you may experience some discomfort talking about your experiences with mental health.

If this is the case, you make choose not to answer questions, take a break and continue later, or stop your participation at any time. There is the possible risk of loss of confidentiality. Every effort will be made to keep your information confidential; however, this cannot be guaranteed.

You will receive a $40 cash stipend payment for your participation in the qualitative interview.

Although this study will not benefit you personally, we hope that our results will add to the knowledge about how the Citizens Project helps people with mental illness understand the theory of citizenship in relation to their mental health,

Confidentiality:

1. All of your responses will be confidential. Only the researchers involved in this study and those responsible for research oversight *(such as representatives of the Yale University Human Research Protection Program, and the Yale University Human Subjects Committee, offices responsible for fiscal monitoring,)* will have access to any information that could identify you/that you provide. All audiotapes, transcripts, etc., will be labeled only with identification numbers. The code between participants and their identification numbers will be kept in a locked location and only accessible to the designated research team. These data will be continuously stored in locked cabinets and available only to designated research staff. Computer files will be accessible through Yale servers with a password known only to key research staff.

Please remember that while we (the researchers) will keep your information confidential and will remind all participants that what is said in the group should not be repeated outside of the group, we have no control over what happens outside of the group. You are reminded to not share anything you wouldn't want repeated outside of this group.

Except as permitted by law, your health information will not be released in an identifiable form outside of the Yale University research team, and collaborating researchers' institution. Examples of information that we are legally required to disclose include abuse of a child or elderly person, report of harming yourself or others, or certain reportable diseases. Note, however, that your records may be reviewed by those responsible for the proper conduct of research such as the Yale University Human Research Protection Program, Yale University Human Subjects Committee or representatives of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The information about your health that will be collected in this study includes: names.

At the conclusions of this study, any identifying information related to your research participation will be rendering the data anonymous and kept indefinitely.

By signing this form, you authorize the use and/or disclosure of the information

described above for this research study. The purpose for the uses and disclosures you are authorizing is to ensure that the information relating to this research is available to all parties who may need it for research purposes.

This authorization to use and disclose your health information collected during your participation in this study will never expire.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decline to participate, to end your participation at any time for any reason, or to refuse to answer any individual question without penalty. Your decision whether to participate or not will have no effect your relationship with Yale University, or the Citizenship Project.

You may withdraw or take away your permission to use and disclose your health information at any time. You may withdraw your permission by telling the study staff. If you withdraw your permission, you will not be able to stay in this study. When you withdraw your permission, no new health information identifying you will be gathered after that date. Information that has already been gathered may still be used and given to others until the end of the research study, as necessary to insure the integrity of the study and/or study oversight.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact the principal investigator, *Michael Rowe, Ph.D., at 203-764-8690*.

If, after you have signed this form you have any questions about your privacy rights, please contact the Yale Privacy Officer at 203-432-5919.

If you would like to talk with someone other than the researchers to discuss problems or concerns, to discuss situations in the event that a member of the research team is not available, or to discuss your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Yale University Human Subjects Committee, 203-785-4688, *[Add country code if applicable]* human.subjects@yale.edu. Additional information is available at http://your.yale.edu/research-support/human-research/research-participants

Agreement to Participate: I have read the above information, have had the opportunity to have any questions about this study answered and agree to participate in this study.

____________________ ____________________

(printed name) (date)

____

(signature)

____ ____________________

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Yale University

Adult Consent/Adolescent Assent for Participation in a Research Project

FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORM

Study Title: "Mad People's" History and Identity and The Citizens Project: conceptualizations of identity, agency, and citizenship

Investigator: Michael Rowe, Ph.D.

Funding Source:

HSC #: 2000023005

Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study designed to examine the understandings of citizenship theory in relationship to mental health. You have been asked to take part because you are currently participating in"The Citizens Project".

Procedures:

If you agree to take part, your participation in this study will involve your participation in an audiotaped focus group, to speak about your experiences with the "Citizens Project" and to explore issues of identity and citizenship. We are requesting your permission to audiotape you as part of this study. The tapes will be kept in an encrypted password protected Yale University server. We anticipate that your involvement will take one hour for the focus group participation. There is no payment for your participation in this study however, you will receive a bus pass to cover transportation to the focus group.

Risks and Benefits:

There are no known or anticipated risks associated with this study; however, you may experience some discomfort talking about your experiences with mental health. If this is the case, you make choose not to answer questions, take a break and continue later, or stop your participation at any time. There is the possible risk of loss of confidentiality. Every effort will be made to keep your information confidential; however, this cannot be guaranteed.

