Catalyst for Change
or Empty Exchange?

Evaluating the impact of
short term home-stays in Manila squatter communities
on participating New Zealanders

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Abstract

This study is a qualitative evaluation of a scheme called Discovery Teams, offered by the christian agency Servants to Asia's Urban Poor. It examines the experiences of twenty-two New Zealanders who have spent between one and four weeks staying as guests in the home of Filipino squatter families, and evaluates the various ways this experience has generated ongoing changes in their lives. The study concludes that participating in a discovery team has acted as a catalyst for change in most team members' lives. This is especially true for those who have already begun to ask questions about poverty and suffering — and their own response to these issues — before their trip to Manila. Most team members fit this description, thanks to a thorough program of personal and team preparation. The study also reveals that participating in a discovery team during a time of personal transition — such as a change in employment or marital status — increases the probability of team members implementing changes on return to their home country. Being immersed in an urban poor community, building relationships with local people, and reflecting regularly on these experiences all contribute to team members gaining a deeper understanding of the many ways that poverty impacts the lives of real people. Those who come to understand that there are connections between their own abundance and the poverty of others are very likely to develop a deeper sense of personal responsibility toward the poor. They are consequently more likely to continue responding to poverty through different aspects of their lifestyle, vocation and the practice of their faith. However, for most this requires some level of resolve to grow in personal maturity — particularly their ability to look beyond themselves — and a willingness to allow their christian faith to adapt to a more complex understanding of reality. Responsible leadership, exercised by mature team leaders, also positively influences each of these outcomes in team members' lives.

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I dedicate this work to past and present members of Servants Manila Team and their Filipino associates.

Definition of Terms

Discovery Teams (capitalised)	A scheme designed to place small teams of non-poor people in the homes of urban poor Filipino families for a short term of up to four weeks
discovery teams (lower case)	Short-term teams of non-poor people who have stayed in various Manila squatter communities
discovery team members	Non-poor people who have, at some stage, been part of a discovery team
Holistic	A way of viewing the different areas of human life as a seamless, integrated whole
Holistic program	The range of activities and procedures guiding the implementation of this scheme, expressly designed to address different areas of team members' lives
Incarnational	A theological term that refers to *being present in the flesh*, but also often carries some connotations of relinquishing power or status
Incarnational model	Describes the particular *form* of the home-stay in Manila, where team members put aside privilege and comfort to be present in a poor community
(the) Non-poor	People who do not experience any significant economic hardship (although may still experience other forms of poverty)
(the) Poor	People whose lives are marked by extreme hardship, due to their exclusion from the benefits of the economic system
Respondents	discovery team members who have been selected and interviewed for this study
Servants to Asia's Urban Poor	Grassroots christian organisation originating from New Zealand (usually abbreviated as Servants)
Squatter communities	Clusters of makeshift households built on vacant land, usually in densely-populated urban areas
Stakeholders	People who have been involved in developing this scheme, or have prepared and sent various short-term teams to Manila squatter communities

Third World	A left-over term from the Cold War era, used to describe economically poor nations (used in this study because it is the most widely understood term)
Transformation	Personal or inner change, expressed primarily through changed practices and relationships, and ultimately through changed social structures
Worldview or world picture	The unique way that each person interprets reality

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The paradox indeed is that the beginning of healing is in the solidarity with the pain. In our solution-oriented society it is more important than ever to realize that wanting to alleviate pain without sharing it is like wanting to save a child from a burning house without the risk of being hurt.

— Henri Nouwen.

I was reading this while I was in Manila, and I thought, 'yeah, being here must cause a Westerner to engage somehow. If it doesn't, then it hasn't really served its purpose. It must do more than make you feel pity or whatever. It must cause you to make some fundamental shifts in how you think and live'.

— Tom.[1]

[1] The quoted passage is from H.M. Nouwen (1976) *Reaching Out.* Harper Collins, London, p.38. Tom is the pseudonym I have given to the interview respondent who relayed this story to me.

Chapter One

Introducing the Research

In this chapter I introduce the research topic by giving a brief overview of Discovery Teams. This involves describing some of the defining features of this scheme and presenting the core aims of the stakeholders. I then explain the purpose, and define the scope, of this particular study with reference to these aims. I also seek to situate this study within the wider body of research, briefly explaining its contribution to development thought and practice in general. Finally, I present an overview of this study by stating the aims, and previewing the contents, of each chapter.

Overview of Discovery Teams

Since 1988, the christian agency Servants to Asia's Urban Poor have been offering a scheme that places small teams of people from Western countries into Manila squatter communities for up to four weeks at a time. The name that Servants have given to this scheme is Discovery Teams. This name reflects Servants' emphasis on team members adopting the role of *learners*. The primary goal of this scheme is to activate changes in the lives of team members, in response to their experience of Third World poverty.[2] A distinctive feature of Discovery Teams is that they employ a home-stay approach, which places non-poor people in the homes of urban poor Filipino squatter families for the duration of their stay in Manila. Hosts are encouraged to incorporate their guests into their daily lives, not sheltering them from the difficulties and

[2] Despite being a leftover term from the Cold War era, 'Third World' is used throughout this study to describe economically poor nations because it remains the most widely used and understood term. The designation 'Western countries' (or 'the West') is likewise problematic, but is nevertheless used here because of its familiarity. Another important definitional issue concerns the name 'Discovery Teams' itself. The use of such a descriptive name makes it very easy to confuse the *scheme* (Discovery Teams) with the individual *teams* (discovery teams). In order to reduce this confusion, I have used capitals when referring to the scheme and lower case when describing individual discovery teams.

struggles they face. Each team member is subsequently brought into close contact with the everyday challenges of a particular urban poor family. It is anticipated that the complex issues of global poverty will become more focussed, as they are observed through the lens of a specific family in a specific community. In addition to observing the effects of poverty on other people, team members themselves also inevitably experience some deprivation of their own privacy, space, freedom, choice and — occasionally — even health. This is intended to give them a personal experience of certain realities that the urban poor face on a daily basis. On returning to their home country, it is expected that team members will make some corresponding adjustments to different areas of their own lives — such as their vocations, lifestyles and interpersonal relationships — as they reflect on their observations and personal experience of Third World poverty.[3]

Purpose of the research

The primary purpose of this research is to conduct an evaluation of Discovery Teams, gauging the effectiveness of this scheme with reference to the aims and objectives of Servants and other key stakeholders. Discovery Teams are premised on the belief that an experience of this nature can stimulate internal changes in non-poor people, which can then be translated into changed practices and relationships upon returning to their home country. More specifically, Discovery Teams aim to give non-poor people a new appreciation of the ways that their own lives intersect with the lives of the poor, promoting ongoing life choices that demonstrate an increased sense of personal responsibility toward the poor. This study seeks to establish the extent to which this kind of change has been integrated into previous discovery team members' lives, and sustained over time. It also seeks to identify the various personal and/or structural factors that either promote or inhibit these changes. This research, therefore, asks the question: *are Discovery Teams a catalyst for change?*

To answer this question I surveyed a selection of 22 former discovery team members, who participated in the scheme between the years 1988 and 2003. In consultation with a network of 12 stakeholders in this scheme, I developed a set of interview questions designed to explore these peoples' Discovery Team experiences and to identify any changes that they believe have resulted from their experience. These questions provided a platform for conducting one-on-one semi-structured interviews with each of the 22 respondents. I compared their responses to a framework of categories, which I also developed in consultation with the stakeholders. In addition, I asked each of the 22 respondents some background questions, to

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[3] My interest in this topic stems from my own involvement in one of the pilot teams that ultimately led to the creation of this scheme. The implications of my involvement in this team, in terms of its effect on my approach to this research, are discussed in detail in Chapter Four, under the heading 'Personal bias'.

establish the personal characteristics of this particular survey sample. This also made it possible to detect any personal factors that might encourage or inhibit team members' ability to engage with this experience or to assimilate their responses into their everyday lives. I have therefore been able to: record a snapshot of 22 former discovery team members; explore their experiences of preparing and going to Manila; and establish the extent to which their personal responses to this experience have activated particular changes in their lives. The research individually explores each of these three dimensions of Discovery Teams, and ultimately seeks to establish some significant connections between them.

Scope of the research

As previously mentioned, Servants established Discovery Teams with the primary goal of activating changes in the lives of team members as they respond to their own personal experience of Third World poverty. Three of Servants' four declared objectives for Discovery Teams concern changes occurring in the lives of team members. The first objective concerns *personal change,* which ultimately results in appropriate responses to Third World poverty. The second objective concerns *changed relationships* between the poor and the non-poor, where bridges are built between these two socially disparate groups. The third objective concerns *changed practices*, where discovery team members are challenged to live their lives and practice their faith in reference to the poor wherever they may be found.[4] Therefore, I have chosen to limit this study to *examining the experiences of discovery team members* and *exploring the extent to which their time in Manila has activated changes* in these three interconnected areas of their lives. While Servants' fourth objective for Discovery Teams is to empower host families in their roles of offering hospitality and educating their guests, it is beyond the scope of this research to study the impact of this scheme on the Filipino host families and their communities. This topic warrants a separate study, which would certainly provide a valuable counterpoint to this research.

I have chosen to limit this study to *New Zealanders* who, as a member of a discovery team, have spent 1–4 weeks staying in the home of a Filipino family in a Manila squatter community. Although discovery teams have travelled to Manila from other parts of the world, by far the most have come out of New Zealand. This is largely due to Servants' close ties with its own country of origin. Surveying people from only one country does prohibit comparisons with people from other parts of the world, but it puts a clear boundary around this study and reduces the (already very high) number of variables. As a New Zealander myself, I also believe I am more qualified to survey people with whom I share the same nationality; while it is no

[4] For clarity and consistency I have used my own paraphrases of these objectives. The original wording can be found in J. M. Craig (1998) *Servants Among The Poor,* Servants and OMF, Manila, p.203.

guarantee that communication will be straightforward, it does decrease the likelihood of major cultural misunderstandings occurring. On a purely practical level, it also makes it possible to survey most respondents face-to-face, due to their geographical proximity.

Situating the research

This study sits alongside the small but growing body of work exploring the issue of non-poor people coming to recognise their own need to change in response to their personal encounters with the poor in the Third World. It affirms that the relationship between the poor and non-poor is a two-way relationship, in which each party has something worthwhile to offer the other. This, of course, requires a willingness on the part of both parties to *be changed* by their encounters with the other. While it has been widely assumed that the poor must change in order for their lives to be improved, the prerogative of the non-poor to also change in response to the reality of poverty has, for various reasons, often been given far less attention or emphasis. This issue is explored in Chapter Three under the heading 'Reframing Development'. It is my hope that this study will contribute in some way to the case for non-poor people grasping opportunities to encounter the poor — in humility and as eager learners — and to subsequently evaluate aspects of their own personal lives and practices in light of these encounters. Practically, I hope that this process will encourage non-poor people to integrate creative responses to poverty into their own lives in an ongoing way. While this study sets out to evaluate and refine one tenacious effort at achieving this goal, I hope that it will also help to improve any effort — however small — that promotes more equitable relationships between the poor and the non-poor.

Overview of the Chapters

In this section I present a roadmap of the chapters in this study by stating the aims, and previewing the contents, of each. The main themes, concepts and categories that define this research are also briefly signalled here. Many of the terms used in this section are also explained under the Definition of Terms on pages *iv* and *v*.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two explores the origins, design and aims of Discovery Teams in some detail. This is in order to describe how this unique scheme evolved through combining Servants' philosophy of working alongside the urban poor in Manila with the practice of two New Zealand christian agencies sending short-term teams to Manila in the 1980s. The chapter traces the merging of

these two 'streams' of philosophy and practice, and explains how this fusion birthed a new scheme that became known as Discovery Teams. The chapter then describes the subsequent process of designing an appropriate short-term team *program*, and developing a suitable *model* to implement it. I name these two core components of Discovery Teams *the holistic program* and *the incarnational model,* explaining the meaning of each of these terms. From each of these two core components I draw three further categories that allow the different dimensions of peoples' Discovery Team experiences to be explored in more specific detail. First, I break the holistic program down into its three key phases: the time before the trip to Manila, which is defined by *the process of formation*; the time in Manila itself, which is defined by *the process of reflection*; and the period after the trip, which is defined by *the process of reintegration.* Then I break the incarnational model down into its three primary components: *immersion,* which describes team members being placed in the heart of a squatter community; *being*, which describes team members being present in the community by not becoming busy or distracted; and *relationships*, which describes team members connecting personally with people in the community. Chapter Five, which deals specifically with peoples' actual Discovery Team experiences, is consequently structured according to these six categories.

Toward the end of Chapter Two I present a second framework, for examining the changes that have occurred in team members' lives. This framework is assembled around Servants' three general aims for Discovery Teams, which are *personal transformation, transformed relationships* and *transformed practice*. I explain that personal transformation refers to changes taking place in a person's interior world, transformed relationships refers to changes in their interactions with other people, and transformed practice refers to changes in their engagement with the world around them. I describe how, in consultation with the 12 stakeholders, I developed some more detailed categories for each of these three areas of change. I explain how this process has subsequently expanded three broad aims into eight measurable objectives, each with a set of corresponding indicators that reveal whether or not these objectives have been met. I describe how this enabled me to formulate survey questions that deal specifically with each of these eight categories, and to measure the answers I received against defined indicators. Chapter Six, which deals specifically with the changes respondents have experienced, is structured according to this framework.

Chapter Three

In Chapter Three I examine various theoretical perspectives on how interaction with the poor can initiate changes in a non-poor person's life; how those changes might take place; and how they may be sustained over time. Because there is no single body of literature that covers each aspect of a scheme like Discovery Teams, I have surveyed literature as diverse as development

ethics, tourism, sociology, education and developmental psychology as well as more conventional development studies literature. In order to tie this diverse set of ideas together, I have followed five major themes that emerged from my reading of this literature. *Reframing development* locates Discovery Teams within an emerging picture of development as a human endeavour. *Transforming travel* examines how encountering a new environment and participating in new experiences can activate a process of personal transformation in travellers. *Critical awareness* discusses the process of people gaining a new perspective on the world by unveiling unjust systems and locating themselves and others within these systems. *Values and vision* explores deep personal change in character and beliefs, and how these might inform and motivate changed practices. *Sustaining change* is concerned with new practices and priorities gaining long-term traction, and examines some factors that may either encourage or inhibit this. Each of these five themes illuminates one or more aspect of this research topic, and I have sought to weave these theoretical perspectives through this study.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four explains the process I employed to conduct a qualitative evaluation of Discovery Teams, and presents my justifications for adopting particular research strategies and tools to implement it. I discuss the various strengths and weaknesses of choosing primarily qualitative methods to conduct this research, and I highlight some quantitative methods that I employed to supplement them. My decision to use semi-structured interview surveys as the main data collection tool is also explained with reference to the ways I have attempted to emphasise the strengths and mitigate the weaknesses of this approach. In order to strengthen the integrity of the study, I declare my personal biases and suggest some of the ways they could affect the results of this research. In particular, I describe my own experience of participating in a short-term team in the late 1980s, and the deep personal change that resulted from this essentially positive experience. My strategies for limiting the influence of my own biases and dealing with various ethical considerations are both discussed in this context.

In the second half of Chapter Four I describe the five phases of my research strategy and offer my reflections on how the research procedure transpired in practice. *Phase I* explains my process of locating and consulting with a range of interested parties (stakeholders). It describes how their input has helped to shape the key categories for this study. *Phase II* outlines the gradual process of establishing a sample frame, and explains my decision to stratify this sample frame into more representative groups. *Phase III* describes how I conducted four pilot interviews, and how the lessons I learned from them have been fed back into the research process. *Phase IV* explains the procedure I adopted to randomly select a further 18 people from the sample frame, and the challenges I faced locating and making contact with them. *Phase V*

describes the procedures I employed for collecting data through one-on-one, semi-structured interview surveys. I also explain the process of converting the recorded data into a useful format for analysis and reporting. I end the chapter by describing some personal characteristics of the 22 respondents who were finally selected and interviewed for this research. This includes my own reflections on the extent to which they can be considered representative of the total population of discovery team members.

Chapter Five

In Chapter Five I present the actual Discovery Team experiences of my 22 respondents — from their first preparation session to their final debriefing. In order to give this exploration of peoples' Discovery Team experiences some structure, I have broken the *holistic program* down into three phases, and divided the *incarnational model* into three components. The three phases of the holistic program are: *formation*, which concerns team members preparing personally and corporately for their trip; *reflection*, which concerns team members processing their experiences privately and as a group; and *re-integration*, which concerns team members adjusting to their home environment on their return from Manila. The three components of the incarnational model are: *immersion*, which concerns team members being placed in the home of a squatter family; *being*, which emphasises the value of simply being present in the community rather than doing lots of activities; and *relationships* which concerns team members building connections with hosts and other local people. The 22 respondents' experiences of each of these six aspects of Discovery Teams are explored in some detail throughout Chapter Five.

Chapter Six

In Chapter Six I deal specifically with the changes respondents have experienced in their lives as a result of their Discovery Team experience. Using the framework presented at the end of Chapter Two, I examine different aspects of personal transformation, transformed relationships and transformed practice that have occurred in their lives. The three categories of personal transformation I examine are: *worldview formation*, which concerns team members becoming critically aware of systems that cause poverty; *character formation*, which concerns team members growing in personal and ethical maturity; and *spiritual formation*, which involves cultivating a spirituality that can embrace suffering and provide the motivation to respond appropriately. The two categories of transformed relationships I examine are: *relationships with fellow journey companions*, which involves team members cultivating ongoing relationships with like-minded people; and *relationships with the poor*, which concerns building connections with people who experience some form of poverty. The two categories of transformed practice I examine are: *vocation*, which concerns the main activities into which people channel their time

and energy; and *lifestyle*, which concerns their use of money and resources and the standard of living they strive to attain for themselves. The indicators of change occurring in each of these areas are described at the end of Chapter Two.

Chapter Seven

In Chapter Seven I draw together the experiences and the changes that my respondents have reported, and summarise these with reference to the various theories that inform this study. This involves highlighting some of the strengths and weaknesses of the program and the model employed for Discovery Teams, and examining how these have contributed to, or detracted from, the overall objectives of the scheme. From these summaries I identify a set of factors that seem to have engendered changes in respondents' lives, and have subsequently helped them sustain these changes over time. I also present some factors that have created obstacles to such changes occurring. My conclusions about the effectiveness and value of Discovery Teams are consequently informed by each of these factors. Finally, I make some recommendations for the implementation of Discovery Teams in the future, and suggest some areas for further research.

Chapter Two

Origins, Organisation and Objectives

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the origins, design and aims of Discovery Teams in some detail. This is in order to describe how they came into being; identify who played the key roles in their development; discover why they have taken the form they do; outline what they aim to achieve; and explain how they seek to achieve it. I begin by describing some of the history of Discovery Teams and outlining the philosophy that lies behind this scheme. I explain how these matters have come to influence the design of the three-phase program, and the development of the model that has been adopted to implement it. I then define in greater detail these two core components of Discovery Teams — *the holistic program* and *the incarnational model* — explaining the dimensions of each component and the relationship between them. This leads into a discussion of the six categories that emerge from these two core components, and how they provide a relevant framework for evaluating people's actual Discovery Team *experiences*. At the end of the chapter I present a second framework that is useful for examining the *changes* that have occurred in team members' lives. This framework is assembled around Servants' three general aims for Discovery Teams, which are: *personal transformation*, *transformed relationships* and *transformed practice*. I explain what is meant by each of these terms and describe how, in consultation with the 12 stakeholders, I developed a set of specific categories for each of these three general areas of change. Finally, I explain how this process has subsequently expanded three broad aims into eight measurable objectives, each with a set of corresponding indicators that reveal whether or not these objectives have been met.

Servants in Manila

Servants are a small and relatively young christian organisation that originated from New Zealand during the 1980s. The first Servants work started in Manila in 1983 with a small group of six New Zealanders relocating there together. Servants have had a continuous presence in Manila ever since then, although naturally their personnel have changed significantly over the

years. During the time that Servants have been in Manila, field workers from New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, the UK and Germany have been part of the team at various times. Servants field workers live among the urban poor of Asia and seek to participate with them in the transformation of their individual lives and wider communities. Their work is guided by a christian ethos that values servanthood, living simply, operating in teams, living and working alongside local people and caring for the whole person and their environment. They outwork these values by supporting and encouraging local churches and community groups as these often fragile organisations struggle to serve the people in their squatter communities. To this end, Servants workers partner with local urban poor people in the areas of training and education, health promotion, residential addiction rehabilitation, job creation, and a range of small-scale community projects such as waste management, infrastructure development and political advocacy.[5]

Servants' particular focus on *urban poverty in Asia* is directly related to the prevalence of urban drift in the region, and the complex web of social problems that result from this trend. Almost 60% of the Philippine population now lives in the country's urban centres — and this is estimated to be increasing by 3.5% per annum (World Bank, 2003). Of all the cities in the Philippines, Metropolitan Manila has been the most heavily impacted by mass urbanization. In the thirty years from 1970 to 2000, Manila's population exploded from approximately 4 million to well over 10 million people. The city's infrastructure has simply been unable to support such a massive influx of people. Subsequently, a severe lack of secure housing and employment has resulted. At least 3.7 million of Manila's inhabitants are forced to live in overcrowded squatter settlements, occupying tracts of vacant government- or privately-owned land (Shatkin, 2000, p.2357). Typically, the flimsy houses in these areas have been built by their occupants on any available patch of ground, using scraps of corrugated iron, plywood and — if they can afford them — concrete blocks.

Most residents of these squatter communities belong to the one third of Filipinos who live below the 'official' poverty line (NSCB, 2003). In most cases, a "family of factors" have contributed to their condition (Duncan, 1996, p.12). Such factors include landlessness, policies that favour the rich and powerful, endemic corruption, fluctuations in the nation's economic fortunes and a series of natural disasters — all of which result in negative outcomes for vulnerable people. Opportunities to earn a livelihood are scarce for these people, and those fortunate enough to find work are frequently exploited and nearly always receive meagre remuneration (Adem, 1992). In the absence of a social security safety net, household survival necessitates the pursuit of marginal employment options in the 'informal economy' — which

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[5] Much of Servants' history and ethos covered in this chapter has been informed by Jenni Craig (1998) *Servants Among the Poor*, OMF, Manila (except where noted).

can include anything from street-side vending to prostitution — simply to ensure there is enough food on the table. This is the group of people Servants believe they are called to live and work among.

A unique approach

A central feature of Servant's work is their emphasis on holism. A holistic perspective imagines the world "as a seamless spiritual–physical whole" (Myers, 1999, p.153). Within this view of reality, *people* take priority over programs. This subsequently means caring for the whole person, and not merely their physical circumstances. A holistic approach also recognises that poverty has a multitude of causes and that it impacts every area of a person's life; it must therefore be addressed at a variety of levels (Duncan, 1996, p.12). For Servants, a holistic approach envisions people discovering their true identity as valuable human beings and coming to experience harmony with their creator, their neighbour and their environment. This involves an ongoing process of inner change, transformed relationships, and ethical engagement with the world. An interesting consequence of adopting a holistic approach is that the need for change extends beyond the poor and their communities to the 'change agents' themselves. In Servants' case this applies to ex-patriot field workers who relocate to live and work among the poor. Servants workers seek to become what Myers (1999, p.150ff) calls "holistic practitioners" by adopting the role of servants and learners among the poor, not experts with all the answers to their problems. Evidence that Servants take this aspect of holistic transformation seriously can be found in their ethos statement:

> In our serving we not only give what we have to offer, *but seek to become new people*, not clinging to our titles, positions, achievements or resources (Craig, 1998, p.327, emphasis mine).

The Discovery Team program has been strongly shaped by Servants' holistic philosophy — particularly their emphasis on the non-poor becoming conscious of their own need to change in response to their encounters with the poor. This issue is explored throughout this chapter and also in Chapter Three, under the heading 'Reframing Development'.

Another defining feature of Servants' approach is that ex-patriot workers relocate to the squatter areas that they are working in. This means living alongside the urban poor in very similar housing, and adopting a similar standard of living to them (within the limits of what is manageable). Servants employ the term 'incarnational' to describe their approach. This is a theological word that signifies *being bodily present* in a place or situation, and it is used by Servants to describe their practice of physically relocating their lives to *be with* the urban poor. The closest everyday term is perhaps 'immersion', although this word does not capture the full meaning. In this context, 'incarnational' also implies *relinquishing power* to change the circumstances of others, and in this specific case it also suggests becoming a *participant-learner*

with the poor.[6] The way that Servants' incarnational approach has been adapted to serve the Discovery Team program is explored in detail later in this chapter. Before considering these matters, though, it might be helpful to trace the historical origins of Discovery Teams. This creates a broader context for understanding the central concerns of this study.

Origins of Discovery Teams

This section traces the emergence of Discovery Teams, which could be described as the outcome of two streams of thought and practice merging.[7] The first stream flowed out of a program run by the sister agencies Youth For Christ (YFC) and Te Ora Hou (TOH), who sent several short-term teams of up to twelve young adults over to Manila in the late 1980s. The second stream flowed out of Servants' own distinctive style of living and working in the Third World, which involves non-poor field workers immersing themselves in squatter or relocation communities. The convergence of these two streams in the early 1990s formed the genesis of Discovery Teams, and a unique approach to sending short-term teams emerged. Therefore, Discovery Teams are perhaps best understood as an endeavour to determine whether Servants' incarnational approach might be brought to bear on a short-term team program. The following pages trace some of the sources of these two streams, describing how they eventually fed into the creation of Discovery Teams.[8] The following diagram (Figure 2.1) graphically illustrates the convergence of these two streams.

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[6] Servants base this understanding on Bible passages such as Philippians 2.5–8.

[7] I acknowledge John Crawshaw for proposing this interpretation (personal communication, 27/4/04). Much of the history and philosophy of Discovery Teams presented in this chapter draws on information gained from my interviews with 12 stakeholders in the Discovery Teams scheme. These are the people who have been instrumental in establishing, developing and implementing Discovery Teams. Appendix A identifies these stakeholders and describes their relationships to Servants and Discovery Teams. My procedure for interviewing stakeholders and incorporating their responses into the study is described in Chapter Four, under the heading 'The Research Procedure'.

[8] Naturally there were other forces influencing the creation of Discovery Teams, however I consider that choosing to focus on these two streams closely reflects the responses I received from the stakeholders that were interviewed for this study.

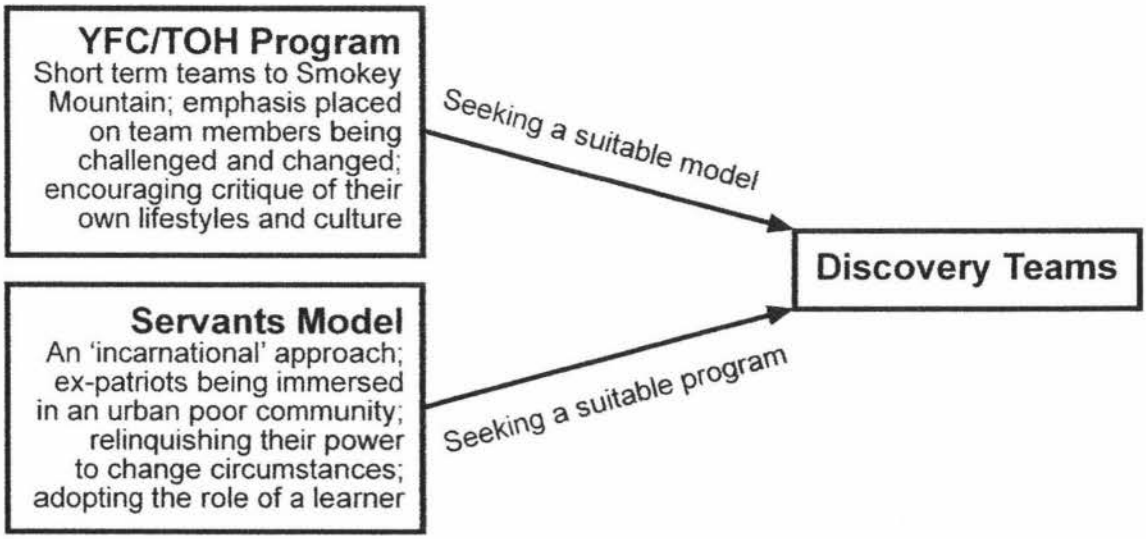

Figure 2.1 Two streams feeding into the creation of Discovery Teams

A program in search of a model

In the mid-1980s Youth For Christ (YFC) and Te Ora Hou (TOH) developed a program that sent teams of young adults from New Zealand to Manila for three to four weeks. The primary aim of this program was to give New Zealand young adults a first-hand experience of life in a Third World country. It was anticipated that their experience of extreme poverty would cause team members to reflect on their own lives and culture in a new light, and to subsequently make relevant changes on their return home. While their intentions were similar, these two groups had quite different motives for taking their young people over to Manila. Youth For Christ were working with mostly middle class, Pakeha young people. They wanted to challenge these young people to reflect on their privileged lives with particular reference to the wider global picture of poverty and injustice. Te Ora Hou, on the other hand, were working with (relatively) poor, mostly Maori and Pacific Island young people. They wanted to put their young people into contact with others who have even fewer opportunities than them. It was thought that this might help them put their own struggles into perspective, and to help them recognise that they can actually play a valuable role in helping people who are even poorer than they are (Lloyd Martin, personal communication, 27/4/04).

In May 1986, only months after the Marcos regime was overthrown by the bloodless People Power Revolution at EDSA, a reconnaissance team of YFC and TOH leaders travelled to Manila. Their intention was to search out potential hosts for a proposed new short-term team program. Servants to Asia's Urban Poor were the agency this small group of leaders were most strongly drawn to, as they felt that "they were on the same page philosophically" (John Crawshaw, personal communication, 27/4/04). Servants indicated back to them that, in principle at least, they were interested in hosting short-term teams from the West. However, at that point

in time they did not feel they had the infrastructure to cope with teams of visitors, as their work in Manila was in its infancy and quite fragile. This reality forced the delegation to opt for their second choice, which they pursued on the basis that it would most likely be a temporary arrangement.

The leaders of YFC and TOH settled on taking their teams of young people to Smokey Mountain — Manila's infamous rubbish tip in Tondo. These teams were hosted by Youth with a Mission (YWAM), who were based in the nearby community of Balut. Team members stayed in the YWAM compound, and ventured daily into the sprawling squatter communities built on top of the rubbish tip, where they helped YWAM staff run their nutrition, health and education programs. They also connected regularly with Grace Christian Church, a small congregation of Smokey Mountain residents led by a local family. Although team members were certainly brought face-to-face with extreme poverty, the leaders of YFC and TOH became increasingly uneasy with this model of short-term involvement in the Third World. Firstly, because team members were based in the relatively comfortable YWAM compound, only spending a few hours each day in the squatter community itself, their experience of everyday life in the community was extremely limited. As a result, any relationships formed between visitors and local people usually remained casual and superficial. Secondly, and more importantly, the little time team members did actually spend in the community often found them operating in a 'helping' capacity, meaning that local people were cast into the role of recipients of team members' charitable activities. This arrangement failed to address the obvious power imbalance that existed between visitors and local people, and tended to perpetuate the 'rich benefactor–poor recipient' stereotype. It also resulted in team members "believing they were doing something significant, when actually very little long-term impact was made" (Craig, 1998, p.200).

These Smokey Mountain teams were, on the whole, well-organised and well-prepared groups led by capable leaders. The extreme nature of the experience, coupled with an evolving program of team preparation and reflection, resulted in many participants reflecting deeply on their own lives in light of their Manila experience. Furthermore, these teams began to unearth some of the latent potential that this kind of program offers — giving Westerners a very real first-hand experience of urban poverty in the Third World. However, the Smokey Mountain experiences only helped to highlight how important it is that the model being employed is one that is compatible with the goals of the program. A model that keeps the poor at arms length, and perpetuates the imbalance of power between Western visitors and the urban poor, ultimately undermines much of the positive potential these programs hold to challenge visiting Westerners to change.

At a deeper level, there remained a nagging question of whether the whole exercise of people from the West "going to get their Third World experience" was even justifiable (John

Crawshaw, personal communication, 27/4/04). Many of those involved wondered whether these teams might just be another form of Western Imperialism, where the powerful (once again) benefit at the expense of the powerless. Might it not be better to 'pull the plug' on the whole program and avoid this inevitable inequity? These questions did not have any straightforward answers. One thing was certain, however: if their short-term team program was to be at all justifiable — let alone reach its potential to challenge and change New Zealanders — an alternative model desperately needed to be either found or created.

A model in search of a program

Servants shared many of the same concerns as these YFC and TOH leaders, but nevertheless felt that there was still merit in sending short-term teams to Manila "as an opportunity for the Third World to speak to the First World" (Mick Duncan, personal communication, 28/4/04). However, for this to be done appropriately, Servants believed, it required that short-term teams adopt a model that fully embodies the attitude of *becoming learners from the poor*. In contrast to the Smokey Mountain model, where teams came offering their help to the local people, team members must put aside any illusions of what they can *do for* them, and simply take time to *be with* them. It became obvious that for this to occur successfully, team members needed to be in much closer proximity to the local people, and more equitable relationships between the two groups needed to be facilitated. In the late 1980s Servants began road-testing a new short-term model that sought to address some of the most pressing of these concerns.

Over the New Year period of 1987–88 Servants hosted its first short-term team from New Zealand.[9] This pilot team of 13 people (seven women, six men) from Spreydon Baptist Church in Christchurch offered Servants a perfect opportunity to experiment with a new short-term team model in a reasonably controlled way. Because Spreydon Baptist played such a significant role in establishing Servants in Manila, there were already strong relational connections between the two groups. This relationship enabled the pilot team to be carefully selected and thoroughly prepared before they arrived in Manila. The most significant progression toward a new model was that all team members lived right in the squatter community itself, alongside — and in some cases above and below — the poor themselves. In small groups of two or three, team members stayed in vacant squatter houses that were rented for them by Servants, and they were expected to more or less fit into everyday life in the surrounding community. Minimizing negative impacts on the local people in these squatter communities was a high priority for Servants. To assist with this, and to avoid inundating any one community with foreign visitors, team members were spread over three of the communities that Servants were already working

[9] Three members of this team were interviewed as primary respondents for this research. Some of the descriptions of their experiences presented here are drawn from my interviews with them.

in. During those four weeks, team members were left to fend for themselves in their communities. This meant going to the market each day for food, cooking their own meals, collecting water, washing themselves and their clothes — all in much the same way as the local people around them. Any time not spent engaged in day-to-day survival was spent chatting with people around the neighbourhood, listening to their stories and seeking to understand something of their lives and their struggles. Because there was no fixed program of activities, there was plenty of time for team members to visit people in their homes, attend church and community events, and reflect on their observations and interactions in the community.

This pilot team was deemed a success in terms of bringing team members into closer and more meaningful contact with members of the local community. As such, it closely mirrored Servants' philosophy of *being with* and *learning from* the urban poor. However, the model did need some fine-tuning. Providing even the most basic self-contained accommodation for team members inside squatter communities was dependent on the availability of vacant housing — a rare commodity in many of these communities. Even when such housing was available, it required a lot of work on Servants' part to negotiate short-term leases, and find even the most basic furnishings for the houses.[10] Fortunately it would not be long before another opportunity arose to trial this new approach to short-term teams — this time in a slightly different configuration.

One year after the Spreydon team, in December 1989, a Youth For Christ worker called Ross Pilkinton was leading a team of nine people to Smokey Mountain. I was a member of that team — along with two married couples, one single woman and three other single men.[11] Like previous YFC teams we stayed in a YWAM compound and made daily pilgrimages up to Smokey Mountain to assist them with the programs they were offering. However, Ross and his wife Marcelle were also in the process of applying to become Servants field workers in Manila at that time, and they consequently had strong connections with the Servants team there. Through these connections Ross was able to broker a weekend home-stay for us in a squatter community called Pajo in Quezon City. Servants had been working in this community for several years and had built up a strong network of relationships with some of the local people through their involvement in a small squatter church called Living Springs. As a result of these relationships, Servants were able to arrange for members of the team to stay in the homes of church members in a kind of home-stay arrangement.

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[10] One of my respondents described how, on their first day in the community, he and his team-mate had to borrow a pew from the local church in order to have something to sit on.

[11] The implications of my involvement in this team, in terms of its effect on my approach to this research, are discussed in detail in Chapter Four, under the heading 'Personal Bias'.

Although our stay was only for a short period of time, it was significant in that we were welcomed into the homes — and consequently the lives — of people living in this urban poor community. Being their guest, hosted by them in their own homes, put us in very close proximity to these urban poor families. For some it even meant bunking down in the same room as the other family members. For all of us it meant having meals, *merianda* (snack times) and guided tours of the community — all of which allowed ample time to hear our hosts' stories and share our own stories. We became *their guests* entering into *their world* on *their terms*.[12] This brief experiment indicated to Ross and to Servants that home-stay arrangements had a great deal of potential for short-term teams. However, it was also clear that for such a counter-intuitive approach to be effective, it would need a compatible program of team preparation and reflection to support it. A change in circumstances would soon provide the impetus for this.

Organising Discovery Teams

In 1990 Ross and Marcelle Pilkinton joined Servants in Manila, and settled into the Bagong Ngayon relocation area in Cogeo. As a consequence of their move from YFC to Servants, the two streams outlined above — YFC's short-term team *program*, and Servant's immersion *model* — were manifestly drawn together. Because of his previous experience implementing the YFC short-term team program, and his instrumental role in piloting the home-stay approach, Ross seemed the obvious person to take up the challenge of fusing these two elements into a new short-term scheme for Servants. Christened 'Discovery Teams', this new endeavour sought to establish a program that reflects Servants' holistic philosophy, and express it through a model that demonstrates their incarnational approach. Shaping a *holistic program* involved adapting and expanding some of the proven aspects of the YFC/TOH team program, such as the thorough preparation sessions, as well as creating some new program components to complement the unique character of the home-stay approach. Correspondingly, the emerging *incarnational model* — based on team members being placed in home-stay arrangements — required some refinements that would help to make it sustainable for both hosts and guests over a period of two or three weeks.

With input from fellow Servants workers and former colleagues from YFC, Ross articulated this new scheme in the form of a practical handbook for discovery team leaders. In line with Servants' holistic approach, the handbook outlines a thorough preparation regime, to

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[12] Perhaps the only exception to this is that, by necessity, English was the language used for communicating with each other. Although team members had learned some Tagalog as part of their preparation, it was nowhere near enough to hold a substantial conversation with a Filipino person.

be undertaken by team members well before their actual trip. It also offers guidelines for personal and theological reflection during the team's stay in Manila, and suggestions for debriefing and integrating the lessons learned during the trip into life at home. The strong emphasis that the Discovery Team program places on each of these three phases of the experience helps to distinguish it from many other types of short-term scheme. When this is combined with an immersion model, featuring home-stay arrangements with local families, Discovery Teams certainly offer a unique short-term team experience. The following diagram (Figure 2.2) illustrates how the *holistic program* and the *incarnational model* fit together. Each of these aspects is discussed in more detail in the following pages.

