

Mo(ve)ment-methodology: Identity formation moving beyond gang involvement¹

Line Lerche Mørck and Martin Christian Celosse-Andersen

Abstract

This paper describes the theoretical basis for and development of a moment-movement research methodology, based on the integration of critical psychological practice research and critical ethnographic social practice theory. Central theoretical conceptualizations, such as human agency, life conditions and identity formation, are discussed in relation to criminological theories of gang desistance. The paper illustrates how the mo(ve)ment methodology was applied in a study of comprehensive processes of identity (re)formation and gang exit processes. This study was conducted with Martin, a former member of a biker gang, as he became a research apprentice and more academically reflective, while moving beyond gang involvement.

The paper presents and analyzes a single experienced moment, referred to as “Sp(1)itting on the street”, as an empirical example of the mo(ve)ment methodology. This is a moment that captures Martin’s complex and ambiguous feelings of conflictual concerns, frustration, anger, and a new feeling of insecurity in his masculinity, as well as engagement and a sense of deep meaningfulness as he becomes a more reflective academic. All of these conflicting feelings also give a sense of being split into conflicting identities. The paper analyzes how such conflictual feelings can also be productive, producing movements and changes in identity formation, through our social practice research analysis and joint venture.

The analyzed moment is positioned within and related to broader conflictual struggles and processes (we call these “movements”), which include both continuity and change in Martin’s conduct of everyday life as he moves in and across several action contexts and practice communities.

By collectively reflecting on moments over time as part of our social practice research, we study the processes of moving beyond gang involvement; together, we produce

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expanded agency and identity formation at the same time. While we research Martin's movements from a position as a high-ranking member of a biker gang towards becoming a more legitimate member of academia, we simultaneously develop new methodologies.

Keywords

Critical ethnographic practice, social practice theory, critical psychology, practice research, moment-movement methodology, conflictual identity formation, double feelings, movements beyond gang involvement, gang desistance, gang exit, masculinity.

Introduction

“Part of critical ethnographic practice is an ongoing commitment to rethinking and redoing one's work as ethnographer and activist. The question is how to become over the long term an apprentice to one's own changing practice.” (Jean Lave, 2011:2)

Inspired by Professor Jean Lave's question, we authors – Line and Martin – are committed to ongoing reflection of how we have changed our ways of thinking and working as (co-)researchers, ethnographers, activists and people, while becoming apprentices to our own changing research practice. We write this paper from the collective position of our joint venture, referring to Line and Martin in third person; however, in extracts from our empirical material, both our experiences are described through first-person accounts. We address Lave's question from our perspectives as authors, positioned respectively as researcher and professor (Line Lerche Mørck) and as a former high-ranking member of a biker gang, co-researcher and research apprentice (Martin Chr. Celosse-Andersen). Together, we explore the theoretical development and becoming of Mørck and colleagues' mo(ve)ment methodology (Mørck, 2014, Mørck & Hansen, 2015, Kristensen & Mørck, 2016); a methodology we have developed further in our exploration of major identity formation and the movement beyond gang involvement.

Within criminology, this practice field is conceptualized in theories of gang desistance and crime desistance. The emerging criminological field of gang desistance has called for more empirically based theories regarding the processes of identity formation relevant to the study of gang desistance (Decker, Pyrooz & Moule, 2014: 269). With this article, our ambition is to present ideas relevant to

the main target group of this thematic issue, critical psychologies around the world, but also to a broader audience of social practice researchers who work across disciplines within the social sciences, and social researchers who call for new methodologies relevant to the criminological field of crime and gang desistance. One major discussion within the different theoretical strands of crime desistance and gang desistance is what causes people's movements beyond crime. One of the big questions is the role of intentionality: Is long-term behavioral change the result of a repeat offender's conscious decision to "go straight" or should such change be attributed to reduced opportunities to commit crime, changed living conditions and new types of social control? (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009: 1148). We want to introduce a critical social practice theory and methodology to this discussion, by analyzing the relation between changes in human agency, life conditions and identity formation. We hereby seek to challenge tendencies within criminology to discuss causes of crime desistance as being linked to *either* intentionality *or* external conditions, moving beyond such an agency-structure dualism.