If you agree to participate you will receive a $25 cash stipend payment for your participation in the focus group.

Although this study will not benefit you personally, we hope that our results will add to the knowledge about how the Citizens Project helps people with mental illness understand the theory of citizenship in relation to their mental health,

Confidentiality:

1. All of your responses will be confidential. Only the researchers involved in this study and those responsible for research oversight (such as representatives of the Yale University Human Research Protection Program, and the Yale University Human Subjects Committee, offices responsible for fiscal monitoring,) will have access to any information that could identify you/that you provide. All audiotapes, transcripts, etc., will be labeled only with identification numbers. The code between participants and their identification numbers will be kept in a locked location and only accessible to the designated research team. These data will be continuously stored in locked cabinets and available only to designated research staff. Computer files will be accessible through Yale servers with a password known only to key research staff.

Please remember that while we (the researchers) will keep your information confidential and will remind all participants that what is said in the group should not be repeated outside of the group, we have no control over what happens outside of the group. You are reminded to not share anything you wouldn't want repeated outside of this group.

Except as permitted by law, your health information will not be released in an identifiable form outside of the Yale University research team, and collaborating researchers' institution. Examples of information that we are legally required to disclose include abuse of a child or elderly person, report of harming yourself or others, or certain reportable diseases. Note, however, that your records may be reviewed by those responsible for the proper conduct of research such as the Yale University Human Research Protection Program, Yale University Human Subjects Committee or representatives of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The Information about your health that will be collected in this study includes: names.

At the conclusions of this study, any identifying information related to your research participation will be rendering the data anonymous and kept indefinitely.

By signing this form, you authorize the use and/or disclosure of the information described above for this research study. The purpose for the uses and disclosures you are authorizing is to ensure that the information relating to this research is available to all parties who may need it for research purposes.

This authorization to use and disclose your health information collected during your participation in this study will never expire.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decline to participate, to end your participation at any time for any reason, or to refuse to answer any individual question without penalty. Your decision whether to participate or not will have no effect on your relationship with Yale University, or the Citizenship Project.

You may withdraw or take away your permission to use and disclose your health information at any time. You may withdraw your permission by telling the study staff. If you withdraw your permission, you will not be able to stay in this study. When you withdraw your permission, no new health information identifying you will be gathered after that date. Information that has already been gathered may still be used and given to others until the end of the research study, as necessary to insure the integrity of the study and/or study oversight.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact the principal investigator, Michael Rowe, Ph.D., at 203-764-8690.

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Agreement to Participate:

I have read the above information, have had the opportunity to have any questions about this study answered and agree to participate in this study.

___________________ ___________________

(printed name) (date)

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(signature)

____ ___________________

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Appendix Three – Interview schedules, Scotland

Interview schedule (Scotland) – MPHI graduates

1. **Can you tell me about yourself and your connection to MPHI?**

2. **Can you tell me about your journey through the course?**

3. **Can you talk about what, if anything, changed for you as a result of your experiences?**

- How you see yourself as an individual?
- How you see yourself as part of a wider community or group?
- How you see yourself in relation to your mental health
- Your ways of thinking about things?
- Connecting personal experience to the "bigger picture" , connecting the personal and political?

4. **What was it about the course that caused this change?**

- Wider experience
- Course content
- Connecting personal experience to the "bigger picture"?
- Were there any particular lightbulb moments?

5. **In the course we looked at the history of madness and activism by people with mental health issues. Is this content important? Why?**

6. **What have you go on to do after the course? (action)**

- What was it about the course that resulted in that?
- Wider experience,
- Course content
- Lightbulb moments?

7. **Can courses like this encourage people to have a stronger voice?**

- become more active politically?
- Make links between personal and political, the I to we?

8. Reflecting on your experiences, what role does this work play in the times we are living in now?

9. Do courses like this encourage people to become more active or political citizens?

- Can this lead to change?
- In relation to mental health/mental health system?
- In wider society?
- What would you like to see changed?

10. **How does all this connect to citizenship?**
- What does citizenship mean to you, active citizenship?
- Do you feel more engaged in the community or in a political sense?
- Has the experience led to you becoming more politically active?

11. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about?
- **Hopes for the future?**

Sample interview schedule (Scotland), lecturers/not student:

1. **Can you talk me through your journey with OMH and MPHI?**
- Can you tell me about yourself?
- How did you first get involved with OMH and MPHI?

2. **Why did you want to teach on this course?**

- What did you want to cover in your session and why?

3. **What has changed for you, if anything, because of being involved in this project?**
- How you see yourself as an individual?
- How you see yourself as part of a wider community or group?
- How you see yourself in relation to your mental health
- Your ways of thinking about things?
- Connecting personal experience to the "bigger picture" , connecting the personal and political?