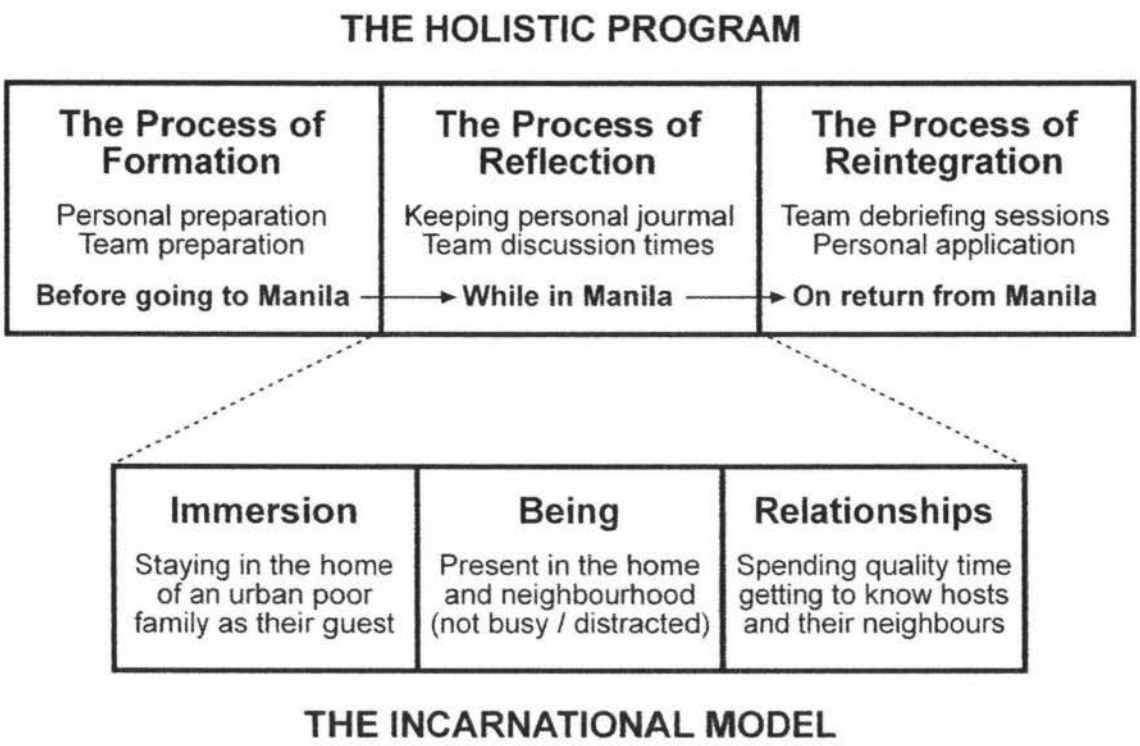

Figure 2.2 The two core components of Discovery Teams

A holistic program

The Discovery Team program is naturally informed by Servants' holistic philosophy. This means that it is designed to be relevant to team members' personal lives, their interpersonal relationships, and their practice.[13] It also means that discovery teams are not intended to be a brief three-week experience, occurring in isolation from the rest of their lives. As such, the program is implemented in three key phases, collectively lasting up to a year (although in practice it is usually closer to six months). These three phases are the preparation sessions, the

[13] This is explored in more detail later in the chapter, under the heading 'Objectives of Discovery Teams'.

actual stay in Manila, and the debriefing sessions. During each of these three phases there are vital processes that team members are urged to engage in, to help facilitate transformation occurring in their lives. These processes can be summarised with the words *formation, reflection* and *reintegration.* All of these processes are relevant to the whole experience, and are encouraged throughout each phase. However, each of these processes is especially relevant to a particular phase of the program. *The process of formation* is especially emphasised during the preparation sessions; *the process of reflection* is especially emphasised during the actual stay in Manila; and *the process of reintegration* is especially emphasised during the post-trip debriefing sessions. The relationship between these three processes and their special relevance to the three key phases of the Discovery Team program are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The process of formation is especially emphasised before going to Manila, and it has both a personal and a corporate dimension in the Discovery Team program. The personal dimension refers to team members growing in personal and spiritual maturity as a result of their participation in a Discovery Team. This includes developing a greater self-awareness and a greater awareness of others. Personal formation is considered to be an important platform that subsequently enables transformation or change to take place in other areas of peoples' lives (Myers, 1999, p.115ff). The corporate dimension refers to team members journeying together — relationally as well as literally — through the whole experience. It is believed that the team approach has many advantages over travelling alone. Some of these advantages include: vicarious learning through observing others; the cathartic effect of discussing experiences with others; and receiving mutual support and honest feedback from others in the group (Kottler, 1997, p.57). Bonding as a team and forming relationships of trust, therefore, creates a safe environment for team members to freely share personal and sensitive issues that often arise (Ross Pilkinton, personal communication, 5/5/04). Before the team even steps on the aeroplane, it is expected that the processes of individual and group formation will be already well underway. For this reason the preparation phase is regarded as far more than a 'team briefing'. One of the foundational components of the Discovery Team program is that, as a result of thorough preparation, team members arrive in Manila already asking informed questions and thinking through some of the important issues (Elaine Williams, personal communication, 9/6/04). This suggests that "the internal mechanism of change" is already in motion well before team members arrive in Manila (Ross Pilkinton, personal communication, 5/5/04). Such a strong emphasis on personal and team preparation, therefore, reflects the strong belief that short-term teams "have significant shaping value when they are part of a wider formation process" (Lloyd Martin, personal communication, 27/4/04).

The process of reflection is an important element in team members making sense of their actual experience in Manila. While they are encouraged to operate reflectively during each of the three phases, it becomes most crucial when team members are confronted with the harsh

realities of poverty during their stay in Manila. Wrestling with difficult questions about the nature and causes of poverty is an important part of this reflection process. Engaging with these difficult issues frequently calls peoples' own attitudes and beliefs into question, and often prompts them to modify their views (Blackburn and Holland, 1998). Again, this process has an individual and a corporate dimension. The individual reflection process centres on the practice of keeping a regular personal journal — which involves more than simply describing daily activities. Journaling is a way for team members to process their own thoughts, feelings and questions about the things they are witnessing, and to generally engage with the experience at a deeper personal level. Another aspect of journaling is writing down observations of life in a squatter community, and reflecting on topics as diverse as 'accessing and using water' and 'the place of children' in the community. Team members' personal reflections and general observations can be shared and discussed during the regular team times throughout their stay in Manila. This extends the reflection process from an individual to a corporate activity. Accordingly, the collective wisdom of the group can be brought to bear on the different issues that arise, and support can be offered to individual team members as they grapple with questions that challenge them to change.

The process of re-integration involves translating the Discovery Team experience into different aspects of everyday life back home. This transition is "foundational to the purpose of the trip" (Fuel Immersion Retreat Workbook, n.d., p.2). For most people this is probably the most testing aspect of participating in the scheme. By the same token, it is the single issue on which the whole scheme stands or falls. If team members cannot draw parallels from their trip back into their own lives, "then the whole thing is just another experience" (Lloyd Martin, personal communication, 27/4/04). Because Discovery Teams are not primarily concerned with recruiting people to work in the Third World, the expectation is that most participants will continue to live back in the West after their trip to Manila.[14] Therefore, the overall goal of the scheme is that team members "learn what it means to live here [in the West] in reference to the Third World" (Wayne Kirkland, personal communication, 4/5/04). Translating their Manila experience into tangible changes in their everyday life back at home requires team members to apply some lateral thinking and to take some personal risks. It will often require them to swim against the tide of their home culture and the expectations others have of them (Kottler, 1997),

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[14] Dorothy Harris, the International Coordinator of Servants at the time of this research, mentioned to me that a small number of former Discovery Team participants have been applying to become Servants field workers. This suggested to her that Discovery Teams "do have some recruitment value" (Dorothy Harris, personal communication, 7/4/04). In addition to this anecdotal evidence, I also established that one of my (purposively selected) respondents went on to become a Servants field worker, and one (randomly selected) respondent returned to Manila to staff the Servants retreat centre for three months.

This demands some determination as well as support from others who are willing to walk alongside them in this journey.[15]

An incarnational model

The central phase of the Discovery Team program is, of course, the trip to Manila itself. This phase is the most intensive and focussed of the three phases, and consequently needs the most structure supporting it. The model that Servants have developed to implement this phase of the Discovery Team program has been strongly informed by their *incarnational* approach to involvement in urban poor communities. As such, Discovery Teams adopt a substantially different approach from most other types of short-term teams. Rather than making brief and casual visits to squatter communities, team members remain physically present in one community for the best part of their time in Manila. Staying in the home of a local family and spending quality time building relationships with them and others in their neighbourhood are the key characteristics of this model. These characteristics may be summarised in the words *immersion, being* and *relationships*. The way that these characteristics are expressed through Discovery Teams is discussed throughout the following pages. First, however, it may be helpful to situate Discovery Teams within the wider context of other models of short-term teams.

To help differentiate Discovery Teams from other types of short-term teams, a typology outlining three distinct models of short-term team is proposed in Table 2.1. Reading from left to right, the table illustrates a progression from models featuring casual interaction between team members and local people, through to those emphasising much closer personal connection. The first column in the table describes the most widely practiced model of short-term team, which I have labelled the 'exposure' model. Exposure teams are designed to increase visitors' awareness of poverty, and allow them to witness particular responses being implemented by charitable agencies. The second column, labelled 'experiential' model, emphasises team members experiencing poverty up close, and performing an active voluntary role in a poverty-alleviation scheme. The third column, labelled 'incarnational' model, describes teams that emphasise simply being present in a poor community, relating with the local people and reflecting on the impacts and causes of poverty.[16]

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[15] The *kind* of changes that Discovery Teams aim to facilitate in team members' lives is discussed later in the chapter, under the heading 'Objectives of Discovery Teams'.

[16] As with any typology, these categories are not exclusive, and there is often crossover between them. However, defining these three models in this way does serve to highlight the unique emphases of each.

Model of team	Exposure model	Experiential model	Incarnational model
Level of interaction with the poor	Paying brief visits to areas where people are living in poverty	Spending significant time with people who are living in poverty	Staying in the homes of people who are living in poverty
Main activities	Observing & learning about poverty-alleviation projects	Hands-on voluntary work in poverty-alleviation projects	Reflecting deeply on the impacts and causes of poverty
Main function	Giving answers to questions about poverty	Providing practical solutions to poverty	Raising new and difficult questions about poverty
Main result	Increased *knowledge* of poverty and some responses to it	First-hand *experience* of responding to poverty	Greater *personal appreciation* of the complexity of poverty
Primary mode	Observing	Doing	Being
Closest analogy	Tourists being taken on an informative guided tour	Volunteers on a VSA (Voluntary Services Abroad) placement	Anthropologists becoming immersed in a village
Examples	'Exposure Trips' and 'Supporters Tours' (usually run by aid & mission agencies)	YFC & TOH teams; overseas volunteer programs; traditional 'short-term mission'	Discovery Teams; Witness For Peace Teams[17]

Table 2.1 A typology of short-term teams visiting the Third World

Immersion in a squatter or relocation community is the core feature of the model Servants have developed for Discovery Teams. Staying in the home of a local urban poor family, as their houseguest, enables team members to experience the everyday rhythms and patterns of their lives. In particular, they encounter some of the impacts of poverty at a human level by spending quality time with people whose lives are directly affected by it. Adopting an approach similar to that of an anthropologist, team members become 'participant observers' of life in their host community. Accordingly, they experience many of the same hardships and everyday ordeals that the urban poor must live with constantly. Confined spaces, power cuts, illness, insects, noise, heat and pollution are just some of the challenges team members must contend with during their stay. Of course, enjoying the richness of relationships, the regular visits of neighbours, and the frequent celebrations that punctuate the lives of the urban poor balances out the experience. Referred to by some as an 'immersion retreat', Discovery Teams enable team

[17] Witness for Peace are a faith-based group who sent teams of North American citizens into Nicaragua in the 1980s to stay in the homes of people whose villages were under threat of attack by US-funded contras. The well-publicised presence of US citizens in these villages contributed to the cessation of violence against these villages and cutting of US military aid to the contras (www.witnessforpeace.org).

members to disengage from their usual life in the West, with its often predictable routines, and create space for reflection and change (Mick Duncan, personal communication, 28/4/04).

Being with the local people — as opposed to doing things to help them — keeps team members mindful of the fact that "they are there to *be changed* rather than to change things" (Ross Pilkinton, personal communication, 5/5/04). Placing themselves in the care of their hosts, and adjusting to their radically different lifestyles, requires team members to humble themselves and become learners from the poor. This arrangement goes some way toward reversing the unequal power equation that often exists between 'rich' Western visitors and 'poor' local people (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). In this approach, team members do not come in the role of helpers, but rather as grateful recipients of their excellent hospitality (Craig, 1998, p.201). As such, a Discovery Team experience "is more like 'a retreat' than 'a mission trip'... with the emphasis on discovery" (Fuel Immersion Retreat Workbook, n.d., p.22). In other words, team members do not come with an agenda of what they can *do for* the local people, but with an attitude of discovering ways to *be with* and *learn from* them. Treating the experience as a reflective retreat, as opposed to an activist mission, is thought to enhance team members' ability to remain focused on their own change.

Relationships between team members and local people are able to flourish as a result of the quality time they spend together. Although perhaps slightly contrived, these relationships nevertheless enable team members to give the impersonal monolith of Third World poverty a human face. Host families are given an opportunity to share their story with a genuinely interested guest, and therefore play a role in educating them about the nature of poverty (as they have experienced it). Hosts may even discover that people from the West have their own forms of poverty. Similarly, team members may have their sentimental image of 'the humble poor' jolted by the realization that poverty does not make a person virtuous. Even so, it is expected that team members will be amazed by the resilience of the people they have come to know, and appalled by the injustices they have had to suffer. One desired outcome of these relationships is that team members' theoretical knowledge of injustice will be augmented by compassion for specific people who suffer its consequences.

Each of these features has remained an important distinctive of Discovery Teams throughout their brief history, despite the inevitable changes in key personnel. In 1992 Ross and Marcelle Pilkinton left Manila to take up the leadership of Servants in New Zealand, leaving the scheme in the hands of the Servants Manila Team. Subsequently, Tim McCowan and Elaine Williams took over the responsibility of coordinating Discovery Teams for the remainder of the 1990s. Their unique contribution included facilitating more active input from host families and community members — especially in terms of enhancing the benefits that Discovery Teams brought to them and their communities (as per Scheyvens, 2002). This necessitated a higher degree of inclusion of local people in the decision-making processes, and consequently gave

them a higher stake in the whole scheme (Tim McCowan, personal communication, 31/5/04). This progression signifies that the venture has been maturing healthily as it becomes more established.

Since the year 2000 a significant increase in New Zealand teams visiting Manila has occurred. This is due to a youth development scheme offered by the Salvation Army, which incorporates a three-week placement in a Manila squatter community into their year-long course. The course is called 'Fuel', and each group participates in an 'Immersion Retreat' in Manila as a core component of the course. These Immersion Retreats follow a very similar format to Discovery Teams, and draw on much of the same material for preparation and reflection. However, the program has been expanded to include other cross-cultural and consciousness-raising activities prior to the actual Manila trip. In the Fuel course, the first two thirds of the year is spent building up to the Manila trip. Included in this is a sleep-out in the inner city and a marae stay, alongside the usual reading, thinking and discussion about poverty and justice issues. After the Manila trip, the final third of the year is spent debriefing and reflecting on what these experiences might mean for each team members' life. At the time of writing, just over 40% of all people who have taken part in a discovery team have done so as part of a Fuel course.

Objectives of Discovery Teams

Servants have developed Discovery Teams as an expression of their unique philosophy and mode of operation. Accordingly, the *holistic program* and *incarnational model* have been thoughtfully designed to facilitate changes that correspond closely with Servants' own aims. As previously discussed, Servants' literature outlines four broad aims for Discovery Teams — three of which concern changes occurring in the lives of team members in response to their experience. Such a heavy weighting on *change in team members' lives* is indicative of the emphasis Servants place on the non-poor adopting an attitude of humility and seeking to learn from the poor.[18] Given this emphasis on team members being changed by their experience, it follows that a principal measure for evaluating the 'success' of Discovery Teams is to gauge whether changes have indeed occurred in the lives of team members as a result of their experience — and whether these changes have been expressed in tangible ways over time. The central purpose of this research is to provide some answers to the question: *have Discovery Teams been a catalyst for change?*

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[18] This approach is also strongly advocated by Chambers (1997), Blackburn & Holland (1998), Myers (1999) and others. I explore this issue in Chapter Three, under the heading 'Reframing Development'.

In order to evaluate the degree to which Discovery Teams have been successful in facilitating change, however, it is necessary to first qualify the *nature* of the changes that are being sought. This involves defining and categorising the kind of changes that Discovery Teams seek to facilitate, and describing some of the indicators that might offer evidence of these changes occurring. From these categories and descriptions, a framework of anticipated changes, with corresponding indicators of change, can be drafted. This framework can be used to generate relevant questions for team members who are selected as primary respondents in this study. It will also enable the changes they identify to be measured against some consistent, agreed-upon meanings (Babbie, 2004, p.122). Even changes that do not necessarily 'fit' neatly within this framework can at least be defined in reference to some existing categories. Establishing these *categories of change* and defining the corresponding *indicators of change* occupies this final part of the chapter.

Holistic transformation

Servants' stated aims for Discovery Teams make reference to three interconnected spheres of team members' lives — their personal life, their relationships and their practice. Because *change* is the intended outcome, these three broad areas of change can therefore be described as *personal transformation, transformed relationships* and *transformed practice.* Collectively, these three interconnected spheres encompass the whole of a person's life — meaning that the overall goal of Discovery Teams could be described generally as *facilitating holistic transformation in team members' lives.* Obviously this is a very broad goal, and for this reason cannot be accurately measured. Individually, however, these three interrelated spheres (personal, relational and practical) can form the basis of a framework that categorises the *specific* changes that Discovery Teams seek to facilitate in team members' lives. In other words, specific categories of change, and their corresponding indicators, can be appropriately grouped under the three broad headings *personal transformation, transformed relationships* and *transformed practice.* By breaking each of these three broad areas down further into clearly defined categories of change, and proposing some indicators of these changes occurring, it then becomes possible to measure and evaluate the scheme's effectiveness.

Establishing the specific changes that Discovery Teams seek to facilitate in team members' lives, however, demanded that I search beyond the fairly general written material that was available to me. This search led me to consult personally with 12 of the key stakeholders in Discovery Teams. In responding to my questions about the aims of Discovery Teams, all of these stakeholders were in agreement that the primary concern is change occurring in the lives of team members, and that these changes ought to then impact the way team members live when they return to their home country. However, in order to determine some *specific categories of*

change, I also asked each of the stakeholders to name the *kind* of changes they hope would be inspired in team members' lives as a result of participating in a Discovery Team. Secondly, in order to establish potential indicators of these changes, I asked each of the stakeholders to describe the characteristics of a 'model Discovery Team member' five to ten years after participating in the scheme.

Each individual stakeholder brought their own unique ideas about the kind of changes Discovery Teams seek to inspire in team members' lives. I nevertheless detected many consistencies in their individual descriptions. Moreover, while their descriptions of desired changes were not necessarily prescriptive, they all made overt reference to the kind of decisions that team members ought to be making in specific realms of their lives — expressing their hope that these decisions be made in light of this interchange with the poor. Through the process of collecting, compiling and analysing the responses of all 12 stakeholders I was able to formulate seven specific categories of change. Each of these categories of change is also supplemented by one or more corresponding indicators of change. The way that these seven categories of change and their corresponding indicators fit within the proposed framework of holistic transformation is discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

Personal transformation refers to changes taking place in a person's interior world. Sometimes referred to as 'inner change', it is placed first here because it is understood to be where other aspects of holistic transformation originate (Myers, 1999, p.115ff). According to the 12 stakeholders I interviewed, Discovery Teams seek to generate at least three types of transformation in team members' personal lives. The first is *worldview formation*, which concerns team members gaining a renewed outlook on the world. Especially relevant in this context is a growing awareness of the effects that poverty has on peoples' lives, and of the systems and structures that cause poverty (as per Freire, 1984). However, this is deeper than simply 'knowing about' poverty. Recognising their own position and role in maintaining systems of inequity — and subsequently making changes in their priorities or values — are good indications that team members' point of view is being shaped by a more critical understanding of poverty. The second component can be described as *character formation*, which concerns team members growing in personal and ethical maturity. This encompasses growing in self-awareness — discovering personal strengths and becoming aware of their own poverty, especially non-material poverty (Elliot, 1987, p.139ff). Growing in self-confidence and coming to terms with personal deficits are both good indicators that a person is growing in personal maturity. The other dimension of character formation is growth in ethical or moral maturity. This involves a greater sense of moral responsibility for the needs of others, and an increased desire to act justly and compassionately toward them (as per Kohlberg, 1981). Performing altruistic or other-centred actions offers some evidence of moral or ethical maturity occurring. The third component of personal transformation is *spiritual formation*. This involves

team members growing in their christian faith by cultivating a spirituality that can adequately embrace poverty and suffering without needing to offer contrived 'quick-fix' solutions (as per Fowler, 1981). However, it also involves discovering a renewed vision for a better world and the inner motivation to respond appropriately to the suffering of others (Morgan, 1991).

Transformed relationships refers to changes taking place in a person's interactions with other people. Discovery Teams seek to promote change in at least two aspects of team members' relationships with other people. The first is their *relationship with fellow journey companions* — people who share the same interest in, and concern for, the poor. This involves team members cultivating healthy relationships with like-minded people, and through these relationships actively encouraging one another in the difficult journey of responding to poverty in the world. Evidence of this kind of relationship being maintained by team members over time is a good indicator that this is occurring. The second area is team members' *relationship with the poor,* wherever they may find them. This concerns growing in sensitivity to the different kinds of poverty that affect people — including non-material poverty — and seeking to connect with people who experience some form of poverty. A good indication of this could be choosing to build an intentional, supportive relationship with someone in this position, or offering some kind of ongoing assistance (financial or otherwise) to a person in genuine need.

Transformed practice refers to changes in a person's engagement with the world around them. Discovery Teams seek to encourage change in at least two arenas of team members' public lives. The first is *vocation*, which encompasses more than the job a person does; it is better understood as their 'calling' in life.[19] This involves evaluating the main activities into which they channel their time and energy. The ability to identify changes in life direction or significant roles, as part of a response to the poor, is a strong indication of transformed practice occurring. The second arena is *lifestyle*, which involves team members giving consideration to where they locate themselves — both socially and geographically. This concerns critiquing the standard of living they strive to attain for themselves, the neighbourhoods in which they choose to live, and the extent to which these features of their lifestyle are practiced with reference to the poor of the world. Detectable changes in consumption patterns and place of residence in response to the poor are strong indicators of team members' lifestyles being transformed. Using their money and resources in ways that benefit the poor is another indicator of team members adopting a lifestyle that is tangibly connected with their plight.

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[19] The words 'vocation' and 'calling' are etymologically linked by the idea of responding to a voice (whether that voice be divine, internal or both).

Table 2.2 (below) illustrates how each of these categories of change, and their corresponding indicators, fit together to form a framework of *holistic transformation*. The categories proposed in this framework provide clear descriptions of the kind of change Discovery Teams seek to facilitate in team members' lives, and offer some distinct indicators of those changes occurring. They subsequently give clear definition to the key areas of enquiry for this study. This framework was therefore employed to formulate the questions I asked my 22 respondents, and to guide my examination of the changes that have occurred in their lives.[20]

Areas of Change (Aims)	Categories of Change (Objectives)	Evidence of Change (Indicators)
Personal Transformation	Worldview formation (gaining a renewed outlook on the world and own place in it)	Increased 'critical awareness' of poverty & its causes; recognition of own part in poverty-creating systems; priorities changed accordingly
	Character formation (growing deeper personal and ethical maturity)	Increased self-awareness of own strengths & own 'personal poverty'; Increased awareness of others and own moral obligations towards them
	Spiritual formation (cultivating a robust and morally-motivating christian faith)	Growing adequacy of own faith to embrace poverty and suffering; gaining inspiration from own faith to respond compassionately
Transformed Relationships	Relationships with fellow 'journey companions' (fellowship with people who share the same concern for the poor)	Cultivating healthy relationships with like-minded people; actively encouraging one another in responding to poverty
	Relationships with the poor (solidarity with people who experience some form of poverty)	Growing sensitivity to different kinds of poverty; building supportive relationships with people who experience some form of poverty
Transformed Practice	Vocation (life-calling)	Changes in life-direction; career changes; channelling energy and time into voluntary involvements that bring some benefit to the poor
	Lifestyle (standard of living and locating with the poor)	Critiquing own standard of living; changing consumption patterns and use of resources to benefit the poor; choosing to relocate to a new locality to live in closer solidarity with the poor

Table 2.2 A framework for measuring and evaluating holistic transformation

[20] It is worth noting that planned outcomes are not always predictable, and neither are they expressed uniformly (Myers, 1999, p.146). The complexity of life can radically alter the 'hoped-for' outcomes of programs such as this. Accordingly, I have also supplemented these specific areas of enquiry with some more open-ended questions. In this way both the *intended* and the *incidental* changes that have occurred in team members' lives can be evaluated together (Robson, 2002, p.206).

Conclusions

This chapter has explored how Discovery Teams originated from two streams merging with one another. The short-term team program implemented by YFC/TOH and the incarnational model practiced by Servants have been drawn together to create a new and unique style of short-term teams visiting the Third World. The *holistic program*, designed in three crucial phases, emphasises change occurring in team members' lives as a result of thorough preparation, serious reflection and appropriate application of the experience back in their home country. To complement this holistic program, an *incarnational model* has been developed to facilitate team members being with local people, building meaningful relationships with them and reflecting deeply on their experience individually and as a team. These collectively provide the six key categories for evaluating team members' Discovery Team *experiences*, which I explore in detail in Chapter Five. This chapter has also explored the aims of Discovery Teams — as stated generally in Servants' literature, and articulated specifically by the 12 stakeholders in the scheme. These aims can be summed up in the phrase *holistic transformation in team members' lives*. This can be divided into three key areas of change: *personal transformation, transformed relationships* and *transformed practice*. This chapter develops these three broad aims into eight measurable objectives, each with a set of corresponding indicators, that reveal whether or not these objectives have been met. Together they furnish a broad framework of categories for determining the extent to which Discovery teams have been *a catalyst for change* in team members' personal lives, and whether these changes have been translated into transformed practices and relationships. Chapter Six, which explores these changes in detail, is subsequently structured according to this framework.

Chapter Three

Reviewing the Literature

In this chapter I explore some of the theoretical perspectives on *how interaction with the poor can initiate changes in a non-poor person's life, how those changes can occur* and *how they might be sustained over time.* Searching for relevant literature to inform this study soon revealed that no single body of literature covers all of these issues. Consequently, I have taken a thematic approach to the literature — drawing on a diverse range of sources — gleaning applicable ideas and theories to help illuminate the key areas of enquiry. To do this, I have surveyed literature as diverse as development ethics, tourism, sociology, education and developmental psychology as well as more conventional development studies literature.

Five major themes have emerged from my reading of the literature, each illuminating one or more of the central areas of this topic. The first theme, *reframing development,* concerns the shift in emphasis in development from a logistical or technical activity to a human endeavour. The emergence of Discovery Teams, discussed in the previous chapter, can be located within this wider context. The second theme, *transforming travel,* examines the transition people undergo when they leave familiar surroundings and regular routines and engage with new environments and novel experiences. This theme is especially relevant to the findings of Chapter Five, which explores the lived experiences of actual Discovery Team members. The third theme, *critical awareness,* explores the process of people gaining a new perspective on the world by unveiling unjust systems and locating themselves and others within these systems. The fourth theme, *values and vision,* is concerned with changes at the deeper level of personal character and beliefs, and explores some of the factors that contribute to such changes occurring. This deeper and more personal emphasis on change forms a vital link between raised awareness and changed practices. The final theme, *sustaining change,* is concerned with practical changes gaining long-term traction, and examines some of the factors that either enhance or detract from this. These last three themes inform the topic of changes occurring in the lives of Discovery Team members as a result of their encounters with the Third World. As such, they are especially relevant to Chapter Six, which deals quite specifically with this topic.

Reframing Development

Since the Second World War, the field of development has been overwhelmingly defined by Western countries offering financial and technical assistance to the so-called Third World, in the name of improving their social and material situations (McMichael, 1996). Many observers consider this emphasis to be the legacy of the modernisation movement and its accompanying ideology of "progress" (Rist, 1997). In recent years, however, the sands have shifted and the monolith of modernisation is necessarily beginning to give way to a panoply of interests — including the aspirations of Third World people themselves. Subsequently, the foremost question in development is no longer *how to efficiently and effectively mobilize as many resources as possible* (as important as this task may be), but rather, *whose values are being promoted and applied in the development process* (Goulet, 1997). This shift in emphasis has been further fuelled by a growing realisation — right across the philosophical spectrum — that development is, at its core, not so much a logistical operation as it is a human endeavour (UNDP, 1994; Chambers, 1997). It will, therefore, inevitably encompass a vast "web of meanings" — including the hopes, values and agendas of many diverse groups of people (Estiva, 1992).

One revealing consequence of this shift in emphasis is that the development spotlight has been turned back on the West, posing a simple but disturbing question: "who changes?" (Blackburn and Holland, 1998). The idea that the Third World poor need to change, in order that they might experience a better life, has long been considered self-evident in development thinking (Escobar, 1992); the idea that non-poor people in the 'developed' West also need to change, in light of the poor, is somewhat more threatening (Elliot, 1987; Korten, 1990; Meyers, 1999). Yet, the relationships that have been forged between people in the First and Third Worlds — as a direct result of their shared involvement in the development process — have not only revealed that the poor know what is best for themselves and their communities (Chambers, 1997), but that the non-poor have much to learn about themselves from the poor (Edwards, 1998). The answer to the question "who changes?" is *everyone*. Bryant Meyers (1999, p.83) observes that, ultimately, it is *people* who cause poverty; therefore it is people who must change if this situation is to change. This has some big implications for any who seek solace in the false belief that they are immune to the ethical imperatives of equitable development (Goulet, 1995).

In the field of development studies, Robert Chambers (1983, 1997) has become a leading advocate of non-poor people adopting new attitudes and behaviours toward the poor. He uses the word "reversal" to describe a radical switch from treating the poor as targets of assistance, to recognising them as experts about their own lives and contexts. Accordingly, Chambers urges non-poor people coming in contact with the poor to lay aside their power and influence, to go to where the poor live, and to humbly engage with them as sincere learners. Michael Edwards

(1998, p.281) likewise believes the onus lies with the non-poor to become more attentive to the poor and their interpretation of the world they occupy — lest their involvement with the poor be rendered irrelevant. Humbly allowing the poor to share *their* understanding of reality, Edwards believes, will almost certainly result in the non-poor adopting different goals and values for their involvement with them. The Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire (1984) describes this process as moving away from a relationship characterised by *domination* toward a relationship characterised by *liberation*. Freire argues that it is only through relinquishing the desire to dominate that non-poor people can overcome the alienation that exists between them and the poor, and allow genuine learning and change to occur.[21]

Drawing on the work of Chambers, Edwards and others, Blackburn and Holland (1998) stress the priority of non-poor people making personal changes in their own lives over seeking to engineer material or social changes in the lives of others. Blackburn and Holland argue that becoming an effective agent of change requires a prior commitment to being self-reflective and demonstrating a willingness to *be changed*. As such, they echo Gandhi's famous charge to "be the change you want in the world". David Korten (1990, p.168) considers this to be "a far worthier challenge" to the non-poor than merely offering their charity to the poor. Myers (1999, p.115ff) similarly believes that a changed person — whether poor or non-poor — is the genesis of a wider process he describes as *transformational development*. Myers explains that, just as the poor need to recover their true human identity and vocation, so the non-poor need to exchange their "god-complexes" for a servant-like attitude and a commitment to working for the well-being of others — rather than desiring power or control over them. Myers suggests that it is only through such personal transformation, in the context of restored relationships between the poor and the non-poor, that either group might come to experience a condition Robert Chambers (1997, p.10) calls "responsible wellbeing". Denis Goulet (1997, p.1165) describes this kind of transformation as *qualitative human enrichment*, and he similarly considers that overcoming the alienation dividing poor from non-poor is no less than "development's true task" (1995, p.28). Korten (1990, p.185) likewise considers that this kind of personal transformation is "the foremost development priority" of the present era.

Servants also put significant emphasis on non-poor people adopting an attitude of humility and becoming "new people, not clinging to titles, positions achievements or resources" (Craig, 1998, p.327). Michael Duncan (1989, p.9) describes the relocation of Servants field-workers to the slums of Asia as an act of solidarity, growing out of a desire for reconciliation between the non-poor and the poor. Within this relationship, he explains, "a mutuality of

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[21] Freire uses the (problematic) terms 'oppressed' and 'oppressor' which, for the sake of consistency, I have substituted with 'poor' and 'non-poor' in this chapter. Freire's contribution to this research topic is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, together with some critiques of his perspective.

giving" can occur. This involves those with material resources sharing with those who have been denied them — thus liberating the poor from the grip of economic poverty, and the non-poor from the power of materialism. In addition, the non-poor may also discover in their poor neighbours a more holistic approach to life, a wealth of social networks, and a sincere expression of christian faith. This kind of interchange raises the possibility that the poor may, in some respects, be 'richer' than the non-poor — whose own 'poverty' may be other than material (Elliot, 1987). While not denying the need for the non-poor to share their abundance of material resources with the poor, this approach nevertheless reframes the relationship between the poor and the non-poor on the basis of *being* and not *having* (Fromm, 1976). As such, it makes development's "universal goals" of life-sustenance, esteem, freedom and meaning equally relevant to poor and non-poor alike (Goulet, 1995, p.41ff).

In summary, the reframing of development, from a logistical to a human endeavour, has highlighted the two-way nature of the relationship between the poor and non-poor. This has resulted in a growing recognition that all parties have something to offer each other, and both poor and non-poor people have an obligation to change as a result of this engagement. For the non-poor this means activating at least three interconnected areas of change with reference to the poor. Firstly, it requires a reversal of roles, from powerful 'expert' to humble 'learner'. Secondly, it requires a commitment to self-reflection and a willingness to be personally changed. Thirdly, it requires an ongoing commitment to overcome the alienating forces that divide poor from non-poor, and to create tangible expressions of solidarity with the poor. Despite the many social, geographical and inter-personal obstacles that present themselves, it is only through sincere commitment to such solidarity between the poor and non-poor that both groups might begin to experience some degree of liberation. As stated in the previous chapter, it was this vision that inspired Servants to promote Discovery Teams as a vehicle for non-poor people to reflect on their own lives in relation to the poor, and to then consider their responses in light of these discoveries.

Transforming Travel

This section presents a brief survey of relevant tourism literature, with an emphasis on understanding travel as a catalyst for personal change. This has not been made easy by the fact that the tourism literature is overwhelmingly concerned with examining the tourism industry and the effects of tourism on the places being visited. Even within the small body of literature focussing on the experience of travellers themselves, very little work has been done specifically on personal development resulting from travel (Wearing, 2001, p.19). There are, however, at least three recurring issues in the tourism literature that can help to shed some light on people

travelling to the Third World to discover more about the world and themselves. The first of these three issues concerns the effect of travel *breaking routines* and exposing people to a whole new environment, free from the usual pressures and constraints of everyday life. The second issue is *mindfulness*, which considers the importance of being present in a new environment and actively reflecting on new experiences. The third issue considers the *authenticity* of tourism experiences, and questions the possibility of travellers experiencing the essence of a foreign place in an unmediated form. Together, these three issues can help to inform the unique experience of travelling from the West to the Third World. These issues, therefore, have special relevance to the findings in Chapter Five, which explores Discovery Team members' experiences of travelling to, and staying in, Manila squatter communities.

Breaking routines

The first of these three issues concerns travel offering people a *break in routine* and exposure to a new environment. John Urry (2002, p.2) uses the common travel designations 'departure' and 'arrival' to illustrate this transition. Departure suggests leaving behind the established routines and constraints of everyday life; arrival suggests encountering new places and experiences that radically contrast with the familiar and the mundane. Graburn (2001, p.45) compares this transition to a pilgrimage — where the pilgrim moves from "profane" to "sacred" places — except in this instance the traveller moves from the mundane and ordinary experiences of their everyday life, to the liminal and novel experiences of their exotic destinations. Everyday life, for many people, can be tightly constrained by all manner of social norms and expectations (Kottler, 1997, p.12). Furthermore, the increasing standardization and "routinization" of life in Western societies can induce a state of *mindlessness* (Langer and Moldoveanu, 2000, p.6). This condition can be described as living on automatic pilot — responding in predictable ways to predictable circumstances (Sternberg, 2000, p.11f). These conditions can make it very difficult for people to initiate and execute substantial life-changes from the context of their everyday lives (Kottler, 1997, p.12).

A departure from the predictable patterns of the everyday, and immersion into a new and different environment, can allow people to more freely experiment with new ways of observing and responding to the world (Fowler, 1981, p.100). Graburn (2001, p.47) explains that travel places people in a "liminal" space, where their normal social structures, such as work and family roles, are either loosened or removed altogether. The loss (or loosening) of life's usual constraints and expectations can therefore create a space of freedom to experiment with new ways of being and acting (Kottler, 1997, p.12). Kottler observes that the potential for change can be further enhanced by enduring a difficult and challenging situation or environment, rather than opting for a comfortable one that replicates the home environment. He also notes that

visiting new and unfamiliar places intensifies the senses — not merely the faculties of sight, smell, and so forth, but also the sense of time, space, history, relationship to others, and even the sense of self. Suvantola (2002, p.47) notes that this can result in heightened attentiveness to things that might ordinarily escape awareness, both in the surroundings and internally. These factors all contribute to the enormous potential that travel presents as a catalyst for change in people's lives.