We begin this article by introducing concepts and methodologies drawn from Line's research trajectory, which started with a deep engagement in critical psychological practice research in the 1990s. From the beginning of her trajectory as a researcher, Line was engaged in the development of theories and methodologies in a practice problematic² she termed 'learning from the margin' (Mørck, 2000: 62). We will account for continuity and change in ways of thinking about and doing research within this practice problematic by introducing theoretical concepts and methodologies from critical psychology, practice research and ethnographic social practice theory, as well as other theories that have inspired us in the development of the mo(ve)ment methodology. Line introduced these theories and methodologies to Martin and their research joint venture; a collaboration that began in early 2014.

We will analyze this joint venture, illustrating the content and further development of various research methods we have used to explore Martin's mo(ve)ments, including an analysis of a particular moment we call "Sp(l)itting on the street". We will also analyze Martin's life and learning trajectory as he becomes 'more of' a research apprentice and an academic. In this way, we apply the mo(ve)ment methodology to our analysis of the continuity, change and

² With reference to Jean Lave (2011): "A problematic includes assumptions (an ontology, an epistemology, an ethics) about relations between persons and world, the nature of human beings and how it is produced, in what terms we can know it and the nature of knowledge" (Lave, 2011: 150). "Praxis problematics are imbued with the politics of the historically, political-economically structured social-cultural world, which includes understanding "on the ground conflict and struggle for change"." (Lave, 2011: 153).

further development of the mo(ve)ment methodology that is the central topic of this paper.

Critical Psychological practice research

Our research joint venture and both of our research trajectories are in continuance of German-Danish critical psychological practice research (Mørck, 2000, Mørck & Huniche, 2006, Nissen, 2000), and we employ the notions of ‘subjects’ and ‘co-researchers’. Nissen writes:

“the ‘subjects’ whose actions we wish to understand must be ‘subjects’ in the full human sense of that word: that is, not only ‘objects’ and ‘individuals’, but also recognized and realized in our research practices as ‘agents’ and self-reflecting centers of intention and consciousness, as persons with action potence. In a word (or two), they must be recruited as participants, as co-researchers. Empirical research, then, (for, with and about humans) is necessarily a kind of cooperative introspection in a flow of action. It is we who investigate how each of us live and act, for what reasons, under which conditions etc., and we have practical reasons for doing so.” (Nissen, 2000: 153)

Aligned with Nissen’s conceptualization of the practice research tradition, Martin was recruited as co-researcher and became part of a common researcher “we”. Together, we explored problems and dilemmas “deemed relevant by the involved co-researchers” (Nissen, 2000: 154). We explored feelings and reasons to act, as well as restricted and expanded agency (a term we prefer to action potence³) in and across various action contexts and communities. Before outlining key theoretical concepts, we want to touch upon how practice is understood in its flow, as a movement, within critical psychological practice research:

“While the practice or the event itself is only ‘real’ in its flow, as a movement, an endless totality of transformations and reproductions, only aspects of it can be abstracted to exist as model objects, that is, in the form of the relation of representation of generalities.” (Nissen, 2009: 73)

³ In a later collection of English translations of texts by Holzkamp titled “Psychology from the Standpoint of the Subject” (edited by Schraube & Osterkamp, 2013), the German concept “handlungsfähigkeit” is translated as agency, rather than as “action potence/potency” as in earlier translations. We prefer to use the term agency because it relates to important discussions of identity formation and crime desistance within criminological literature.

Within practice research, a practice or an event is understood as a movement, as an endless totality of transformations and reproductions. When we try to generalize about desistance processes and identity formation as movements using a practice research approach, we have to construct an analytical framework and methodology that captures and represents both transformations and reproductions of everyday life practices.

We will now outline such an analytical framework and present our ongoing development of a mo(ve)ment-methodology.

A Critical Psychological and social practice theoretical understanding of mo(ve)ment

During the 1990s, the founders of critical psychological practice research started to collaborate closely with the founders of situated learning theory in developing new theoretical concepts to conceptualize movements. This integration of the two approaches was placed under the umbrella of social practice theory (Mørck, 2006, Dreier, 2008, Lave, 2011). The label “a theory of social practice” was introduced early on by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 37-38) to describe an analytical perspective on learning. Lave and Wenger were:

“Arguing in favor of a shift away from theory of situated activity in which learning is reified as one kind of activity, and towards a theory of social practice in which learning is viewed as an aspect of all activity.” (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 37-38)

The authors place social practice theory in a Marxist historical dialectical tradition that underpins social practice theory as part of a general method of social analysis, with the goal of “ascending” from both the particular and the abstract to the concrete (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 38). Jean Lave later reformulated it as follows:

“In social practice theory, there is a term for bringing theoretically informed empirical work and empirically shaped theoretical practice into constitutive relation: “rising to the concrete” (Hall 2003, 131). [...] The notion of “rising to the concrete” acknowledges the historical, relational character of changing social life, and hence the need for efforts to craft historical, relational understandings that are at once empirical and theoretical.” (Lave, 2011: 155)

From the beginning of her research trajectory (Mørck, 1996, Mørck, 2000), Line was heavily inspired by the aforementioned critical psychological practice research, as well as by Lave & Wenger's (1991, Lave, 1997, Wenger, 1998), Dreier's (1999) and Nissen's (2000) analytical conceptualizations of how to study movements among communities and individuals. Line discussed these conceptualizations as part of three interconnected analytical takes on movements in her research on 'learning from the margin':

“This concept of trajectories (developed by Lave, 1997, Dreier, 1999 and Wenger, 1998 among others) highlights the important movements ‘across contexts’ and the movements ‘across time’. But in my opinion the theory falls short in bringing the movement ‘in societal position’ to the foreground, a movement that is very central when researching ‘learning from the margin’.” (Mørck, 2000: 76)

At the time, Line was working on an analytical tool she called “The Life Portrait” (Mørck, 1996, 2000: 76-77), developed to analyze learning from the margins alongside people and communities from the societal margins. Below, we introduce these takes, or analytical conceptualizations, for studying movements from the margins of society and explain why we subsequently developed a moment-movement methodology and introduced the parenthesis in our further conceptualization of mo(ve)ments.

Movements in and across contexts and communities of practice

We work in line with a critical psychological and social practice theoretical framework for analyzing movement as change in individuals' participation *across contexts* of their everyday lives (see Mørck, 2000: 77). This analytical take was inspired by Dreier's (1997, 1999), Osterkamp's (2000) and Holzkamp's (1998) conceptualizations of the conduct of everyday life (see also Dreier, 2008, Holzkamp, 2013). In our empirical analysis below, we apply Dreier's (2008) analytical category of *conflictual concerns*. This category represents a further development of Holzkamp's conceptualization of the structure of meanings in everyday conduct of life, which Holzkamp further divides into notions of cyclic, routine activities and real life (Holzkamp, 1998). As argued in Hybholt & Mørck (2015: 215), we prefer Dreier's conceptualization of *conflictual concerns* because it facilitates a more complex analysis, based on social practice, of what matters to the subject, in this case Martin, and in relation to the various communities in which he participates, including our joint research venture. Below, we analyze Martin's complex and conflicting concerns in relation to

these various communities, including his relationships to friends, potential enemies and to his wife. The moments and movements can, in line with critical psychology and social practice theory, be explored as a struggle between conflictual concerns, exploring how, in various relations, we produce movements as both continuity (reproduction) and change (transformation) in Martin's conduct of everyday life.

Movement across Time

Movements are at the same time explored across time. Line's analytical Life Portrait tool (Mørck, 2000), which is focused on conflictual and non-linear movement over time and on recontextualizations of meaning, related to a remembered past and an imagined future:

“The present life situation is related to a past and a future. Personal development is in general understood as including conflicts. The direction and course of a life is not straight forward but a contested, zig-zagging one, marked by progressions, retrogressions and contradictions (Dreier, 1997: 27). That is why e.g. events and experiences from the past change their meaning to the person depending on the actual life situation and the standpoint (in present time) from where it is looked upon. In other words it's a process of continuous re-contextualizing of meaning. The important changes in the view upon the past and an imagined future give a sense to where the specific person is right now in his actual life situation. What is his or her interest and specific life orientation? What are meaningful activities for her and how does she imagine her future?” (Mørck, 2000: 77-78)

As seen below, this aspect of analyzing meaning in relation to Martin's life interests and conflictual concerns concerning his past as a gang member, and in relation to an imagined future as an academic, is very important for Martin's ways of relating to others in the analyzed moment “Sp(1)itting on the street”. As mentioned, Lave (1997), Wenger (1998) and Dreier (1999) all introduced the concept of trajectory, which is highly relevant to our social practice theoretical analysis of identity formation as we research ‘learning from the margins’. Below, we apply Jean Lave's conceptualization of telos and trajectories of participation:

“[I]t singles out certain kinds of changing participation: the notion of movement in a direction, of the possibilities of going deeper, becoming more of something, doing things differently in ways that gradually change the way you are objectively, the way you are understood by others, and the

terms in which you understand yourself to be a socially located social subject. Trajectories are made and made possible in ongoing relations of participation in practice.” (Lave, 1997: 148)

Social practice theory emphasizes the analysis of both continuity and change. The risk of reproducing gang identity is to be understood in close relation to Martin’s process of change - his wish to continue the ongoing transformation and identity formation, becoming more of an academic. Applying criminological crime desistance and identity theory (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009), Martin’s academic *telos* could be called a “working self” (of the present) and a “possible self” (of the future). But the advantage of the social practice theoretical concept of academic *telos* is the possibility of analyzing the *process of becoming more of an academic* as both focusing on Martin’s and our collective present academic, reflective *practice* and in relation to a future possible position for Martin as a university student and graduate.

Later, we analyze the conflictual aspects of this identity formation for Martin and the conflictual and difficult process of changing his participation and becoming more of ‘an academic’ and less of a ‘gang member’.

Movements in societal position – as expanded agency

In Mørck (2000), Line also conceptualized a third analytical take on movement related to the question of how marginality is reproduced and/or partly transcended through reproductions of (expanded and/or restricted) agency:

“The concept of position sums up the action possibilities of the individual by accentuating the aspects of the life situation, namely how the relation between her contribution to and the re-production of her action potency [agency] is organized through societal production (Holzkamp, 1983: 196, Mørck’s translation).” (Mørck, 2000: 77)

Within crime desistance literature, the role of *human agency* is a key point of discussion (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009: 1148), but Paternoster and Bushway argue that such discussions tend to be rather dichotomous or dualistic: On the one hand, so-called “structuration” theories within criminology point to structural events, such as a good job, a good marriage, reform school experiences or military service, as keys to reducing crime by strengthening social control and limiting opportunities for committing crimes. On the other hand, so-called “human development” theories within criminology emphasize human agency, choice, cognitive transformations or identity shifts as necessary for crime

desistance. The critical psychological and social practice theoretical concept of agency allows the inclusion of both changes in socially structured conditions and human intentionality in discussions of crime desistance, thereby transcending such dualistic thinking.

Mørck & Huniche (2006: 6) identify the critical psychological concept of agency as the key category for characterizing, and thus for understanding and studying, individual human subjectivity. Holzkamp conceives of agency as the individual's personal disposal over relevant life conditions. Agency is mediated through participation in and across communities; it is (re)produced in cooperation with others and depends on societal life conditions that are historically specific. Furthermore, agency is (re)produced on the functional grounds of subjective cognition and emotion, and therefore in a close dialectic relation with societal conditions. (Mørck & Huniche, 2006: 6).

The critical psychological understanding of emotion is also connected to a “moment of human agency” (Holzkamp, 2013: 22). In our research of Martin's change and identity formation, as he moves beyond gang involvement, the social practice theoretical meaning of moment includes aspects of concrete practice analyzed in the selected moments and understanding moment as aspects of human agency. Compared to the above-mentioned strands of criminology, which tend to emphasize cognitive transformations and identity shifts, our social practice theoretical approach emphasizes the analysis of both emotion and cognition and their relation to participation (re)producing social structure, societal conditions and positions. Later on, in the empirical analysis of Martin's moment-movements, we analyze how the *significance of a moment* is (re)produced when Martin feels affected by a moment or ‘moved’. In our research joint venture we analyze the dialectic relations between these emotions, his cognitive perception of the moment and how the agency produced in the moment leads to the reproduction of marginality and/or production of expanded agency.

Movements ‘beyond’ dilemmas, double binds and restricted agency

Within the literature on gang or crime desistance, social researchers search for “hooks for change” (Giordano et al, 2002) or so-called “turning points” (Decker et al 2014: 275, Paternoster & Bushway, 2009: 1148) to understand the process of desistance. Traditions of critical psychology and social practice theory are also focused on finding ways to develop conceptualizations that offer a deeper understanding of movements beyond marginalization and restricted agency. This includes an understanding of the experience of being “*cut off from the joint*”

control over the living conditions, thrown back on myself, controlled by immediate threats and needs” (Holzkamp, 2013: 124), and an understanding of how movements beyond gang involvement may be produced through embodied conflictual feelings of “stuckness” or “lack of meanings” (Mørck, 2014: 490-491). Building on German-Danish critical psychology, we emphasize the exploration of moments through mo(ve)ment methodology as an *intersubjective effort*, which, over time, can open up for a deeper intersubjective understanding of *restricted agency* – and how we moved beyond and opened up for *expanded forms of agency and learning*:

“Learning from marginal positions may include both marginalizing learning, that is, being caught up in crises, dilemmas, or double binds (i.e., contradictory demands placed on actors; Bateson, 1972; Engeström, 1987), as well as expansive learning, that is, collective struggles with these dilemmas and movement beyond them. This so-called double perspective stresses the importance for research to focus on both marginalizing and expanding aspects, because both of these occasion new action possibilities relevant for practice.” (Mørck, 2010: 179)

To conceptualize this ‘movement beyond’, we apply Mørck’s (2010) further development of expansive learning, which builds on Holzkamp’s notion of expansive agency and learning (Holzkamp, 2013). Mørck (2010) defines expansive learning:

“as a dialectic of collective and individual learning. Marginalization is seen as a complex, multilayered process that has restrictive implications for a person’s societal position across various action contexts in his or her everyday life. Expansive learning, then, is a kind of learning that partly transcends marginalization through changed participation and recognition by others of participants in their changed communities.” (Mørck, 2010: 176)

Line’s conceptualizations of ‘movements beyond’ dilemmas, double binds - producing and analyzing movements as expansive learning - were all developed under the label of social practice theory. With reference to Nissen (2012) and Mørck, Hussain, Møller-Andersen, Özüpek, Palm & Vorbeck (2013), we also apply a social practice theoretical understanding of interpellation:

“We suggest analysis of both suppressive and empowering processes as interpellation (Nissen, 2012) as an important step in humanizing the subjects, and contributing to social justice (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004, Torre, 2008). In continuation of Nissen (2012), we reinterpret

Althusser's (1972) notion of interpellation by relating it to recognition and participation within communities. We develop the social praxis theory further by theorizing how marginalizing and expansive interpellation through diverse practice ideologies is (re)produced in and across different communities. (Mørck, 2011, p. 119). [...] processes of interpellation include how powerful parties, including both us as researchers and the media, may interpellate and thereby partly move different parties in different directions." (Mørck, Hussain, Møller-Andersen, Özüpek, Palm & Vorbeck, 2013: 89)

Where Line's early approaches to conducting critical psychological practice research leaned heavily on qualitative follow-up interviews and group interviews as the primary methods (Mørck, 1996, 2000), she later involved different co-researchers and co-authors, including students doing ethnographic social practice research. In continuation of such collaborative research joint ventures, our ambition is not only to develop new theoretically and empirically based conceptualizations of 'moving beyond'. As demonstrated below, we also develop new methodologies, using multiple methods and developing ways of following subjects and communities across time and space, as well as their movements beyond marginal positions, rooted in ethnography and collective biography.

Critical ethnographic social practice research

Many of us have adopted the term *Social practice theory* and also began to work more ethnographically as part of social practice research (Mørck, 2006, Kristensen, 2013, Rasmussen, 2017); some of us also used the term "ethnographic mo(ve)ment methodology" (Mørck & Hansen, 2015, Kristensen & Mørck, 2016). Jean Lave's critical ethnographic practice and commitment to "*become an apprentice to one's own changing practice*" is an ethnographic way of both producing and reflecting theoretical changes. When one is a researcher who, like Lave (2011), is committed as a researcher to becoming an apprentice to one's own changing practice, you also become more humble and sensitive to the specific ethnographic field of study: in our case, the broad field of 'gang desistance' or 'exit processes'. Line applied Lave's commitment to our social practice research joint venture in her introduction to the invitational workshop "From Situated Learning to Social Practice Theory - Historical Process and Practice" that we held at Aarhus University, August 22 2014⁴. The following

⁴ <http://edu.au.dk/aktuelt/arrangement/artikel/from-situated-learning-to-social-practice-theory-historical-process-and-practice/>

quote from Line's presentation illustrates the change she, herself, has undergone as a researcher:

“I was struck by the new feelings of deep meaning and possibilities of the common engagement in the work, which made me want to continue to work, also on my summer vacation. My research practice was changing from planned follow-up interviews and meetings – to common practice, common discussion of answers to a radio interview, common practice of helping another ‘exit candidate’ to get into open prison, as well as organizing and planning presentations together, involving my new ‘research apprentice’ in my teaching, planned presentations and articles.” (August 22 2014, Line's PowerPoint from the invitational workshop)