4. **What was it about the experience that caused this change do you think?**
   Any lightbulb moments for you?
   What stands out in your memory when you look back?

5. **In the MPHI course we looked at the history of madness and about also activism by people with mental health issues. Do you think this content is important? Can you say more about that?**

6. **What were the challenges of this work?**

7. **Can courses like this encourage people to have a stronger voice? How?**
   - Connecting up personal experience to bigger picture?

8. **Do courses like this encourage people to become more active or political citizens?**

   - Can this lead to change?
   - In relation to mental health/mental health system?
   - In wider society?
   - What would you like to see changed?

9. Can you talk about why you think this particular course/approach is important now?

10. How do you think this course/work connects to citizenship?

- What does “citizenship” mean to you?

11. Is there anything else you’d like to discuss?

- Hopes for the future?

Appendix Four – Interview schedules, U.S.

Interview schedule (U.S) - Citizens Project graduates.

1. **Can I start by asking you tell me a bit about yourself…**

   - How did you first get involved with the Citizens Project?
   - Why did you get involved?
   - What did you learn?

2 **Can you talk about what, if anything, changed for you as a result of taking part in the Citizens Project?**

- How you see yourself as an individual?
- How you see yourself as part of a wider community or group?
- How you see yourself in relation to your mental health?
- Your ways of thinking about things?

3. **What was it about the Citizens Project that caused these changes do you think?**

- experience
- What's Up? Or any of the classes?
- Were there any "lightbulb moments" for you? Any memories stand out?

4. **Can you tell me about finishing up with the Citizens Project and moving on to get involved with FACE (and/or Witnesses)?**

- How did that happen?
- Why did you want to get involved in FACE?
- What was it about the Citizens Project that led to you getting involved in FACE?
- What does FACE mean for you?

5. **What has changed for you as a result of getting involved in FACE?**

- What is it about the experience do you think that has led to these changes?
- You've been involved in Citizens and FACE, is there any difference?

6. **Can you tell me about getting involved with Witnesses?**

- What does Witnesses mean to you?

7. **Do you think courses like Citizens Project or groups like FACE or Witnesses encourage people to have a stronger voice? Why do you think that?**

8. **Do they encourage people to get more involved in community organising?**

   - How do they do that?
   - Do you think this is important? Why?
   - Do you think it is important now in the times we are living in today?
   - Can this lead to change… A) in relation to mental health/mental health system? B) In wider society?
   - What would you like to see changed?
   - What are the barriers to people getting involved in community organising?

9. **How does all this connect to your understandings of citizenship?**

   - How does citizenship connect with FACE or community organising for you?
   - Do you see yourself as an "activist"? What does the word "activist" mean to you?
   - How does this connect to your ideas about citizenship?
   - Often we think about citizenship in an individual way, can you talk about how you make sense of citizenship in relation to community organising or activism?

10. **Most of the community organising I've been involved with here with you guys has not been directly about mental health, you have made connections with other broader issues, like anti-hunger, Witnesses. Can you tell me more about that?**

11. **Cheryell talks about moving from the "I to the we", so not just thinking of ourselves and our story but connecting to other people's stories, to a sense of a collective "we", do you think Citizens and FACE helps people do that?**

12. **Is there anything else you'd like to talk about? Any memories stand out**

Interview schedule (U.S), facilitators

1. **Can you tell me about yourself?**

   - Can you tell me about your role?
   - How did you get involved in this work?
   - What does this work mean to you, personally, and why do you think it is important?

2. **Can you tell me about the FACE group?**
   - What does it mean to you?
   - Mutual support, friendship, connection, caring aspect of community organising
   - Is it a community organising group?

3. **Can you tell me about Witnesses to Hunger?**

4. **How do you think people make the journey from Citizens Project to FACE and then onto things like Witnesses?**

5. **What changes do you see in people as they make this transition?**

6. **What is the connection between Citizens, particularly the informal education or classes element and the community organising work here?**

7. **Can courses like Citizens Project encourage people to have a stronger voice? How do they do that?**

8. **Can courses like this encourage people to get involved in community organising or have more political agency?**

   - **How do they do that?**
   - Do you think it is important now in the times we are living in today?
   - Can this lead to change… A) in relation to mental health/mental health system? B) In wider society?
   - What would you like to see changed?
   - What are the barriers to people getting involved in community organising?

9. **How does all this connect to your understandings of citizenship?**

- How does citizenship connect with community organising for you?
- Do you see yourself as an "activist"? How does this connect to your ideas about citizenship?
- Often we think about citizenship in an individual way, can you talk about how you make sense of citizenship in relation to community organising or activism?