However, it should also be noted that experiencing personal changes through travel has two quite serious consequences for people when they return home to their normal lives. Firstly, Graburn (2001, p.46f) warns that people who were previously contented with their life may now consider it to be somewhat mundane and meaningless in light of their exciting travel experiences. Discontentment may also be accompanied by disorientation — the disturbing sense that "normal" features of life at home begin to appear strange when they are viewed in reference to the new experience. This phenomenon is commonly described as "reverse culture shock" — which is usually marked by difficulty reintegrating back into normal life, and feeling ambivalent or deflated after the "high" of travelling (Suvantola, 2002, p.54).[22] Secondly, Wearing (2001) warns that returning home and simply "slotting into" the same old routines and patterns that defined everyday life before the trip is likely to undermine any changes that are made while away from these constraints. Some of the specific ways that changes can be undermined are discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

Mindfulness

The second recurring issue in the tourism literature that relates to this topic is *mindfulness*, which explores the value of remaining attentive to, and actively reflecting on, new experiences and environments. Gina Moscardo (2000, p.12) examines the practice of tourists engaging with, and interpreting, the places they visit, and she strongly urges that this be done mindfully. Moscardo draws heavily on the work of Langer and Moldoveanu (2000), who describe mindfulness as being *open to novelty, alert to distinction, sensitive to different contexts, aware of multiple perspectives* and *orientated in the present.* Moscardo (2000, p.13) suggests that mindful people are inclined to actively process new information — creating new categories where necessary — and they are prepared to change their perspective and create new routines to enact these new understandings. Mindful people are also attuned to their environment, and have a certain curiosity about the things that are happening around them (Langer and Moldoveanu, 2000, p.7). When applied to people visiting Third World destinations, the qualities of mindfulness could also include recognition of the common humanity of visitor and resident, and

[22] Depending on the person and the circumstances, however, returning home can equally generate a greater appreciation of home (Suventola, 2002, p.240f).

an attitude of mutual respect between host and guest (Richter, 1989, p.193). The ability to engage mindfully with a new environment will also be influenced by the emotional state and level of receptivity of the visitor, as these determine a person's ability to take new information and experiences on board (Kottler, 1997, p.149).

Engaging mindfully with a new environment requires more than a good attitude and a receptive disposition, however. It also requires a degree of active participation. A conscious decision to be fully *present* in a situation is necessary. Shaw (2001, p.120) notes that every locality has a particular pace, which helps to shape its unique character. Mindful travellers will adjust themselves to the rhythms and pace of the place they are visiting — joining in with daily rituals and activities where possible — rather than imposing their own schedule or agenda (Kottler, 1997, p.48). In addition to fitting in with the patterns of daily life, being mindful also involves careful observation of the events and activities that define the lives of local people — reflecting on them, and seeking to gain an understanding of why they are happening. As such, the mindful visitor adopts the role of a *participant observer*: a *participant* through performing the rituals of everyday life; an *observer* through reflecting on those experiences from the position of a performer. Observing from the position of participation is more likely to result in a faithful understanding, argues Wearing (2001, p.108), because it correlates to a lived experience that engages the will and emotions in addition to cognitive processes. It will therefore have more connective meaning as a "shared experience" than something that has merely been observed from a distance. While active engagement certainly *deepens* a person's understanding, only disciplined reflection, however, can *broaden* it. Time spent alone thinking and reflecting on experiences, perhaps through journaling, provides an opportunity for people to process and make sense of experiences and plan their own responses (Kottler, 1997, p.73). As such, the complementary activities of participation and reflection can greatly enhance a person's level of mindfulness in a new situation.

Authenticity

The third relevant issue in the tourism literature considers the *authenticity* of tourism experiences, and offers a warning against framing other peoples' lives in a pre-determined way. Steve Britton (1991) observes that the tourism industry often flattens reality to suit the tastes and preferences of tourists, which in turn shapes their impressions and memories of the places they visit. A phenomenon as dehumanising as poverty can be subtly disguised — and even glamorised — for the enjoyment of tourists in their brief encounters (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). This usually involves the creation of *contrived* situations — such as "cultural" dance performances — that can bear little semblance to the lived reality of the local people (Ringer, 1998). While many tourists are happy to play along with this ritual, a growing number of

travellers are developing an insatiable interest in the "real lives" of other people in other places (MacCannell, 1999, p.91ff). According to MacCannell, these travellers are on a quest for *authenticity*, which they expect to find in people and places far away from their own (mundane) everyday life. MacCannell notes that this search for authenticity has drawn tourists to the "back regions", which are usually closed off to outsiders. These are the places where local people spend their time when they are not performing for the tourists. It is assumed, therefore, that entering and sharing a back region with local people allows the traveller to see behind their contrived performances, and to experience their authentic real lives in an unmediated form (Urry, 2002, p.97).

The interaction between host and guest is never quite this straightforward, however, especially in the case of Westerners travelling to the Third World (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Urry (2002, p.91f) argues that it is a false assumption that back regions are inherently authentic, and, by merely entering them, the visitor becomes an "insider", privy to the lived reality of the local people. MacCannell (1999, p.95) notes that even back regions can be staged for the visitor, according to what the host wants them to see. Ringer (1998) even argues that activities considered by some tourists to be contrived, can sometimes impart more meaning to local people than their *own* mundane "real lives" that are of such interest to their guests! Therefore, the distinction between contrived and authentic experiences may, in fact, be the creation of a misguided search for some mythical "idealized other" that may not actually exist. MacCannell (1999, p.102) considers that it is, therefore, more helpful to think in terms of a continuum between contrived and authentic experiences, and to accept that all forms of tourism will have elements of both. Staying in the homes of local people, for example, is bound to give the traveller a glimpse into certain realities of their everyday lives (Kottler, 1997, p.51). MacCannell (1999, p.106) argues, however, that this does not necessarily equate to some magical "arrival" at the truly authentic.

Collectively, these three issues in the tourism literature can helpfully inform the practice of Western people visiting Third World countries. *Breaking routines* and entering into a new environment, free from the usual pressures and constraints of everyday life, can provide a space of freedom to experiment with new ways of being. The potential for personal change is further enhanced when new experiences involve an element of challenge. However, making personal changes in a new place can also create feelings of disorientation and despondency on returning to the mundane routines of life. *Mindful* engagement with a new place involves adjusting to the pace of life there, and adopting an attitude of receptiveness. Joining in with the daily routines of the local people can give a person a deeper understanding of what life might be like for them; consciously reflecting on these experiences can broaden this understanding. Together, participation and observation can stimulate greater awareness and openness to change. *Authenticity* is not necessarily discovered exclusively behind the scenes, however. While

backstage encounters with local people certainly offer greater potential for personal change than sanctioned encounters, these should not be overly idealized as being inherently more authentic. Each of these issues offers some degree of explanatory power — or necessary corrective — to some of the key philosophies that underpin Discovery Teams. They also offer valuable categories for evaluating the specific experiences of team members who have travelled to the Third World and stayed in an urban poor community. These issues are explored in some detail throughout Chapter Five.

Critical Awareness

The first step toward people experiencing the kind of changes described earlier in this chapter is that they become aware of the need for change, and feel able to make such changes. In his groundbreaking book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* Paulo Freire (1984) explores the role of education in triggering peoples' internal mechanisms of change. He argues that both the non-poor and the poor unconsciously maintain a system of dehumanising injustice, either through their domination of others or their acceptance of domination by others. Freire coined the term *conscientisation* to describe the gradual process by which this situation might be both understood and changed. He argues that conscientisation begins with *critical awareness* — a dual process that combines unveiling the structures of oppression with developing a deeper self-awareness (Freire, 1984, p.98). The structural dimension of *critical awareness* seeks to expose systems of oppression that conspire to oppress the poor. This includes recognizing the powerful interests that would seek to prevent change from occurring. The personal dimension of *critical awareness* requires people to reflect on their own "situationality" within these systems of oppression. This includes each individual person recognizing the part they play in either actively promoting or quietly accepting different forms of oppression and dehumanisation. In Freire's educational method, a "problem-posing" approach replaces the more traditional didactic approach — where teachers deposit or "bank" information in their students — allowing for a more critical engagement with reality. Through dialogue, the lived experience of each person is brought to bear on issues that affect them, thereby making the process of addressing and resolving these issues more humanising and ultimately more empowering. According to Freire, the process of conscientisation culminates in the oppressed reclaiming their true humanity and working collectively to change the oppressive social structures, thereby creating a new, more humane, society. *Understanding* is therefore converted into *action.*

While Paulo Freire has deservedly earned enormous respect, his work has equally generated some strong critiques. Freire's critics fall roughly into two groups: those who question his emphasis on the *goal* of creating a new social order, and those who question his

casting of "oppressors" and "the oppressed" into fixed roles for achieving the new society. Higgins (1997) falls into the first of these two groups. He broadly criticises Freire's fixation on "the revolution", arguing that he unrealistically emphasises the lofty ideal of a radically changed society to the detriment of valuing more immediate small-scale changes. Such a preoccupation with *macro change* can easily prevent people from appreciating the long and difficult process of *personal change* slowly converting into *social change*, one small step at a time (Narayan, 2000, p.279). While visionary ideals can certainly inspire people, they can equally generate disillusionment when the big picture does not change as it ought to — potentially leaving people feeling even more disempowered than before. In a similar vein, Elliot (1987, p.88ff) highlights Freire's lack of a clear strategy for dealing with the staunch resistance that the conscientisation process will inevitably invite from powerful people — especially when they realise that their interests are being threatened by it. Without a clearly articulated methodology for engaging "the powers" that oppose the liberation of the poor, Elliot argues that the conscientisation process is likely to be short-circuited by vigilant, self-interested opposition. When contrasted with the hard-nosed pragmatism undergirding Saul Alinsky's (1971) strategies for engaging with powerful people and groups, Freire's unwavering faith in human decency can appear slightly naïve. Disappointment and disillusionment can easily result from ill-conceived strategies of liberation from oppression.

American sociologist Peter Berger perhaps exemplifies those critics who question Freire's rigid structuralist view of reality — especially his casting of "oppressors" and "the oppressed" into fixed roles in the conscientisation process. In Freire's explicitly Marxist framework, those who have converted from the oppressor class to join the struggle for liberation are cast as the "revolutionary leadership", whose primary role is animating the oppressed to "wage the struggle" for liberation (Freire, 1984, p.42ff). Berger (1976, p.137) detects paternalistic tendencies in Freire's framing of these two groups, arguing that it creates a kind of "vanguard" party, whose self-appointed role is to elevate "the masses" toward their enlightened understanding of reality. Despite Freire's assertion that the "revolutionary leadership" are to operate in communion with the oppressed, the very suggestion that their role is to raise the consciousness of *others*, Berger suggests, has hints of "cognitive imperialism" (Berger, 1976, p.141f). Berger, in contrast, urges a deeper mutuality of "cognitive respect", where each person's understanding of his or her own reality is valued equally, and not seen as a potential inroad for the revolutionary agendas of others. This approach opens the way for a *mutual consciousness-raising*, where both the poor and non-poor respectfully engage in the same process of seeking to understand each other's reality — recognising, of course, that this will naturally have different implications for each of them. In later dialogues with Ira Shor (1987, p.97ff) Freire argues that this was always his intention, siting his unwavering commitment to respectful dialogue between the two groups as evidence of this. Furthermore, Freire's early

emphasis on "the revolution" of the poor masses did eventually give way to a general conviction that people in all strata of society develop, and act out of, a growing passion for a more just and humane society (Cavalier, 2002).[23]

While these criticisms offer some useful correctives to Freire's polemic style, they do not ultimately undermine the valuable legacy of his work. Of particular relevance to this topic is Freire's emphasis on *praxis* — where *awareness-raising*, *self-reflection* and *social action* act as mutually motivating components in the same dynamic process of change. This begins with both the poor and non-poor regarding themselves *and* "the other" as human subjects, both having implicit value and both offering important contributions to the struggle for liberation from oppression. Recognizing their shared humanity should therefore curb any temptation by either group to typecast the other. For the non-poor this means refusing to blame the poor for their predicament (Duncan, 1996). Instead it requires the non-poor to recognize that the poor are entangled in a complex web of oppressive forces (Chambers, 1983), which have severely limited their access to social power (Friedman, 1992). The poor, then, are not to be viewed as lesser people to be pitied, but rather as equals who, due to such forces, have been unfairly excluded from full participation in society (Meyers, 1999, p. 65f). The silent cooperation of both the poor and non-poor in maintaining dehumanising social structures is, therefore, ultimately to be blamed for perpetuating poverty (Elliot, 1987). By unveiling the systems of domination and exclusion, and recognising their own complicity in maintaining them, both the poor and non-poor can creatively engage, as equals, in their liberation from them. As a conscientising scheme, Discovery Teams seek to bring non-poor Westerners into contact with the urban poor of Manila and, through this human interchange, raise their *critical awareness* of poverty and their own roles in perpetuating it. For this kind of raised awareness to be translated into ongoing tangible changes, however, some level of personal change must also take place. This is discussed in the following section.

Values and Vision

In his book *Comfortable Compassion* (1987, p.88f), Charles Elliot urges that a new awareness of poverty and its causes be channelled into changes in personal character and belief systems. Elliot acknowledges the difficulty and complexity of taking this more self-reflexive path of

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[23] There are other valid criticisms of Freire's work, such as those of feminist thinkers, who argue that exclusive language and an over-emphasis on reason give his writings a distinctly masculine bias (Higgins, 1997). While these are valuable issues in their own right, their relevance to this topic is limited, so I will not explore them further here.

converting *critical awareness* into deeper *personal change*. However, he warns that any alternative response will quite likely lead to anger-fuelled opposition to remote injustices, or frustrated inertia, based on the belief that nothing can really be changed. In either case, Elliot argues, *changed perspectives* and *changed practices* are ultimately irrelevant without a *changed person*. David Korten (1990, p.168) agrees with Elliot, suggesting that unjust structures are essentially the corporate expressions of individual human greed and egotism. He urges that a spirit of servanthood and humility supersede these destructive impulses — at a deep personal level — in order that the wider structures of injustice might subsequently change. Erich Fromm (1976, p.133f) similarly argues that it is only through profound changes in the human heart and character structure, which are ultimately expressed through renewed practices, that constructive social change can be achieved in any enduring way. Deep change in character and beliefs is, therefore, a critical component in the process of converting raised consciousness into meaningful and appropriate tangible changes. This suggests the need for an intentional transition from consciousness-raising to a focus on character development, values changes, envisioning a better world and, ultimately, accessing the motivation to act on these things in practical ways (Myers, 1999, p.116f).

A survey of two theories that chart the complex territory of character formation, values formation, meaning-making and motivation may help to shed some light on this important aspect of change. The first of these theories is Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development, which explores the different ways that people make moral decisions. Kohlberg's theory seeks to map the formation of character and values as people respond to increasingly complex circumstances in life. The second theory is James Fowler's theory of faith development, which explores the ways that people give meaning and significance to the things in life that are of ultimate worth to them. Fowler's theory has similarities to Kohlberg's, but it charts the more complex territory of people giving their allegiance to a vision of how things ought to be, and finding within that vision the motivation to live accordingly. According to Denis Goulet (1983, p.610), this vision forms the foundation stone of any moral agenda. These two theories, then, can be interpreted as dealing with the issues of *values* and *vision* respectively. As highly developed frameworks they can, at the very least, help to locate, and make some sense of, personal changes that can otherwise seem bewildering.[24]

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[24] It is important at this point to stress that Fowler is adamant that faith development is not exclusively concerned with specifically *religious* faith, but is perhaps best understood as the formation of a worldview or belief system that shapes a person's deepest levels of consciousness (Fowler, 1981, p.91). Or, put another way, he is interested in identifying the *forms and structures* of a persons' faith, regardless of its *content* (Fowler, 1992, p.13).

Values

Building on the foundations of Jean Piaget's studies of cognitive development in children, Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development seeks to establish the process by which an individual's moral reasoning matures as they interact with the world around them. In his treatise *The Philosophy of Moral Development* (1981), Kohlberg argues that people typically progress through six sequential stages of moral reasoning as they grow toward personal maturity. These six stages are grouped under three general categories: *pre-conventional moral reasoning, conventional moral reasoning* and *post-conventional moral reasoning.* The key characteristics of each, in terms of how they inform ethical decisions, are as follows. *Pre-conventional moral reasoning* generates ethical decisions based on self-interest. These decisions are motivated by either the desire to avoid punishment [Stage 1], or to gain reward [Stage 2]. *Conventional moral reasoning* generates ethical decisions based on conformity to accepted norms. These decisions are motivated by either the desire to meet the expectations of others [Stage 3], or to discharge perceived obligations [Stage 4]. *Post-conventional moral reasoning* generates ethical decisions based on commitment to universal ethical principles. These decisions are motivated by either the desire to uphold the rights and interests of others [Stage 5], or to honour the inherent dignity of all human beings [Stage 6].

The key criterion Kohlberg uses to define moral thought and behaviour through each of the six stages is *justice:* "the reciprocity between the individual and others in the social environment" (Kohlberg, 1981, p.55). Kohlberg suggests that people are invariably presented with genuine ethical dilemmas as they interact with the world around them. Their desire to 'justly' resolve these dilemmas can sometimes expose deficiencies in their current moral framework. In Kohlberg's view, this predicament should stimulate a transition through to the next stage in the sequence — a stage that accommodates a more complex set of interests than the previous stage. This progression involves moving from a "less adequate" (lower) stage of moral development to a "more adequate" (higher) stage of moral development. In other words, each stage of moral development signifies *a fuller expression of justice guiding an individual's ethical response to the world they live in.*

Kohlberg's work has generated an enormous amount of interest, as well as some compelling criticisms. For instance, Duska and Whelan (1975) question the sufficiency of 'justice' as the sole criterion for moral growth, arguing that 'love' — in its altruistic sense — is an equally valid ethical goal. Carol Gilligan confirms this critique in her exposé of the masculine bias in Kohlberg's research. Her study *In a Different Voice* (1982) highlights the fact that all Kohlberg's research subjects were male and, for this reason, tended to gravitate toward an "ethic of justice". Gilligan's own comparative research of both men and women established that women, on the other hand, tended to gravitate toward an "ethic of care". Sharon Daloz

Parks (1992, p.103) notes that the former emphasises the "individuating self" while the latter emphasises the "relational and responsible self". Therefore, Gilligan (1982, p.174) concludes that the goal of moral development ought to be an amalgam of both justice *and* care, in dialogue with one another.

Duska and Whelan (1975, p.968) also highlight an important distinction between the early and later stages of moral reasoning. They point out that the earlier stages involve a person coming to terms with how things are in the world around them, while the later [post-conventional] stages involve a person envisioning the way things *ought to be*. In relation to this, Elizabeth Morgan (1989, p.12) makes the crucial observation that Kohlberg's study is based on subjects resolving a *necessary* ethical dilemma, where they *must* choose an outcome, and the result of this choice will subsequently have a direct and personal impact on them. This leads her to question its explanatory power for people making moral decisions about things that do not appear to have any direct bearing on them. Or, put in terms relevant to the present study, whether moral reasoning *alone* is sufficient to inform the more altruistic decision to live justly and demonstrate care in response to Third World poverty? Denis Goulet (1997, p.1166) argues that it is only through a "trans-rational calculus of hope, situated beyond apparent realms of possibility" that the vision and creative energy required to respond appropriately to Third World poverty might be found. Envisioning a better world, and within that vision finding the motivation to enact it, therefore, engages the faculties of *faith*. It is this deeper level of the human psyche, then, that ultimately informs and inspires such "unnecessary" demonstrations of justice or care in response to Third World poverty.[25]

Vision

James Fowler's (1981) theory of faith development takes Kohlberg's idea of moral reasoning to a deeper and more personal level by focussing on peoples' own loyalty and allegiance to the things that are of ultimate concern to them. While Fowler acknowledges his debt to Kohlberg's work, he equally questions the sufficiency of purely cognitive moral reasoning to generate change at the deepest levels of the human psyche (Fowler, 1992, p.12f). He argues instead for a more "connective" form of knowing, which he calls "faith-knowing", where personal passion and concern are also invested in the cognitive process of ethical reflection and action. As such, Fowler argues that this kind of faith-knowing can provide people with a vision of a better world, and this vision can then help to generate the inner motivation required to commit themselves to

[25] This is not to suggest that responding to global poverty is unimportant. Rather, it is a decision that is not based on socially-mediated expectations or duties, and is therefore not a strictly *necessary* moral decision. The distinction between how things *ought* to be and how they are in reality helps to clarify this difference.

its realisation. Erich Fromm (1976, p.135) states this same idea simply as *the object of our devotion motivating our ethical conduct.* According to Fowler, therefore, the pursuit of personal moral development is motivated by a deep-seated vision for a better world — a condition he calls *faith.*[26]

Fowler's (1981) stages of faith follow a similar structural-developmental pattern to Kohlberg's stages of moral development, moving sequentially through six stages, each following and building on the last. According to Fowler, each stage of faith is an internally consistent whole, yet its equilibrium can also be upset as a person matures and/or encounters new experiences that challenge its internal consistency. As per Kohlberg's theory, this predicament can stimulate the search for a more comprehensive faith framework — a framework that can explain and accommodate the new personal or environmental circumstances the person is experiencing. Each faith stage, therefore, features a greater capacity for *wider and more adequate understanding of experience* and *more consistently humane care for others* (Astley, 1992, *xx*, emphasis added). A brief sketch of Fowler's six stages of faith follows.[27]

Stage 1 is *imaginative faith*, which is unrestrained by logic or reason, and is usually experienced by young children. Stage 2 is *narrative faith*, which is more literal and logical, and is usually experienced by older children. Stage 3 is *conforming faith*, which is mediated primarily through social relationships, and is usually experienced by people in their teens or beyond. Stage 4 is *choosing faith*, which is consciously adopted and 'owned' by an individual, and is usually experienced during young adulthood or beyond. Stage 5 is *inclusive faith*, which is more open to the complex paradoxes of life, and is usually experienced after the age of 30. Stage 6 is *selfless faith*, which is primarily orientated toward the good of others, and is very rarely achieved.[28]

Criticism of Fowler's theory of faith development has generally come from two standpoints: one theological and the other philosophical. The first line of criticism comes from a theological perspective, from those who question Fowler's separation of the *structure* and the *content* of faith. Mary Ford-Grabowsky (1992, p.109ff) encapsulates the views of these critics in her argument that the rich notion of faith is impoverished when it is reduced to an object of study by the social sciences. She suggests that focussing exclusively on its "human side", and

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[26] Philosopher Michael Polanyi's terms "tacit knowledge" or "personal knowledge", reflecting the deeper process of giving ascent or investing passion in things of ultimate worth, both convey a similar meaning to Fowler's concept of faith (sited in Naugle, 2002, p.189ff).

[27] For the sake of clarity, I have adopted Astley's (1992, p.*xxi*) helpful paraphrases to describe each stage.

[28] Mosley *et al.* (1992, p.56) emphasise that Stage 6 is a logical extension of Fowler's faith stage theory, rather than an empirically derived description. Stage 6 is, therefore, more accurately understood as Fowler describing his own normative goal of human development.

therefore partitioning off the "divine side", results in an inadequate way of understanding faith. She also challenges Fowler's assertion that his theory promotes a "connective" form of faith-knowing, pointing to its grounding in structuralism, which, she argues, is steeped in a "cognitive bias and reductionism" so antithetical to the notion of faith. Sharon Daloz Parks (1992, p.102) even questions Fowler's use of the term "development" to describe the deepening of faith. She detects evolutionary connotations of progress and achievement, and proposes the alternative metaphor of "transformation" to describe changes in a person's faith.

The second line of criticism of Fowler's theory also focuses on its structural foundations, but from a philosophical perspective. Because Fowler adopts the philosophy of structuralism as the basis of his theory, David Heywood (1992, p.155) argues, he unavoidably *presupposes* that faith will develop through definable and coherent "stages". Heywood raises the prospect that pre-defined structural stages have consequently been "read into" Fowler's theory of faith development, rather than established through empirical research. Or, put more simply, the evidence has been tailored to fit predetermined pigeonholes. In this regard, Heywood is especially sceptical of Fowler's "idealistic" formulation of Stage 6 as a unifying end-point of faith development — particularly since Fowler can offer no empirical data to support this particular construction of the final stage of faith. Heywood feels that this suspiciously-tidy end-point goes against the general flow of the rest of Fowler's theory, where the ongoing relationship between the changing self and the changing world demands increasingly complex encounters with paradox and conflict. Fowler's adoption of Kohlberg's "invariant, sequential and hierarchical" understanding of structural stages is also strongly questioned by Webster (1992, p.81), particularly in light of the contingent nature of *changing people* living in a *changing world*. While Kohlberg (1981, p.106f) reacts to such views with a somewhat strident defence of structuralism against the "fallacy of relativism" in social ethics, Fowler is less defensive of his own use of structural stages. He suggests that they serve the function of illuminating and clarifying the nature of changes, but he submits that his model is a work in progress with many aspects that are provisional (Fowler, 1981, p.90).

These criticisms withstanding, Fowler's theory of faith development, and its sister theory of moral development, can offer useful and complementary frameworks for defining the internal changes that occur when people engage with the world around them. The insufficiency of cognitive moral reasoning alone to motivate deep personal change is to some extent compensated by Fowler's exploration of faith, and the kind of vision and inner motivation it can inspire for moral action. Therefore, while it is certainly worthwhile raising questions about the content and structure of these two theories, their shared central premise — of peoples' need to adapt in response to increasingly complex experiences of reality — is hard to deny. Equally hard to deny is the relevance of this process to people from the West who, due to their

experience of Third World poverty, become aware of their need to discover a more adequate framework of values and a vision for a more equitable way of living in the world.

This raises the question of whether Western people do actually experience some kind of transition in their moral and/or faith stance as a result of an experience of the Third World. Particularly relevant to this study is the question of whether people have moved from pragmatic and conformist to world-embracing and other-oriented ethical positions due to their involvement in a Discovery Team. Or, in the language of Kohlberg's framework, have people moved from *conventional* to *post-conventional moral reasoning*? At the deeper level of faith lies the question of whether people have made the transition from a socially-mediated *conforming faith* to an individuated *choosing faith* — forged to explain and give coherent meaning to the new social horizons they have encountered in the Third World (Mosley, 1992, p.51f). Or whether people have moved further into a more *inclusive faith,* embracing new perspectives and allowing these to sit in critical tension without collapsing them into a neat system. Equally relevant is the question of how these changes have come about. In other words, has faith, as described by Fowler, provided the *vision* and *motivation* for these changes to occur? These questions are explored with reference to Discovery Teams in Chapter Six.

Sustaining Change

The previous four sections have discussed some of the issues surrounding non-poor people changing in response to experiences of poverty. Much of this discussion has been concerned with the internal, personal dimension of change. This final section explores the *activation* of personal changes in the form of tangible practices in everyday life, and examines how these applications might be maintained over time. This section also highlights some competing forces that act to prevent positive change from occurring or being sustained over time. Surveying a variety of literature has revealed at least three sets of opposing forces that either assist or prevent tangible changes being sustained over time. I have described these three polarities as follows: the tension between *traction* and *distraction*; the tension between *solidarity* and *security*; and the tension between *reinforcing* and *reverting.* Each of these tensions is discussed below, with reference to the forces that prevent tangible changes taking root.

Traction — distraction

The tension between *traction* and *distraction* refers to internal changes becoming established in peoples' lives as they are converted into tangible practices. The discipline of translating inner changes into changed practice, however, can easily be undermined by a smorgasbord of dis-

tractions vying for peoples' attention in Western societies. While inner transformation is the essential genesis of a wider process of change (Meyers, 1999), Erich Fromm (1976, p.133f) argues that "purely psychical change" is irrelevant and ineffectual unless it is grounded in changed lifestyle and practice. Translating inner change into outer expressions, however, is neither automatic nor predictable, but requires a level of commitment and discipline to achieve and maintain (Kottler, 1997, p.160). Saul Alinsky (1971, p.68) describes it as a process of actively and consistently converting undigested "happenings" into integrated "experiences" as they are *reflected on* and then *incorporated into* a persons' lived experience. Ronald Sider (1977) provides a relevant example of this process in his groundbreaking book *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*. Sider urges that a growing acquaintance with Third World poverty be expressed tangibly through adopting a simplified lifestyle, based on needs and not wants, suggesting that the surplus resources resulting from this practice could be shared with those who genuinely need them. Goulet (1995, p.60), Korten (1990, p.165) and Kothari (1995, p.133) also endorse a simplified "ethic of consumption". Erich Fromm describes this as "exchanging pathological consumption for sane consumption" (1976, p.176f). This is just one example of internal change being incorporated into practical expressions, which, in turn, reinforce the changed values (Freire, 1984). It is through activating such tangible responses to poverty that internal changes are helped to gain and maintain some traction in peoples' lives (Wearing, 2001, p.101). The value of *reinforcing* these changes is discussed in more detail below.

Peter Berger *et al.* (1974, p.78f) argue that people living in the West have a substantial degree of individual freedom and autonomy to fashion, and even refashion, their lives. Changing familiar consumption patterns to reflect a changed attitude toward the poor should therefore be a straightforward 'lifestyle option'. However, Berger (1976) also observes that people living in the West can easily be lured into spending their freedom satisfying media-generated desires and expectations rather than pursuing a more just and caring lifestyle. Berger suggests that one reason for this is that persuasive social forces play a significant role in mediating those things to which peoples' attention might be given. Western culture, with its distinct orientation toward prosperity and the future, inevitably turns people's attention away from the plight of the poor (Kothari, 1995, p.5). The modern addiction to speed, busyness and newness equally stifles meaningful connection with the needs of others (Fromm, 1976, p.177). In light of this, Denis Goulet (1995, p.49f) urges people living in the West to constrain their appetites for the many distractions and diversions that are generated by an abundance of available goods and activities. Elizabeth Morgan (1989, p.160) adds to this a resolve to reject the consumption-inducing messages that pervade the mainstream media, and endeavouring to recover a consciousness of how Western lifestyles contrast with, and impinge on, the poor. Without this kind of reorientation it is unlikely that a person living in the West will be

successful in incorporating changes emerging from their Third World experience into their everyday life, therefore allowing them to gain traction.

Solidarity — security

The second tension, between *solidarity* and *security,* is perhaps most succinctly summed up in Erich Fromm's book *To Have Or To Be?* (1976, p.106). Fromm argues that every person's "character structure" has two primary impulses: the desire to *have* (stemming from the human need for survival), and the desire to *be* (stemming from the human need to experience union with others). He considers that Western society — whose core principles are based on acquisition, profit and private property — has produced a social character orientated around *having.* Consequently, the deeply engrained human desire to experience solidarity with others through sharing and sacrifice is frequently repressed in order to pursue personal and economic security (cf. Saul, 1997). Kothari (1995, p.29) believes this orientation ultimately turns people away from the needs of the poor, resulting in a form of amnesia that quietly excuses their exclusion and dispensability. The sensitivity of the "haves" to the needs of the "have-nots" is further muted, suggests Denis Goulet (1995, p.57), by their efforts to justify and rationalize the privileged position they enjoy. Elliot (1987, p154) concurs that people naturally have vested interests in maintaining a system that they perceive to be beneficial to them, and will tend to prefer the security of the status quo to questioning blatant inequalities that may result from it.

These are some pervasive features of the social environment that has, to some extent, had a shaping effect on Discovery Team members, and into which they will again be immersed on return from their experience in the Third World. In light of this social reality, exchanging the pursuit of personal security for a life of solidarity with the poor is a difficult and uncertain path for any Western person to take (Meyers, 1999, p.90). Yet, Charles Elliot (1987, p.95) argues that any person who chooses to orientate their attention toward the poor can actually begin to experience liberation from their perceived need to hold on to wealth and power in an exclusive and defensive way. Denis Goulet (1995) describes this as learning to value qualitative life goals — such as "having enough" in order to "be more" (cf. Fromm, 1976). He would agree with Elliot that adopting a life ethic that is equally motivated by "my good" and "the good of others" can produce freedom from the dehumanising impulse to acquire endless material goods (Goulet, 1995, p.82f). Kothari (1995) is equally convinced that "the best" is not necessarily synonymous with "the most". This belief will seem counter-intuitive in a culture driven by mass consumption and economic security. Yet, exercising constraint over the forces that generate excessive wants and desires, and reorientating attention toward the needs of the poor, can actually create the conditions that make Robert Chambers' (1997) ideal of "responsible well-being" an achievable possibility.

Reinforcing — reverting

The final tension, between *reinforcing* and *reverting*, highlights the importance of reinforcing internal and external changes as non-poor people seek to translate their experience of Third World poverty into their everyday lives. Affirming and supporting such changes helps to prevent people from gradually reverting to previously-held attitudes and practices when their home environment "reasserts itself" on them (Suvantola, 2002, p.252). Blackburn and Holland (1998, p.171) suggest that lasting change does not come easily because social and institutional norms continue to have a powerful conforming influence on people after they return from the Third World to the West. In light of this reality, Schoonmaker Freudenberger (1998, p.73f) argues that a single trip to the Third World can *initiate* changes, but it "requires a more cumulative and reinforcing process" if it is to gain any lasting traction. On return to the West, old habits and familiar ways of thinking and operating soon re-emerge and displace new ones — unless concrete strategies for prolonging and reinforcing the process of change are employed. The solution proposed by Schoonmaker Freudenberger is for people to make repeat visits, which can incrementally reinforce the gains of the initial trip via a process of "progressive learning". In this way, any ground that is lost after the initial trip can be recovered, and even built upon, in subsequent trips.

For many, however, return visits to the Third World are not practical or economically viable (or even justifiable). Leurs (1998, p.129f) recommends the alternative of seeking out a relational context of encouragement in the persons' own home country, where the changes made in response to a Third World experience can be endorsed and guided. Richter (1989, p.209) suggests that this begin with a debriefing process that creates opportunities to reflect, assimilate, and integrate the experience. Fowler (1981, p.287ff) refers to this kind of arrangement as a "supportive community" that sponsors and sustains changes — and even calls people on to further changes in the future. In this way, the process of personal and practical change can be facilitated and nurtured well beyond the period of the experience itself. However, because the process of change is unpredictable, it should therefore be nurtured in a way that is provisional and adaptive rather than prescriptive (Elliot, 1987, p.90). It is reasonable to suggest, then, that some form of reinforcement will be required if changes are to be sustained in the face of personal and social propensities for people to revert to previously-held beliefs and practices. In light of this, supportive relationships and/or compounding experiences will probably increase the likelihood of changes gaining and maintaining traction in peoples' lives. These questions are discussed with reference to Discovery Teams throughout Chapter Six.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have examined five key themes, gleaned from a diverse range of literature. I have attempted to relate these five themes to various kinds of change occurring in the lives of non-poor people as a result of their encounters with Third World poverty. *Reframing development* locates Discovery Teams within an emerging picture of development as a human endeavour. This shift in emphasis has highlighted the need for all parties to change — including the non-poor. A willingness to humbly learn from the poor and to engage in a mutually beneficial relationship of solidarity is considered to be a challenging but worthwhile personal response to poverty. *Transforming travel* examines the ways that encountering a new environment and participating in new experiences can trigger a process of personal transformation in the traveller. Breaking familiar routines and mindfully engaging with the reality of life in the Third World can provide the space and inclination for this personal change to occur. However, up-close encounters with the poor should not be overly idealized as being inherently more authentic than others. *Critical awareness* describes the process of unveiling systems and structures that oppress and dehumanise the poor. This involves both the poor and non-poor recognising their own complicity in maintaining these systems and creatively engaging together in their liberation from them. *Values and vision* explores deep personal change — the vital link between raised awareness and changed practice. The values of justice and care can inform the challenging process of becoming an others-focussed person. In addition, gaining a vision for a better world will help to generate the deep-seated motivation required to maintain these values in the face of competing forces both within and without. *Sustaining change*, through new practices and priorities, helps to consolidate and reinforce inner changes and new perspectives. These changes can be undermined, however, by a multitude of distractions or the temptation to revert to old and familiar patterns. These last three themes are especially relevant to Chapter Six, which deals quite specifically with the topic of changes occurring in the lives of Discovery Team members as a result of their encounters with the Third World. Naturally, there are strong threads that link each of these themes to one another. Where possible, I attempt to weave them together as I tie them into the following chapters.

Chapter Four

Conducting the Research

In this chapter I describe the predominantly qualitative nature of this study and explain the procedures that have been followed to conduct this research. In the first half of the chapter I discuss my selection of a suitable research method and the employment of compatible research tools to implement the study. This involves highlighting the main advantages of the methods and tools that I have chosen for this research, as well as identifying their potential limitations. I then identify areas where my own bias may influence the judgements I make — both positively and negatively — and I also outline some of the ethical considerations that have been taken into account in the research process. In the second part of this chapter I outline my strategy for conducting this study, and offer some reflections on the way that different aspects of the research procedure worked in reality. I end the chapter by describing the characteristics of the 22 respondents who were finally selected and interviewed for this research. The results of this research may then be interpreted in light of the personal characteristics of the actual respondents who contributed to these results.

The Nature of this Research

This research seeks to evaluate the lived experiences of people who have participated in a discovery team, and to assess the changes that this experience has generated in their lives since their return home from Manila. The study therefore seeks to evaluate both the *process* and the *outcomes* of participating in a discovery team. The *process* of participating in a discovery team — including the preparation, the trip itself, and the debriefing — is closely examined in Chapter Five. The *outcomes* of participating in a discovery team are examined in Chapter Six, with a particular focus on the personal, relational and practical changes that have occurred in team members' lives. Focusing on *both* of these dimensions can reveal some of the causal links between the actual experiences people have had, and the outcomes that have resulted from those experiences (Robson, 2002, p.209). Uncovering these causal links can then help to establish

whether Discovery Teams have been *a catalyst for change*, and to identify the factors that have contributed to, or detracted from, the effectiveness of this scheme.

Because this research seeks to evaluate the lived experiences of people who have been placed in a foreign environment, and to measure the life-changes that have resulted from this experience, it lends itself to predominantly *qualitative* research methods. Dann and Phillips (2001, p.249) consider that the highly experiential and interactive nature of travelling to, and reflecting on, unfamiliar places requires research methods that seek to understand people and their individual experiences *in their own terms*. Taking a predominantly qualitative approach to this research allows scope for each individual person to offer their own interpretation of events, and to describe, in their own words, how this experience has uniquely impacted on their life. In this way it becomes possible to discover the meaning that people attribute to their Discovery Team experience (Robson, 2002, p.271). It also allows each respondent to especially emphasise those aspects of the experience that they perceive to be most important (Wearing, 2001, p.60). Adopting this approach across a range of people can eventually result in a deeper understanding of the variety of ways that Discovery Teams have been experienced, potentially yielding a rich and full account of the scheme and its impacts on different people under different circumstances (Babbie, 2004, p.146).

By nature, this kind of research does not lend itself to satisfaction surveys or questionnaires with fixed categories and rigid criteria (Dann and Phillips, 2001, p.249). However, this does not mean that quantitative methods have no place in this study. Robson (2002, p.214) states that evaluation is a complex form of research, and argues that it can certainly benefit from the use of multiple methods. For this reason, I have complemented the main qualitative methods with some supplementary quantitative methods. For example, I employed strict quantitative methods in my selection of primary respondents for this study, to ensure a reasonable degree of representativeness in this group (this is discussed in more detail later in the chapter). Quantitative methods are also woven through my analysis of the data collected from respondents, and I have subsequently retained much of this statistical information in my reporting. This has helped to build a more accurate picture, by revealing the actual proportions or percentages of respondents who expressed similar experiences to one another. While this does introduce the risk of flattening out each individual persons' own unique experience, it nevertheless makes it possible to establish broad themes and trends, and to draw some tentative conclusions from these. I have also endeavoured to keep my analysis and reporting gender-desegregated, so that trends reflecting any discrepancies between men's and women's experiences can be easily identified. Using quantitative methods to support this qualitative research has, therefore, helped to make more informed judgments on the extent to which Discovery Teams have achieved their aims, and to accurately identify the extent of any deficiencies in the scheme.