As a practice researcher, Line was also becoming an apprentice to her own learning trajectory, changing her research practice and her feelings about it: Theoretically and methodologically she still felt like an experienced old-timer, but in the complex practice field of crime and gang desistance she felt like a newcomer, whereas Martin was a highly experienced old-timer. In our ‘joint venture’ (Nissen, 2009), we were able to move into more empirical and theoretical depth's, which also had new political and ethical implications. This joint venture expanded our agency and changed how we act as researchers as we took on more of an activist role and became more directly involved in various aspects of the Danish gang exit and prison practice:

“Discussing prison conditions for (former) gang members with my new apprentice and research colleagues working with research in prisons, I came to realize that my new ‘research apprentice’ was in many respects the knowledgeable ‘old-timer’ who knew much more about gang environments and imprisonment conditions in the many various types of Danish prisons. We researchers with years of experience and fine Ph.D.'s were the newcomers who could learn so much from this collaboration. My research apprentice [Martin] was also both old-timer and newcomer, becoming more of an academic, reading and discussing complicated English texts, becoming more of a presenter and (co-)researcher, becoming less of a member in the (biker) gang communities.” (August 22 2014, Lines PowerPoint from the invitational workshop)

In this process and joint venture, with access to a new depth of empirical data, we also became more self-critical in our reflection on limitations and the further development of both our lived practice and the applied theory. Just like Jean Lave (2011), we also started to change, becoming more of a critically reflective research apprentice to our own changing practice. In contrast to traditions within

anthropological and other qualitative research (such as Kvale, 1996), we also became more of a collective, a “we”, doing research together and publishing together.

The next section is about this process of becoming more of a research collective, including Martin’s personal change, as he became a research apprentice in our research joint venture and reflected critically on his own changing practice.

Martin’s movements beyond biker gang member - becoming a co-researcher and a research apprentice

In this process, Martin became the *research apprentice*. In the collaboration with Line, he expanded his agency and, collaboratively, we started to develop new methodologies, including audio and video logs, as tools for researching the most important moments of his own process of moving beyond the biker gang environment and the sense of “being stuck”. These logs became a sort of *audio diary*, which he kept for more than three years, starting shortly after joining the Danish national gang exit program in 2014. He sent many of these audio logs to Line, who usually responded immediately with comments via email. These exchanges made it possible for us to follow Martin’s mo(ve)ments in depth, including his process/movements across contexts and communities and over time. However, these exchanges were just one of many empirical sources. Box 1 below presents the various empirical sources we produced and explored as part of our critical ethnographic mo(ve)ment methodology.

- 2 interviews
- Approximately 60 audio and video logs
- Email correspondence, including Line’s responses to Martin’s audio logs
- Sms (text message) correspondence
- 9 presentations, including the invitational workshop and BUPL presentations
- 3 mini documentaries produced with Fryshuset Danmark (one of them is publically available⁵)
- 2 letters
- Dialogues about the newly developed gang intervention tool: ‘The Life Conduct List’
- Meetings and dialogues to produce two articles in academic journals: From biker gang member to academic (Mørck & Hansen, 2015) and The life conduct list (Mørck & Celosse-Andersen, 2016).

Box 1: Empirical sources produced from March 2014 -2017.

⁵ <https://youtu.be/8r3T5eBQZGg>

The change of position, from co-researcher to research apprentice, began one day in April 2014, when Martin came to Line's office. Martin had begun a new self-reflective practice, recording moments in his everyday life, whenever he *felt* "struck by a situation". He was producing video and audio logs that described important moments from his everyday life, moments marked by *strong feelings*, and recording them with his iPhone or using a computer just after they happened. In Martin's words, he could still "feel the heat of the moment in his body" (Mørck & Hansen, 2015). He was a very engaged co-researcher, who also wanted to become an academic and a university student. He wanted to produce empirical material for a future master's thesis, so he asked Line if she could guide him, to make sure that the empirical material produced was scientific and produced in accordance with high academic standards. Line guided Martin in how to construct an 'in-depth' situated description of the experienced moment. She gave him a book containing methodologies for producing detailed descriptions via collective biography work (Davies & Gannon, 2006).