10. **I'm interested in the connections you have made with other social movements – so you don't just focus on activism around mental health, you have made connections with anti-poverty organising etc. Can you tell me more about that?**

11. **What has changed for you, if anything, because of being involved in this work?**

    - How you see yourself/your identity as an individual?
    - How you see yourself/your identity as part of a wider community or group?
    - How you see yourself/your identity in relation to your mental health?
    - Your ways of thinking about things?

12. **What was it about the experience that caused this change do you think?**

    - Any lightbulb moments for you?
    - What stands out in your memory when you look back?

13. **Is there anything else you'd like to talk about?**

14. **Hopes for the future?**

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

What does FACE mean to me?

What does FACE mean to us as a group?

Appendix Five – Example of coded transcript

Transcript	Codes
Interviewer: So just moving on I suppose to your journey through the course. Can you tell me a bit? You mentioned em earlier how you heard the talk at taking stock. Can you just tell me a little bit about your journey through the course? Or why wanted to do it and all that sort of thing.	
Interviewee: I think again, as I said earlier, you know, it really fascinated me, the idea had there's so much knowledge out there, we all have our own massive knowledge, you know, and very specific and accurate knowledge that we know what it's like to have our own mental health condition, but the idea of … and it just seems all this knowledge is floating about you in the ether and quite often not being listened to, so the idea that the subject of mad…and I know it's been written about and things, but to actually have a course, an academic, and I don't mean to stress the academic side as a highfaluting around. It's not. It's just to have it within, a module and a learning setting and I just thought was fantastic, and it kind of, you know the idea, you put your own experience in context	Facinated me, So much knowledge We have our own massive knowledge – EPISTEMIC JUSTICE We know what it's like Epsitemology Epistemic justice Our knowledge not listened to So to have a course, Situate this knowledge in academic course Subject of mad Have an academic course Put personal experience in context of history

with history, you know, I just thought that was a great idea to try. I think that is, it puts a context around your own experience and also, I think the way the course was done, there was so many people around the table and all sharing, that it was just mind blowing, em, you could have such opposing views and everyone knew you could totally respect, you know, because it was their own experience, that's just non… there's nothing to be challenged there, that's just, whatever you experience is what you experience, that's why you didn't feel oh, I'm not up to this, I can't do this because all your, em what you call it, maybe, oh what's the word, sort of qualifications for the course were your own experience and that's always to the front, it's not something you have to study or read up on it. It's just there. Everybody felt, I think, at ease when they knew that's what we're tapping into and putting that in a context and so as a I say, opposing views you would have people saying that hospitals should be razed to the ground by fire, institutions are the worst thing for mental health, and then you'd have somebody else saying well actually being in hospital saved my life. I can't thank them enough. Two very	Puts context round your own experience Diversity of views Sharing Mind blowing Opposing views Respect Only qualifications were lived experience Lived experience at the front, centre Everyone felt at ease Tapping into lived experience Putting it in a context Opposing views Some saying hospitals should be razed to the ground Others – saved my life

opposing views. Each one absolutely valid and I just absolutely loved that and it made me think that what we need is something as a mental health system that offers choice of how and different approaches, not aeverybody must go to hospital. Do basket weaving and be cured. That just doesn't work. Yes, I think that's what drew me was … I don't think I realized how much it would contextualize how I felt about my own mental health.	Need mental health system that offers choice It contextualised how I felt about my own mental health
Interviewer: What do you mean by contextualize?	
Interviewee: Just about, when you think of - we all know about the history and how people were treated in the past. One thing you think how bloody lucky we are that we've been ill in this, and people are probably saying that in 30 or 40 years' time as well that they weren't being treated when were treated, but yeah, the idea you think it's appalling, just treated like second class citizens, guinea pigs, and people you think didn't really know what they were doing, maybe trying and coming from a good heart, but bloody hell, were they doing damage. And yeah, sorry, things like that and realizing how young that psychiatry really was compared to	History and how treated in the past Bloody lucky to be ill now and not then Appaling, treated like second class citizens Doing damage How young psychiatry was compared to medicine