One further methodological issue worth noting at this point concerns the relationship between research and theory. This research is essentially an evaluation of a somewhat unique scheme, with sparse literature, few peers to measure against, and no formal evaluation prior to this study being conducted. Therefore, this study has demanded a more *inductive* approach than a *deductive* approach. This has meant selectively employing a range of related theories to illuminate peoples' experiences, rather than using people's experiences primarily to test an established theory (Babbie, 2004, p.24). Therefore, while I certainly attempt to link a variety of relevant theories to peoples' Discovery Team experiences, this research does not endeavour to prove or disprove any one particular theory about short-term teams of this nature.

This should not imply, however, that Discovery Teams lack any theoretical substructure. As Chapter Two has revealed, there is actually a broad philosophical base underpinning this scheme, and a raft of 'informal' theories that collectively inform this philosophy. Adopting an inductive approach has involved identifying different aspects of the philosophy behind Discovery Teams, and formalising these to create my own framework for evaluating the scheme. I did this through personal consultation with a network of interested parties (stakeholders) early in the research process. My discussions with these stakeholders helped me to progressively establish the evaluation criteria and the main indicators for measuring the effectiveness of this scheme (these are detailed in the latter part of Chapter Two). In this way, Discovery Teams may then be assessed against their own set of criteria, rather than measured against a more remote formal theory.

Adopting an inductive approach for this study has resulted in an evolving research process. While I started out with an initial set of ideas to guide this project, these ideas have needed to constantly adapt to new input and information along the way. For example, my fieldwork, which was spread over a period of months, included consulting each of the stakeholders of the scheme (described above) *and* conducting a pilot phase of four trial interviews — all before embarking on my 18 interviews with randomly-selected respondents. The consultation phase helped me to establish my evaluation criteria from the stakeholders. From these criteria I drafted an initial set of survey questions. The pilot phase allowed me to test my survey questions in a 'live' interview situation with four purposively selected respondents, and then feed the insights and lessons from those initial interviews back into the wider research process. This involved altering some of my previous assumptions and making adjustments to some of my questions in preparation for the main interviews. Adopting an inductive approach, therefore, resulted in an evolving, reflexive process directing the course of this study (Strauss, 1987, p.10). The research question itself has consequently been indispensable in providing some necessary bearings to navigate this expansive territory.

The interview survey

The primary data for this study was collected through surveying a sample of previous Discovery Team members. I asked each respondent to describe their own experience of being part of their discovery team, and to identify any life-changes that they can attribute to this experience. To do this I used one-on-one, semi-structured verbal interviews as my main data collection tool. Selected Discovery Team members responded verbally to a prepared set of (mostly) open-ended questions about their involvement in this scheme and the effect it has had on their lives (refer to Appendix C for the final draft of my interview questions). These respondents were asked to recall their own personal experience of preparing to go to Manila, spending time in a Manila squatter community, and returning home to New Zealand again. They were also asked to reflect on any impacts this experience had on their lives subsequent to their trip, and to identify any life changes that they can attribute to participating in a discovery team.

I chose to use verbal interviews mainly because the two-way conversation that emerges between interviewer and interviewee has the potential to yield very rich data (Robson, 2002, p.234). I suspected that inviting respondents to write their responses would limit the depth of their answers, and would probably have lowered the overall response rate. Both of these suspicions were confirmed during the course of the research. For example, one of my respondents gave very articulate answers to my questions, yet in the course of the interview alluded to having a reading disability, which would certainly have limited their ability to respond in a written form. Another respondent, when initially approached, was very reluctant to be a participant in the study, because they (falsely) assumed that I was asking for written responses to my questions. This respondent ended up revealing many valuable insights when given the opportunity to articulate their experience verbally. In addition to these advantages, interviewing respondents gave me the benefit of gaining clarification on their answers through using probes. This was particularly useful when exploring some of the more interpretive areas of the study, such as the changes that occurred in respondents' worldview or faith.

My decision to interview respondents individually and, where possible, in person and in their own environment was also influenced by my own preference for taking a relational approach to this kind of activity. As a naturally relational person, I felt this approach would play to my own strengths, and satisfy my own desire to view each respondent as a *real person* and not a faceless statistic in an experiment. Interviewing most of my respondents in the context of their own environment also gave me a glimpse of their everyday lifestyles, allowing me to gain a much broader picture of who they are — or at least how they present themselves to others. This meant, for instance, that I could compare their spoken responses with the way that they appear to live day to day. At the same time, being on their own 'home turf' probably helped them feel more comfortable about being interviewed for this project. The process of selecting

respondents and conducting interviews with them is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Limitations of the interview survey

By choosing to adopt a semi-structured interview format as my main method of data-collection, it soon became evident to me that a lot was riding on the quality of the questions I asked my respondents. One of the main issues I faced was the tension between asking quite prescriptive questions and leaving the questions open to interpretation, therefore allowing my respondents to answer them on their own terms. I realised, for instance, that some of the questions that I had planned to ask my respondents were either leading questions, or were loaded with value judgements or my own ideological bias. I wanted to reduce — not enhance — the chances of respondents telling me what they *think* I wanted to hear (Robson, 2002, p.172). This forced me to neutralise some of my questions as much as possible, without completely stripping them of all meaning. While I accept that it is not possible to completely eliminate my own ideological bias, it *is* possible to remove evidence of my own agendas from the questions, therefore giving respondents more room to put their own content into their responses (Babbie, 2004, p.75ff). While this does not completely eliminate the tendency respondents have to answer questions in a way that reflects well on them (Robson, 2002, p.233), it does reduce the cues they receive from me about what I might want to hear.

An example of my need to remove ideological bias from the interview questions is revealed in an early draft of a question about worldview. The question asked: *How did your Discovery Team experience affect your understanding of the relationship between the rich and the poor in our world?* Although this may *technically* be an open-ended question, it is also a leading question, because it has been informed by my own understanding of *critical awareness* (Freire, 1984). It therefore contains a subtle bias, and carries the implication that a certain kind of response would be preferred. It also makes the assumption that respondents' understandings *have* been changed. With these issues in mind, this question was subsequently reformulated into a series of general closed questions, followed by some open-ended probes: *Did your Manila experience change your picture of the world in any way? If so, how? Has it changed the way you see yourself fitting into that picture? In what ways?*[29] While these questions no longer directly address Freire's issue of "the relationship between rich and poor in our world", the very fact that the question is being asked in the context of a trip to a squatter community will nevertheless imply this issue (evidence, perhaps, that such questions can never be completely neutralised). However, I am confident that the reformulated questions allow respondents to

[29] To view these questions in context refer to Appendix C, questions 40 and 41.

answer on their own terms. They therefore reduce the possibility of respondents feeling pigeonholed, or obliged to give me an answer that they think I might be digging for.

Regardless of the quality of the interview questions, however, this method of data collection will always be limited by respondents' own selective memories and subjective interpretations of their experiences. Because I do not have the luxury of conducting a time-based longitudinal study — interviewing respondents before their trip, after their trip, and then some years later — I am forced to work within the limitations of a cross-sectional study. This means that some respondents are required to recall events that occurred up to 15 years ago. Speaking about events and experiences many years in retrospect reduces the possibility of offering raw descriptions of those events and experiences (Babbie, 2004, p.105). These respondents' memories of their trip will quite likely be coloured by events that have unfolded in the interim. On the other hand, respondents who have recently returned from Manila may remember their experience vividly, but may not have had enough opportunity to analyse their experiences and establish any ongoing life-changes since their return. One way that I have compensated for these limitations is by employing *quota sampling* to ensure a balanced selection of respondents who participated in a Discovery Team prior to the year 2000, and those who have done their trip since 2000. Theoretically, the latter group are more likely to have fresh and relatively un-coloured memories of their trip, while the former group are more qualified to identify the life-changes that have stood the test of time. Employing a quota sampling strategy across a group of respondents, therefore, creates an approximation of a longitudinal study, where the respective strengths and weaknesses of both groups can balance each other out across the full group of respondents.

Because this kind of research is ultimately a human endeavour, there will inevitably be additional human factors that influence the research process. The personal characteristics of each respondent, including their personality type and even their mood at the time of the interview, will have some bearing on the kind of responses they give (Robson, 2002, p.233). Their freedom to choose what they reveal and what they conceal, and the amount of 'spin' they decide to put on their statements, will also influence the quality of their responses (Babbie, 2004, p.141). These realities of human nature cannot be eliminated from a study like this. It is important, therefore, to be aware of them — and it is even possible to compensate for them. In this study I have sought to reduce the influence of these variables by interviewing 22 respondents, therefore spreading the research net over a relatively diverse group of respondents, which goes some way toward balancing out many of these factors. I have also presented a 'snapshot' of the personal characteristics of these 22 respondents at the end of this chapter, in an effort to identify some of these variables. The results of this research should, therefore, be read against the makeup of this group of respondents.

Personal Bias

Just as respondents have many individual variables that affect their responses, so too do researchers bring much of who they are to the research process. Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p.4) state that all social research is an interactive process, which is unavoidably shaped by the researcher's own experience, personal history, gender, social class and ethnicity, among other factors. In addition, Anselm Strauss (1987, p.10) considers that the abilities, creativity and passions of the researcher are also likely to find their way into their research endeavours. However, rather than viewing these as exclusively negative factors, to be studiously eradicated in the name of 'objectivity', it is perhaps more realistic to accept that each of these realities will inevitably have some kind of shaping influence on the research process. This does require a form of "reflexive bracketing" (Robson, 2002, p.173), where the different kinds of bias that the researcher brings to the research task are named, and accounted for. Ideally, this calls for additional corrective measures to compensate for different kinds of bias. I believe that these considerations apply especially to this research.

As mentioned already in Chapter Two, I was a member of one of the early teams that was used as a pilot for Discovery Teams. Therefore, I approach this research as an *insider*, in the sense that I have experienced life in a Manila squatter community as part of a short-term team. This means that I am not only interested in the topic I am researching, but I am also personally familiar with it. Although this brings many benefits — such as a deeper appreciation of the issues involved in being part of a Discovery Team — I equally recognise a need to apply some caution. Having shared the same experience as the people I am researching, there is a danger that I could read *my own* experiences into their answers rather than understanding their unique experiences *in their terms*. My decision to use open-ended and relatively value-neutral questions partly reduced this risk by allowing respondents to explain their experience in their own words, emphasising the aspects they consider to be most important or valuable. Preserving actual statements made by respondents throughout the analysis and reporting is another way I have endeavoured to allow their voices to speak through this research, alongside my own. Purposefully giving due consideration to views and experiences that differ from my own also ensured that I did not simply retell my own story through the words of others.

As well as being an *insider*, I am also a *convert*. By this I mean that my experience of going to Manila and staying in a squatter community was both a positive and a life-changing experience for me. The experience caused me to view the world differently and it changed my value system significantly. As a wealthy, male Pakeha New Zealander I became more conscious of the responsibility I have toward the poor, both in my own country and in the Third World. This has impacted many of my priorities and life choices since that time — including my vocation, my place of residence, my voluntary involvements and my use of money and

resources. It also brought a whole new dimension to my christian faith, which has continued to be characterized by this experience. Part of my motive for doing this research has been to see whether others have been similarly impacted by this kind of experience. I recognise that this can create a tendency to emphasise similarly positive aspects of other people's experiences, and thus become an apologist for Discovery Teams. One example of my attempt to balance this tendency was my decision to purposively search for at least one respondent whose experience was especially negative (this is explained under the heading 'Research Procedure' later in this chapter). It also involved remaining alert to experiences that were different to my own, and choosing to give due consideration to any new or surprising evidence in my analysis and reporting. So, while my own subjectivity is inevitable, it is also possible as a researcher to understand other peoples' experiences and the way they make sense of their lives (Babbie, 2004, p.42). I have endeavoured to remain conscious of my own need to do this throughout the research process.

Ethical Considerations

Because this research project did not involve any vulnerable people groups, and did not place either my respondents or myself in a vulnerable position, it was not necessary for the project to be reviewed by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. Instead, my research strategy was reviewed, and approved by delegated authority, by the head of department, my supervisor and myself through a brief consultation process. While this research project was judged to be low risk overall, there were three ethical issues that we identified during our discussions. The first ethical issue concerned identifying, locating and contacting potential respondents. We agreed that it was appropriate that Servants personnel only issue to me the names and contact details of discovery team *leaders*. These leaders could act as my informants (Babbie, 2004, p.185), referring me to the actual members of their team. This strategy avoids the scenario of Servants acting as informants themselves. Because it places a 'buffer' between Servants and respondents this also avoids potential privacy issues. The second ethical issue concerned Servants' New Zealand Coordinator requesting the right to veto my plans to contact certain individuals, should they be selected for the study. Their request was based on a small number of people having specifically asked for no further contact from Servants. It was agreed, however, that Servants' interference in the candidate selection process, while perhaps justified, creates the methodological problem of 'gatekeepers' blocking access to potentially valuable respondents. The strategy of using only team leaders as informants ensures that Servants are not implicated in disclosing names of potentially unwilling respondents. In addition, the voluntary nature of involvement in the study would be emphasised to all potential respondents, placing the onus of

participation on them and not Servants. Thankfully, Servants agreed that this was a reasonable solution. The third ethical issue concerned the possibility that, for some respondents, the interview process may bring to the surface unresolved issues relating to their Discovery Team experience. We agreed that in such situations I would refer the person to an appropriate counsellor or pastoral care provider identified by them. Thankfully, this did not prove to be necessary.[30]

In addition to the specific ethical considerations discussed above, I also followed all of the usual ethical protocols required for research of this nature. These include: explaining the purpose of my research, in general terms, to all potential respondents and emphasising the voluntary nature of their involvement; providing detailed information sheets to all respondents before the day of their interview (refer to Appendix E for a sample copy); obtaining written consent to be interviewed from all respondents before commencing their interview (refer to Appendix F for a sample copy); and agreeing to ensure the anonymity of all respondents and the confidentiality of their responses. For this reason I have used pseudonyms when referring to, or quoting, any respondents in this study. I gave each respondent the option of having the tape of their interview returned to them, or to have me erase it for them. They were also given my contact details, and the contact details of my supervisor, should they have any further questions or wish to be withdrawn from the study. I did not remunerate any respondent, although, out of courtesy, I sent each respondent that I interviewed a written note expressing my personal thanks for their valuable contribution to my research.

The Research Procedure

Robson (2002, p.459) argues that describing the actual research process can help to create a wider context in which the findings and conclusions of the research itself can be better understood. In this section, therefore, I attempt to describe the various procedures I went through in order to conduct this study. This involves explaining my research strategy, which is divided into seven phases, and reflecting on the way each of these seven phases unfolded in practice. It also involves highlighting the methodological and logistical challenges I faced throughout the research process, and describing how I resolved or accommodated these problems. Where applicable, different aspects of the research process are cross-referenced to the relevant chapters of this report.

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[30] The minutes of this ethics consultation are included in Appendix D.

Phase I: Consultation

I began the initial phase of this research project in the usual way: searching for relevant literature to illuminate the direction and scope of the study. While I easily located a range of useful literature, much of which is discussed in Chapter Three, it soon became evident that supplementary input was needed to bring a clearer focus to this study. For instance, Servants' own literature only briefly describes the development of Discovery Teams and, while the aims of this scheme are outlined there, it is only in very general terms (Craig, 1998, p.200ff). To carry out a thorough evaluation I needed to gain a much clearer picture of how Discovery Teams evolved, what they aim to achieve, and the philosophy that underpins the whole scheme. I decided that the best way to answer these questions was to conduct an exploratory study (Babbie, 2004, p.87). This involved personally consulting 12 people who have played a variety of roles in the development and implementation of Discovery Teams. I have called these 12 people the stakeholders.[31] I already had some level of relationship with many of these stakeholders, and each of them was happy to be consulted.

My consultations with the stakeholders were essentially unstructured interviews, lasting between one and two hours. They were conducted in April and May 2004, usually face-to-face and one-on-one. Firstly, I asked each stakeholder to tell me, from their own perspective, the story of Discovery Teams and what they seek to achieve. By compiling their collective musings I was able to piece together the evolution of this scheme, and identify some of the philosophical undercurrents that inspired it. My own summary of the history and philosophy of Discovery Teams — as conveyed to me by these stakeholders — is described in detail throughout Chapter Two. From the stakeholders' responses I was also able to conceptualise the two main components of Discovery Teams: the *holistic program* and the *incarnational model.* These have provided useful categories for evaluating discovery team members' experiences, which are explored throughout Chapter Five. Secondly, I asked each of the 12 stakeholders to describe their 'model discovery team member' several years after their trip. The purpose of this question was to establish the kind of ongoing changes Discovery Teams seek to facilitate in team members' lives. From the stakeholders' various descriptions I was able to construct a detailed framework of evaluation criteria, with corresponding indicators that offer evidence of changes occurring in different areas of team members' lives. This framework is presented at the end of Chapter Two. It provides a structure for my assessment of the changes that have occurred in

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[31] These stakeholders are identified in Appendix A, along with a brief description of their respective role(s) in Discovery Teams. I recognise that there are also many Filipino stakeholders who could also have been consulted, but because this study is only concerned with the impact of Discovery Teams on New Zealand participants I have not involved the Filipino stakeholders.

respondents' lives, covered in Chapter Six. Finally, input from these consultations — in tandem with information I gleaned from the literature — equipped me with the categories I needed to draft an initial set of interview survey questions. The process of developing these questions is discussed further below, under 'Pilot interviews'.

Phase II: Establishing a sample frame

In addition to asking the 12 stakeholders about the history, philosophy and aims of Discovery Teams, I also asked them to list all of the actual discovery teams that they could recall. I considered this to be necessary because, after many enquiries, I learned that Servants do not have any written records of the discovery teams that have visited Manila since 1988. To establish a sample frame — from which I could draw potential survey respondents — I considered that I would first need to compile my own master list of all discovery team members from New Zealand between 1988 and 2003. As discussed under 'Ethical Considerations' above, it was decided that identifying and contacting team leaders, and asking *them* to act as informants by listing the members of their own teams, was the most practical — and also the safest — way of gathering this information. I recognise, however, that this method of compiling a master list of team members is an imperfect means of establishing a sample frame. It is heavily dependent on both the stakeholders' and team leaders' memories, and it is inherently biased against marginal or low profile groups or individuals. It is also an approach that, in reality, could not be followed religiously (this is discussed further below). The results of my efforts to establish a sample frame by this method should, therefore, be treated provisionally.

Because nearly all teams have been associated with a church or christian agency, I asked the stakeholders to identify these groups, as well as the names of all the team leaders they could recall. I found that each stakeholder could readily recall the names of several discovery team leaders, and could usually identify the church or agency that their teams were associated with. Locating and contacting these team leaders by phone or email was usually a straightforward exercise. At times, however, it did involve following a number of leads, because many former team leaders have moved on from the church or agency they were associated with at the time of their trip. I eventually made personal contact with all but two of the team leaders whose names had been given to me by the stakeholders. In the two instances where I could not contact the team *leaders,* I was able to contact one or two team *members,* who were prepared to act as informants. Cross-referencing stakeholders' recollections of the various teams against the accounts given by each of my informants yielded a list of 16 discovery teams for the period under review. These are presented in Appendix B.

To my knowledge there is only one team missing from this list of 16 discovery teams. A team from Auckland — essentially a group of individuals with no connection to any particular

organisation — travelled to Manila in the mid 1990s. I was only able to establish from stakeholders the first name of the team leader and, because this team had no church or agency connection, attempting to follow this lead any further was simply impractical. This merely highlights the bias of this method of establishing a sample frame, as discussed above. The final list of teams from which the sample frame was assembled is therefore not entirely representative of all discovery teams between the years 1988 and 2003. However, because it lists 16 of the 17 teams that I have become aware of during this process, it is likely to be a fairly close representation.[32]

In order to construct the sample frame for this study, I asked each of my informants to disclose to me the name (only) of each person who was part of their own discovery team. They did this either from memory, photos or their own written records. From this information I was able to gradually compile a full list of team members from each of the 16 identified discovery teams. Later in the research process I was able to independently verify the composition of all but two of the 16 teams by asking my 22 interview respondents to describe their own team. This revealed a small number of inaccuracies in my sample frame, which I do not consider to be hugely significant in terms of its overall representativeness.

This method of developing a sample frame yielded a provisional total of 111 discovery team members between the years 1988 and 2003. Of these 111 team members, 66 were part of teams before the year 2000, and 45 joined teams after 2000, making an approximate ratio of 60% before 2000 to 40% after 2000. I was also able to establish that these teams were composed of 60 women and 51 men, making an approximate ratio of 55% women to 45% men across all 16 teams. From this information I was able to stratify my sample frame into four separate categories of discovery team members — defined by their gender and the year that they did their trip. These four categories are: women before 2000 ($n = 36$); men before 2000 ($n = 30$); women after 2000 ($n = 24$); and men after 2000 ($n = 21$). The way that the sample frame is stratified according to these known variables is illustrated in the following table (Table 4.1). I stratified the sample frame in this way to improve the overall representativeness of the final sample — at least in terms of these known variables (Babbie, 2004, p.205). The method I used to select respondents from this sample frame is discussed later in this chapter, under the heading 'Selection of respondents'.

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[32] Based on the average team size, I estimate that the sample frame is approximately 95% of the full population of New Zealand discovery team members during this period.

KNOWN VARIABLES (gender and time of trip)	Teams before the year 2000 (8 teams)	Teams after the year 2000 (8 teams)
Women (60 in total)	36 women before 2000	24 women after 2000
Men (51 in total)	30 men before 2000	21 men after 2000

Table 4.1 The sample frame, stratified according to gender and year of trip

Phase III: Pilot interviews

While I was compiling the sample frame, I was also developing a set of interview questions from my consultations with the stakeholders and information gleaned from the literature. In order to test these questions on some actual respondents, I conducted four pilot interviews, which I consider to be an important component in the reflexive strategy I adopted for this study. I purposively selected one person from each of the four strata of the sample frame (refer to Table 4.1 above). These were four people with whom I have some level of relationship, which obviously introduces a degree of bias into their selection. This bias is further compounded by the fact that I knew all four of these respondents had largely positive discovery team experiences, and each had been reasonably impacted by their trip. However, I was also aware that they could offer robust critiques of my questions and valuable insights into the research project as a whole. I decided, therefore, that the value of their combined contribution to the research process outweighed any bias they might introduce to the overall results of this study. Nevertheless, because their responses have been included in this study, alongside those of other respondents, the overall results are influenced by their inclusion.[33]

The four pilot interviews were conducted between 27 July and 10 August 2004. They were one-on-one, semi-formal verbal interviews, conducted face-to-face and lasting between two and two-and-a-half hours (including time for feedback from the respondents). Before each interview I warned the trial respondents that I would be asking for their honest feedback on the quality of my questions and my interviewing style at the end of the session. The most valuable feedback I received from these respondents concerned the wording of my questions. Robson (2002, p.242ff) urges that respondents must be able to understand interview questions *in the way they are intended.* Some of the answers I received during these pilot interviews suggested that respondents were misinterpreting certain questions. A process of clarification with the trial

[33] I sought to correct at least one aspect of this bias by deciding, at a later stage in the research process, to purposively select one respondent whose discovery team experience was anything but positive. This decision is discussed later in the chapter under the heading 'Selection of respondents'.

respondents helped me adjust the wording of these few questions, including the use of more natural conversational language. While my four pilot interviews yielded valuable clarification and refinement of these questions, however, the content of the questions themselves was not substantially altered. The final draft of my interview questions is included in Appendix C. This is the full set of interview questions that emerged from these pilot interviews, and was subsequently used for the primary data collection phase of the research process. In my opinion, the contribution of the four trial respondents to the development of these questions more than warranted their inclusion in the study, despite any distorting effect their inclusion may have on the overall results.

Phase IV: Selection of respondents

Because all four pilot interviews were conducted with purposively selected respondents, who are all known to me, I considered that it was especially important for the main group of respondents to be randomly selected. This would limit any further bias that I might introduce to this aspect of the study (Robson, 2002, p.194). However, rather than making my selection of further respondents completely random, I elected to employ a method of proportionate sampling, where all four strata of the sample frame are proportionally represented in the final selection. Babbie (2004, p.182ff) refers to this as "quota sampling", which enables a more representative mix of respondents to be randomly selected *according to known variables*. In this case, employing quota sampling would ensure a balanced mix of men and women, from both recent and less-recent teams.

To apply quota sampling to this study, I divided my master list of 111 discovery team members into the four strata represented in Table 4.1. I then did a series of calculations to establish what proportion of respondents I would randomly select from each of the four strata. This needed to be a manageable number of respondents to locate and interview, but it also needed to fairly represent each of the four strata. These calculations indicated to me that selecting approximately one fifth of the people in each of the four strata would yield a balanced and fair quota of respondents across all four groups. Because some strata in the sample frame have more members than others, this ensures that the probability of selection remains proportionate to the size of each group (Babbie, 2004, p.212). Numerically, this translates to the selection of seven women and six men from teams before 2000, and five women and four men from teams after 2000. This is illustrated in the following table (Table 4.2).

	Teams before the year 2000 (8 teams)	**Teams after the year 2000** (8 teams)
Women (60 in total) **12 selected**	36 women before 2000 **7 selected**	24 women after 2000 **5 selected**
Men (51 in total) **10 selected**	30 men before 2000 **6 selected**	21 men after 2000 **4 selected**

Table 4.2 Quota sampling from the sample frame

To begin the process of selecting interview respondents from each of the four strata, I first removed the names of my purposively-selected trial respondents so that they would not distort the probability of others being random selected. The names of each of the remaining 107 people were grouped according to the two known variables of *gender* (women or men) and *time of their trip* (before 2000 or after 2000). One group at a time, these names were put into a hat (or in this case, a tea cosy) to be randomly selected. I asked an independent person to draw the appropriate number of names, according to the size of strata being represented. The randomly selected names were then added to the names of the four purposively-selected respondents until seven women and six men from teams before 2000, and five women and four men from teams after 2000 had been selected. This equalled 22 potential respondents in total: four purposively-selected, and 18 randomly-selected. This method ensured that all four strata would be fairly represented, while at the same time ensuring that within these four strata each member had an equal probability of being selected (Babbie, 2004, p.187).

Having already completed the pilot interviews, I then endeavoured to locate and request an interview with each of the 18 randomly selected people. I was able to locate 12 of these people simply by obtaining their contact details from their respective team leaders, while three were located through the online White Pages or the New Zealand Electoral Role at Wellington Central Library. Unfortunately, three potential respondents could not be located by any of these means, although I did establish that one has left New Zealand, and I suspect that the other two (both women) may have changed their family names through marriage since their trip. I contacted the 15 people who could be located, either by telephone or email. Because I was essentially 'cold-calling' these people, I used the name of their team leader as my referrer in order to reduce any initial suspicion (Robson, 2002, p.174). I also explained the nature of the research briefly to each of them, and invited them to be interviewed for the study. Four of these 15 people declined my request, citing illness, busyness and family circumstances as their reasons. The initial random selection of 18 potential respondents, therefore, yielded a total of 11 completed interviews.

Being unable to locate three randomly selected people, and being declined an interview by four, highlights a further bias in the selection process. Only those who are *identified, located,*

contacted, available and *willing* ended up being interviewed for this study (Babbie, 2004, p.141). Therefore, those who are *forgotten, distant, un-contactable, unavailable* or *unwilling* are not represented in the study. The perspectives of these "marginal people" might have offered a valuable dimension to this study if they were able to be included.

However, the non-inclusion of these seven potential respondents did have some advantages. One advantage was the opportunity it afforded me to randomly select a further seven people to replace them in the study. This was significant because only half of the 16 teams were represented in the initial draw. To correct this, I employed a method of *dimensional sampling* that would ensure a more representative sample in the second draw (Robson, 2002, p.265). This involved removing from the sample frame the names of people whose teams were already represented in the study. This meant that all seven people selected in this second draw were from teams that had not been represented in the first random selection. Furthermore, to retain the original ratio of women to men from teams before or after 2000, I randomly selected this second group according to the characteristics of each person being replaced. For example, if a randomly selected woman from a team before 2000 declined an interview, she was then replaced by another randomly selected woman from a team before 2000. This process ensured that the original proportions of the quota sampling were retained, while some of the imbalances it produced were corrected.

Of the seven people randomly selected in this second draw, I was able to locate six by obtaining their contact details from their respective team leaders and one through the online White Pages. Six of these seven people were willing to be interviewed by me, and one declined, citing family circumstances. To replace this final person I elected to purposively select a discovery team member whose negative experience in Manila had come to my attention through the research process. I have called this respondent Mel, and I purposively selected her because, up until that point, I had only encountered people who reported positive discovery team experiences. Selecting an "outlier" like Mel, therefore, was a conscious attempt to close a gap that was emerging in the research (Strauss, 1987, p.267). Mel also provided a valuable corrective to the positive experiences of the four other purposively selected respondents who I interviewed during the pilot phase.

In summary, the final group of interview respondents consisted of 22 former discovery team members, representing 14 of the 16 teams in the sample frame. Five of these 22 respondents were purposively selected for this study, while the remaining 17 were randomly selected. Collectively these 22 respondents represent approximately 20% of the total sample frame. In addition to having some form of relationship with my four purposively selected trial respondents, I also have some acquaintance with three of the 17 randomly selected respondents. Apart from the factors noted under 'Pilot interviews' above, I consider that my relationship with these study participants had a negligible influence on their responses. The remaining two-thirds

of my respondents are people whom I have never previously met. Because this group is predominantly a randomly selected sample, it is more likely to be representative of the entire population of discovery team members — although for reasons discussed above it may tend to be a more positive account of peoples' discovery team experiences. Therefore, some degree of generalization is possible, but it ought to be contingent on these biases (Robson, 2002, p.267).

Phase V: Data collection and handling

The primary form of data collection for this study was the interview surveys that I conducted with my 22 respondents. Having already conducted four pilot interviews, I interviewed the 18 remaining respondents between 7 September and 11 October 2004. Where possible I conducted the interviews face-to-face, which was generally straightforward to arrange, considering over half of my respondents live in the Wellington region. Five respondents live in Christchurch, which warranted a special trip to conduct these interviews in person. Another two respondents from other parts of New Zealand could also be interviewed in person because our respective travel plans fortuitously happened to coincide. I interviewed the remaining three respondents over the telephone, because it was geographically not practical to conduct these interviews face-to-face. One of these respondents lives overseas, and the other two live in other parts of New Zealand. For one of these respondents, Mel, who had an especially negative discovery team experience, conducting a telephone interview was actually more appropriate because it provided greater anonymity, and therefore allowed her to speak quite candidly (Robson, 2002, p.282).

Each interview was unique, as the respondents themselves determined the level of detail they disclosed in their answers. The shortest interview lasted less than one hour, while the longest lasted nearly two-and-a-half hours. Generally the interviews followed the same pattern as my set of questions (refer to Appendix C), although it was common for respondents to cover two or three topics in the course of answering one question. In these instances I prefaced questions they had already discussed with the statement "you may have already answered this question, but...". Occasionally this yielded further information, but usually respondents agreed that they had already answered the question. Only one interview diverged substantially from the usual format. This was the phone interview I conducted with Mel, whose trip was a particularly negative experience. Because her experience was so different from all of my other respondents, it soon became obvious that many of my 'set questions' clearly did not apply to her situation. A short time into the interview I began to be more economical with my prepared questions, opting instead to focus on following leads from Mel's own answers. Taking this more flexible approach meant that Mel could talk about her own experience on her own terms, which proved far more valuable than dogmatically completing a full set of answers to my questions. All of the other interviews followed the set of prepared questions fairly closely.

Each interview was recorded onto one or more C90 cassette tapes using an original Sony WM-D6C Professional Walkman (occasionally referred to as 'the brick') and a Panasonic condenser microphone. This yielded over 30 hours of raw data, which needed to be broken down into more accessible and manageable units. Using Microsoft Word, I individually transcribed each interview, creating a series of Word documents. However, I considered that transcribing all 22 interviews in their entirety would be impractical. Instead I selectively transcribed passages that I judged to be especially relevant, illustrative or interesting (for instance, those that deviated from typical responses). Other passages that were more typical I summarised into brief coded statements to make data handling more manageable — although I attempted to retain respondents' key words and ideas where applicable (Strauss, 1987, p.266). I devoted a substantial amount of time to listening attentively to each response, recognising that each of these editing decisions constitutes an "analytic choice" (Robson, 2002, p.476). These choices required me to hold in tension my desire to retain each respondents' own unique perspective and voice with the need to distil their responses into manageable units for analysis.

As well as transferring the raw data from audio to written format, this process also reduced over 30 hours of material down to 22 digitised documents ranging in size from 1,260 to 3,147 words. I formatted and printed each of the 22 transcripts, which I then carefully read, line by line, gleaning relevant information and adding my own thoughts in the margin. As part of this process I produced a summary sheet of each interview. The summary sheets highlighted the relationship that individual respondents had with each of my established categories, and also recorded any new or interesting categories that emerged from the interview process. Throughout the transcribing and summarising process I wrote copious memos, as different ideas occurred to me. I also created network diagrams on A1 sheets of paper, seeking to establish trends, patterns, links or causality across the range of respondents. Each of these activities sought to reveal aspects of the Discovery Team experience that have resulted in changes in team members' lives, and identify any factors that have tended to facilitate or obstruct such changes. The results of this process are covered extensively in Chapters Five and Six.

Characteristics of Respondents

Research of this nature is subject to the enormous diversity of human experience. The personal characteristics of each respondent will inevitably shape the nature of their experiences and the extent to which these experiences translate into their everyday lives. It is important, therefore, that the results of this research be interpreted in light of the personal characteristics of the respondents who contributed to these results. The following is a 'snapshot' of the 22 people I interviewed for this research. I asked a series of background questions to establish the gender,

ethnicity, age, marital status, education, occupation and faith commitment of each of my respondents. I also allowed respondents an opportunity to talk, in their own terms, about their upbringing and family background. This created a wider context for understanding and interpreting their individual responses. Asking background questions also had the advantage of warming respondents up — giving them a chance to talk about themselves in general terms before moving on to the more specific topic of their Discovery Team experience and its impacts on their lives. I was surprised at how willing most respondents were to talk about their lives, their experiences and to even freely volunteer quite sensitive and personal information.

Gender

The group of respondents comprised 12 women and 10 men. Because the ratio of women to men who have participated in a Discovery Team is six to five, this ratio was intentionally reflected in the gender proportionality of the respondent group. As previously explained, I did this to ensure the study had an accurate gender representation. Having gender-desegregated data allows for the possibility of differentiating between the responses given by men and women — allowing the possibility of making such distinctions explicit when relevant trends emerge.

Ethnicity

All of the respondents were New Zealand citizens, and all but two were born in New Zealand. This corresponds well with the intention of this study being about New Zealanders' experiences of taking part in a discovery team. Nineteen respondents (86%) identified themselves as being ethnically Pakeha or New Zealand European. Two respondents (9%) identified themselves as Maori, and one respondent (5%) identified as part Maori and part Rarotongan. From the information I have been able to gather, this seems to be a fairly close (although not perfect) representation of the ethnic makeup of the teams being studied.

Age

Although asked only to indicate which age-bracket they fit within (20–24, 25–29, etc.), most respondents willingly gave me their exact age. The age of respondents ranged from 20 to 60 years old, with an approximate average age of 34 years old and a median age of 32 years old. The following graph (Figure 4.1) represents the spread of respondents' ages *at the time of their interview* (July–October 2004). The two 'spikes' (20–24 and 30–34 years) indicate that the majority of people take part in a discovery team during their late teens or early 20s (as illustrated in Figure 4.2). Most of those who have done their trip since 2000 are now in their early 20s, and many of those who did their trip prior to 2000 are now in their early 30s.

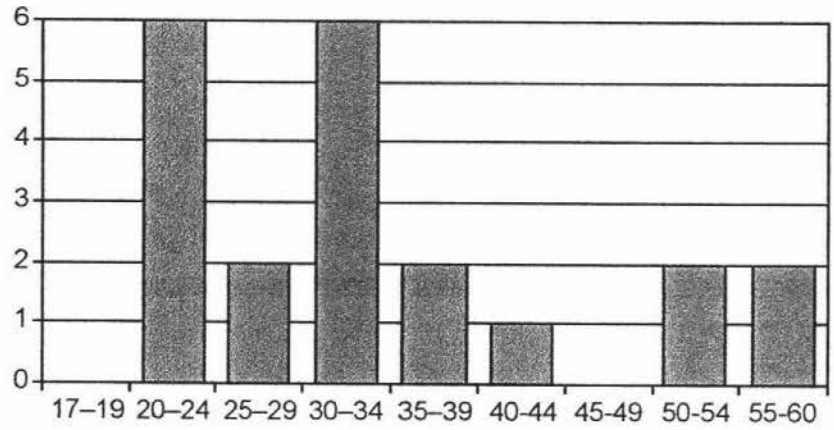

Figure 4.1 Age of respondents in 2004

The age of respondents *at the time of their Discovery Team experience* ranged from 17 to 49 years old, with an approximate average age of 25 years old and a median age of 22 years old. The following graph (Figure 4.2) represents the spread of respondents' ages at the time of their trip. This clearly illustrates a trend whereby most people participate in a Discovery Team during their late teens or early 20s. Over two-thirds of respondents took part in a Discovery Team before the age of 25. It is also worth noting that all four people in the older age group (2 men, 2 women) were participants in teams that went to Manila before 2000, and that overall the members of these earlier teams tended to be slightly older than those in more recent teams.

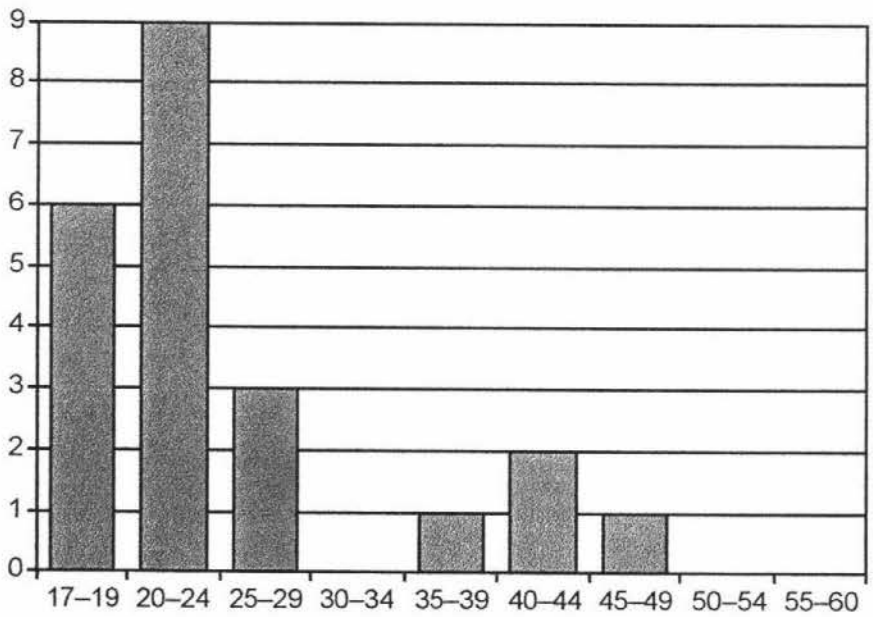

Figure 4.2 Age of respondents at the time of their trip

Marital status

At the time of participating in a discovery team 15 respondents (68%) were unmarried, five respondents (23%) were married or engaged and two respondents (9%) were separated or divorced.[34] The group of 15 respondents who were unmarried at the time of their Manila trip corresponds with the group of 15 respondents under the age of 25 described in the previous paragraph. This means that over two thirds (68%) of the study participants were both unmarried *and* under the age of 25 when they took part in their Discovery Team. There were no discernable differences between men and women in terms of marital status.