Davies and Gannon (2006) integrate concepts of power and discourse from Foucault and position themselves within a post-structuralist feminist tradition. They explore the discursive powers of particular discourses and the modes of subjectification they entail, and they refer to Delueze's notion of "lines of flight". They stress that their conceptualization of "*movement is thus not toward a new fixed but transformed subject*". The ideal is to produce "lines of flight", reflecting and moving beyond normativities - in our case the good and bad, right and wrong, beings and doings in gang exit as part of the Danish welfare state, including certain rights and duties as part of the Danish national gang exit program. Davies & Gannon argue:

"It is that visibility that makes transformation possible, not just for ourselves as individuals, but of our collective discursive practices, of our social contexts, of our capacity to imagine what is possible." (Davies & Gannon, 2006: x⁶)

The way we use the parenthesis in "mo(ve)ments" was also inspired by the introduction to the book "Doing Collective Biography". Davies and Gannon:

"We use the term mo(ve)ment to bring together this detailed attention to particular remembered moments with the possibilities of transformation, within the ethical reflexive research practice that we call collective biography." (Davies & Gannon, 2006: x)

⁶ Page x is part of the Prologue, written by Davies and Gannon (2006).

Like us, Davies and Gannon:

“write and reflect on moments of being, on the ambivalent, slippery subject-in-process [...] captured in the remembered **moment of being**, transformed in a process of telling and writing and reading that **moves** us in a variety of ways.” (Davies & Gannon 2006: x, their emphasis)

Davies and Gannon (2016) are inspired by Haug and colleagues (1987), who work along a historical dialectical materialist Marxist psychology, the German critical psychology, but they also integrate concepts of power and discourse from Foucault (Haug 1987: chapter 3). However, in contrast to the post-structuralistic feministic tradition in Davies and Gannon’s work (2006) and Haug et al (1987), we did not meet as an organized group doing collective memory or biography work. Our (re)presentations and reflections were part of an ongoing dialogic exchange within our social practice research joint venture, as well as a byproduct of our dialogues when doing other academic activities together, such as (re)presenting our research joint venture at research seminars, courses for doctoral students and other broad academic communities including other researchers and doctoral students as dialogical participants.

In the following case, “Sp(I)itting on the street”, it becomes apparent how we apply conceptualizations introduced by critical psychology and social practice theory, in our analysis of mo(ve)ments, as well as the work of Davies and colleagues. We follow this up with critical reflections on ethical dilemmas and action possibilities.

“Sp(I)itting on the street”

The following transcribed excerpt from an audio log recorded on October 21 2014 represents a moment. It is significant for several reasons: It captures aspects of a (former) biker gang member identity that Martin named “Jack”, including the various expectations and interpellations Martin would have been compelled to realize from a position as a leading biker gang member. But in October 2014, Martin was no longer a gang member, so the represented moment also captures the contradictions and conflicts of change in relation to very different “significant persons”⁷, such as his wife, potential enemies, such as other gang members selling drugs and actively showing their disrespect, as well as former allies, such as a former member of Martin’s old gang and his girlfriend. In this way, the

⁷ The Danish term ”betydningsfulde andre” (Mørck, 2006) means people of special significance for the person.

moment also captures important aspects of transforming the hard, embodied masculinity related to gang identities (Flores, 2016, Søgaaard, et al. 2015). This reproduction and transformation was conducted vis-à-vis very different persons while Martin was changing identity; therefore, it reflects his ties to very different conflictual relations and communities:

"I've just backed the car out and I'm about to drive off when three young guys walk by. One of them is an immigrant with an attitude that I immediately recognize from the gangs. They all look like lads about 18-20 years old, and I assume that they are working in [area], where marijuana is being sold. One of them, the immigrant, the guy with the biggest attitude, the alpha-male in their small group, is looking at me, keeping eye contact, then looks away and spits demonstratively on the ground in front of the car. [Martin's wife Christine] looks at me immediately and I know ... [Martin pauses and sighs]. I then look at [Christine] and say to her, "Wow, just imagine if that had happened a year ago." My usual behavior would have been to stop the car, jump out, walk over to him, punch him in the face and completely smash his friends. [..]

However, I'm not doing that today. While they are passing by, I'm saying to [Christine] that I have to admit that I have a lot of conflicting thoughts right now, to which she replies: "I'm not going to think less of you if you don't act on it". And that got to me a little. Because I can't help thinking that, by bringing it up, that might be exactly what she is going to do (think less of me). Why else would she think of it in the first place? I choose not to do anything, and I do not feel the urge to either, to be honest. [...]