medicine….Yes and the… that's just side of it, the history, activism, the history of activism that is really fascinating and thinking, you know, it's, you've still got depression, but you do still feel useless and pathetic, blah blah blah, but when you feel you're part of something that has moved things forward, it gives you a bit of pride back or a bit of, just doing a tiny wee thing, when everybody's going in the same direction it's hopefully having a bit of impact, but these things take decades to move. Em, we did.. one of the projects, well was from the start, was to find a photograph that you thought described you know, your experience or stood out to you and then, so you had to describe your experience and then back it up with, you know, people that have written on the, you know, written on the subject and things, and to me, that was a fascinating way to do it. I don't … I was really quite inspired. Because for me it really helped using the metaphor of the photograph really helped me pull out and say things about my experience that, I don't if it'd just been writing it down on paper, I don't think I could have done it and because it was to do with the metaphor, I don't think it was so painful. I don't know how other	The history The history of activism Fascinating You've still got depression, you still feel useless and pathetic But you're part of something that has moved things on PRIDE Photovoice – impact Take photo that describes your experience Back it up Fascinating I was inspired It really helped It was less painful to do it this way

people felt, but that's the way I felt and there was almost a kind of, it was a release, and oh to finally get something out, you feel, I really hit the nail, that's how I felt, it's as if the photovoice and using the methaphor sent me down a different path and helped me separate from the sheer intensity of the emotion, but get to, look outside my experience, it was quite revolutionary for me.	It was a release To get it out, to hit the nail on the heard Photovoice set me down different path Helped me makes sense of my exp Separate from intensity of emotion Look outside my exp REVOLUTIONARY for me

Appendix Six – Thematic map

1. **What changed for people as a result of their experience?**
Moving from isolation to connection USA • I am not alone • Validation, increased confidence and self- worth • "Hope", gaining tools, second chances • Self-awareness SCOTLAND • I am not alone • Validation, increased confidence and self- worth • See myself differently now – space away from medical model • Connection to shared history and collective identity
Shift in thinking or awareness USA • Moving from negative to positive • Giving back – reponsibilised citizen • "Starting to care" SCOTLAND • Asking more questions, critical thinking
Journey towards increased personal and political agency USA • A series of doors opening • Coming to voice SCOTLAND • Journey towards critical consciousness

2. **What aspect contributed to these changes?**
USA • The relational – human connection, collective identity and love • Non-clinical space • Pedagogies of citizenship and activism – tied to relational, also to situated social movement learning through action • Connecting individual subjective experience to the wider structural context • Epistemic justice

Scotland

- Epistemic justice
- Relational, social connection, collective identity
- Connecting individual subjective experience to wider structural context
    - Historical consciousness
    - Extending sociological imagination and narrative imagination
    - Counter hegemony
    - Polyphony of narratives
- Broadening understanding of activism
- Democratising education, critical pedagogy

3. Narratives of citizenship

The good citizen?

- Exploring the notion of "giving back" in the US, the responsibilised citizen
- Disrupting normative or neoliberal ideas of citizenship – Scotland

The loved citizen

- Citizenship as relational
- Role of caring and unconditional love
- Non clinical spaces

The activist citizen

- Collective identity
- Citizenship as action, collective action
- Citizenship as activist
- Citizenship and agency

Appendix Seven - Secondment and supervisor report, Yale PRCH.

Report on PhD Secondment - Conceptualising and Measuring Citizenship

Kirsten Maclean, PhD candidate, University of Strathclyde.

Overall CRISP objective: To contribute to improved social inclusion of people with lived experience of mental health problems

Overall objectives of the work package:

- To share knowledge and practice in the area of citizenship and participatory research.
- To explore additional current paradigms and practices (recovery, social inclusion, empowerment etc.) to identify elements that can be applied/adapted in different contexts.
- To explore the relationship among and relevance of a citizenship framework to community outreach and organizing, clinical care, and the transformation of mental health systems of care.
- To explore the intersection of the arts and citizenship research and practice.
- To create an ongoing infrastructure to conduct citizenship informed participatory research.

Overview of first secondment, 6 May – 6 August 2017.

My initial visit to the Program for Recovery and Community Health (PRCH) at Yale University was an invaluable chance to meet with the staff at PRCH, including peer specialist workers and peer researchers. I attended the weekly staff meetings, grant meetings and set up individual meetings with staff to find out more about their work. I also attended the meetings of the Citizenship Community Collaborative, which is the umbrella that all the citizenship work at Yale sits under. I was able to meet with Michael Rowe on a number of occasions to discuss the citizenship work and plans for my study.

I attended a symposium happening run by the IRCC about the opiate crisis in Connecticut, titled "Recovering Citizenship – Moving Towards Innovation in Substance Use and Forensic Care". One of the speakers was from the Department of Corrections, she said, "the solution to opiate crisis is not to put people in prison, it is community, belonging" which resonates very much with PRCH's approach to "citizenship as belonging." The Citizens Project has been involved in setting up Citizens classes in a forensic setting, at a local psychiatric hospital. The worker involved and several graduates came to speak at the symposium. It was very clear the classes had a big impact on the agency of the people speaking. They had used the time

during the class to invite hospital administrators into the class to ask them questions about the running of the hospital. One graduate was starting to run recovery-based training within the unit. A couple of them were keen to be peer facilitators on the classes when they run again with a different cohort. It was fascinating to see the impact of the Citizen's Project in this challenging environment.