Education

The respondents selected for this study were a well-educated group — although approximately half of the respondents have gained at least one of their tertiary qualifications since their Manila trip. At the time of interviewing (July–October 2004) only four respondents (18%) had no tertiary qualifications at all. Two of these people (both women in their early 20s) did however indicate some intention of pursuing further formal education. Eighteen respondents (82%) had one or more tertiary qualifications and 10 respondents (45%) had two or more tertiary qualifications. Of those who have gained tertiary qualifications, five respondents hold a trade certificate or diploma, nine respondents hold a bachelors degree, two respondents hold a masters degree, and two respondents hold a PhD as their highest academic qualification. Throughout each of these categories, and at all academic levels, there is no significant gender imbalance over the entire group of respondents.

In the context of discussing educational pursuits, it is worth noting that 12 of the 22 respondents (54%) did their trip in the context of some kind of part-time course or training program. In each case the Manila trip was an integral part of the course, or a logical progression from the course itself. Half of these 12 respondents (three women, three men) were from the teams before 2000. Of these six respondents, four were part of the 'Phase II' course provided by Te Ora Hou, for training and personal development of young people coming through their clubs. These four respondents all considered the trip to Manila to be a major feature of the course. The two other respondents from this earlier era had taken part in a Bible College of New Zealand 'World Mission' course — run by their discovery team leader. Several participants from this course did their Manila trip as a practical response to the material they covered in the course. The other half of respondents who did their Manila trip as part of a course were from teams that

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[34] At the time of interviewing (July–October 2004) the ratio of married to unmarried respondents was almost reversed, with six respondents (27%) unmarried and 13 respondents (59%) married or engaged. One respondent (5%) was divorced and two respondents (9%) were divorced and re-married at this time.

have been to Manila since 2000. Of these six respondents (four women, two men), five were participants in the Salvation Army's Fuel course. They all identified the Manila trip as one of the main features of this course — if not *the* main feature. The remaining respondent from this later group did their Manila trip in the context of completing a Praxis diploma. Some implications of participating in a discovery team within the wider context of a training course are discussed further in Chapter Six.

Occupation

At the time of participating in a Discovery Team, 16 study participants (72%) were employed in the following occupational fields: educators (three women, one man), caring professions (three women), administrators (two women), trades-people (one woman, one man), youth workers (two men), church minister (one man), officer in armed forces (one man) and insurance assessor (one man). In addition, three women and one man were students and two men were unemployed at the time of their Manila trip. Seventeen respondents (77%) were also active in at least one form of voluntary involvement at the time of their trip. For most this involved performing an active role in their local church or being a leader in a Youth For Christ or Te Ora Hou club program. In addition to this, one respondent was involved in a community-based children's program and three were leading residential Te Ora Hou homes, caring for at-risk youth.

Faith

All respondents described themselves as belonging to the christian faith and would consider themselves to be practicing Christians — both at the time of their interview and at the time of their Manila trip. The responses I received indicated to me that they have all interpreted their Discovery Team experience within the framework of their christian faith. This should not suggest, however, that all respondents ascribed to a uniform set of beliefs or have interpreted their Manila experience in much the same way. On the contrary, a wide diversity of beliefs, values, and "faith stages" (Fowler, 1981) were evident in the group of respondents. Each of these factors contributed to their individual interpretations of their experience. There was also clear evidence of changes occurring in respondents' beliefs, values and faith stages in response to their Discovery Team experience, which is explored in more detail in Chapter Six.

All study participants were affiliated with one or more christian faith communities during the time of their Discovery Team experience. Nineteen of the 22 respondents (86%) were involved in either mainstream or independent Protestant churches at the time of their trip. Nine of these respondents (41%) were involved in Baptist churches, five respondents (22%) were involved in Salvation Army churches, four respondents (18%) were involved in independent Protestant churches, and one respondent (5%) was involved in a Presbyterian church. Three

respondents (14%) were not affiliated with an institutional church, but were highly active members of an established christian agency, which they identified as their main faith community. In total, just under half of my respondents were in some way affiliated with an established christian agency at the time of their trip — for most this was in addition to their church involvement. Four respondents (18%) were involved in Te Ora Hou, three respondents (14%) were involved with Youth For Christ, and three respondents (18%) were involved in Praxis training organisation. Generally, members of teams prior to 2000 were affiliated with Baptist churches, Youth For Christ or Te Ora Hou and members of teams since 2000 were affiliated with Salvation Army churches or Praxis training organisation. In most cases it was the respondent's prior association with one or more of these churches or agencies that led to them taking part in their discovery team. The following table (Table 4.3) offers a brief summary of some of the main characteristics that have been covered so far in this section.

Highest Qualification	*n.*	Occupation	*n.*	Marital Status	*n.*	Church Affiliation	*n.*	Agency Affiliation	*n.*
Trade / Diploma	4	Paid Employment	16	Unmarried	15	Baptist	9	Te Ora Hou	4
Bachelors Degree	9	Student	4	Married	5	Salvation Army	5	Youth For Christ	3
Masters	2	Unemployed	2	Divorced / Separated	2	Independent Protestant	4	Praxis	3
PhD	2					Presbyterian	1		

Table 4.3 Characteristics of respondents

Family background

Asking respondents to talk generally about their own family background and upbringing helped to 'paint in' some of the details not covered in the specific questions above. For this reason it can be helpful to take a wide-angle snapshot of the 22 respondents' family histories as part of the overall picture of their lives. While some of the family categories covered in this section are mutually exclusive, others are not. Accordingly, relationships between categories should not necessarily be assumed. For instance, not every 'christian' family is a 'stable' family, and not every 'suburban' family is a 'middle class' family.

Fourteen respondents (64%) spent most of their younger years in the suburbs of one of New Zealand's major cities, while the remaining 8 respondents (36%) were brought up in what one respondent referred to as "small-town New Zealand". Twelve respondents (54%) considered their families to be more-or-less "middle class" and 8 respondents (36%) referred to

their families as "working class" or "hard working" families. Two respondents (9%) made reference to their "gang background" when discussing their upbringing, which for them meant regular exposure to alcohol/drug abuse and violence from an early age. However, both of these respondents reported that the "survival skills" they learned through growing up in that environment served them well in adapting to life in a squatter community. Sixteen respondents (72%) reported that they were brought up in stable nuclear families, 3 respondents (14%) came from broken or mixed families and 3 respondents (14%) were brought up in a whangai arrangement.[35]

Five respondents (22%) identified a significant experience of extended family living as part of their upbringing. Some of these respondents noted that their experience of extended family helped them feel more comfortable fitting into their squatter community in the Philippines. Fifteen respondents (68%) come from christian or church-going families, and 7 respondents (32%) come from families with no religious affiliations. Six respondents (27%) identified one or more of their parents as having a strong commitment to christian mission or development work, either as practitioners or supporters/facilitators, and acknowledged the positive influence this has had on their appreciation of other cultures.[36]

Conclusions

In this chapter I have explained my reasons for adopting a predominantly qualitative approach to this evaluation of Discovery Teams. I describe how employing a semi-formal interview survey as the main data-collection tool allows each respondent to describe their Discovery Team experience in their own terms — ascribing their own meanings to their unique experiences. However, I also explain how some of the weaknesses of this approach have needed to be balanced by using certain quantitative methods, such as stratified random selection of respondents and retaining statistical information in my analysis of the data. I then acknowledge areas of my own personal bias, and demonstrate how these have been reduced by strategies such as attempting to value-neutralise the survey questions. I have also signalled some areas where

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[35] Whangai refers to an adoption arrangement within an extended family, whereby children are raised by their aunts, uncles or grandparents as if they were their own children. Interestingly, all three respondents who identified themselves as Maori or part-Maori were also raised in a whangai arrangement. While it is not an uncommon practice in Maoridom, this result is certainly disproportionate.

[36] The extent to which the group of 22 respondents described in this section can be considered to represent all people who have participated in a discovery team is discussed earlier in this chapter, under the heading 'Selection of candidates'.

my own personal bias has inevitably influenced the research, and I have suggested that the results should therefore be read with this bias in mind. Ethical considerations, such as the privacy and personal safety of respondents, and my efforts to mitigate any potential harm, are then discussed. The middle section of this chapter explains my research strategy and describes the procedures I employed for conducting the research. This allows the outcomes of this study to be read in light of *how* they were reached. The evolving nature of this research project, and the many hurdles that needed to be overcome throughout the research process, are explained in some detail. The last part of this chapter has described some of the characteristics of the 22 respondents who were selected and interviewed for this research. I have explained that including this information here allows the results of this research to be interpreted in light of the personal characteristics of the actual respondents who contributed to these results. In short, this chapter has described *how* this research was conducted, *why* it was conducted in the way it was, and *who* contributed to the results. This leads neatly into the following chapter, which is a detailed examination of the 22 respondents' actual Discovery Team experiences.

Chapter Five

So What Happened?

In this chapter I record and discuss my 22 survey respondents' actual experiences of preparing and going to Manila as part of a discovery team. The purpose of this chapter is to establish how each aspect of the scheme was experienced and interpreted by these respondents. This enables the changes they have made in response to this experience to be analysed with reference to their own understanding of the actual experience itself. Accordingly, this chapter explores their impressions of each of the three phases of the *holistic program* — the preparation phase, the trip to Manila itself, and the reintegration phase. Respondents were also specifically asked to recall their experiences of being immersed into a squatter community, spending their time being present in that community, and building relationships with local people — each of these representing a core component of the *incarnational model*. In order to cover all six of these dimensions of the Discovery Team experience, this chapter is arranged chronologically — beginning with respondents' *preparation* for their trip to Manila, and ending with their reflections on *reintegrating* into life in New Zealand on their return home. In between these two 'bookends' this chapter explores respondents' actual experiences in Manila: their *immersion* in a squatter community; *being* present and making observations about everyday life there; forming *relationships* with the local people; and regularly *reflecting* on these experiences and observations both individually and as a team.[37] Before doing this, however, it may be helpful to present some of the motives that led my respondents to participate in a discovery team.

Motivation

Before asking respondents to describe their preparation process, I first asked them what motivated them to participate in a discovery team. This was in order to gauge the level of

[37] A diagram of how each of these aspects of the Discovery Team experience fit together can be found in Chapter Two, under the heading 'Organising Discovery Teams' (Figure 2.2).

interest they held in the Third World before their trip. Over three quarters of my respondents (78%) reported some prior interest in the Third World, with most of these framing their interest in terms of "overseas mission". Nearly half of the 22 respondents (six women, four men) reported that part of their reason for participating in a discovery team was to explore or "test out" the possibility that they may one day play a direct role in the Third World themselves. For most of these ten respondents, participating in a discovery team was not about seeking a *change* in life-direction; it was about *further exploration* of a course they were already charting. I established that half of these ten respondents have gone on to spend some time working in the Third World. More importantly, *all* of these respondents felt that they gained a greater appreciation of their need to contextualize their values in their home country and not focus exclusively on heading overseas in the future. As noted already in the previous chapter, 12 of the 22 respondents (54%) did their trip in the context of some kind of part-time course or training program. All of these respondents regarded it as a significant part of the course, and a few admitted that it was the Manila trip that attracted them to the course in the first place. Those respondents who were not specifically taking part in a course saw their decision to do a discovery team as responding to an opportunity that arose in the context of their involvement in a church or christian agency.

Nearly half of my 22 respondents recalled that their Discovery Team experience coincided with a significant "time of transition" in their lives. Six of these ten respondents (three woman, three men) were feeling uncertain about their future: two having just finished high school (both women); two having just experienced a marriage break up (one woman, one man); and two realising that they need to make changes in their main form of employment (both men):

> I was in a bit of a black spot...needing to make some big changes — *Dan.*[38]

Two respondents (both men) were feeling unsettled with their life in mainstream society, and were looking for alternatives that would give them more meaning and purpose in life:

> I was well paid, I had a reasonable amount of respect...had a good career path in front of me...and it's kind of like...I was bored — *Tim.*

A further two respondents (one woman, one man) had just embarked on a new career path, both with a focus on helping people, and they were looking to bring a wider perspective to their new roles. Participating in a discovery team in the midst of these transition times was, for each of these people, an attempt to gain a new perspective on their lives and their future — whether in New Zealand or abroad. Most of these respondents reported that participating in a discovery team during this time in their lives enhanced its potential to influence their next steps.

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[38] As mentioned already in Chapter Four, I have used pseudonyms for each of my respondents.

Some additional motives for joining a discovery team, mentioned by my respondents, included: wanting to have aspects of their existing lifestyle challenged (one woman); wanting to be challenged about wealth (one man); keeping questions about poverty alive (one man); being stretched personally and spiritually (one man); being invited to go by a friend (two women); having an overseas trip (two men); and having an adventure (one man). A few respondents said that hearing others talking about their own Manila experience inspired them to explore it for themselves. All respondents elected to participate in a discovery team voluntarily. Even those respondents for whom the trip was part of a course were clear that it was not presented to them as a compulsory part of the course. Four respondents (two women, two men) who were members of the earliest church-based teams, reported that they were selected by a panel of church leaders from over 50 applicants. This careful selection process was employed as a safety measure during the pilot stage of the scheme. Nearly all respondents have only been part of one discovery team, however two male respondents (one before 2000, one after 2000) went to Manila first as a team member and then subsequently as a team leader. They both expressed a strong desire to pass on to others this significant experience that they have valued themselves.[39]

The Process of Formation

Discovery Teams are premised on the conviction that a thorough formation process — beginning well before the actual Manila trip — allows greater opportunity for the "internal mechanism of change" to be activated in team members' lives, and sustained over time (Ross Pilkinton, personal communication, 5/5/04). How the team members themselves experience this process of formation is therefore an important component in determining the effectiveness of the scheme. The formation process is described in Chapter Two as having both an individual and a corporate dimension. The individual dimension concerns team members becoming *personally prepared* for their trip to Manila. This includes increasing their awareness of the issues they are likely to encounter, and growing in personal and spiritual maturity. The corporate dimension concerns the process of *team formation*. This involves building a cohesive team that can then operate as a safe context for processing the issues and experiences team members face during their time away (Kottler, 1997, p.57). Bonding together as a team and developing trust among the members of the team are considered vital components of this

[39] When interviewing these respondents, I asked them to answer my questions with reference to their first trip. I recognise, however, that there may be some blurring of the lines between their different experiences, particularly in terms of the changes they attribute to their experiences.

process. This section, therefore, explores respondents' reflections on their experience of *personal preparation* and *team formation*.

Personal preparation

All but one of my 22 respondents reported that they did some form of preparation prior to their trip to Manila. Respondents generally recalled their preparation process as involving reading and discussion on a wide range of relevant topics. These topics were reported to include: Third World poverty and its causes; social justice issues; theological perspectives on poverty and justice; Philippine history and culture; cultural sensitivity issues ("dos and don'ts", dress codes, etc.); health and personal safety concerns; and basic language learning. Nearly all respondents also recalled being specifically briefed about going to Manila as learners, not as "missionaries" or volunteer helpers.

Eighteen of the 22 study participants (82%) went through the preparation phase together with the other members of their team. This involved meeting together regularly before their trip to discuss the philosophical and practical issues outlined in the previous paragraph. In addition to this, some participants did further reading in their own time. For some teams the preparation phase also included a weekend away together for a team-building time. The five respondents who did their discovery team as part of a Fuel course also commented on the significance of their preparation including a sleep-out in the streets of a New Zealand city and staying over on a marae. All five respondents understood these experiences to be an attempt to connect poverty, justice and cultural issues into their own (New Zealand) context — in addition to experiencing them in a foreign (Philippine) context.

Four of the 22 study participants (18%) did not take part in any team preparation; instead each of these participants were expected to prepare for their trip on their own. All four of these participants were from teams after the year 2000. One of these four participants, Pam, was in a team of only two people — by far the smallest of all the teams in this study. She admitted that her trip was more like a "solo retreat" than a team experience. Pam and her team-mate worked through the written preparation material individually, and were briefed by former team leaders and Servants personnel before their trip. While this arrangement did diminish the team dynamic, Pam equally believed that a more solitary approach was good for her because it forced her to be more reflective — something she admitted does not come naturally for her.

The three other respondents who were expected to prepare individually lived in different cities from one another, yet were all part of the same team (after 2000). This meant that meeting together as a team before their trip was simply not practical. For two members of this team (one woman, one man) preparing individually, while admittedly not ideal, did not pose any significant hurdle to their discovery team experience. This was mainly due to the fact that they

both had previous experience in the Third World, and were both familiar with the philosophy of Discovery Teams and the issues they cover. They also consider themselves to be highly motivated people, which enabled them to work through preparation material unassisted.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for their team-mate Sid — the only one of my 22 respondents to declare that he felt "completely unprepared" for his trip. He admitted that he failed to really engage with the preparation material he was given, and therefore had a very limited understanding of what he was getting himself into:

> I didn't know what I was doing; I didn't know where I was going...I had no idea until I got there — *Sid.*

Sid's lack of orientation meant that he struggled to come to terms with the approach that Discovery Teams adopt — especially the more reflective *being* style. He consequently found the whole experience to be far more tedious than the "adventure" he had hoped for, and he ended up counting down the days until he returned home: "I just dreamed of getting back on the plane".

Of all the people I interviewed, Sid's experience most powerfully confirms the theory that "the wheels of change" should already be spinning when team members hit the tarmac in Manila. For example, I asked him if being in Manila caused him to ask questions about why some people are poor:

> That's a tough thing to think about. Some of the team thought about it more than me, because I...sometimes I, like, put things to the back of my mind and just leave them there, you know, and not think too hard about it. Because if you start thinking, you go into a spin, and none of it makes any sense, and it's like, 'why is this happening?' and, you know, 'I don't know'. That's my answer: 'I don't know'. So I didn't think about it — *Sid.*

Sid's confession suggests that he arrived in Manila without having forged any kind of philosophical framework through which he might engage with difficult questions about poverty and its causes. When such questions did arise in the course of his discovery team experience, they were promptly put into the "too hard basket" because he lacked the categories to define and explain poverty and its causes. He subsequently spent most of his time in Manila wanting to be elsewhere, and soon after returning to New Zealand he became busy in his work again, giving no further serious thought to these issues. Consequently, his complete lack of preparation severely diminished his ability to engage with the poverty issues that arose during his trip. Not surprisingly, Sid was only able to identify a few minor life changes that he could attribute to his Discovery Team experience.

Fortunately, all 21 of the other respondents I interviewed believed they were ready for their trip, with most of these claiming that the preparation process had helped to equip them for it very well. Many of these respondents described the preparation process as being "thorough", "extensive" or "well structured". A few respondents even commented that the preparation time

was "significant in its own right" — particularly the experience of exploring poverty and justice issues with other team members. One of these respondents identified that, for him at least, changes begun to occur quite early on in this process:

> Even through the orientation...and starting to learn about the simple facts of the world we live in, you know, that we fit in the small minority that use the majority of the world's resources...all that sort of stuff...it starts you to question — *Rob.*

A few of the respondents who were 17–19 years old at the time of their trip commented that being "quite mature" for their age helped them to engage meaningfully with the issues during their preparation, and to deal with their Discovery Team experience in a constructive way. At the other end of the age spectrum, the four older respondents all commented that having some life experience behind them gave them a good footing for experiencing life in a Manila squatter community. The two respondents who came from gang backgrounds believed that their "survival skills" and "ability to adapt" also served them well as preparation for adjusting to life in Manila.

Team formation

Of the 14 teams represented in this study, six were reported to have built "very close" relationships with one another as a result of going through the Discovery Team experience together (four before 2000, two after 2000). Although some respondents from these six teams already had established friendships with other team-mates, they believed that the whole experience further deepened these relationships. Respondents from these six teams reported that they felt able to share openly and deeply with the other members of their team throughout their experience, which, for some, made "a big difference". A further four teams were described as being "diverse" teams, but team members still "got on well together" in spite of their differences. These four teams (three before 2000, one after 2000) did not generally enjoy the same depth of personal connection and sharing as those teams described above, but due to capable leadership and the general maturity of team members they were still able to work through matters openly and frankly together.

One team (after 2000) was described by team members as being "quite disparate" and "a bit messy". This team was composed of people from different parts of New Zealand — some of whom only met each other once they were in Manila. Because of this, the team had not really bonded beforehand. One team member, Tom, could only stay in Manila for one week, although wished he could stay longer; while another, Sid, endured the full two weeks wishing he could get on the next plane home. A third respondent from this team, Meg, reported that she chose to only relate closely to one other team member, with whom she had an ongoing friendship, because the other team members were effectively strangers to her. While these circumstances

may not have been ideal, none of these three respondents considered that their team dynamics had much detrimental effect on them personally. However, the lack of team cohesiveness did limit some aspects of their Discovery Team experience — such as the depth of corporate reflection that they were able to enjoy together.

Two study participants, both young women, felt that their respective teams did not have a good gender balance, and that this imbalance did directly affect their ability to reflect deeply with, and seek support from, other team members. One of these participants, Amy, was from a team after 2000. She described her team as a "guy-heavy team" because she was the only woman in the team, other than one of her two team leaders. Amy perceived the male members of her team to be "passive" in their responses to the experience of being in Manila, and she consequently felt that her own demonstrative responses were not understood by her male team-mates: "they must have thought that I was a typical emotional female". Fortunately, due to the maturity of her two leaders, and generally very good relationships within the team, this obstacle did not prevent Amy's overall experience from being a positive one.

Tragically, the same cannot be said for Mel. The gender composition of Mel's team was the opposite of Amy's, with all but one of the team members being young women. Mel's team was led by a male leader who, among other things, failed to validate her response to the poverty of Manila — which for various reasons was quite different to the "shock and horror" reaction that her team leader expected from his team. Because she failed to react in this predictable way, Mel felt ostracised by her team leader and, as a result of his powerful influence on the team, she also became alienated from her other team members. Because there were no mature women on the team, Mel felt that she had nowhere to turn to make sense of her confusing responses. Sadly, gender imbalance was only one aspect of the many problems Mel's team encountered. Unlike Amy, Mel's team leader lacked the necessary maturity and sensitivity to deal appropriately with the issues she and her fellow team members faced in Manila. Because his leadership style was imposing and coercive, Mel found it difficult to "question his authority", and she subsequently blamed herself for the way she was responding. Because of such inadequate team leadership, Mel's Discovery Team experience was profoundly negative, and it affected her personally for some years after her trip.[40]

Of the 14 teams represented in this study, all but one team (discussed in the previous paragraph) were led responsibly by mature and experienced leaders. Most respondents considered that the quality of team leadership contributed substantially to the quality of relationships within the team. Some respondents who were members of either the "diverse",

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[40] I wish to thank 'Mel' for her honesty and the candid way she told her story to me. To her credit she went on to deal constructively with her negative experience, and came out the other side a much stronger person. In no way, however, does this excuse the shocking treatment she had to endure.

"disparate" or "unbalanced" teams (described above) commented that capable and mature team leadership helped to diminish the potential negative impact that these hurdles presented to their team. In some cases good team leadership even compensated for other deficits in the team, such as clashing personalities. The importance of mature leadership is further illustrated by Mel's belief that her profoundly negative experience would have had a very different outcome had her team leader fulfilled this crucial role more adequately.

Immersion in the Community

One of the core features of the *incarnational model* is that team members become 'immersed' into a squatter community for most of their time in Manila. By staying in the home of a local urban poor family, as their houseguest, team members experience the everyday rhythms and patterns of their lives, and encounter some of the effects of Third World poverty at a human level. Accordingly, team members witness first-hand some of the hardships that the urban poor constantly face, and experience some of the celebrations and relational richness they also enjoy.[41]

Previous experience

All 22 respondents had never stayed in the home of an urban poor family before taking part in a Discovery Team, and all but two respondents had also never stayed in a poor community up until that time. This was therefore quite a novel experience for all of my respondents. Nearly two thirds of all respondents (eight women, six men) reported that this was also their first up-close encounter with poverty of this kind. A further six respondents reported some previous exposure to extreme poverty in prior travels — although only from a distance — and two respondents had previous personal experience of Maori rural poverty in New Zealand. One third of all respondents reported that this was their first overseas experience of any kind, and four of these respondents added that it was also their "first plane ride".

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[41] Three respondents from the earliest 'pilot' team did not stay in the home of a family, but rather stayed in self-contained quarters in the community. Their experiences will therefore be slightly different from respondents who stayed with a family. However, because these respondents were looked after by surrounding neighbours rather than one specific host family, I do not consider their experience of immersion in the community to be substantially different to that of other respondents.

Adjustment

The experience of being dropped off in their community for the first time was a very significant event for one third (36%) of my 22 respondents. Although I did not ask a specific question about this, each of these eight respondents recalled the occasion clearly, using phrases such as "thrown in the deep end" and "out of my depth" to describe their feelings at that time. These respondents all described how they felt disorientated and isolated during those initial hours in their new community. Three of the four older respondents I interviewed reported an intense reaction to this experience. One of these older respondents, Ted, said the memory still remains vivid for him, despite it having happened over 15 years ago:

> They took us out to different slum areas and...I'll never forget it...they took us to our place and, you know, sort of opened the door and we walked in and they said 'well, there you are, we'll see you later' sort of style, well it felt like that...but it really felt very much like being thrown in the deep end...and just saying, you know, 'go to it' — *Ted*

The two other respondents in this older group experienced quite strong and startling emotional reactions to being left alone for the first time with their host family:

> I was totally out of my depth, and totally disorientated, so all I could do was cry. I couldn't stop myself from crying. It was a moment of total vulnerability — *Ann.*
>
> It was such a shocking experience, actually, stepping inside and being left there. I was in a cold sweat, literally, quite desperate...quite desperate — *Ian.*

The two respondents with gang backgrounds both said that they felt quite paranoid during their first day or two in the community. They both questioned their personal safety in such an unfamiliar environment. However, they also both reported becoming more settled once they "adapted" to their new surroundings:

> I was afraid of what I didn't know. Then the second day was like, 'oh, it's not that bad', yeah, I relaxed, you know? All the paranoia went out then — *Sue.*

Respondents who did not experience such a strong initial reaction as those described above nevertheless clearly recalled some of the joys and struggles of adapting to life in a Manila squatter community. Many respondents felt that they had been well prepared, and said they found the adjustment process fairly unproblematic, and a few even recalled enjoying the novelty of new ways of doing things:

> It's all new to you, so you're like, 'oh, this is exciting, we're doing the washing like this...this is fun...oh, that's how you do the dishes...' you know, a bit like that — *Amy.*

A few respondents, however, found it "very challenging" to relinquish so much control of their own lives and, as one respondent put it, place themselves "at the mercy" of their hosts. Some respondents struggled with the many limitations on their personal freedom and the lack of

options that living in a squatter community presents. However, they equally recognised the value of experiencing some of these dilemmas:

> Whereas in New Zealand you think 'well, you've got to always be doing something' you know...and just being there and thinking 'what do you do?' That sense of 'yeah, you're stuck here, and you just exist' — *Ted.*

Back regions

All 22 respondents considered that staying inside an urban squatter community gave them "a taste" of what life is like for the urban poor. Many respondents commented that they felt privileged to have such an up-close experience of everyday life in a poor community. Essentially, they believe that they were welcomed into the "back regions" of peoples' lives (MacCannell, 1999, p.93ff). A few respondents contrasted this privileged experience with the casual approach of conventional tourists:

> I think it's a rich experience, to actually enter into another culture and not just do the tourist, hotel, you know, get on the bus, get off the bus, view the statue, get on...you know, move on to the next thing...but to actually sort of get to know, at some level, what it's actually like for the average person...I think that's a very privileged thing to have done — *Tim.*

Furthermore, some respondents believed that being immersed in the community in this way impacted them far more profoundly than if they had simply paid a brief visit. One of these respondents, Ian, was adamant that, for him, "going on a look-see just wouldn't have worked". Ian believed he needed some "shock therapy" to knock him out of his "middle-class rut", and he felt this was a perfect way for him to experience it.

The immersion approach undeniably brings respondents into close proximity with everyday life in a squatter community. Yet, half of my respondents indicated some awareness that their hosts, and to some extent the wider community, had changed certain things purely on account of them being there. One of these 11 respondents, Rob, remarked, "it was hard to figure out what was everyday life, and what was put on especially for us". Another respondent, Dan, mused that his hosts were perhaps sheltering him from "the hard edge of poverty". Similarly, Mia suspected that her hosts — understandably — presented to her a version of their lives that was "maybe not the full picture". These reflections confirm the view that even back regions can be staged for the visitor, according to what the host wants them to see, and therefore do not necessarily guarantee an unmediated *authentic* experience (MacCannell, 1999, p.95).

These suspicions were powerfully confirmed for three respondents from this group (all young women from teams after 2000), each of whom made a return visit to their host family within two years of their initial trip. All three of these respondents reported that their return visit gave them a very different perspective on their hosts' lives from the one they received on their initial trip:

> I have to say that, being there a second time, I think that the first time can be a little bit unrealistic, because it's such a kind of show, you know, they do put on a show for you...and make things seem not as bad as they are, and stuff like that...I only think you get a glimpse of it...The first time I went there, I actually had a really good time. But the second time I went there, I had the worst time ever...and I was just going, 'this is what it's really like for them' — *Amy*.

These three respondents recalled being treated like esteemed guests during their initial trip, but on their return visit were treated more like a visiting relative.[42]

Exposure to poverty

Despite their hosts' efforts to protect them from the extremes of urban poverty, respondents could not help but catch glimpses of the everyday struggles their hosts face — simply by virtue of being there day to day. For many respondents, these glimpses were crystallized in a particular event they witnessed, or signified by a scene they saw. One respondent, Rob, spoke of the shin splints his host father needed to wear on his legs as he spent hours each day walking around town selling fruit. For Rob these splints were symbols of the loss of health and wellbeing this man endured as he sought to earn a meagre income for his family. Another respondent, Meg, reported how appalled she felt that excessive bureaucracy forced her host mother to make three separate trips across town simply to join the electoral role. Yet, Meg felt that her host mother sheltered her from this indignity by insisting she not accompany her in these trips. Ian, whose host father had recently returned home from a four-year contract in the Middle East, was not spared from witnessing a similar scene. Ian accompanied his host to collect the final salary instalment of approximately US$200 from his Middle East contract. Ian recalled how incensed he became when, after waiting all day for the payment, they were told to come back another time. To the best of Ian's knowledge, his host never received the money that was rightfully his.

Staying in a squatter community meant that some respondents were not spared from witnessing even the harshest realities of poverty. One respondent, Jen, recalled watching some armed officers arriving in trucks and demolishing the squatter houses just across from where she was staying. She was stunned that the occupants were left standing out on the street with nowhere to go. She said she felt angry about the blatant injustice, but helpless to change the situation, which is something that still troubles her. Two other respondents stayed in Payatas, a squatter community built around one of Metro Manila's major rubbish tips. They were both deeply disturbed by the sight of people picking through Manila's rubbish, searching for metal or plastic to sell. One of these respondents, Meg, likened the scene to "the poor being dumped on".

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[42] This may be partly due to relationships being stronger, and partly due to their hosts no longer needing to fulfil their perceived obligations as a Discovery Team host.

The other respondent, Tom, was particularly upset by the presence of a primary school adjacent to the dumpsite, called Dumpsite School:

> No human should have to go to Dumpsite School, I mean, that's just the deepest of human evil almost, it's just awful...it was just...just wrong really, completely wrong — *Tom*

Another respondent, Tim, was preparing to leave Manila when his host father died of a heart attack at 42 years of age, leaving behind a widow and six children:

> I was conscious of two things in that. One was the health care he did not have. So the likelihood would be that if I had the same heart condition in New Zealand, I would probably have a much better chance of being looked after. But also secondly, for me, the sense of, 'if I was only to live as long as [my host father], what would I do with my life?' So that was quite a powerful influence — *Tim.*

Two other respondents spoke about a man being stabbed to death within a hundred meters of where they were staying. They said they were shocked that the police ignored the crime. One of these two respondents, Joy, said it felt to her like their attitude was "oh well, one less poor person to worry about", which she found disturbing.

Some quite ordinary experiences, such as a visit or a conversation, alerted other respondents to the tragic effects of poverty just as powerfully as the extreme events described above. A few respondents recalled paying visits to some very poor families in the community, and being deeply moved by their stories of seemingly constant struggle and adversity. One of these respondents, Val, explained that it was this person-to-person connection that brought home some of the realities of poverty to her:

> Until you really meet people who are in that situation, you can't imagine what it's like, and that was one of the most powerful impacts I think — *Val.*

Some respondents spoke of having conversations with local people — especially young people — where the lack of vocational opportunities available to them became tragically clear. A few of these respondents could not help contrasting the predicament of their Filipino friends with the vast range of opportunities and choices they have in their own lives. Other glimpses of the effects of poverty that were reported by my respondents included witnessing their hosts working extremely long hours, caring for their sick children with no medicine, making enormous personal sacrifices for their family, and coping daily with what one respondent euphemistically described as "very basic living conditions".

For some respondents it was their own personal experience of vulnerability — or simply living outside of their comfort zone — that brought home to them what life might be like for their hosts. Some of these more personal experiences included contracting a tropical disease (one woman, one man); feeling isolated and vulnerable (two women); and experiencing the lack of options available to the poor (one woman, one man). Some respondents commented that they

felt like "an alien" or "a spectacle" in the communities in which they stayed. Many respondents who described themselves as Pakeha or European New Zealanders felt very conscious of their white skin; while all those who identified as Maori were conscious that, although they shared the same skin colour as local Filipinos, they were "much bigger than them" and therefore stood out in the community.

Observing richness

It is worth noting in this context that nearly all of my respondents identified specific aspects of their hosts' lives that were far "richer" than their own. The most commonly sited of these is the relational richness that many respondents encountered — both within their host families and in their relationships with the wider neighbourhood. The priority that their hosts place on family relations, neighbourliness and hospitality had a big impact on many of my respondents:

> It made me realize the richness of life when it was shared like that, in terms of just 'being' with each other...that it was completely okay for people to just 'be' together — *Meg.*

> It was all about the people, like it wasn't about what you're doing or what you have, it was all about the family and the friends and...yeah, I really like that, ay...and just everyone being welcomed in, and just so many laughs, even if you don't know what you're laughing about — *Mia.*

All three respondents who identified themselves as ethnically Maori commented on the similarities they saw between their own culture and Filipino culture. This included an emphasis on family and relationships, practicing hospitality, and having a "laid back" approach to life. These were all identified as positive cultural traits, and were appreciated by all three of these respondents:

> A lot of the culture was very similar, you know...extended families, everyone living together, all seeing each other every day — at least — you know...the manakitanga...and so it made it easy for us to adjust to this community, you know, and I understood that, we understood that — *Sue.*[43]

Some other aspects of hosts' lives that were identified by respondents as being far 'richer' than their own include the strength of their faith, their resourcefulness, and their "amazing resilience" in the face of extreme hardship.

To further underscore the 'wealth' of hospitality demonstrated by their hosts, all 22 respondents reported that they felt very well looked after during their stay in Manila. Respondents could not fault the hospitality they were offered by their hosts or their neighbours. Comments such as "they treated me very well", "they were very generous to me" and "I felt very welcome" were the most common responses to my open-ended question "how did your hosts treat you?". Four respondents (two women, two men) even said that they were "treated

[43] Manakitanga describes the practice of hospitality and welcome in the Maori language.

like royalty" by their hosts. Some other expressions that respondents used to describe their hosts' treatment of them were: amazing, gracious, warm, friendly, hospitable, respectful and lovely. A few respondents even expressed their surprise at how welcome they were made to feel. One of these respondents, Ted, felt that the local people had every right to resent him, a rich Westerner, coming into their community, and he was "blown away" when he received the opposite response from them. He recalled that, for him, being the recipient of such undeserved generosity was "a truly humbling experience" and is something that remains a cherished memory for him, even many years later.

Being in the Community

One of the logical consequences of becoming immersed in a squatter community is adapting to the rhythms and patterns of everyday life in that community. By spending their time in Manila simply *being with* their hosts and neighbours — rather than becoming busy doing projects to help them — team members are able to closely observe their lives and learn from them. This approach is thought to remove the usual pressures and distractions from team members' everyday lives and enhance their ability to reflect on the realities of poverty as a participant-observer. It is expected that team members will also become more conscious of aspects of their own lives that may need some change in light of these discoveries. This reflects the philosophy of team members going to *be changed* rather than to change things.

Being versus doing

Nearly all respondents indicated that they were aware that they were in Manila as learners, not as 'missionaries' or volunteers. For a few respondents this did require some of their initial preconceptions about "going on a mission trip" to be reconfigured. Respondents generally understood, however, that most of their time in Manila was to be spent observing and asking questions about different aspects of life in their squatter communities, rather than becoming busy with lots of projects or activities filling up their time. Most respondents, therefore, took the 'being' approach of their Discovery Team quite seriously. For example, when asked, "what did you do in Manila?" many respondents replied "not a lot really", or "I didn't do much".

Most respondents felt they were conscientious in their attempts to fit in with the everyday lives of their host family and the wider community during their stay in Manila. Almost two thirds (63%) spoke of regularly getting out and about in the community and, as one respondent put it, "getting a feel for the place". For each of these respondents this included wandering through the community, getting a bearing on its layout and character, chatting with neighbours

and, occasionally, visiting their homes for *merianda* (snacks). One third of respondents (32%) preferred to spend most of their time at the home of their host family doing very little or, as one respondent described, "being subjected to the boredom levels" and resisting the urge to pursue escapes and distractions. Other activities that respondents participated in during their time in the community included accompanying their hosts in their work or on trips to the market, taking hosts' children to school and playing games with them after school, attending family celebrations with their hosts, playing basketball with neighbours, attending church and community gatherings, and swapping stories with interested local people.

Some respondents found that the 'being' mode suited their temperament perfectly. One of these respondents, Abi, felt that it "couldn't have been more ideal" for her:

> I loved just being there, you know, in such a low-key way, just being a part of this little community...It was just profound, you know, it really was...just to be around during the cooking and the cleaning I just loved that...and yeah, lots of cups of tea, you know, with the neighbours —*Abi.*

However a few respondents recalled the difficulty they encountered simply 'being present' day after day. One younger respondent perceptively identified that "most of our lives are full of seeking entertainment", and she recognised the challenge that staying in a squatter community presented to this orientation. Other respondents acknowledged that, for them, there were other lessons to learn from submitting themselves to the 'being' approach. Some of these lessons included learning to accept help from others (two women), learning to spend time in solitude (one woman), being prepared to be humbled (one man), and learning to talk less and listen more (one woman).

One consequence of Discovery Teams leaving so much time unaccounted for, however, was that some team members could not resist the allure of distractions offered to them. One respondent, Max, remembered that the presence of foreign visitors in his community "got the local young people really hyped up". Max and his team-mates were rounded up by these young people each day, and taken to a local coffee shop to play a local version of billiards together. On one occasion this group of young people cleared away all the chairs in the coffee shop and conducted their own sports tournament there. Max reported that later his team leader "told us off for messing around with the community". Similarly, all three Maori respondents fondly recalled their "adventures" with local young people. These included regular outings to shopping malls, swimming pools, skating rinks and multiplex movie theatres:

> There were these two young people from the church who we hung around with each day...and we'd all just jump on a jeepney and cruise off somewhere with them...they were like our guides —*Joy.*

Another of these respondents, Sue, acknowledged that their regular excursions "broke all the rules" and frustrated Servants workers:

> [We] didn't listen a lot of the time, you know, and did our own thing...taking off to the movies, you know, all those things...We could tell you heaps of stories where we just broke all the rules, you know, did our own thing...and it was like, ah, I think Ross was stressing out about us hard core — *Sue.*

While these activities, in themselves, represent nothing more than a bit of harmless fun, respondents recognized in hindsight that excessive socializing outside the community with local young people became a distraction from their primary purpose for being there, and at times even caused undue disruption to the community itself.

Relationships with Local People

Relationships formed between team members and local people can attach a human face to the impersonal entity of 'poverty'. Host family members and their neighbours can also play a role in educating team members about the nature of poverty from their own personal experiences. One desired outcome of these relationships is that team members' theoretical knowledge about poverty and injustice might be augmented by genuine compassion for specific people suffering its consequences.

Levels of relationship

Ten of my respondents (45%) felt that they formed a "close" or "deep" relationship with at least one local person during their time in Manila. This group of respondents (eight women, two men) described these relationships as being comparable to a close friendship or, in some instances, being akin to a sisterly or brotherly relationship. A few of these respondents even spoke in terms of forming a "deep bond" with one or more local people. One respondent, Sue, felt in retrospect that she had naïvely let herself become too close to some local people:

> [They were] relationships, at the time, I felt would be for ever...and I really, genuinely invested in them...when I look back, and even not long after that, the reality of that was not real...and that really gutted me — *Sue.*

On leaving Manila, Sue recalled a deep feeling of grief, which slowly grew into depression as she started to realize that these friendships could not realistically be maintained. Seven respondents (32%) spoke of building a good rapport with one or two local people. Respondents in this group (two women, five men) got on particularly well with certain local people, but were more reserved in their relational connections with them. Most of this group tended to be more aware that their relationships with local people were, in one sense, contrived relationships, but this did not stop them from engaging in friendly relations with them. The remaining five respondents (23%) did not form any significant relationships with local people during their time

in Manila. This group of respondents (two women, three men) felt that they had very cordial interactions with their hosts, and the other people they encountered, but could not identify any single relationship that stood out as being especially significant. Four respondents from the latter two groups (one woman, three men) commented that the "language barrier" put limits on the level of relationship they enjoyed with many local people.

Specific local people with whom my respondents built significant relationships include their host brother/sister or a niece/nephew of their hosts (five women, two men), their host mother (four women), neighbour(s) of their hosts (three women, three men), and some local young people (two women, one man). These respondents variously expressed admiration, respect and appreciation of their Filipino friends, with a few adding that their relationship with them had been influential in some significant decisions they had made concerning their own lives. Nine respondents (four women, five men) also commented on the influence of Servants fieldworkers and their Filipino co-workers, saying that they admired and respected their work and the lifestyles they have adopted in Manila.

Ongoing connection

Over half of my respondents (eight women, four men) maintained regular contact with one or more local people after returning home from Manila. Usually this took the form of letter writing, although in more recent times communication has occurred via telephone or email. Some of these respondents considered this to be an "important" or "meaningful" way of continuing their relationship, albeit in a different form. Most of these respondents maintained contact for between one and five years, although two respondents (both men) maintained contact for up to 10 years. For one of these two latter respondents, ongoing contact took the form of regular financial support of his host family, in response to the death of their husband/father during his visit. I only encountered two other instances of respondents offering financial assistance to local people after returning home, and these both took the form of a one-off gift. However, a few respondents commented that instant forms of communication, such as telephone and email, have created awkward situations where the topic of financial assistance is brought up by their hosts/friends in Manila during a conversation. Ten respondents (four women, six men) did not maintain any regular contact with local people after returning home from Manila. Half of this group did recall sending one letter to their hosts after returning home, and the other half had no recollection of any further contact with anyone in Manila.

Over one quarter of my respondents (four women, two men) have subsequently made a return visit to Manila. Three women respondents (all from teams after 2000) went back to visit and stay with their original host family. All three of these respondents made their return visits on their own initiative, based on their desire to maintain their relationships with particular local

people and to "keep the experience alive". As noted above, each of these respondents' found their return visit to be quite a different experience to their original trip. The other three respondents (one woman, two men) returned to Manila a second time to fulfil a specific role. One of these three respondents, Ann, returned to Manila to fill the role of Servants Retreat Centre Manager for three months, where she also took the opportunity to re-establish her connections with local people. The other two respondents (both men) made return visits to Manila as team leaders, after being team members in their initial trip.

One other form of ongoing contact, reported by two respondents, was a kind of 'sister church' arrangement that two New Zealand churches — one in Wanganui and one in Christchurch — have each established with two squatter churches in Manila. It seems that both of these arrangements are based on relationships between the leaders of these churches, and that the Manila churches receive some level of financial support from the New Zealand churches. The Pastors of both squatter churches have been sponsored to visit New Zealand and speak at their 'sister' churches. Both respondents who have experienced this form of ongoing contact reported that it has been a useful way for them to re-connect with their Manila experience.

The Process of Reflection

The reflection process is designed to help team members explore and wrestle with questions about the nature and causes of poverty — especially during their stay in Manila, when they are being confronted with the impacts of poverty on a specific family and community. The reflection process also has an individual and a corporate dimension. The individual reflection process centres on the practice of keeping a regular personal journal. This is where team members record their daily observations, and express their individual reactions to what they are experiencing. The corporate reflection process occurs when team members' personal reflections and general observations are shared and discussed together during the regular team times throughout their stay in Manila. Both forms of reflection are considered to be equally important.

Personal reflection

All 22 respondents reported that they kept a personal journal during their stay in Manila (some adding that they were told they "had to do it"). When I asked them if they found it a helpful exercise, over two thirds of my respondents (10 women, five men) commented that journaling while they were in Manila definitely helped them process the issues that arose for them during that time. As one respondent, Tim, put it, journaling helped him "dig deeper to see which buttons were being pushed". This response implies a process of self-analysis, where deep

personal questions are being asked. Other respondents, however, reported that they used journaling for a more immediate therapeutic purpose:

> I just wrote pages and pages...I even wrote some poems...about all the sights and sounds and the smells...just everything that was going on, 'cause my mind was just so overwhelmed —*Jen.*

Two women, both 18 years old at the time of their trip, commented that their journal took on a new significance for them when they returned home. Both of these young women experienced some form of post-trip depression, and needed to actively engage in journaling to navigate their way though this difficult time. One older respondent remarked that he had never kept a journal before, but he found it so helpful that he continued journaling for three years after his trip. He and four others commented that they had dug their journal out within the last year and read it again. Five further respondents (three women, two men) admitted that they found the discipline of keeping a journal too difficult, and only wrote sporadically or simply kept a chronicle of their daily activities. Most of these respondents did not substitute this practice with an equivalent means of processing questions at a deeper level. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that these respondents were less likely to make any substantial changes in response to their trip.

Journaling was not the only personal reflective tool used by team members during their stay in Manila. Some respondents also recalled reading relevant articles, books, and biographies during their stay in Manila — trying to make connections between the material, the situation they were in, and their own lives. For a few of these respondents this was a "very significant" exercise. Some respondents also talked about familiar passages of the Bible taking on a new meaning for them when they were read and contemplated from the vantage point of a squatter community.[44]

Corporate reflection

In the Discovery Team program, team gatherings in Manila are the main forum for corporate reflection and sharing. All 14 teams represented in this study had at least three substantial times of reflecting and sharing together while they were in Manila. These team times usually followed the following scheme: spending one day together at the Servants retreat centre before team-members were assigned to their host families; taking a one- or two-day retreat together mid-way though their time in Manila; and having a final team gathering just prior to leaving Manila. For most teams there were further team meetings to supplement this outline. Although some

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[44] This is technically referred to as a hermeneutical reading, where the *context* of the reader plays a substantial role in informing the *interpretation* of the text. The Liberation Theology movement that emerged out of Latin America in the 1970s is widely considered to be an application of this approach to reading and interpreting the Bible from the perspective of the poor and oppressed.

respondents recalled meeting as a team almost every day while they were in Manila, usually team gatherings would occur every two or three days. The features of these team gatherings that stood out as being especially significant to my respondents were: reflecting on personal experiences and supporting one another (nine women, seven men); receiving teaching and input from Servants personnel (three women, four men); and engaging together in issues and questions about poverty and justice (two women, two men). Factors such as mature team leadership and the quality of relationships between team members (discussed above under the heading 'Team Formation') obviously influenced the quality and depth of sharing during these team times. This meant that the one team reported to have "inadequate" leadership suffered considerably in the area of team reflection. Generally, however, these times of reflecting together were considered by all the rest of my respondents to be worthwhile times.

The Process of Reintegration

The process of reintegrating into life in New Zealand after spending some weeks in a Manila squatter community is rarely a straightforward process, and for some it can be quite a difficult adjustment. The contrast between life in urban Manila and life in suburban New Zealand is stark, and the chasm between the two can seem expansive. Learning what it might mean to continue living in the West, with this new experience of the Third World as a reference point, therefore requires much creative thought and some personal risk. Accordingly, the process of reintegration has both an individual and a corporate dimension. The personal dimension concerns team members drawing parallels between their own life and the lives of the urban poor in Manila — discerning which aspects of their life may require some change in response to their encounter. The corporate dimension concerns team members reflecting on these questions together, drawing on the support and encouragement of others to guide them in this process. This section therefore explores respondents' recollections of their experience of *personal reintegration* and *team debriefing.*

Personal reintegration

Returning home from Manila and resuming their lives in New Zealand was a big adjustment for nearly three quarters (73%) of my respondents. Some used words like "challenging", "confusing", "disorientating" and "lonely" to describe this period. Most of these respondents experienced, to some degree, what one respondent called "the tension" between their own life in New Zealand and the lives of those they left behind in Manila. Usually this involved gaining a new appreciation of the contrast between their lives of abundance in New Zealand and the lives

of struggle lived by their hosts in Manila. For a few respondents this led to a deeper sense of thankfulness for the good life that they lead; while most others said they felt more at odds with the indulgence that pervades their own lives and the lives of those around them. One respondent, Dan, recalled a common example of this. On his return from Manila, he was struck by the seemingly excessive emphasis some of his friends placed on their acquisition of a new home appliance:

> It seemed that they just went on and on about it and, you know, at that point in time I just couldn't get excited about an appliance — *Dan.*

Dan's feelings were compounded by the fact that these friends expressed very little interest in his Manila experience, and the issues it had raised for him. Another of these respondents, Val, recalled how she made a personal resolve to address her own tendencies toward comfort and indulgence:

> One thing I came out of Manila not wanting to do, was become a rich...or, you know, middle-class New Zealand christian — really comfortable in my nice comfortable lifestyle, and just having this comfortable christianity. It was something I really dreaded becoming — *Val.*

Some respondents recalled being even more shocked on their return to New Zealand than they were on their arrival in Manila, with a few making specific reference to "reverse culture shock". One of these respondents, Jen, expresses her experience in these terms:

> I think I found it harder coming back home than I did going over there, in terms of culture shock. When I came back over here I just felt like it was so familiar, but yet so unfamiliar as well — *Jen.*

A few of these respondents, like Jen, said they viewed their own life "through new eyes" after returning from Manila. Even some of the (usually older) respondents who did not experience "shock" on their return to New Zealand, nevertheless acknowledged a new appreciation of the gap between life in the West and life in the Third World.

Some respondents reacted quite strongly when they returned to New Zealand — occasionally to the chagrin of friends and family members. One of these respondents, Rob, returned home and promptly sold his luxury car, replacing it with a "less pretentious" vehicle. He felt it was such an obvious response, but found it hard to justify to his family, who had taken great pride in his "success" up until that point in his life. Another respondent, Pam, returned to New Zealand and within weeks she and her husband bought their first home. However, rather than striving to buy a house in a "flash neighbourhood", they opted for a more affordable, low socio-economic area. Pam reported that this decision "just felt right" when she viewed it in light of her experience in Manila. Some others around her, however, questioned the wisdom of this decision. Two other (male) respondents had an immediate reaction against the dominant culture of consumerism in New Zealand when they returned home:

> One of the tough things actually, when I got home, was that for the whole first month I couldn't buy anything. I couldn't spend any money at all...like, I was just so affected by the experience that I couldn't bring myself to purchase anything — *Jef.*
>
> I just couldn't spend money. I had...I went for ages without being able to spend a penny...and I knew that there was something to learn about it that I hadn't learned. It took quite a long time to work through that — *Ian.*

Ian recalled this conviction being so strong that he even struggled to buy gifts for his own children's birthdays. Both Ian and Jef spoke of a long struggle coming to terms with the many inconsistencies between their (relative) wealth and the lack of resources that defines the lives of so many in the Third World.

For over one quarter of my respondents (three women, three men, all under 25 years), returning home from Manila provoked a very strong emotional response. Five of these six respondents reported that they had bonded closely with one or more local people during their time in Manila. They found that on returning home they began to profoundly miss being together with them and enjoying the friendship they shared together. Three of these respondents recalled crying a lot when they returned home — something that continued sporadically for many weeks. One of these respondents, Sue, even compared the grief she felt at that time to the grief of loosing a family member:

> So I was really, really upset when we had to leave, and I couldn't understand why I was so...ah...crying so much, you know, I felt like someone had died, you know, in my family, and...ah...I couldn't figure it out in my head, it was 'why?...these people aren't even my blood relations' you know, and I'm grieving like they are — *Sue.*

For three of these five respondents, the grief of parting with newfound friends was further augmented by feeling utterly helpless to change the world that makes life so difficult for them. Two respondents even spoke about this realization leading to a form of depression that remained with them for some weeks.[45]

Some other challenges that respondents reported facing on their return from Manila included: becoming ill and needing some time off work (two women, one man); facing a challenging circumstance with family/friends (two women); needing to meet existing family obligations (two men, one woman); and entering a busy period in their employment (two men). Six respondents (three men, three women) found returning to their regular jobs extremely difficult after being in Manila. For some, this included a growing sense of frustration that their work was not making any discernable difference to the world, and the realisation that they could be applying themselves to something that was ultimately more meaningful and fulfilling.

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[45] There was one other respondent, Mel, who reported that she experienced depression both during and after her time in Manila, but her experience of depression was a direct consequence of her dysfunctional team. Her experience is discussed earlier in this chapter under the heading 'Team formation'.

Team debriefing

Nearly three quarters of my respondents (73%) recalled participating in some kind of team debriefing after returning from their trip to Manila, while the remaining quarter of my respondents (27%) reported that they did not do any team debriefing at all. For half of all the 22 respondents, team debriefing was limited to just one or two team gatherings in the weeks following their trip. Most members of this group recalled their debriefing session(s) as being mainly concerned with telling stories about their experiences or having a team reunion (some even referred to their debriefing as a "reunion"). Others in this group reported some level of processing issues as a team during this time, but did not recall this being of much value due to the limited amount of time spent on it. Subsequently, most of this group of 11 respondents considered that their team debriefing session(s) were ultimately of limited value to them. A few of the respondents who had a strong emotional reaction to their experience in Manila were adamant that ongoing debriefing over that time would have helped them to constructively process their bewildering responses.

Four of the five respondents who did their trip as part of a Fuel course reported that their team spent up to three months meeting weekly for debriefing sessions (usually alongside other components of their course). All four of these respondents commented on how valuable this ongoing support was for them. This was especially true for the three respondents who were under 20 years old at the time of their trip — two of whom had quite an emotional reaction on returning home. The remaining Fuel course participant, Jen, reported that her team's debriefing times "kind of tapered off" after a few weeks, which meant that she had to continue processing her confusing responses alone. Jen regretted not having more opportunity to work through her many questions and struggles with others, and ultimately felt as though she had failed to respond appropriately to her experience because of this.

Of the six respondents whose teams did not have any debriefing sessions, three commented that they would definitely have benefited from some guidance during that time. One of these three respondents, Tim, felt that he needed older and wiser people to talk to about decisions he was making in response to his trip:

> I got almost disorientated through Manila, and then reacted — *Tim*.

While he did not regret the decisions he made at that time, he certainly would have appreciated a more guided process. Another of these three respondents, Sid, had the opposite reaction to Tim. On returning from Manila, he soon became busy in his work and subsequently neglected to process his experience in any substantial way. He admitted that any questions he might have had when he returned ended up "on the back burner". He said he would definitely have valued having some ongoing guidance and prompting through that time. Fortunately, other respondents

in this group were able to find alternative ways to process their experience, including speaking to older and more experienced people one-on-one, talking with others who were interested in exploring similar issues, and setting aside quality time to reflect personally.

Many respondents found ways other than team debriefing sessions to process their Manila experience. The most commonly reported of these was taking the opportunity to speak to groups about their trip. Twelve respondents (eight women, four men) sited speaking to groups as a very beneficial way of both "re-living the experience" and consolidating their own reflections on it. They also found it helpful receiving feedback on their talks or sermons from interested people. Eight respondents (four women, four men) reported that their ongoing involvement in a supportive church or christian agency also helped their process of re-integration, especially the regular interactions with like-minded individuals that these involvements afforded them. Some even found that simply talking about their trip with interested friends was a helpful exercise. One respondent, Mia, spoke about a "support group" she formed with other members of her team, where they talked about their lives and the decisions they were each making in light of their time in Manila. She said this group had certainly helped her stay focussed on these issues in the face of so many other things vying for her attention.

Conclusions

This chapter identifies and discusses some of the actual experiences of the 22 discovery team members I surveyed for this study — from their first preparation session through to their final debriefing. Using a chronological structure, I explore each aspect of the *holistic program* and *incarnational model*, and determine how these were experienced and interpreted by my respondents. This enables the changes that respondents have made since their trip to be analysed with reference to their actual Discovery Team experiences. Accordingly, the results of this chapter are summarised, together with those of the following chapter, at the beginning of Chapter Seven, where I go on to draw various conclusions from them. First, however, I examine the actual *changes* that have occurred in respondents' lives in the following chapter.

Chapter Six

So What Has Changed?

In the previous chapter I discussed the *experiences* of my 22 respondents participating in a discovery team. In this chapter I go further to examine the actual *changes* that have occurred in their lives as a result of this experience. To do this, I have structured this chapter according to the framework introduced at the end of Chapter Two (refer to Table 2.2). As a reflection of the holistic philosophy behind Discovery Teams, this framework encompasses three inter-related dimensions of team members' lives — their *personal lives*, their *relationships* and their *practice*. This framework expands each of these areas into defined categories and offers various indicators of such changes occurring. Accordingly, this chapter follows a similar pattern as it examines the broad range of life-changes that have occurred in respondents' lives since their trip. Where appropriate, I refer to specific components of the *holistic program* or *incarnational model* that have made obvious contributions to these changes occurring. I also seek to incorporate some of the relevant informal and formal theories covered in Chapters Two and Three respectively. Occasionally, I note any changes that do not fit within these defined categories, but emerged instead from my interviews with the 22 respondents.

Personal Transformation

The first area of change to be examined in this chapter is the area of *personal transformation,* which refers to changes taking place in a person's interior world. This area of change acts as a foundation for other changes and, as such, both informs and influences those changes (Meyers, 1999, p.115ff). The Discovery Team stakeholders made reference to three specific categories of personal transformation: *worldview formation, character formation* and *spiritual formation.* Each of these categories is individually analysed in this section, drawing occasionally on theories discussed in Chapter Three. The first category, *worldview formation*, examines the ways that respondents have gained a renewed outlook on the world. This involves the extent to which they have developed a *critical awareness* of the systems that cause poverty, and gained

some recognition of their own roles in supporting these systems (as per Freire, 1984). The second category, *character formation*, concerns respondents becoming more aware of their own strengths and weaknesses, and developing a deeper sense of their moral obligations toward others (as per Kohlberg, 1981). The third category, *spiritual formation*, considers the development of respondents' faith to accommodate poverty and suffering, and to provide them with vision and motivation to respond appropriately (as per Fowler, 1981).

Worldview formation

It is not surprising, given the nature of the Discovery Team experience, that virtually all of my 22 respondents consider it to have changed their picture of the world in some way. Nearly two thirds of the respondents (eight women, six men) indicated that this experience alerted them to the enormous scale and pervasiveness of global poverty. Many of these respondents referred to their trip as "an eye-opener", and one even used the analogy of "stepping out of a goldfish bowl". The other third of my respondents (three women, four men) described the change they experienced as a "deepening" or "crystallizing" of existing understandings, usually gained through previous exposure to poverty. One respondent, Dan, encompasses elements of both these scenarios in his response:

> One of the ways it's changed me is that it's given me a deeper appreciation for how difficult some of the problems in the world are. The problem of global poverty is massive...you know...and going to see it with your own eyes just kind of crystallizes things for you...you know...you realize...that you kind of had suspicions about it before, but think, 'yeah, that actually is the case, isn't it?' — *Dan.*

Dan's statement indicates some degree of prior understanding of the issues surrounding global poverty. For him, cognitive understanding has been intensified through the *experience* of being immersed in a Third World community, and witnessing poverty first-hand. As such, Dan's experience is quite typical of most respondents interviewed for this study. The only respondent whose picture of the world did not really change at all is Mel — the only respondent to have a resoundingly negative Discovery Team experience. Mel's need to preserve her own mental and emotional health during her ordeal in Manila meant that this, and many other important issues, "didn't even hit the radar screen" for her.

I consider that nearly three quarters of my respondents (nine women, seven men) demonstrated a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes — which they all attribute, at least in part, to their Discovery Team experience.[46] Such a high proportion was surprising because I deliberately avoided 'loading' my worldview questions with issues of unjust structures and systems, or the unequal relationships between the poor and the non-poor (as per Freire, 1984).

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[46] They did not actually *use* Freire's term "critical awareness"; they simply demonstrated evidence of it.

Despite my attempt to 'value neutralize' these questions, 16 of my 22 respondents (73%) still indicated that their trip gave them a better understanding of the negative impact that global systems have on the lives of the poor. They also became more aware that they are, as one respondent put it, "in the top tiny percent" of wealthy people who benefit most from these systems. Nearly all of these 16 respondents expressed, in some way, the sense of responsibility they have come to feel due to their (relatively) powerful position in this system. This was a profoundly challenging realisation for some respondents:

> I have wrestled ever since I came back [over 15 years ago] with the whole issue of being a wealthy person in a world suffering under poverty, and how I deal with that...how I respond to that — *Ted.*

There was also a strong awareness within this group that their everyday decisions, however small, do have some impact on the majority of the world's people. One respondent, Meg, clearly expresses this understanding:

> I knew that I was financially rich, but I don't think I ever realized how little power other people have, and so therefore how much power I have...and how much the decisions I make contribute to people other than just myself and the people immediately around me — *Meg.*

Each of these 16 respondents displayed evidence of continuing to grapple with the challenges that this *critical awareness* has raised for them. Many admitted that they frequently struggle with questions about poverty and how it relates to their everyday lives. I consider these ongoing tensions to be a good indication that *critical awareness* has gained some traction in these respondents' lives, and continues to inform — or at least challenge — their decisions. The extent to which this has subsequently been converted into deep personal change, and expressed in practice, is explored later in this chapter. First, however, it may be worthwhile to explore the issue of respondents who did not appear to gain any substantial *critical awareness* from their Discovery Team experience.

Five respondents (two women, three men) appeared to experience only a slight change in their worldview as a result of their Discovery Team experience. While each reported an increased awareness of the *reality* of poverty, these respondents did not seem to draw any substantial *connections* between the abundance of their own lives and the deprivation of the urban poor they visited. Subsequently, they did not seem to arrive at a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes in the same way that the other 16 respondents did. Some of these respondents admitted that they struggle to understand the issues, or have never been able to work out why things are the way they are. One potential reason for this could be the complexity and conceptual nature of the web of poverty (Chambers, 1983). These respondents may not have been able to untangle the strands that make up this conceptual web, in order that they might understand it more fully. The low level of formal education common to this group partly

supports this possibility, but does not fully explain it.[47] Each of these respondents also referred to their journal-keeping in terms that indicated they were writing descriptive reports of events, rather than processing difficult questions about poverty and its causes. Subsequently, their depth of *reflection* on the issues was limited, and their level of questioning and critiquing was certainly lower than the other respondents.

Another factor preventing these respondents from gaining a *critical awareness* could be their lack of inclination to question a system that so obviously benefits them (Elliot, 1987). On this note, I was very interested to discover that all five of these respondents referred to how "lucky" they feel living in New Zealand. This is significant, because only one other respondent used the word "lucky" in this way. "Grateful" and "thankful" were also phrases commonly used by people in this group. Together these statements indicate a level of contentedness with their lives — especially in contrast to the misfortune of others. However it seems that their gratefulness may have led to complacency and not to deeper questioning of how they got to be so lucky (Kothari, 1995). Therefore, while these respondents could all draw clear *comparisons* between their own lives and the lives of the world's poor, they failed to substantiate any *connections*. Subsequently, their Discovery Team experience has evidently produced very little tangible change in their lives.

One further aspect of worldview, emerging from the interviews, relates to changes in respondents' cultural understandings. Most respondents (82%) reported some form of changed cultural perspective — triggered by their immersion in Filipino culture. For all three Maori respondents this mainly took the form of affirming their own cultural values of family, relationships and hospitality — all of which have echoes in Filipino culture. For Pakeha respondents the encounter tended to raise a challenge to their own culture:

> Immersing yourself in another culture means that you come to see the values, to some extent, of that culture, and realize that those values clash with some of my own values — *Tim.*

Busyness, success orientation, materialism, individualism and excessive emphasis on privacy were some of the cultural traits that came under the microscope for many of these respondents. Understanding that other cultural perspectives exist has helped these respondents to view their own culture less exclusively, and to appreciate the fact that there are other valid ways of understanding and interacting with the world. Being *immersed* in another culture necessitates an adjustment to new ways of being and acting (Kottler, 1997). From this new vantage point, therefore, these respondents have been enabled to view their own culture in a new light.

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[47] Other respondents who had no tertiary education at the time of their trip *were* quite capable of analysing these issues. Lack of formal education cannot, therefore, be exclusively responsible for this difficulty.

Character formation

A changed understanding or increased awareness has little relevance unless it informs and influences a person's character and value systems (Elliot, 1987; Fromm, 1976). In this section I explore the ways that discovery team members have become more aware of their own personal strengths and weaknesses, and have grown in their character through these discoveries. I also examine the question of whether respondents' Discovery Team experience has facilitated a transition from pragmatic or conformist value systems to a deeper sense of their own moral obligation toward others, especially the poor. Or, in the language of Kohlberg (1981), whether respondents' values and decisions are being shaped by *post-conventional moral reasoning.*

Most respondents indicated that they were challenged through their Discovery Team experience to continue growing in specific areas of their personal character. As a result, these respondents variously consider that they have changed to become: a less indulgent or materialistic person (four women, four men); a more relational person (four women, three men); a more adaptable or flexible person (three women, four men); a less busy person (four women, two men); a less controlling person (two women, one man); and a less distant or aloof person (one woman, one man).[48] These changes came mainly as challenges to respondents' natural inclinations or orientation, although some respondents considered that their natural inclinations in some of these areas were affirmed rather than challenged. Also, in many instances, respondents indicated that they had already begun experiencing some movement toward these character goals prior to their trip. Some even recounted that they went to Manila *expecting* to be challenged in specific areas of their character. This indicates the likelihood that factors outside of their Discovery Team experience also had an influence on these changes, but the process of change is likely to have been intensified through their Manila experience.

Factors that influenced character growth in the areas mentioned above include a combination of: reflecting on life in a squatter community; observing Filipino culture in general; building relationships with host family members and neighbours; engaging with the challenge of living in a difficult environment; adjusting to a new situation; and surviving the experience. In addition, most respondents admired the welcoming, relational, easy-going natures of their hosts, and many remarked that they respected their resilience, ingenuity and resourcefulness. These respondents subsequently felt inclined to draw parallels with their own lives, and to build some of these admirable qualities into their own character structure:

> It's like it's almost a challenge to me to kind of change how I used to be...how I used to look at things and the value that I put on things...like just the amount of time that I spend with people...you know, the importance of the people and not the stuff [material possessions] —*Mia.*

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[48] Most respondents reported changes in more than one of these areas.

Many respondents referred to spending time outside their "comfort zone" when they were in Manila, which forced them to be more adaptable, and to engage with others whom they might otherwise have avoided. This accords with Kottler's (1997, p.34f) theory that enduring a difficult and challenging situation or environment enhances the possibility of personal growth and change occurring. Furthermore, seven respondents (five women, two men) consider that their own "trials and tribulations" seemed less dramatic in contrast to the challenges they witnessed in Manila. This generally caused them to become more thankful for the (relatively) abundant life they enjoy. This group included all three respondents from low socio-economic backgrounds, confirming the view that this experience *can* help disadvantaged team members to put their own struggles into perspective (Lloyd Martin, personal communication, 27/4/04).

The one respondent who had a resoundingly negative Discovery Team experience found her time in Manila especially challenging at the personal level. Mel believes that she should not have been subjected to the trauma that she faced, despite the fact that this experience ultimately strengthened her character and resolve. While she agrees that being placed in challenging situations can be valuable, she urges that there be equally strong support structures to responsibly facilitate that process. Sadly, this was something her team desperately lacked.

The other aspect of character formation to be considered here is the question of whether Discovery Team participants have developed a deeper sense of their moral obligations toward others (as per Kohlberg, 1981). In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, *conventional moral reasoning* is marked by people conforming to the expectations of others or discharging their social duty to them. *Post-conventional moral reasoning*, on the other hand, is marked by the ethical principles of upholding the rights of others, or honouring their inherent human dignity — regardless of expectations or social obligations. There are many factors that contribute to a person moving from *conventional* to *post-conventional moral reasoning*, such as their age and personal circumstances. However, experiences like a discovery team can also act as a catalyst for such a change, by posing participants with a difficult challenge — in this instance responding to global poverty (Kohlberg, 1981, p.54; Morgan, 1989, p.162). Elizabeth Morgan considers this to be presenting people with an *unnecessary* moral decision — in the sense that demonstrating concern for the world's poor does not primarily benefit the person making the decision. Responding to this challenge can therefore be regarded as evidence that a person is operating out of a *post-conventional* ethical framework.

Based on these descriptions, I consider that almost two thirds of my respondents (seven women, seven men) demonstrated clear evidence of *post-conventional moral reasoning* informing significant life decisions in relation to the poor. These 14 respondents variously made reference to: living more simply in response to other people living in poverty (seven women, six men); financially supporting schemes that benefit the poor (eight women, five men); spending personal time and energy voluntarily helping other people (five women, five men); changing

employment arrangements to be more focussed on helping less fortunate people (four women, five men); spending time working in a Third World country (three women, two men); and setting up schemes that assist people in need (three women, two men).[49] These decisions indicate a strong sense of moral responsibility toward others for whom these respondents do not *necessarily* need to demonstrate concern:

> There's almost a huge sense of responsibility now, of what to do, you know, what to do with those choices, and how to think outside of myself with some of those choices — *Rob.*

Many of these respondents also recognize that these values stand in tension with the values of success, material prosperity and other social norms that define much of life in Western societies (as described by Berger, 1976). Despite such tensions, these respondents have continued to make decisions that respond, in some tangible way, to the needs of others. I consider this to be reliable evidence, therefore, that these 14 respondents are fairly consistently allowing *post-conventional moral reasoning* to shape their values in these crucial areas. Ten of these 14 respondents were from teams prior to 2000, indicating that their growth in moral character has also maintained some traction over time, and continues to inform their values and decisions many years later.[50]

All but one of the 14 respondents described in the previous paragraph were over 25 years old at the time of their interview. This supports the view that it is uncommon for younger people to operate at the level of *post-conventional moral reasoning* in a consistent way (Kohlberg, 1981).[51] This view is supported by the experience of a further three respondents, all women in their early 20s, who each demonstrated some evidence of *post conventional moral reasoning*, but also freely acknowledged the difficulties they face integrating these values into their life decisions in a consistent way. These respondents spoke very candidly about social pressures to conform to the expectations of others, or the lure of familiar life patterns competing with their desire to live differently in response to the poor. While those respondents over 25 years old were certainly not immune to these pressures, they generally demonstrated a higher degree of resolve than these younger respondents. However, experiencing this kind of tension, regardless of whether it is presently resolved or not, can equally be taken as a healthy sign that the issues raised during their Discovery Team experience are still actively being processed by these respondents. Interestingly, all three of these respondents, on their own initiative, returned to

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[49] Details of each of the examples sited here will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter, under the heading 'Transformed practice'.

[50] *How* this traction may be gained and maintained is explored in the latter part of Chapter Seven.

[51] This does not mean that all older people will necessarily employ *post-conventional* moral reasoning, but that age and life experience do increase a person's ability to become other-orientated (Kohlberg, 1981).

visit their host families in Manila within two years of their original trip. Returning to their host family was an attempt to "keep the experience alive" or to "fill in some of the missing pieces of the jigsaw" from their original trip. All three of these respondents consider their second trip to have helped them to deepen their resolve to live in reference to the people they befriended in Manila. I consider this to be further evidence that they want their Discovery Team experience to continue playing an important role in shaping their values and moral decisions, which are obviously still in the process of being worked out.

Five remaining respondents (two women, three men) displayed very little evidence of *post-conventional moral reasoning* informing their decisions to respond personally to the poor. It is perhaps not surprising that this group corresponds exactly with the group of respondents who also demonstrated very little evidence of arriving at a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes. In other words, their awareness of poverty has not translated into a personal sense of moral responsibility to respond to the poor. These respondents all considered themselves to be "lucky", and were openly thankful for the good life they enjoy. However, without any recognition of *why* they are so lucky, the question of their own moral responsibility toward the poor has little meaning. To be fair, all five of these respondents fulfil important roles and responsibilities either in their work or family life, many of which require them to regularly put others before themselves. However, these respondents could not demonstrate much evidence of going beyond these everyday responsibilities to consider what responsibility they might have to the poor in general. As such, they appear to be operating predominantly out of *conventional moral reasoning*.

Spiritual formation

The third category of personal change to be examined is *spiritual formation,* which concerns the changes that have occurred in respondents' faith as a result of their Discovery Team experiences. As all of my respondents claim to be practicing Christians, this section explores the impact of their Discovery Team experience on their christian faith. Using James Fowler's (1981) stages of faith development as a guide, I explore the extent to which their christian faith has grown to accommodate "a wider and more adequate understanding of experience" (Astley, 1992, *xx*). This refers in particular to the ways that each respondent has attempted to integrate the complex realities of poverty and suffering into their christian faith. I also seek to establish the extent to which respondents' christian faith has furnished them with a vision and capacity to respond to the realities of Third World poverty (as per Morgan, 1989, p.12f). Some of the strong connections between worldview formation, character development and spiritual formation are also discussed in this section.

Encountering Third World poverty first-hand through a discovery team resulted in a discernable progression in three quarters of my respondents' christian faith. Twelve of these respondents (six women, six men) experienced noticeable *changes* in their faith, while the other four of these respondents (three women, one man) regarded their experience to have *consolidated* changes already occurring in their faith prior to their trip. The latter four respondents considered that they had already begun integrating questions of poverty and suffering into their christian faith before they joined a discovery team, usually due to their previous exposure to poverty. As such, the contours of their faith were already being formed by an understanding of poverty and suffering in the world. Nevertheless, each of these respondents considered that participating in a discovery team gave some additional substance to this faith formation process.

The 12 respondents who reported noticeable *changes* in their faith can be roughly divided into two groups: those who reported changes predominantly in the general *structure* of their faith (six women, two men), and those who reported changes more specifically to the *content* of their faith (four men). The eight respondents who experienced changes in the *structure* of their faith described moving towards a christian faith that is more able to accommodate difficult questions and tensions. This involved embracing what one respondent called "a less black and white faith". Being immersed in a context where poverty impedes so many peoples' potential eventually caused these eight respondents to reflect on the fact that their christian faith could not offer any neat answers to the problems they encountered. It also required them to become more accepting of this reality:

> [It means] having a faith that doesn't have all the answers, but strives to keep asking those questions...and try and find what the heck the answer might be, and be willing for that answer to be anything — *Meg.*

Like Meg, these respondents began to embrace a different *style* of christian faith — one that is more able to grapple with the challenge of new questions and issues, without needing to produce straightforward answers or solutions. This should not imply that these respondents have resigned themselves to the inevitability of poverty. Rather, they have come to realize that there are no quick-fix solutions to the myriad of issues it raises.

The four respondents who experienced changes in the *content* of their faith reported similar changes to those described above, although these respondents mainly referred to specific beliefs being challenged by their trip. In particular, these respondents considered that their Discovery Team experience gave them a new understanding of the christian imperative to care for the poor. This included "grounding" their christian beliefs in the realities of poverty and suffering in the Third World:

> For instance, the poverty and oppression that lots of the Old Testament prophets rail against...when you're sort of experiencing a bit of the actual

> physicality of what it means to be poor...some of those images just sort of jump out with a whole new meaning —*Dan.*

These four respondents each realized, for example, that some of their christian beliefs needed to be reinterpreted from the perspective of the poor and oppressed. The most common change these respondents experienced was the recognition that christian faith has the capacity to embrace suffering, rather than shunning it. For a few, this also involved recognizing that their "materialistic" understanding of God's providence became redundant in light of their encounters with urban poor Christians.[52]

The changes experienced by many of the 16 respondents described in the previous three paragraphs have echoes of Fowler's (1981) *inclusive faith*, where seemingly incongruent perspectives are allowed to sit in critical tension without reverting to tidy solutions. I did not collect enough data to argue that each of these 16 respondents have transitioned into a coherent *inclusive faith*. It is sufficient to note, however, that their faith *has* adapted to the new complexities this experience presented to them. For some this involved a general understanding that their christian faith needed to broaden in order to encompass their new understanding of reality (particularly the undeniable reality of poverty); for some it involved specific christian beliefs being critiqued and adjusted by issues arising out of their experience of poverty; for some it gave new substance to a faith already being changed by issues of poverty and suffering. Regardless of whether the changes were primarily to the *structure, content* or *substance* of their faith, however, all 16 of these respondents have obviously allowed their faith to *be changed* by the encounter rather than striving to alter their perception of reality to fit their existing beliefs. As such, their faith has evidently evolved to accommodate "a wider and more adequate understanding of experience" (as per Astley, 1992, *xx*).