Early on in my secondment I was able to sit in and participate in one of the Citizens Project weekly classes. This was a "What's Up?" part of the class, where a member of the group facilitates. It is an open space where each person of the group talks about what is going on for them right now. After the person has spoken, the facilitator invites someone to give feedback. There is no "cross talk" allowed, so the person just listens to the feedback rather than talking back or responding in a conversational style. This is a very powerful format, which I believe has origins in the 12 step programmes. The group had been meeting for some time and so the sense of community and connection was strong, however I was able to experience for myself that the format certainly contributes to that. There was an atmosphere of mutual trust and support that was very moving to witness.

Throughout my time at PRCH I had the opportunity to work with two Yale research studies linked to the Citizenship Community Collaborative, the Financial Health study and the Musical Intervention study. This was an excellent opportunity for me to gain research experience. The Financial Health project is a qualitative study, led by Annie Harper, who worked alongside a team of peer researchers. It involved peer support around money issues as well as an interview at the start and end of the project. The study was set up in response to the fact high numbers of the population experiencing mental health issues, addictions, homelessness and incarceration live in poverty and money is a big issue affecting people. This built up a picture of what are the main things people are spending on each month and was part of the wider data analysis and writing up process of the study.

I also got involved in the Musical Intervention study, led by Chyrell Bellamy. This study was focused on a project downtown which is a sober space for people with experience of addictions, homelessness and mental health issues to come and play music, record music and perform at regular open mics. It uses music as a tool to enhance citizenship. People can just come and use the space and pay for recording time or stage time, or they can offer to be volunteers and exchange hours spent volunteering for recording and/or stage time. It is a unique space, open most days of the week for people to spend time and is in the early stages of development. It is a non-clinical space, a sober space and somewhere for people to grow and develop whatever their background. The research study was set up in order to try to understand what works about this project, to begin to make sense of its success so far and potential in the future. This is also a qualitative study involving participant observation, field notes, surveys (linked to the citizenship measure) and qualitative interviews. I spent a lot of

time at the project, carrying out participant observation and writing extensive field notes. This was the first time I had been through this process in practice, so it was a steep learning curve about the potential intrusiveness and power dynamics of ethnographic research.

I also attended forensic peer support training run by PRCH. This was a three day training for people already working in a forensic setting or other peer roles or those who are interested in finding out more. It was a fascinating three days and highlighted for me the massive differences in life experience, the distances that can be between people working in health professionals/staff positions and people with lived experience and even the distances between peers. Not everyone with "lived experience" has been in prison and has a prison number, not everyone with lived experience is homogenous was the key message. "Lived experience" is a fractured concept, which must be seen through the lens of class, race, sexuality, gender, disability etc. We are not all the same just because we have the label "lived experience" or "peer".

I also joined meetings for the community organising group, also part of the CCC. This group is called FACE and meets every two weeks in a downtown café. The aim of this group is to bring people together, build community and connection in the group. They then have gotten involved in other community organising, such as festivals, running interactive mural projects. One of the festivals they participated in was the West River Festival and the West River Neighbourhood Group was keen to have members of the group come and present their findings from the mural project at one of their meetings. This was an interesting insight into the potential for community organising groups related to mental health to influence and get involved in local democracy.

Other significant highlights were a tour of New Haven, led by community organiser and social worker Billy Bromage and peer facilitator on the Citizens Project, Brigitte Williamson. This was a cultural competency tour of the city, to raise awareness about the social, economic, racial inequalities in a city with one of the richest universities in the world. We toured the city from the mansions of the richest neighbourhoods to neighbourhoods, predominantly Black and Latino, which are affected most with gun crime. Billy told us about the work of local organisers in one area who had tried to tackle drug dealing and gun crime amongst young people, purely by having a presence on the streets which was a deterrence to dealers. We also heard about the impact of local planning, how the construction of roads and highways divided up once strong communities.

I also was given a tour of The Connection services by Claire Bien. The Connection is one of the largest providers of services for people affected by homelessness, addictions and mental health issues. I learnt more about state policy around homelessness and accommodating people. I also went out with the Columbus House street homeless

outreach team. This involved going to a meeting run by “Chapel on the Green”, which is a weekly meeting where they provide lunch for people who are homeless. It also involves an hour long evangelist meeting. Columbus House staff attend each week with registration forms in case there is anyone there who would like a referral to use their services. Because the church is situated on the Green, it is also a chance to speak to other street homeless people.