To their credit, these 16 respondents did not default to naïve or simplistic beliefs when confronted with the problems and complexities of Third World poverty. Instead they allowed their christian faith to be challenged and changed by the context, and therefore affirmed its "adaptive features" (Daloz Parks, 1992, p.96). It is also worth noting that within christian tradition there is a strong, though often overlooked, ethic of concern for the poor and oppressed (Meyers, 1999). Those respondents who have tapped into this seam of christian tradition have discovered a robust platform for grappling with such questions, without needing to jettison their christian faith altogether. As mentioned previously, however, this does require simplistic or naïve beliefs about poverty, suffering and God's blessing to be abandoned in favour of more elaborate formulations of faith.

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[52] It is interesting to note that all four of the respondents in this group are men, which suggests that they may be more inclined to externalise their faith by focusing on particular ideas and beliefs.

It is also worth noting the connection between *critical awareness* and faith development. Those respondents who seemed to gain a *critical awareness* of poverty were also inclined to adjust their faith to encompass their new understanding, lest their faith become detached from their new understanding of reality. Their prior commitment to a relevant christian faith, therefore, stimulates engagement with these issues from within the framework of their faith. This has tended to provide respondents with an incentive to strive for some degree of compatibility between their primary beliefs and their new perception of reality. Correspondingly, those respondents who have incorporated these issues into their christian faith have also tended to gain some kind of incentive from the christian vision of concern for the poor and oppressed. The synergy that is created between raised awareness of poverty and a dynamic faith has also provided many of these respondents with the impetus to sustain these changes. Some of these respondents described this as living in an "ongoing tension" between how things are in the world, and how they believe they ought to be. This also suggests a link with *post-conventional moral reasoning* (as described in the previous section).

The remaining quarter of my respondents (three women, three men) who showed little evidence of their faith changing spoke mainly about learning to rely on God, or being thankful to God for the good life they enjoy. In this sense, the experience may have strengthened or deepened their faith, but only in its existing form. These six respondents did not, however, make any reference to their Discovery Team experience challenging the shape or content of their faith in relation to poverty and suffering in the world. This group of respondents corresponds very closely with those who did not seem to gain a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes — which merely highlights the important connection between respondents becoming more conscious of poverty, and their movement toward a more *inclusive faith.* Without a *critical awareness* of poverty they did not seem to appreciate the need for their faith to be reconfigured. Essentially, their understanding of reality did not change sufficiently to trigger any substantial change in their system of belief. Without this tension, therefore, very little movement or change is likely to have occurred in their faith.

Transformed Relationships

The second area of change to be examined in this chapter is the area of *transformed relationships.* This refers to changes taking place in a person's interactions with other people. The stakeholders identified two categories of relational change that Discovery Teams seek to promote. The first category is team members' *relationships with fellow journey companions.* This involves building mutually supportive relationships with people who share a common concern for the poor. The second category is their *relationships with the poor* wherever they

might encounter them. This is one of Servants' four stated aims for Discovery Teams. It involves becoming more sensitive to different kinds of poverty — including non-material poverty — and seeking to connect relationally with others experiencing poverty. Such relationships have the potential to operate, respectively, as support structures and as practical channels for team members to respond to their Discovery Team experiences. How these categories relate to Discovery Teams is discussed in Chapter Two, under the heading 'Holistic transformation'.

Relationships with journey companions

Although most teams developed close (or at least cordial) relationships with one another during their Discovery Team experience, less than a quarter of my respondents maintained ongoing connections with their fellow team members after returning home from Manila. Those few respondents (three women, two men) who did maintain close connections with fellow team members tended to be those who already had existing friendships with them prior to their trip. However, most of these respondents gave little indication that they *discussed issues* that were raised during their Discovery Team experience with fellow team members in the years following their trip. Talking together about their Discovery Team experience tended instead to be oriented around *retelling stories* about their time in Manila. The sole exception to this was reported by Mia, a member of one of the Fuel Teams (after 2000). Since returning from Manila, the members of Mia's team voluntarily formed a "support group" which continued to meet for some time after their trip. The members of this group discussed issues that were raised during their trip, and shared decisions they were each making in light of their experience:

> We kind of made a lot of decisions to try and, you know, to keep kind of the more simple lifestyle of not getting caught up in everything, and um...it was good just to even discuss ideas for the future, what we wanted to kind of change about our lifestyle and all that sort of stuff...and even now I think we still kind of feel a little bit accountable to each other...like, every now and then we just catch up about this stuff — *Mia.*

These sessions provided a valuable forum for Mia and her fellow team members to collectively process their responses to the experience, and to covenant with each other regarding their decisions and future directions in life. This group represents a positive collective attempt to form purposeful relationships as part of a response to their shared experience. Unfortunately, no other respondent could report a similar group or relationship emerging out of their own team.

Most respondents did establish supportive relationships elsewhere, however. The most common example sited by respondents was belonging to a sympathetic church or christian agency. These organisations provided a helpful relational context for eight respondents (four women, four men) to process their responses to the experience. These respondents expressed the importance of speaking with like-minded people in these organisations about the questions their

trip raised for them. They each gained some guidance and reinforcement of their decisions through these relationships. This was especially important for the younger of these respondents, who recognised their own tendency to revert to old patterns, despite having a strong desire to think and live differently. Another form of supportive relationship was friendships with like-minded people. These friendships became an important form of support for five respondents (two women, three men). These respondents recognised the value of discovering what one respondent called "kindred spirits" to keep the hopes and dreams that have been sparked by their Discovery Team experience alive. Two of these respondents reported meeting regularly with friends specifically for the purpose of exploring ways to respond to poverty, while the other three respondents had more fluid arrangements. All of these respondents consider these relationships to have played a valuable role in processing and responding to their Discovery Team experience over time.

Sadly, over one third of all my respondents reported a noticeable lack of supportive relationships to guide their responses during the crucial years following their trip. Four of these respondents (two women, two men) were among those who did not seem to gain any *critical awareness* of poverty. Subsequently, they were not so inclined to seek out relationships that traverse these issues. One of these respondents, Sid, had almost no relational context whatsoever to discuss issues relating to his trip. This surely contributed, along with several other factors, to the lack of any identifiable life changes resulting from his Discovery Team experience. The other three respondents were among those who maintained strong relational links with their fellow team members. However, while these respondents enjoyed a strong sense of camaraderie, they did not tend to *discuss issues* arising from their experience with one another. This highlights the importance of *critical awareness* stimulating peoples' responses to this kind of experience. Four other respondents (three women, one man) recalled their deep longing for supportive relationships to guide them through the difficult years following their Discovery Team experience. These respondents all struggled to find people with whom they could discuss and implement their responses. To their credit, each of these respondents remained personally committed to working through issues arising from their trip, often motivated by a combination of their christian faith and sharpened conscience. However, they each voiced that having supportive relationships to guide their decision-making process after their trip would certainly have helped.

Relationships with the poor

The other category of change in relationships concerns respondents relating with people who experience some form of poverty. In the previous chapter I noted that over three quarters of my respondents established a meaningful relationship with at least one local person in Manila, and

that most of these respondents maintained some level of contact with them in the years following their trip (refer to the heading 'Relationships with local people'). In this section I examine the extent to which respondents have gone on to build relationships, in their own context, with people who experience some form of poverty. As one of Servants' aims for Discovery Teams, building supportive relationships with the poor in the home context is an indicator that this important aspect of the experience is being translated back into team members' everyday lives.

Nearly three quarters of my respondents (nine women, seven men) have gone on to build relationships with people who experience some form of poverty. Remarkably, half of all my respondents (seven women, four men) have at some stage since their trip relocated to a new locality, either permanently or temporarily, with the specific intention of living in closer proximity to people who experience some form of poverty. Five of these respondents (three women, two men) have relocated into low socio-economic communities in New Zealand, which has fostered new relationships with some of their new neighbours. Two other respondents (both women) have become care-givers in residential homes for troubled young people, and have consequently formed supportive relationships with those in their care. Five respondents (three women, two men) have relocated to Third World countries for up to three years, inevitably resulting in relationships with people who experience a very similar form of poverty to that in Manila. Each of these examples indicates a high level of commitment. A further seven respondents (four women, three men) have remained in their own home context, and have built relationships with people who are relatively poor through working voluntarily in community groups such as budget advice groups and youth centres, or by befriending people in migrant communities.

The examples described above demonstrate the diverse ways that respondents have formed relational connections with people who experience some form of poverty. Although they each require different degrees of personal dedication — from rather casual to whole-hearted — they nevertheless represent conscious choices and personal effort on the part of these respondents. Some of these relationships bear strong similarities with the Discovery Team experience, while others demonstrate a creative transition from the Discovery Team experience into a very different home context. While some respondents already had these kinds of relational connections prior to their trip, nearly all believe their Discovery Team experience gave them an even greater motivation to maintain them:

> It became important to me to always try and have some form of connection with the poor — *Dan*.

These relationships have provided an ongoing context for respondents to continue processing and practicing their responses to their Discovery Team experience. As such, they have helped to shape what one respondent called a "life ethic" of remaining connected to those who suffer,

whether that be at home in New Zealand or elsewhere in the world. In contrast to these examples, six respondents (three women, three men) could not report any form of intentional relationship with people who experience poverty. Most of these respondents were those who did not seem to gain any *critical awareness* of poverty, and also continued to operate largely at the level of *conventional moral reasoning*. Subsequently, they were less motivated to seek out and maintain this kind of relationship.

Transformed Practice

The third and final area of change to be examined in this chapter is the area of *transformed practice*. Changes in the practical areas of team members' lives can be regarded as the outworking of less-observable inner changes (discussed in the first section of this chapter). As stated already in the latter part of Chapter Two, the stakeholders identified two broad categories of practical change that Discovery Teams seek to promote. These two categories are *vocational changes* and *lifestyle changes*. The first category, *vocational changes*, examines any changes that respondents have made to their overall direction in life and the main activities into which they channel their energy. This includes changes in their occupation, voluntary involvements and significant life roles, and the extent to which decisions in these areas represent a response to the poor. The second category, *lifestyle changes*, examines the extent to which respondents have adjusted their priorities, their standard of living and their geographical or social location in response to their experience of poverty. This involves noting any changes in respondents' consumption patterns — including their use of money and resources to bring benefit to the poor. It also includes evaluating the locality they choose to live in, and the extent to which this decision has been made in reference to the poor. Evidence of tangible changes occurring in a respondent's vocation or lifestyle can be taken as fair indications that their Discovery Team experience has gained traction in these — and other — areas of their life.

Vocational changes

The first category of changed practice to be examined is *vocational change*, which involves the changes respondents have made to their overall direction in life, as well as their occupation, voluntary involvements and the major life roles they fulfil. According to this broad definition, over two thirds of respondents (seven women, eight men) consider that participating in a Discovery Team played a significant role in their decision to make some form of vocational change. The specific types of vocational changes that respondents have made include pursuing higher education, changing their main occupation, adjusting their work patterns, taking on new

life roles and giving their time voluntarily to help people who experience some form of poverty. The following pages examine these vocational changes in some detail. Following this, I highlight two sets of factors — one involving *motives*, the other involving aspects of *personal transformation* — that have evidently influenced the vocational changes respondents have made in response to their Discovery Team experience.

Over half of my respondents reported that participating in a discovery team caused them to re-evaluate their main occupation, and to implement changes in this area of their lives. Within a year of their trip, eight of these respondents (two women, five men) changed their main occupation altogether. Many of these respondents found it difficult to return to their former jobs in light of their experiences in Manila:

> I remember just going out there quite often during my day, in those first few weeks and thinking, "what on earth am I doing here?" you know, in this air-conditioned, two year old flash building...in contrast to where I'd been...I mean...at the end of that year I handed in my papers to resign — *Tim.*

Some of these respondents felt frustrated that the work they were engaged in did not seem to be making any discernable difference to anybody, least of all to the poor. Others realized that they could be applying themselves to occupations that benefit people in difficult situations, or they could be performing roles that demonstrate care for the poor in their own context. Some of these respondents became aware of their need to extend their own understanding through higher education, while others stepped straight into new roles (often accompanied by a significant drop in salary). A further five respondents (three women, two men) remained in their occupation, but they changed the nature of their work in response to their experience in Manila. A couple of these respondents (both women) changed their work roles so that they could use their medical skills to help people in dire need. Another respondent completely changed the emphasis of his role as a church minister, and begun urging his own parishioners to demonstrate greater concern for the poor:

> I don't know if it was overkill or not...I mean, I made no secret of the fact that it had had a very profound effect on my life, and so they heard about it in my preaching — *Ted.*

One respondent was inspired to advance in her role as a scientist, specializing in a field that she hopes will eventually return tangible benefits to the poor. Another respondent changed the way he runs his business, giving greater emphasis to social concerns:

> We expect people who work for us to be involved in the community in some way, and to even use company time to do it — *Ian.*

While these are all very diverse responses, each of these changes represents a decision by these respondents to demonstrate an increased concern for people who experience some form of poverty. It is not surprising that most respondents who changed or altered their main occupation

were either in a time of transition when they went to Manila, or (slightly less frequently) they were testing out the possibility of working in the Third World — some fitting both of these descriptions.

A quarter of my respondents (three women, three men) reported that their Discovery Team experience prompted them to pursue some form of higher education. Two respondents in this group (one woman, one man) continued their study to masters' level and two respondents (one woman, one man) eventually completed doctorates. They studied in fields that were either directly related — such as development studies, sociology or theology — or in other fields such as chemistry, social work and Maori studies. Those in the former group became increasingly eager after their trip to gain a better understanding of how global systems operate, or how christian faith interfaces with global issues. Those in the latter group were motivated to seek specialized skills that might enable them to respond to specific needs in New Zealand or other parts of the world. Half of these six respondents credit their Discovery Team experience with prompting a radical change in their overall life direction:

> Manila was pivotal, absolutely pivotal, in that decision. A year before I was not heading in that direction at all — *Tim.*
>
> It was a huge significant turning point in my life — *Sue.*

Two of these respondents were dissatisfied with mainstream Western culture and were searching for an alternative, indicating that they were both experiencing a time of transition. This undoubtedly made them more open to significant changes in their life direction. The other half of these six respondents were "testing out" their own sense of calling to work in the Third World. Their trip to Manila was, therefore, a continuation of a particular life direction that they were already pursuing. Their decision to pursue tertiary study represented the next step in that journey. Two of these respondents have proceeded to work in Third World countries, while the remaining respondent continues to prepare for this possibility. All three, however, have also actively applied themselves to substantial roles assisting the poor, even while they remain in New Zealand.

Although it is not one of the core aims of Discovery Teams, half of the ten respondents who wished to "test out" the possibility of working in a Third World country have gone on to do so at some stage. These five respondents (three women, two men) have spent anything from three months to three years working in different parts of Asia, Africa and the Middle East, where they have been involved in community development, adult literacy and educational roles. The other half of these 10 respondents (three women, two men), for a variety of reasons, have not returned to work in the Third World as they thought they might, although they all consider it to still be a real possibility for their future. Each of these five respondents continues to prepare themselves for this possibility by applying themselves to various analogous situations in New Zealand. All five respondents who have gone on to work in the Third World were members of

teams before 2000, and all but one of the five respondents still intending to work in the Third World were members of teams after 2000. This indicates that, for those who embark on this path, there is usually a delay of several years between participating in a discovery team and finally relocating to work in the Third World. This is largely due to the emphasis these respondents place on preparing thoroughly, in the belief that it is important to have something useful to offer if they were to work in the Third World.

It is important to note, however, that all the respondents described above seemed very conscious of the fact that most of their lives will, realistically, be spent living and working in a Western country. Most of these respondents indicated to me that they are reconciled with this reality:

> I've also realized that it's about living here and now, and not in some imaginary future working overseas — *Jen.*

Like Jen, these respondents also recognize the importance of adopting what another respondent called a "life ethic" that corresponds with their Discovery Team experience. This involves the more challenging task of translating discoveries made in Manila into their own lives in their home country, rather than focusing exclusively on some "imaginary future" living in the Third World. While recruiting people to work in the Third World is not one of the core aims of Discovery Teams, encouraging team members to live differently in their own home context very much is. It is therefore a healthy sign that these respondents have realized the value of seeking out and applying analogies in their own context, regardless of whether they spend part of their lives working in the Third World or not.

Some of the most interesting vocational changes have occurred in the voluntary involvements that respondents have pursued in response to their Discovery Team experiences. This may be due to the fact that voluntary involvements allow greater freedom to try different roles and to experiment with new ideas. Whatever the reasons, they certainly demonstrate a high level of creativity and tenacity. Ten respondents (five women, five men) described their involvement in some form of voluntary activity that they consider to be a tangible response to their Discovery Team. Three respondents (all women) assumed caregiver roles for young people facing difficult personal situations. For two of these respondents this involved relocating to homes that have been specifically set up to care for troubled young people, while the third respondent took a troubled young person into her own home. Two other respondents (both women) have become involved in befriending and supporting people in migrant communities since their trip. For one of these respondents this has involved relocating to a neighbourhood where a large number of new immigrants live, in order to be more available to support them.

Two respondents (both men) have become voluntarily involved in offering budgeting advice to people who are facing financial difficulties. One of these respondents, who has an accounting background, went as far as setting up a charitable trust that offers people interest-

free loans and then, with the help of trained budget advisors, helps them to restructure their debt repayments and ultimately stay out of debt. This trust presently employs 15 paid staff, has trained hundreds of voluntary budget advisors, and has helped thousands of people out of difficult financial situations. Three other respondents (all men) were inspired by their trip to facilitate similar short-term experiences for other people. Two of these respondents went on to lead a further discovery team each, while the other respondent, Jef, utilised his entrepreneurial talent to set up an internet-based agency that sends young people into the Third World to engage in voluntary service among the poor:

> I thought, well it's changed my life a lot, so maybe it can do the same for others — *Jef.*

This organisation has links with indigenous agencies in 12 countries, and in 2004 they placed over 1,500 young people from Western countries in short-term voluntary service roles. What began as a voluntary involvement for Jef has grown to become a full-time occupation for him and nine other staff members.[53]

One interesting trend worth highlighting at this point is the *kind* of voluntary involvement these men and women have committed themselves to. All five respondents who have taken on 'caring' roles are women, and all five respondents who have taken on roles that promote 'justice' for the disadvantaged are men. While it may be coincidental that these two groups are polarised in this way, it does give some credence to Carol Gilligan's (1982) theory that men tend to gravitate toward an "ethic of justice", while women tend to gravitate toward an "ethic of care". It is certainly true that the voluntary roles adopted by each of these five women have demanded greater ongoing commitments to caring relationships with just a few people. On the other hand, the voluntary roles that have been effective in promoting justice on a larger scale have all been initiated by men. Regardless of this distinction, however, all of these respondents have obviously employed *post-conventional moral reasoning*, in the sense that they are under no obligation to give their time and energy to these causes, yet they have still made costly personal commitments to them. Furthermore, all ten of these respondents were unambiguous in their framing of these voluntary involvements. They all regarded these activities to be tangible expressions of their christian faith being applied in the form of practical assistance to others who are disadvantaged. All of these respondents consider that their Discovery Team experience played a substantial role in shaping these decisions.

At this point it is worth exploring how respondents' *motivation* for joining a discovery team, and the level of *personal transformation* they experienced, have both influenced their

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[53] I verified reports about this agency, and the charitable trust offering interest-free loans, by visiting the websites of both organisations and visiting the offices of one, both of which convinced me of the veracity of these respondents' claims. For privacy reasons I cannot disclose the names of these agencies.

vocational responses to their trip. Respondents' *motives* for participating in a Discovery Team are the first set of factors that have evidently influenced vocational changes. Those who went to Manila either during a time of transition, or as a way of testing their interest in working in the Third World, were more likely than other respondents to change some aspect of their vocation when they returned home. One of the most common motives for participating in a Discovery Team was to explore possibilities for new roles or a new direction in life during a time of transition. Nearly half of my respondents (45%) noted that their Discovery Team experience coincided with a time in their lives when they were making some big decisions about the next chapter of their lives. Participating in a Discovery Team in the midst of these transition times was, for each of these respondents, an attempt to gain a new perspective on their lives and their future. As already discussed in the previous chapter, these respondents were either feeling uncertain about their future, unsettled with their life in mainstream society, or had just embarked on a new career path (refer to Chapter Five, under the heading 'Motivations'). They were consequently quite open to making relatively major changes or adjustments to their life roles or even their overall life direction.

Another common motive for participating in a Discovery Team was to "test out" the possibility of working in the Third World. Ten of my 22 respondents reported that their trip was a significant step in a wider process of exploring their own desire to work in the Third World. While a few of these ten respondents were also among those who were in a time of transition, most were not seeking a change in their life direction, but *further exploration* of a course they were already charting. Generally, these respondents believe that their overall life direction was largely confirmed by their trip — although some did make changes to their main occupation, or reconfigured their existing roles, in response to their trip. These two examples help to confirm Wearing's (2001) theory that a person's motivation for taking part in this kind of experience will have an affect on the outcomes it generates in their lives.

The second set of factors that had a significant bearing on respondents' vocational choices was the degree of *personal transformation* they experienced during their Discovery Team experience. Increased *critical awareness* of poverty, operating out of *post-conventional moral reasoning*, and integrating issues of poverty and suffering into their christian faith tended to correspond closely with respondents seeking roles or pursuing occupations that respond to some form of poverty, whether in New Zealand or abroad. As previously discussed in this chapter, nearly three quarters of all respondents experienced a noticeable increase in their *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes. All but one of these respondents have made changes to either their main occupation, their primary life roles or their voluntary involvements in order to respond to some form of poverty.[54] These respondents consider that their Discovery

[54] The one respondent who did not make any vocational changes *has* made some major lifestyle changes.

Team experience had a definite bearing on these changes. On the other hand, only one of the five respondents who did not seem to increase their *critical awareness* made vocational changes that they could attribute to their Discovery Team experience. This highlights the strong connection between an increased *critical awareness* of poverty, and tangible vocational changes being made in reference to the poor.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, under the heading 'Personal transformation', almost two thirds of my respondents showed some evidence of employing *post-conventional moral reasoning*. This has also had an influence on the vocational decisions these respondents have made. Pursuing occupations that primarily bring benefit to others, contributing significant amounts of their time voluntarily, spending time working in the Third World, and setting up schemes designed benefit the poor are some of the examples sited by these respondents. Each of these vocational pursuits has a strong other-centred orientation, and demands a reasonable level of commitment from those engaged in them, indicating a degree of *post-conventional moral reasoning*. Earlier in this chapter I also highlighted the importance of respondents adjusting their christian faith to accommodate their experience of poverty and suffering in the Third World. Respondents who have been able to integrate these issues into the wider framework of their christian faith have tended to find further motivation to continue pursuing these roles and directions in their lives. Each of these factors — and usually a combination of all three — have subsequently contributed in some way to shaping the changes these respondents have made in their life direction, main occupation, voluntary involvements and major life roles.

Lifestyle changes

The second practical area of respondents' lives to be examined here are the various changes they have made to their lifestyles in response to their Discovery Team experience. Every respondent I interviewed demonstrated in some way that they recognise the importance of responding to their Discovery Team experience through their lifestyle choices. All respondents have subsequently made changes to some aspects of their lifestyles, with most respondents changing several aspects of their lifestyle. Most respondents have consciously made simple changes to their daily practices, such as choosing to recycle their waste, while some have made fairly major changes in their priorities in life, such as choosing to buy a home and raise their family in a low socio-economic area. It is not possible to quantify every change that my respondents have made in every aspect of their lifestyle. Instead I have opted to outline the main themes that respondents raised in my interviews with them. I then seek to give a general

indication of the proportion of respondents who have taken steps to make changes in each of these areas of their lifestyles.[55]

By far the most common change in respondents' lifestyles concerns the priority they place on accumulating money and material possessions. All 22 respondents made reference to this area of their lives — usually contrasting it with the priority they place on relationships. As a result of spending time in a squatter community, most of my respondents came to realise that they place too much emphasis on the pursuit of material possessions, often to the detriment of important relationships with family, friends and neighbours. Coupled with this was, for some respondents, a new awareness that they do not actually need to strive for all the material possessions they can possibly attain. These respondents generally referred to adopting a more "simple lifestyle" as a result of their trip, which is usually defined as being more focussed on people and relationships rather than the pursuit of endless material possessions:

> Life is about life, and it's not about having lots of money or having lots of things either...I think I've just worried less and less about those kind of things — *Jen.*

Even those respondents who did not consider themselves to be "materialistic" people were surprised at how much of their lives were preoccupied with the pursuit of money and material possessions. Interestingly, it was not only respondents who displayed a high level of *critical awareness* or *post-conventional moral reasoning* who reported changes in this area. It appears that the blatant incongruity between respondents' own living standards and the living standards of Manila's urban poor vividly alerted respondents to this issue:

> The issues of what we have in New Zealand, in comparison to what the people had in Manila...and therefore what you do about it...[raises the question] 'what's important in life?' — *Kev.*

The emphasis that urban poor Filipinos place on their relationships with one another also contrasts starkly with respondents' own lifestyles, and seemed to prompt them to review the relative priority they give to relationships and possessions:

> It's almost a challenge to me to change the value that I put on things...like the amount of time that I spend with people...and the money that I spend on stuff...like, it's the importance of the people and not the stuff — *Mia.*

It is obvious, however, that respondents who have gained a greater *critical awareness* of poverty were subsequently more discerning in their consumption patterns. Their decisions

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[55] I am aware that many of the results in this section are difficult to verify, and therefore many responses have to be taken on trust. I am conscious that some of these answers may be shaped by the tendency respondents have to answer questions in a way that reflects well on them (Robson, 2002, p.233). On the other hand, I was able to conduct many interviews in the homes of respondents, which allowed me to personally observe some aspects of the way they live.

tended to be based on a greater recognition of the injustice that lies behind the production of many everyday commodities — as well as the question of whether they actually need the item itself:

> When you go to buy things that are cheap at the Warehouse, and you know they're made overseas, and you think 'how can they possibly have made this item without paying the person who made it slave wages? Should I buy this?' You know, I have big problems with things like that still, and that's because I've been there and I've seen it, that I can see things from that point of view...now I still find that challenging [16 years later] — *Val.*

Many of the respondents whom I consider to have gained a *critical awareness* of poverty referred to some aspect of the tension that Val alludes to. It is the tension of knowing that, as citizens of the West, they are part of the minority of people who benefit most from the present ordering of global trade relationships. This also involves a realization that, as one respondent said, "every dollar we spend impacts on the Third World" — usually very negatively. The most common response among these respondents was to consciously place self-imposed limits on their personal levels of consumption. For different respondents this has variously involved: resolving not to upgrade their house/car/appliances unless it becomes absolutely necessary; choosing to resist what one respondent described as "the whirlwind of mass-consumerism"; living more resourcefully by not wasting money on unnecessary items; recycling rubbish and reusing commodities rather than throwing them out. While many respondents were evidently conscientious about these issues, they were equally conscious of the inconsistencies that exist between the ideal and the everyday reality of their lives. This was particularly true for younger respondents — some of whom wondered aloud whether their attempts to adjust their lifestyles were merely "tokenism".

One aspect of lifestyle change that can be quantified is the decision to financially support schemes that relieve other peoples' suffering in some way. Nearly 60% of my respondents (eight women, five men) reported that they regularly contribute money to one or more causes that benefit the poor. They each regarded their trip to have either prompted this practice, or reinforced their prior decisions to give to these causes. A few respondents referred to making rash decisions in the wake of their trip, where they impulsively gifted their money in unwise ways, but have since become more discerning about how they give:

> I'm a bit more critical about...just what resources I have, and how I use them for myself, kind of, and how I use them for other people — *Meg.*

Most of these respondents spoke in terms of the responsibility they believe they have to share with others in need, based on the plenty that they enjoy. These respondents tended to be those who employ *post-conventional moral reasoning*, although some were simply influenced by the christian imperative to treat others with kindness. Nine of these respondents (three women, six

men) also referred to financially supporting people who work in the Third World, as a way of contributing indirectly to the relief of the suffering of the poor.

One final area of lifestyle change is the personally taxing decision to relocate to a new area. As I have already mentioned, under the heading 'Transformed relationships', half of all my respondents (seven women, four men) have relocated to a new locality with the specific intention of living in closer proximity to people who experience some form of poverty. Five of these respondents have relocated to low socio-economic communities in New Zealand and two respondents have become care-givers in residential homes for troubled young people. These are decisions that impact many aspects of their lifestyles and relationships, and in some ways they echo the *incarnational* approach of choosing to be physically present with the poor in a particular locality. Living in closer proximity to people who experience some form of poverty has allowed new relationships to emerge. Five respondents (three women, two men) have relocated to Third World countries for up to three years. Although all of these respondents were already heading in this direction before their trip, they each believe that their Discovery Team experience had a shaping influence on the style of their involvement in the Third World. In particular they made reference to working alongside, or in partnership with, the poor and adopting a humble attitude in their work with the poor.

Conclusions

This chapter identifies and discusses the changes that have occurred in the lives of my 22 respondents as a result of their Discovery Team experience. Using the framework of holistic transformation, introduced at the end of Chapter Two, I have examined the changes that have occurred in three inter-related areas of respondents' lives — their *personal lives*, their *relationships* and their *practice*. By expanding each of these three areas into two or three defined categories, each with corresponding indicators, I have been able to explore these areas of change in some depth throughout this chapter. At various points in this chapter I have also been able to establish some links between particular theories and relevant findings derived from my interview surveys. A summary of each area of change described above is presented in the next chapter, following my summary of respondents' actual Discovery Team experiences. From these summaries I then draw various conclusions from the links between respondents' Discovery Team *experience* and the *changes* they have made in response to it.

Chapter Seven

So What?

The previous two chapters present the experiences of 22 discovery team members and explore the changes that have occurred in their lives as a result of their participation in the scheme. In this final chapter I draw together the *experiences* and the *changes* that my respondents have reported, and I summarise these with reference to the various theories that inform this study. This involves highlighting some of the strengths and weaknesses of the program and the model, and examining how these have contributed to, or detracted from, the overall objectives of the scheme. From these summaries I propose a set of factors that have engendered changes in respondents' lives, and have helped them sustain these changes over time. I also present some factors that have created obstacles to such changes occurring. My conclusions about the effectiveness and value of Discovery Teams are consequently informed by each of these factors. Finally, I make some recommendations for the implementation of Discovery Teams in the future, and suggest some areas for further research. This chapter, therefore, explores the ways in which Discovery Teams have been a *catalyst for change* in team members' lives, and it considers some of the conditions that have allowed these changes to occur, and be sustained over time. Essentially, this chapter asks "so what?"[56]

What Happened?

In Chapter Five, I examined the actual experiences of the 22 discovery team members I surveyed for this study — from their first preparation session through to their final debriefing. The following is a summary of those findings, with some theoretical reflections on their relevance to this study.

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[56] I acknowledge Tom Scott for relentlessly asking me this question (personal communication, 24/9/04).

Motivation

Chapter Five began by identifying respondents' motives for participating in a discovery team. I first establish that most respondents had some prior interest in the Third World, which certainly contributed to their decision to join a discovery team. For some respondents the experience provided an opportunity to further explore their existing desire to work in the Third World; for some it offered an opportunity to change their life direction during a time of transition. Those in the former group tended to maintain their hope of working overseas at some stage in the future, yet they usually also developed a greater appreciation for transferring their concern for the Third World into their everyday lives in New Zealand. Respondents in the latter group indicated that participating in a discovery team during a time of transition had a significant influence on their next steps in life, which were invariably shaped in some way by the experience.

The process of formation

At the beginning and the end of Chapter Five I examine respondents' experiences of the three phases of the *holistic program*: the preparation sessions, the actual stay in Manila, and the debriefing sessions. At the start of the chapter, under the heading 'The process of formation', I identify that all but a few respondents felt thoroughly prepared for their trip. I suggest that their comprehensive preparation is likely to have helped these respondents engage with the issues and questions they confronted in Manila. This supposition is strengthened by the converse experience of one respondent, who was both "completely unprepared" for his trip, and totally unfamiliar with the philosophy and approach that Discovery Teams adopt. His lack of orientation meant that he struggled to engage with the experience, or make sense of the issues that arose during his trip. I also note that this respondent is one of the few who did not prepare as part of a team. The other few respondents who prepared individually were not so adversely affected by this style of preparation, mainly because they were already familiar with much of the philosophy behind Discovery Teams, and were highly self-motivated in their own personal preparation. I identify that all other respondents did the bulk of their preparation in the context of their team, which most consider to have been a valuable context for working through various issues and questions, both before and during their time in Manila. This resulted in a high proportion of respondents being both personally prepared and well orientated toward their trip.

Immersion in the community

The three components of the *incarnational model* are examined next in Chapter Five, as they deal specifically with respondents' experiences of being in Manila. Under the heading 'Immersion in the community' I establish that this was the first time any of my respondents had

stayed in the home of an urban poor family. In addition, I identify that two thirds of my respondents had never had an up-close encounter with extreme poverty and one third had never travelled overseas. I note that adjusting to life in a squatter community was especially challenging for one third of my respondents. Older respondents and those with gang backgrounds are two groups that tended to initially experience some form of disorientation, although they eventually adjusted within a day or two. On the other hand, many respondents reported that they felt well prepared for the adjustment, although some younger respondents did struggle with the limitations it placed on their personal freedom and autonomy. I establish that all 22 respondents believe they were given "a taste" of what life is like in an urban poor community — although most respondents recognized that they were sheltered, to some extent, from many of the harsh realities of poverty during their stay. Nevertheless, I identify that extreme occurrences *and* ordinary everyday encounters in Manila unavoidably revealed some of the dehumanising dimensions of poverty to many respondents. I also comment that respondents witnessed some of the "richness" of relationship and the "wealth" of hospitality demonstrated by their hosts. Many respondents were particularly impressed by the genuine faith, resourcefulness, and resilience of their hosts, and all were grateful for the excellent hospitality they were offered.

Being in the community

The second component of the *incarnational model* that I examine is 'Being in the community'. I establish that most respondents took the 'being' approach seriously, and they were generally quite conscious of their role as learners and not missionaries or volunteers. I identify that some respondents believe the *being* approach suited their temperament perfectly, but most needed to apply some discipline and determination to adapt to the rhythms and patterns of everyday life in their host community. They achieved this by choosing to spend a lot of their time at home with their host family or going out and about talking with people in their neighbourhood. I establish that most respondents were able to resist the urge to find escapes and distractions, but some found the lure of good times too strong. These few respondents spent significant amounts of their time in Manila pursuing different forms of fun and entertainment with fellow team members and local young people. Subsequently, they all thoroughly enjoyed their time in Manila, especially the good times they had with local young people, and they were more likely to experience sadness or depression after returning home. They tended to recognise in hindsight, however, that these activities became a source of distraction from their primary purpose for being in Manila, and at times even caused undue disruption to the community itself. Most of these respondents experienced little in the way of lasting change.

Relationships with local people

The third and final component of the *incarnational model* that I discuss is 'Relationships with local people'. I establish that nearly half of my respondents developed close relationships with one or more local people during their stay in Manila; several respondents developed a good rapport with one or two local people, but remained quite conscious of the contrived nature of these relationships; and a quarter of my respondents did not form any meaningful relationships with local people, although they enjoyed cordial relations with their hosts and their neighbours. Many of the respondents who developed relationships with local people maintained contact with them via letters and, in more recent times, via email and telephone. Usually this contact is periodic and lasts for less than three years, although a couple of respondents maintained contact for almost 10 years. Most of these respondents believe that maintaining some contact with local people helped them to remain mindful of the struggles these people face. I also identify that over one quarter of my respondents have made subsequent trips to Manila — either to visit their host family, do voluntary work for Servants, or lead a subsequent team. Each of these respondents was adamant that their return visit consolidated their relationships with specific local people, and added new levels of understanding to their original Discovery Team experience. Two further respondents belong to churches that have a 'sister church' arrangement with the squatter churches they visited. This has resulted in the pastors of each of these Filipino churches being invited to come to New Zealand, which has provided a meaningful form of ongoing connection for both respondents.

The process of reflection

Toward the end of Chapter Five I recommence my examination of respondents' experiences of the three phases of the *holistic program*. Under the heading 'The process of reflection', I examine respondents' experiences of reflecting on their actual stay in Manila — both individually and together with their fellow team members. At the personal level, I establish that every respondent kept some kind of journal throughout their time in Manila, although a few respondents only used their journal to record superficial events. Those who used their journal more reflectively, however, found it to be a very useful tool for processing personal and/or philosophical issues that arose during their time in Manila. Reading articles, books and the Bible also enhanced the personal reflection process for some respondents. At the corporate level, most respondents enjoyed the benefits of a supportive team environment — despite some teams being quite diverse in their composition. I establish that respondents typically valued the regular opportunities that team times provided to mutually support one another, discuss relevant issues and receive input from Servants workers. Many felt able to share openly and honestly with other members of their team — although this was not always the case. I found that

imbalanced gender composition or a lack of team cohesiveness did limit the quality and depth of corporate reflection for a small number of respondents. However, these obstacles were usually overcome by informal support arrangements among team members, or by the exercise of competent and mature team leadership. The importance of mature team leadership is further highlighted by the profoundly negative experience of one respondent, whose Discovery Team experience would have had a very different outcome had her team leader fulfilled this role more adequately and appropriately.

The process of reintegration

At the end of Chapter Five, under the heading 'The process of re-integration', I explore the difficult adjustments that many respondents faced on their return home from Manila. At the personal level, I identify that most respondents struggled with the disparity between their own abundant lives and the struggles of those they left behind in Manila. For some of these respondents this created an inner tension that eventually triggered major decisions to resign from their job, move to a new neighbourhood or sell certain possessions. Sometimes these decisions were knee-jerk reactions rather than well-considered choices. A few respondents struggled to spend any money for several weeks after their trip, while others found returning to their usual obligations and routines quite challenging. I also identify that a few respondents experienced a strong emotional reaction, which they described as a form of depression, usually triggered by the loss of connection with friends they made in Manila and the camaraderie of their team. At the corporate level, I establish that most teams only had one or two gatherings after returning from their trip, which seemed more like team reunions than debriefing sessions to many respondents. Subsequently, most respondents consider their team debriefing sessions to have been of limited lasting value. I also establish that respondents who had a strong initial reaction to their experience in Manila believe they would have benefited from more specific ongoing guidance and support during the difficult months following their trip. Those who were part of a Fuel course certainly found the ongoing support of their weekly sessions especially valuable in the months following their trip. Other respondents also found speaking to groups about their trip or being part of a support group helped them process their experience.

What Changed?

While Chapter Five explores the experiences of 22 discovery team members, Chapter Six focuses on the changes that have occurred in their lives as a result of participating in the scheme. Throughout Chapter Six I examine the different aspects of *personal transformation,*

transformed relationships and *transformed practice* that have resulted from respondents' Discovery Team experiences.

Worldview formation

Firstly, under the heading 'Worldview formation', I note that almost two thirds of my respondents gained a new appreciation of the enormous scale of global poverty and one third had their existing understanding crystallized. I then establish that nearly three quarters of my respondents demonstrated a discernable *critical awareness* of the negative impact that global systems have on the lives of the poor. These respondents recognized, as the privileged minority, that their everyday decisions have impacts on the poor, and they have all subsequently grappled with the challenges this raises for them. On the other hand, I identify that five respondents gained an increased awareness of the prevalence of poverty, but avoided drawing any connections between their own abundance and the widespread deprivation of the world's poor. These respondents tended to have difficulty grasping and reflecting deeply on such issues. While they readily expressed their gratefulness for how "lucky" they are, they generally lacked any inclination to ask why or how they got to be lucky. Subsequently, they did not really demonstrate the same kind of *critical awareness* as other respondents. Alongside these worldview issues, I also establish that most respondents gained a deeper cultural understanding from their trip. All three Maori respondents felt that much in their culture was affirmed by their encounter with Filipino culture, while many Pakeha experienced significant aspects of their own culture being challenged.

Character formation

Under the heading 'Character formation' I identify that most respondents felt challenged to continue growing in various areas of their personal character through their Discovery Team experience. Generally these changes involved becoming a more relational, adaptable or other-centred person. Some respondents also felt challenged to be less driven by achievement or accumulating endless material possessions. I identify that leaving their "comfort zone", engaging with a new culture and personally relating to local urban poor people were all instrumental in activating these character changes. I establish that several respondents — especially those from low socio-economic backgrounds — felt that their own "trials and tribulations" were put into perspective by their trip. This generally caused them to become more thankful for their own lives of (relative) abundance. At another level of character formation, I identify that almost two thirds of my respondents demonstrated clear evidence of *post-conventional moral reasoning* informing some of their life decisions in response to the poor. Usually standing in critical tension with the dominant values of Western society, these decisions

often involved adopting a standard of living below what they could afford and voluntarily giving time and/or money to schemes that benefit the poor. Several respondents have changed their employment to be more focussed on helping people, and some have spent part of their lives working in Third World countries. I establish that it is very unusual for respondents under 25 to consistently operate in this way. I also identify a strong causal relationship between gaining a *critical awareness* of poverty and developing a deeper sense of personal moral obligation toward the poor.

Spiritual formation

Under the heading 'Spiritual formation', I note that three quarters of the respondents I surveyed experienced a discernable progression in their christian faith as a result of their encounter with Third World poverty. Of these 16 respondents, roughly half experienced a general broadening of their faith to accommodate complex questions about poverty and suffering, while the other half gained a more specific appreciation of the christian ethic of concern for the poor. Those in the former group generally experienced changes occurring in the *structure* of their faith, usually expressed as embracing "a less black and white" style of faith. Those in the latter group emphasised that their Discovery Team experience gave new *content* to their faith, or gave *substance* to beliefs that were already being formed in reference to poverty and suffering. I suggest that all 16 of these respondents demonstrate elements of Fowler's (1981) *inclusive faith,* by virtue of the fact that they have all remained in the christian faith and, from that position, have been prepared to grapple with the many paradoxes that poverty and suffering present. I identify that an increased *critical awareness* of poverty tends to create a "tension" that has motivated many of these respondents to engage with such questions from the position of faith. Respondents who have not gained a *critical awareness* did not tend to experience this tension, and therefore displayed less incentive to adjust their faith accordingly. I also note that, for many respondents, embracing the christian ethic of concern for the poor has provided them with a form of moral imperative for their faith to remain relevant to the difficult realities of poverty.

Relationships with journey companions

In the middle section of Chapter Six I discuss two kinds of *transformed relationships* that have resulted from respondents' Discovery Team experiences. Firstly, under the heading 'Relationships with journey companions', I identify that only a few respondents continued to maintain close connections with their fellow team members after their return from Manila. Of these few respondents, only one respondent consciously continued meeting with fellow team members to process issues raised during their trip. Despite the general lack of ongoing connection with fellow team members, I identify that many respondents did manage to establish

valuable supportive relationships elsewhere. This was usually with like-minded individuals, often belonging to the same church or christian agency, who were willing to guide them as they processed and responded to their Discovery Team experience. A few respondents were fortunate enough to have established friendships with people who offered them similar support. However, I also identify that over one third of my respondents consider that they lacked sufficient guidance or support during the crucial months following their trip. Four of these respondents did not sense any need to continue engaging with questions of poverty and suffering after their trip, probably due to a lack of *critical awareness* creating the kind of tension that is required to engage in such issues. The other four of these respondents, however, longed for supportive relationships to guide them through the turbulent months that followed their trip, but struggled to find such relationships. While their lack of supportive relationships did not ultimately prevent these respondents from making significant life changes in response to their trip, it did make the process a lonely and difficult one.

Relationships with the poor

Under the heading 'Relationships with the poor' I establish that almost three quarters of my respondents have, at some stage since their trip, invested in relationships with people who experience some form of poverty. I identify that many of these respondents have relocated for a time to a new locality in order to do this, while several other respondents have remained in their own home context, working voluntarily in church and community groups. I observe that some of these relationships bear strong similarities with the Discovery Team experience itself, while others demonstrate a creative transition from this experience into a very different (New Zealand) context. I also establish that the level of commitment respondents have made to these relationships vary from 'short-term and casual' to 'long-term and highly involved'. Regardless of the style of relationship or the level of commitment, I suggest that investing in these relationships has provided each of these respondents with a practical context to respond to their Discovery Team experience. I also identify that six respondents have not formed any intentional relationships with people who experience poverty. Most of these were among those who did not seem to gain any *critical awareness* of poverty, and also continued to operate largely at the level of *conventional moral reasoning*. Subsequently, they did not appear to recognize any need to form these kinds of relationships, and were therefore less motivated to pursue them.

Vocational changes

At the end of Chapter Six I discuss two kinds of *transformed practice* that have resulted from respondents' Discovery Team experiences. Firstly, under the heading 'Vocational changes', I establish that over two thirds of my respondents changed some aspect of their vocation as part

of their response to their trip. These changes variously included pursuing higher education; changing their main occupation; adjusting their work patterns; taking on new life roles; and giving their time voluntarily to help people who experience some form of poverty. I establish that respondents who went to Manila either during a time of transition, or as a way of testing their interest in working in the Third World, were more likely than other respondents to change some aspect of their vocation when they returned home. I also establish that gaining an increased *critical awareness* of poverty, employing *post-conventional moral reasoning*, and integrating issues of poverty and suffering into their christian faith tended to correspond closely with respondents seeking roles or pursuing occupations that respond to some form of poverty, whether in New Zealand or abroad. I identify that half of the respondents who went to Manila to test out the possibility of working in a Third World country have gone on to do so at some stage, although no respondent has spent more than three years living in the Third World. I note that, for these people, there is usually a delay of several years between their trip and their eventual relocation to the Third World, during which they tend to pursue various forms of personal and practical preparation. I observe that these respondents have also consciously sought to translate lessons from the Third World into life in their home country. I also identify a range of voluntary involvements that many respondents have pursued in response to their trip. These include care-giving, befriending migrants, offering budget advice and facilitating other discovery teams or similar short-term schemes. I make the observation that women have tended to pursue voluntary involvements that allow them to care intensely for a few people, while men have tended to pursue voluntary involvements that promote justice on a broader scale. I also note that each of these voluntary involvements seem to be motivated by *post-conventional moral reasoning* and they are generally regarded by respondents as practical expressions of their christian faith.

Lifestyle changes

Finally in Chapter Six, under the heading 'Lifestyle changes', I establish that most respondents reduced the priority they place on accumulating money and material possessions after their trip. Even respondents who did not demonstrate a high level of *critical awareness* or *post-conventional moral reasoning* reported changes in this area of their lives. For many it was simply the blatant inequity between their own living standards and the living standards of Manila's urban poor that prompted them to place certain self-imposed limits on their personal levels of consumption. Subsequently, many respondents have sought to prioritise people and relationships rather than the pursuit of endless material possessions. I do establish, however, that respondents who have gained a greater *critical awareness* of poverty were subsequently more discerning in their consumption patterns. These respondents were more conscious of the

effects their purchasing decisions have on people in the Third World, which has tended to raise ethical questions about their role as consumers. Most admitted that many inconsistencies exist between the ideal and the everyday reality of their lives, yet they generally attempted to be more responsible in their consumption habits. I also establish that well over half of all respondents reported that they regularly give money to schemes that relieve other peoples' suffering, or financially support people working in the Third World. This approach to giving and spending indicates a level of *post-conventional moral reasoning,* in the sense that these respondents are giving consideration to the needs of people for whom they have no socially-mediated responsibility. Finally, I identify that half of my respondents have, at some stage since their trip, relocated to a new locality in order to live in close proximity with people who experience some form of poverty. I note that this kind of decision demands a high level of commitment and impacts many aspects of their lifestyles and relationships. It also closely echoes Servants' incarnational approach.

Generating Change

In this section I present the factors emerging from this study that appear to encourage or facilitate change in team members' lives. This involves examining the ways that they approach their Discovery Team experience, particularly noting any personal factors that lay strong foundations for change to occur in their lives. It also involves evaluating different components of the program and the model, and commenting on how these contribute to the overall objectives of the scheme.

On the journey

It is evident that people who join a discovery team are likely to have some prior interest in the Third World. However, this study establishes that discovery team members need to go into their trip with more than a mere curiosity about the Third World if they are to experience some of the changes this scheme seeks to generate. Those who are already beginning to consider difficult questions about poverty and suffering before their involvement in the scheme have a far greater likelihood of grasping the key issues that Discovery Teams seek to address. In these instances the Discovery Team experience *is* able to act as a catalyst — activating changes that were already fermenting beneath the surface. In other words, the scheme is effective in generating changes in those who already have some predisposition to change occurring in these areas. However, despite the emphasis on team preparation and reflection, Discovery Teams do not seem to be so effective at 'converting' people who are not beginning to ask at least some

questions about poverty and suffering before their trip. An absence of prior questioning seems to diminish team members' inclination to engage personally with the poverty issues that arise during their Discovery Team experience. Naturally, this also limits the potential for change to occur in the areas of their lives that might subsequently be informed by these issues. This highlights the importance of people being "on the journey" before they join a discovery team. The study reveals that most team members do bring some questions about poverty and suffering into their Discovery Team experience.

Open and expectant

Another (related) factor that contributes to Discovery Teams being an effective catalyst for change is the degree of openness and expectancy team members carry into their experience. This study establishes that nearly all team members go into their Discovery Team experience hoping to be personally challenged and changed. Whether specific areas of personal change are specified, or their sense of expectancy is expressed more generally, those who go to Manila willing to *be changed* by the experience tend to remain focused on this as their primary reason for being there. However, the way these changes occur is not always predictable. The beauty of the unscheduled nature of Discovery Teams is that team members can often be impacted by an unplanned event or conversation, which can also affect them in quite surprising ways. It is their openness to *being changed*, however, that allows these experiences, and their responses to them, to be readily converted into personal changes through a process of personal reflection. The few who do not go into the experience with this expectation are unlikely to remain focussed, and can be easily distracted from this goal. As such, team members themselves bear an important responsibility to create the necessary conditions within themselves for personal change to occur. Without this openness to *being changed*, participating in a discovery team is unlikely to have any lasting impact on their lives. Personal formation of this kind is, therefore, a very important aspect of the preparation and reflection processes.

Clarification and reflection

Team members are generally very thoroughly prepared, and the purpose of their trip is usually understood satisfactorily. However, this study reveals that, for some people at least, the unique style and philosophy of Discovery Teams requires regular reinforcement throughout the preparation time and during the trip itself. This is largely due to the preconceptions some people have about going on a 'mission trip' or doing voluntary service abroad. Because Discovery Teams have a unique philosophy, and adopt quite a counter-intuitive approach, it is important that team members understand that they are in Manila primarily to *learn* and to *be changed* by the experience. Most do adequately grasp this understanding, and are more likely to engage with

the experience appropriately, while the few who are less clear about this can easily be drawn into counter-productive escapes and distractions. The study reveals that emphasising this aspect of the preparation process is just as important as orientating team members to surviving in a Manila squatter community. Ultimately, it may be even more beneficial to the overall purposes of Discovery Teams. Likewise, team members' willingness to reflect deeply and personally on their experiences in Manila throughout their trip allows these experiences to be translated into personal changes. The few who do not reflect deeply and personally on their experience tend to avoid making these connections.

Time of transition

Spending three or four weeks away from the usual pressures and expectations of daily life can create a valuable "space of freedom" for people to evaluate their lives and their priorities (Kottler, 1997). However, this study also reveals that the life circumstances of team members at the time of their trip similarly have an enormous bearing on their ability to implement these changes when they return home. Team members whose trip coincides with a time of transition in their lives — such as a change in employment or marital status — are often more at liberty to explore new directions and priorities for their lives. This is especially true for people who go to Manila already questioning their life direction or seeking to make some changes during a period of personal re-evaluation. Participating in a discovery team during such a time of transition creates more favourable conditions for these changes to occur, and also increases the probability that changes will be implemented on return to their home country. This study establishes that roughly half of those who participate in a discovery team are likely to be in such a time of transition.

Sustaining Change

In this section I present the factors emerging from this study that appear to help sustain changes in team members' lives over time. This involves examining team members' understanding of their own role in relation to poverty and suffering, and the level of moral responsibility they demonstrate toward the poor. It also involves evaluating the extent to which these issues are incorporated into the practice of their faith. Other factors that help sustain changes, such as the role of supportive relationships and remaining mindful of the poor, are also evaluated.

Critical awareness

This study establishes that gaining a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes profoundly increases the likelihood that team members will continue to experience the kind of changes this scheme seeks to promote. Team members who understand that there is a connection between their own abundance and the poverty of others are very likely to experience an ongoing moral tension between feeling grateful for their own prosperity and feeling responsible toward those who have been deprived of their rights. This sense of responsibility usually corresponds with an increased awareness of their own (relatively) powerful position in a global system that perpetuates the poverty of others. This study establishes that most team members do gain a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes, and subsequently they begin to experience this tension and the sense of responsibility it generates. This awareness continues to inform and influence a wide range of life decisions for many team members. The few who do not come to this understanding tend to experience a similar degree of gratefulness for the (relative) abundance of their own lives, but fail to draw any substantial connections between their own prosperity and the poverty of others. They subsequently tend to believe they are "lucky" to have so much, but do not connect this with any sense of personal responsibility toward those who have little. These people tend to display little evidence of practical concern for the poor.

Moral reasoning

This study establishes a strong causal relationship between gaining a *critical awareness* (as described above) and applying *post-conventional moral reasoning* to significant life decisions. Team members who have become cognizant of their responsibility toward the poor tend to be highly motivated to respond to the reality of poverty through different aspects of their lifestyle, vocation and the practice of their faith. Such changes demonstrate a sense of personal moral obligation toward the poor, despite there being no socially-mediated duty to demonstrate such concern. However, this study establishes that, while many team members do attempt to apply *post-conventional moral reasoning* to their life decisions in response to the poor, it is very unusual for respondents under the age of 25 to consistently operate in this way. This discrepancy suggests that general personal maturity, usually evidenced in older people, enhances their ability to think beyond themselves and depart from social norms. This study also establishes that the few who do not gain this kind of *critical awareness* are also very unlikely to consistently demonstrate personal moral responsibility toward the poor.

Reconfigured faith

This study reveals that team members are very likely to remain committed to their christian faith, even many years after their Discovery Team experience. However, those who increase their *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes will almost certainly seek to adapt aspects of their faith to their new, more complex understanding of reality. This generally involves adopting a more *inclusive faith*, shaped by questions of poverty and suffering and the search for appropriate practical responses. Many discover that their growing concern for the poor is strongly endorsed by the christian faith — although this is not always matched by the christian culture around them. However, many are sustained by their belief that God is especially concerned with the plight of the poor, which motivates them to keep their faith relevant to the difficult realities of poverty. This process corresponds closely with the development of *post-conventional moral reasoning* and the desire to demonstrate a sense of personal moral obligation toward the poor. Those few team members who do not gain a *critical awareness* of poverty do not tend to adjust their faith in the same way. This is largely because their experience in Manila does not fundamentally challenge their faith at this level, and therefore does not create the kind of tension that stimulates change. They subsequently tend to become more grateful for the good lives they enjoy, but do not make any substantial connection between their own lives and the lives of the poor.

Supportive relationships

This study identifies that most team members need to look beyond their own team for personal support in the months following their trip. Only the Fuel teams, who generally continue to meet regularly for several months after their trip, have been shown to provide a thorough debriefing and follow-up program for team members. Every other team represented in this study provided either a very minimal debriefing or no follow-up program at all. Despite this, many team members do eventually form their own supportive relationships to help sustain the changes they have made in response to their trip. Sadly, some lack guidance and support altogether during this crucial time, and consequently struggle to make sense of their own reactions to their trip. This study establishes that supportive relationships certainly do help many team members journey thorough the turbulent period after their trip. However, for a few people at least, they are not *essential* to sustaining the changes made in response to their trip.

Remaining mindful

This study reveals that all team members periodically reference back to their Discovery Team experience, even after a decade or more. For many it remains a very valuable experience,

signifying an important chapter or episode in their life story. For some — including a few older team members — it remains one of *the* most defining events of their lives so far. A few team members look back on their trip as a good experience among many others, and one person considers their trip to be a painful experience that went very badly (refer to 'Inadequate team leadership' in the following section). All those who have gained a *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes continue to use their Discovery Team experience as a reference point for their priorities and life decisions — recognising that this often goes against the grain of the society in which they live. Remembering and maintaining ongoing contact with specific local people helps some team members remain mindful these people, motivating adjustments to certain aspects of their lives in reference to them. For some, a particularly memorable scene or event — usually one that symbolises the suffering caused by poverty — continues to leave a big imprint on their lives, which subsequently shapes many of their priorities and life decisions. Those who have not gained a *critical awareness* do periodically reflect on their time in Manila, although this usually only extends to recalling enjoyable experiences or memorable events. However, these memories do not tend to have much shaping influence on their lives.

Obstacles to Change

In this section I present three obstacles that have been shown to prevent changes occurring in team members' lives. The first relates to the quality of team leadership, while the second concerns team members' ability to maintain their focus while they are in Manila. The third obstacle relates to the process of adjusting to life in New Zealand after returning home from Manila, and team members' ability to translate this experience into their everyday lives. This study reveals that each of these three factors have certainly undermined the objectives of Discovery Teams in some way.

Inadequate team leadership

This study reveals that mature and responsible team leadership makes an enormous difference to team members' Discovery Team experiences, and the subsequent changes they make in response to their trip. All but one of the teams represented in this study enjoyed high quality leadership, which certainly helped achieve positive outcomes for most of the members of those teams. However, the profoundly negative experience of one team member highlights the destructive influence that inadequate leadership can inflict on the members of a discovery team. This single factor led to the erosion of relationships in the team, inappropriate relationships forming between the team leader and some vulnerable team members, and irresponsible

decisions being made on behalf of team members without consultation or their consent. One member of this team was interviewed for this study. Tragically, she experienced an emotional breakdown partway through her time in Manila, which she directly attributes to the destructive influence of her team leader. Issues relating to Third World poverty, which she had been previously interested in, seemed irrelevant in light of the personal struggle she was forced to endure. It took several months for this person to recover emotionally from her ordeal, and the experience very nearly ended her interest in the Third World.

Losing focus

Every person who participates in a discovery team steps outside their comfort zone in some way — which creates the potential for change to occur. However, this study reveals that it is also vital that team members engage mindfully with the new environment they are entering. For Discovery Teams this involves reflecting on the realities of daily life in an urban poor community and building some level of relationship with local people if team members are to *learn* and *be changed.* Most team members do remain focussed on these objectives while they are in Manila. However, a few team members are not so clear or resolute, and can easily be drawn into a variety of escapes and distractions during their time in Manila. These include visits to games parlours, movies and shopping malls with other team members and/or a few local young people. While there may be nothing intrinsically wrong with these activities, they are very likely to short-circuit the process of reflecting on the realities of daily life in an urban poor area. As these activities usually take place outside the community itself, they also undermine the objective of *being present* in the community and enduring some of the challenges this presents. This study establishes that personal resolve and maturity are crucial factors in team members remaining focussed throughout their time in Manila and remaining engaged in trying circumstances. Very few team members who spend their time in Manila pursuing escapes and distractions tend to gain a *critical awareness* of poverty, which consequently limits the likelihood that they will experience lasting changes as a result of their trip.

Translating the experience

This study establishes that most team members find their time of returning home after their trip quite disorientating. Translating their Manila experience into their everyday life in New Zealand is subsequently very challenging for many. Team members who return immediately to the busyness of their lives, without making conscious attempts to reflect on their trip and review their priorities, are likely to become preoccupied with meeting everyday demands and expectations. This increases the likelihood that changes initiated during their trip will become sidelined in favour of more pressing day-to-day concerns. Those who do not proactively apply

the insights they have gained in Manila to their everyday decisions and priorities tend to gradually forget the things they learned in Manila. Those who do take the opportunity to personally reflect on their time in Manila during this time are more likely to make meaningful connections between this experience and their everyday lives. Making a personal resolve to live differently, and reinforcing that resolve with some form of practical change, allows changes initiated in Manila to gain some initial traction. Those who make intentional changes in their everyday lives soon after their return from Manila are more likely to continue making changes. Practicing these two disciplines of conscious reflection and intentional application, therefore, helps team members make the crucial transition from their Manila experience to their own everyday lives. Those who gain a *critical awareness* through their experience are far more likely to be motivated to do these things.

Recommendations

Having examined the experiences of 22 team members, and identified the changes that have occurred in their lives, *it is evident that discovery teams have frequently acted as a catalyst for change* in team members' lives. Consequently, there are many aspects of the scheme that ought to be affirmed and maintained in future ventures. These include:

1. Attempting to select team members who are already starting to explore issues relating to Third World poverty and are beginning to question their own responses to it
2. Preparing team members thoroughly for their trip, especially emphasising their own personal formation
3. Encouraging an eagerness in team members to *learn* and *be changed* by the experience
4. Ensuring that team members have the maturity and willingness to engage appropriately with the host culture and local people
5. Emphasising careful observation of the realities of everyday life in an urban poor community, and facilitating regular critical reflection on these observations
6. Regularly reinforcing the unique philosophy and approach of Discovery Teams to team members, especially throughout their time in their host communities
7. Providing periodic times of team reflection and mutual support, including input from Servants fieldworkers and their Filipino associates
8. Regularly encouraging increased *critical awareness* of poverty and its causes, and raising the question of team members' own personal responsibility toward the poor
9. Encouraging team members to integrate their experiences, and the questions raised during their trip, into their faith

10. Encouraging team members to build a relationship with (at least) one person in their own country who experiences some form of poverty

While Discovery Teams have been relatively successful in each of the areas listed above, this study has equally identified some weaknesses in the scheme, and has revealed some factors that have prevented the desired changes from occurring in team members' lives. Consequently, there are some aspects of the scheme that require adjustment, and some new initiatives that could further improve this scheme. These include:

1. Accepting only teams led by people who have demonstrated that they are mature and competent leaders
2. Ensuring each team has an appropriate gender balance and that each team member has a suitable level of personal maturity
3. Ensuring team members remain focussed on observing and reflecting on life in their host community, and building appropriate relationships with local people
4. Providing, or arranging, some form of personal guidance and support for team members on their return from their trip, either as a team or individually
5. Encouraging ongoing personal reflection and creative practical application soon after team members return from their trip
6. Encouraging team members to maintain appropriate ongoing correspondence with hosts
7. Endorsing further trips to Manila (or other Third World countries), provided these *build* on the Discovery Team experience rather than simply duplicating it
8. Encouraging team members to participate in a similar awareness-raising scheme based in a Western country, within two years of their trip
9. Keeping a written record of former team members, and maintaining some form of contact with them (eg. Servants newsletter)
10. Providing an explicit opportunity for team members to financially support either a worker or a project, and providing periodic feedback on the changes this facilitates

Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

This study has explored how members of discovery teams respond to their experience of the Third World, and how they then translate that experience into changes in their everyday lives. In doing so it reveals that Discovery Teams make a small but vital contribution to the ongoing (and increasingly inevitable) relationship between the Third World and the West. In particular, this scheme represents one small frontier in the fledgling *reversal* that is emerging in development thought and practice — where non-poor people in the 'developed' West recognise and accept

their own need to change in response to the reality of Third World poverty. This affirms that the one-way superhighway "from the West, to the rest" is being gradually undermined by a maze of two-way streets, where *everybody changes* as a result of their interactions with the other. As such, Discovery Teams affirm the belief that the non-poor have much to learn from the poor. It is my sincere hope that this study contributes something to the case for non-poor people continuing to grasp opportunities to encounter the poor — in humility and as eager learners — and to subsequently evaluate aspects of their own personal lives and practices in light of these encounters. I also hope that it will highlight the need for non-poor people to take up the challenge of integrating creative responses to poverty into their everyday lives. Ultimately I hope that this study will contribute to the improvement of any conscious effort — however small — that seeks to promote more equitable relationships between the poor and the non-poor. If overcoming the alienation between the poor and non-poor is indeed "development's true task" (Goulet, 1995), then this kind of change may just be "the foremost development priority" of the present era (Korten, 1990).

While this study is deliberately focussed on the experiences of discovery team participants from New Zealand only, it would be interesting to compare the results of this research with the experiences of people from other parts of the world who have participated in this scheme. An even more valuable exercise would be to study the impacts of Discovery Teams on host families and their communities. Scheyvens (2002) argues that schemes such as this, if they are conducted consultatively, can certainly benefit local people and their communities as well as their guests, and therefore achieve development's true task of 'good change' for all. While this study has established that team members have certainly benefited in many ways from this scheme, the question of whether Filipino hosts and their communities believe they have also benefited remains unanswered. It would be good to hear the other side of the story.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Stakeholders

All of these 12 people have played some role in developing or implementing Discovery Teams. They were each individually consulted in the initial phase of the research process, to help me clarify the nature and aims of the scheme.

Ross Pilkinton

Formally established Discovery Teams as part of Servants work in Manila, and coordinated teams in the early 1990s while he was living there.

Tim McCowan

Took over the role of coordinating Discovery Teams from Ross, and coordinated teams in the mid- to late-1990s. He made improvements to the scheme, and secured greater community ownership from local Filipinos.

Elaine Williams

Worked alongside Tim, particularly liaising with host families in Manila.

Paul & Wendy Mather

Having returned from 10 years in Manila with Servants, Paul and Wendy have been involved in sending teams since 2000.

Mick Duncan

Servants Manila team leader when Discovery Teams were established. Mick contributed to the philosophy and structure of the scheme.

Dorothy Matheson

International Coordinator of Servants at the time this study was conducted.

Lloyd Martin

Formerly involved in YFC, and is currently involved in Praxis and the Salvation Army (overseeing the Fuel program). Lloyd has facilitated many teams being sent to Manila from each of these organisations.

John Crawshaw

Formerly involved in YFC, leading and sending teams to Smokey Mountain in late-1980s.

Wayne Kirkland

Formerly involved in YFC, leading and sending teams to Smokey Mountain in late-1980s.

Alan Jamieson

The leader of one of the earliest Discovery Teams in the early 1990s. He was also a team member in one of the pilot teams.

Fiona Duckworth

The leader of one of the earliest Fuel teams in 2000.

Appendix B: The Sample Frame (NZ discovery teams, 1988–2003)

Year	Origin of team	Number of team members (including team leaders)	Number of team members represented in this study
1988	Spreydon Baptist (Christchurch)	13 (7 women, 6 men)	3 (1 woman, 2 men)
1991	Youth for Christ (Wellington)	8 (4 women, 4 men)	2 (1 woman, 1 man)
1992	Te Ora Hou (Wellington)	8 (5 women, 3 men)	2 women
1992	Te Ora Hou (Wellington)	7 (3 women, 4 men)	1 man
1993	Avonhead Baptist (Christchurch)	6 (4 women, 2 men)	1 woman
1994	Wanganui Baptist (Wanganui)	6 (3 women, 3 men)	1 woman
1994	Ilam Baptist (Christchurch)	9 (4 women, 5 men)	1 woman
1995	Youth for Christ (Wellington)	9 (5 women, 4 men)	2 men
2001	Salvation Army / Fuel (Wellington)	10 (5 women, 5 men)	1 man
2001	Salvation Army / Fuel (Auckland)	3 (2 women, 1 man)	-
2001	Salvation Army / Fuel (Hutt City)	6 (2 women, 4 men)	2 (1 woman, 1 man)
2002	Salvation Army / Fuel (Christchurch)	4 (3 women, 1 man)	1 woman
2002	Salvation Army / Fuel (Auckland)	10 (4 women, 6 men)	-
2002	Praxis (Christchurch)	2 (1 woman, 1 man)	1 woman
2002	Salvation Army / Fuel (Hutt City)	6 (2 women, 4 men)	1 woman
2003	Praxis (Nationwide)	7 (4 women, 3 men)	3 (1 woman, 2 men)
TOTALS	**16 discovery teams (8 pre-2000, 8 post-2000)**	**111 team members* (60 women, 51 men)**	**22 respondents (12 women, 10 men)**

* Four people joined more than one team, but were only counted once for these totals.

Appendix C: The Research Questions

Candidate's name.....

Gender.....

I would like to start by asking some background questions if that's OK...

1. Where were you born?
2. Are you a New Zealand citizen or resident?
3. What is your ethnicity?
4. Stop me when I get to your age group:
   20-24..... 25-29..... 30-34..... 35-39..... 40-44..... 45-49..... 50+.....
5. What is your present marital or family status?
6. Could you briefly describe your own family background and upbringing?
7. Have you done any academic study since leaving school? If so, what kind?
8. What is your main occupation at the moment?
9. Are you actively involved in any kind of faith community (i.e., church, voluntary org.)?

That's the end of the background questions. How are we going so far?

All the questions from now on relate to your involvement in a Servants Discovery Team.

These questions are divided into two sections: In the first section I'll be asking you to *describe different aspects* of your actual Discovery Team experience; In the second section I'll be asking you questions about the *kind of effect* your Discovery Team experience has had on you.

Section I. Describing different aspects of your Discovery Team experience

10. How many Discovery Teams have you taken part in?

11. Can you remember the month and year you did your Discovery Team trip(s)?

12. What was your marital or family status at that time?

13. What was your main occupation at that time?

14. Were you actively involved in a faith community at that time?

15. Was it the first time you've been exposed to extreme poverty?

16. Have you had any other overseas or cross-cultural experiences – either before or after?

17. Can you remember what motivated you to join a Discovery Team?

18. Did your team do any preparation for the trip? Could you describe that process?

19. Could you describe for me the slum community you stayed in?

20. Was this the first time you've stayed in an extremely poor neighbourhood?

21. Could you describe the family you stayed with? How did they treat you?

22. Do you think that you got a feel for what their everyday lives are like?

23. Could you describe your experience of fitting into their lives over those few weeks?

24. Aside from spending time with your host family, what else did you do over there?

25. Did you keep a journal? Was that a helpful exercise? How was it helpful?

26. Did you get together as a team to process your experiences? How were those times?

27. How did the members of your team get on with each other?

28. Were there any local people that you 'clicked' or got on well with? How did that occur?

29. Are there any scenes or events that have stayed with you? Could you describe them?

30. What did you find most challenging about your stay?

31. What did you find most satisfying about your stay?

That's the end of Section I. Do you want to take a break before we do the next section?

In this section I'll be asking you questions about the *kind of effect* that your Discovery Team experience has had on your life since then. This is the final set of questions and they're a bit more personal – so you only need to answer them to the level that you feel comfortable.

Section II. The kind of effect your Discovery Team experience has had on you

32. What are your memories of returning home to New Zealand after Manila?

33. How did you make sense of the differences between life here and life over there?

34. Did your team have any de-briefing sessions? How useful were they?

35. Did you have any other forum or context for processing these issues? If so, what kind?

36. With the benefit of hindsight, do you think that you were ready for a trip like this?

37. Can you think of any factors that may have stopped you from fully engaging in the experience? (E.g. your age, maturity level, self-awareness, emotional state…)

38. Since returning to New Zealand, have you had any further contact with any local people or any Servants people? What kind of contact?

39. Do you think that relationship has been an influence on you? In what ways?

40. Did your Manila experience change your picture of the world in any way? If so, how?

41. Has it changed the way you see *yourself* fitting into that picture? In what ways?

42. Has it affected your priorities, or the things in life that you put value on? In what ways?

43. Has it affected the way that you use your money at all? If so, in what ways?

44. Has it had any effect on your faith or beliefs? If so, what kind of effect?

45. Can you think of any other ways that your time in Manila has affected the way you live? (E.g. changing jobs, moving to a new neighbourhood, recycling your rubbish…)

46. Is there any aspect of your Manila experience that stands out as being especially memorable or significant to you — even now? What makes it so significant?

47. If you think of your life so far as a story, with different experiences and events punctuating that story, would your Manila experience be
    a. *the* defining experience of the story
    b. the subject of a major section
    c. the subject of a chapter
    d. a paragraph or two
    e. a few sentences
    f. a footnote
    g. other?

48. On balance, do you wish you'd never done it, or are you glad you did? Why is that?

49. Are there any questions that you think I really should have asked you?

Appendix D: Ethics Consultation

Meeting date: Thursday 8 July 2004 at Massey University Turitea Campus
Present: John Overton (HOD), Manuhuia Barcham (supervisor), Murray Shearer

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Murray began the meeting by giving a brief history of Servants Discovery Teams and explaining that he intends to survey a selected sample of past participants in this program. These will all be New Zealanders who have spent up to three weeks staying in the home of a squatter family living in a Manila slum. The research seeks to explore Discovery Team participants' own interpretations of taking part in this program and their different perceptions of how it has subsequently impacted their lives.

It was agreed that

- This is a low risk activity, that would not place respondents or researcher in a vulnerable position
- Information Sheets / Consent Forms will be used to protect respondents and the researcher

The means of locating and contacting potential respondents was discussed. Murray said that he proposes to ask past and present Servants workers to identify those people who have been Discovery Team leaders over the last 15 years. (These are generally people who have only an informal affiliation with Servants.) Murray will then personally contact each team leader, briefly explain the project to them, and ask them to disclose the names (and, where possible, contact details) of all the members of their Discovery Team. These details will be compiled into a master list of potential respondents. From this list a random sample will be selected for participation in the study. Murray will contact the selected respondents, using the name of their team leader as referrer, and invite them to participate in the study.

It was agreed that

- This strategy places a 'buffer' between Servants and potential respondents by using Discovery Team leaders as go-betweens
- Team leaders will be given the option of disclosing the names of their Team members to Murray, or alternatively, inviting them to take part in the study on Murray's behalf

The issue of Servants NZ requesting the right to veto Murray's contact with certain individuals was discussed. This request is based on Servants' knowledge of certain people who have asked not to be contacted further by Servants.

It was agreed that

- Servants' interference in candidate selection is methodologically problematic
- A strategy ensuring that Servants are not implicated in disclosing names of potentially unwilling respondents can provide a viable alternative
- Having Discovery Team leaders, not Servants, sited as the referrer provides a 'buffer'
- All potential respondents will be given ample opportunity to decline participation in the study, thereby putting the prerogative of participation on the person themselves

The proposed survey method was discussed. Where possible this will be a face-to-face interview, using a prepared questionnaire. Interviews will be held at a time and place that suits each respondent. Where face-to-face interviewing is not possible (for example, geographically) then the interview will be conducted by telephone. All interviews will be recorded onto an audio cassette tape, from which selected statements will be transcribed for analysis.

It was agreed that

- Usual protocols ensuring respondents' anonymity will be closely followed
- Respondents can choose to have their tape returned to them, or to have it erased

We discussed the possibility that, for some respondents, the interview process may bring to the surface unresolved issues relating to their Discovery Team experience. It was considered unlikely that this would escalate into an unmanageable situation, but nonetheless it is a contingency worth planning for.

It was agreed that

- In situations where Murray feels out of his depth, he would refer the person concerned to an appropriate counsellor or pastoral care person identified by the person themself

The issue of respondents being able to contact Murray or a Massey staff person was discussed.

It was agreed that

- Each respondent would be given an Information Sheet giving contact details

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DISCOVERY TEAMS

M Phil. THESIS TOPIC, MURRAY SHEARER, 2004

Information Sheet for participants

Dear

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study of peoples' experiences of being in a Discovery Team. My reason for exploring this topic is to hear different peoples' stories of spending 2–3 weeks living in a Manila squatter community. I am curious about the different ways that people respond to an experience like this, and I am also interested in finding out how people view the experience in hindsight. I am doing this research as part of a Master of Philosophy in Development Studies through Massey University, where I am enrolled as a full-time post-graduate student.

You should know up front that you are under no obligation to accept this invitation to be interviewed. However, if you do decide to participate, you have the right to

- decline to answer any particular question
- ask for the tape to be turned off at any time during the interview
- withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation

Your name was given to me by the leader of the Discovery Team you took part in. I am interviewing you because your name was then randomly selected out of a group of names that I have gathered from various Discovery Team leaders. As such, you are one of 20 people being interviewed for this project.

With your consent I plan to tape our interview onto an audio cassette tape. I will listen to the tape of our interview and write down selected statements you make that may shed light on my topic. Some of these may even be quoted in the finished thesis, but this will be done in a way that ensures your anonymity. I will be the only person with access to the tape, and I will delete it when the project is finished (unless you request that I return it to you). Nobody else will listen to the tape or read my notes from this interview.

If you are interested in reading the findings of this research, please e-mail me with your request at the address given below. I will e-mail you a summary sheet in early 2005. If there is anything that you would like to discuss further with me, please feel free to e-mail me any time at [redacted] or, if you prefer, phone me on [redacted] If for any reason you want to speak directly to my supervisor, please phone Manu Barcham on 0800 MASSEY (627 739) extension 7543, or you can email him at m.s.barcham@massey.ac.nz if you prefer.

Thank you once again for your willingness to take part in this study — I do appreciate your help.

Murray Shearer

This project has been reviewed, judged to be low risk, and approved by the researcher, supervisor and head of department under delegated authority from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz.

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DISCOVERY TEAMS

M Phil. THESIS TOPIC, MURRAY SHEARER, 2004

Participant Consent Form

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

- I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet
- I agree to the interview being audio taped
- I wish / do not wish to have my tapes returned to me *(circle the applicable statement)*

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

Postal Address .....

E-mail Address .....