I participated in the making of a film titled “What does citizenship mean to you?”, where we filmed over 50 people on New Haven Green talking about citizenship. The film was edited and shown as part of a panel discussion on citizenship, part of the International Festival of Arts and Ideas.

During this secondment I was also working on my literature review and methodology chapters, as well as starting the IRB process.

Overview of second secondment, 10 May – 12 November 2018

This was my longest secondment, a six-month period and was the period when I carried out my field work in the US. Again, I arrived in time to attend the annual IRCC Symposium at PRCH, from 15 – 18 May 2018. There was a presentation by FACE members at the symposium and I also met a local activist who was the leader of a group called “Witnesses to Hunger” which is an activist group based around people’s experiences of food insecurity and food poverty. I started attending the monthly meetings of Witnesses to Hunger as they were formulating their campaign to challenge threats to food stamps. What was significant was that several members of the FACE group, including the peer specialist worker who supports the citizenship work, were making the transition from the FACE group to joining the more explicitly political and activist group Witnesses to Hunger. This move or journey was of specific interest to me and became the focus of my research.

Witnesses to Hunger were forming their campaign in response to planned changes to the Farm Bill, which would potentially affect food stamps. At meetings collective action activities were planned, including a rally on the Green which people took part in. Also, people met the local Senator face to face as he walked across the state. FACE and Witnesses members were also invited to attend a round table with the Senator to discuss food insecurity and food stamps. It was an interesting time in the journey of the citizenship work, to be there as people from FACE joined Witnesses and took part in collective action as part of “legislative advocacy” or activism. This would form a key part of my own research.

I continued to participate in FACE meetings as a member every two weeks throughout secondment, which is the community organising group linked to citizenship work at PRCH. I attended PRCH staff meetings every week throughout secondment as well as

other relevant meetings including grant writing meetings and the Citizenship Community Collaborative. I also attended two "learning collaboratives" ran by PRCH staff members and supported by DMHAS. The first one was a session of the Citizenship Learning Collaborative which is an aspect of rolling out the citizenship work state-wide. The learning collaborative involved a number of agencies providing mental health and addictions services together as they learnt more about the citizenship approach and how to implement it in their own settings. I also attended the Peer work Learning Collaborative to find out more about the roles of peers in Connecticut. Again this learning collaborative brought together agencies throughout the state who were interested in hiring more peers in their workforce. I volunteered at Theatre of the Oppressed New York City workshop in New Haven as part of citizenship and the arts work. This involved a two-day workshop culminating with performance on the city green as part of Arts and Ideas Festival, 8 – 10 June 2018. I attended the Harambe group which is composed of "peer" led classes for people in recovery from addictions and with experience of the Criminal Justice System. Harambe curriculum uses aspects of the Citizens' Project and the 5 R's of citizenship as well as the "domains of wellness". I also attended Citizens a couple of times to sit in on What's Up and also to attend the session on Legislative Advocacy as it was directly related to my research.

My own research intensified during this six-month secondment. I carried out secondary data analysis of existing archive material of Citizens Project. I also discussed and got feedback on my research plans from the FACE group. I was working on the analysis of the Scottish interview data. I also drafted my interview questions and got feedback on them from staff members at PRCH, including the peer specialist worker with the Citizens' Project/ FACE. I carried out qualitative interviews with members of the FACE group who had also graduated from Citizens project, as well as interviews with the peer specialist and member of staff involved with FACE group. I also interviewed the Commissioner at Connecticut Department for Addictions and Mental Health. I held a focus group as part of my fieldwork using arts based and participatory methods and as a group, we produced a group mural.

I attended another mural making session when I went to the West River Peace festival with the FACE Group. I continued to attend Witnesses to Hunger and FACE meetings as a member throughout the secondment. I also took part in the "Let's Lead – Lived Experience Leadership Academy", led by Yale and delivered to group of peer workers at Centre for Addictions and Mental Health in Toronto, which was delivered by zoom.

Again, I was able to participate in research at PRCH. I joined a qualitative research group at PRCH where we analysed FACE group interview transcripts using a narrative Interpretive Phenomenological Approach. I also participated in the analysis of ethnographic fieldnotes for the Musical Intervention research study. I gave a guest lecture about my work and research as part of "Introduction to Madness Studies", undergraduate psychology module taught by Sarah Kamens, at Wesleyan University

attended Citizenship and Inclusive societies conference (particular focus on Refugees and Immigrants) as well as the Rebellious Psychiatry Conference, Yale University.

Out with PRCH I attended a summer school at New York University on qualitative and mixed methods with Professor Deborah Padgett. I also visited Advocacy Unlimited to learn more about their work, particularly the "compassionate activism" course that they run.

Overview of third secondment 10 May – 10 August 2019

During my third and final secondment I focused on sharing findings of my research so far and generating feedback on my analysis so far in order to further inform the study. Again, on arrival I attended and gave a workshop alongside colleagues from Strathclyde at the IRCC symposium. This time the symposium included a range of site visits and a tour of the city and Yale. During my secondment I attended staff and Citizenship Community Collaborative meetings on a regular basis and immersed myself in the life and work of PRCH. I continued to attend FACE as a member as well as go to Witnesses to Hunger meetings. I was there at the time that Witnesses was starting anti-racist organising training so taking part in this training was a highlight of the visit.

I was predominantly working on my data analysis and also on dissemination. I wanted to share the emerging themes with the FACE members and generate discussion in order to take the analysis to the next stage. I did this in two stages, including presenting the themes at a FACE meeting at Taco Bell and then in a more focused session at PRCH. At PRCH I colour coded all the themes and laid them out on a table for people to move around and talk about. This generated a very rich discussion which enabled me to consolidate my analysis.

Before I left, I was able to present and get feedback on my analysis and emerging themes to CCC members and also to the larger PRCH team at a staff meeting which was a very valuable experience. It was difficult to leave at the end of the secondment, after building such close ties with people and the place.

Overall, I have benefited from being immersed in the knowledge and practice of the citizenship approach and from experiencing this first-hand. I have been able to witness a theoretical framework transformed in real world application and at a time in the development at the work where "collective citizenship" is emerging as a new focus. This has enabled me to make comparisons with the collective advocacy and social movement approach in our work in Scotland. Also, by focusing on the community organising and activism work that is currently emerging as part of the citizenship work, I hope my research will add to this new body of knowledge. I have aimed to share aspects of my own background and work in advocacy, community history and arts and

to give of myself personally and politically in this work which has been extremely rewarding for me. I have developed as a person and as a researcher, exploring further the contested nature of research in communities and ways of making research matter in people's lives. I have learnt new skills in participatory and action based research, including a new methodology, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. I have built up lasting personal and professional relationships with people at PRCH and in the community of New Haven, which will help I hope contribute to a framework for the collaborative work to continue, but more than that, which demonstrates the centrality of love and relationships which forms the heart of this approach to mental health research and activism. I am truly grateful for this experience and for all the people at PRCH, the members of FACE and Witnesses that made it a life altering and life enhancing journey for me.

Supervisor Assessment, Michael Rowe, Ph.D.

I have been well aware and have had ample time to observe Kirsten Maclean's secondments at the Program for Recovery and Community Health (PRCH) of the Yale Department of Psychiatry, but reading her accounting of it in her *Report on PhD Secondment - Conceptualising and Measuring Citizenship* is impressive nonetheless. The report speaks for itself, and is accurate on every point. I would only like to add a few observations:

Few if any other scholars over the nearly 20-year life or PRCH have become as engaged, both personally as a valued colleague and practically in terms of the range and depth of her participation, in the work we do here. She certainly did what we was sent to do—learn, explore, question, and translate her learning into her academic work—but as a researcher and thinker of standing in the program, pre- or post-doc or faculty.

Kirsten did what a good student ethnographer/participant observer should do. She engaged in the work, participated fully while bringing her training, her Scottish-cultural experiences, and her own natural gifts to the work. While she more than fulfilled the expectations I have of a pre-doc student, she became more than a student from about week two on of coming to PRCH for her first secondment.

Kirsten did what a young student researcher should do—engaged in and conducted collaborative, and her own, research while learning, practicing, and honing her research skills.

Kirsten's work on the FACE project is a particularly good example of her skills as a researcher-participant-participant observer, coming at a formative time in this still-new collective citizenship venture. Threading the needle of participation, observation, sharing of observations while continuing to participate, providing support without

‘pulling research rank,’ is a challenge, but is needed more and more for the kind of ‘ethnography with a difference’ (the difference being the co-research process with participant-creators) that will be needed and is being demanded by empowered participants in collective citizenship and other social justice work. Kirsten has a distinctive ability to participate while exercising reflexivity, that is, maintaining the ability to ask difficult questions, critique work they are committed to, and earn the respect of colleagues of all types and at all levels.

(Soon-to-be) Dr. Maclean is a lovely person and an esteemed colleague who will always be welcome at Yale PRCH.