Later, I'm meeting up with a guy named [Morten], an old [ex-biker gang member, who has also left the same gang], at the gym. We work out at the same place. I mention the situation to him, and he says: "Oh - and then they got smashed" and I answer: "no, they did not actually." [Morten then asks:] "Well what did you do?" [Martin:] "I did not really do anything". [Morten:] "Oh - you didn't do anything at all?" [Martin:] "No I sure as hell didn't." [Morten:] "Well they should have gotten their faces punched in." And during this whole time, his girlfriend is standing next to him, observing the conversation between [Morten] and me. I was [in a superior position to Morten] before, so I know very well what I would have expected and what would have happened in the past, so I tell him that if I had wanted to do it, it wouldn't have been a problem. Because that's how I've handled the situations in my adult life, so I'm used to it. Only it would mean taking a path that would lead me somewhere else than where my goal is. But he doesn't understand. And at that point, when I sense that I can't make him understand and I sense that he is wondering whether I've gone soft, I say: "it might have to do with the fact [Morten] that they are so young; had it been someone your age who acted this way, then I would

have crushed his face with a weight." (Audio log excerpt: October 27 2014)

The splitting: as conflictual identity formation and conflicting concerns in the conduct of everyday life

Our analysis of Martin's conduct of everyday life and the reasons for his actions includes how he describes his former "biker gang member identity" and the comments and expectations from his wife and from Morten regarding this former identity he calls "Jack". From an identity theory perspective of desistance (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009), one might deduce that Martin reflects from a present "working self", who has a goal of becoming "a possible positive self" - the critical, reflective academic. Analyzed from our social practice theoretical perspective, Martin is, at the same time, being and becoming more of a critical, reflective academic through his *participation* in the research joint venture with Line. Through our common production of conference papers and articles, Martin is actively engaged in a critical, reflexive process where he puts his former identity as biker gang member in a box – referring to it as "Jack". Martin explains in the log that he normally opposes the idea of categorizing people as "former gang members". But in the logs, these meta-reflections help him to work consciously to divide himself into these two identities in order to become less of a biker gang member. Through the continuous critical, reflexive work, he hopes to avoid reproducing the former "biker gang member identity", thereby becoming more of a changed "Martin", becoming more of an academic who acts reflexively and more neutrally in conflict situations. Martin's reflexive practice is carried out when he produces audio logs, such as the log named "Sp(l)itting on the street". In another audio log, he also describes a new aim of critically evaluating every situation he experiences in order to reflect on his different action possibilities and where they will lead him. Martin is also becoming more reflexive as a result of his concern to avoid limiting his movements towards becoming a university student and an academic. Furthermore, it is an important concern of Martin's not to engage in the reproduction of his former identity as a "leading biker gang member". Martin arrives at a deeper understanding of himself and his transformation process by reflecting on his feelings in relation to the reasons for his actions and his change of agency:

"I used to have a very intense feeling that, if something had to be done, it had to be done here and now. And that was very important to me, it could not wait, which is why I sometimes did some crazy things. But I don't have that feeling now". (Mørck & Hansen, 2015: 279, our translation)

This kind of intersubjective sharing of thoughts and feelings is also emphasized in research on community-based gang desistance processes as crucial in identity formation and movements beyond gang identities (Arocha, 2015).

Martin analyzes the content and the directionality of the movements and teloses, that are an extension of his concern of becoming someone who, in conflict situations, reacts more reflective and calmly. By reflecting on and describing this change as part of a research process, Martin also produces a change of action reasons by giving the reflective, academic telos power and new meanings.

Movements and intersubjective sharing – as indicating a telos

The directionality of movement towards 'more calm' and 'more of an academic' is prominent in the expanded agency that Martin exercises when he goes home and records a log about the situation. This telos is also evident in Martin's longing, striving and hoping that the lack of a sense of bodily desire and the continuing reflexive attitude towards his conflicting feelings in relation to others' reactions (his wife Christine and the former biker gang member Morten) are signs of him moving in the direction of becoming more of an academic and less of a biker gang member. In the log he further reflects upon his identity formation, how he used to be driven by his bodily feelings and dominated by a biker gang masculinity to act "here and now", to reproduce power and respect. Now his agency has changed, becoming more critical, more reflexive in conflict situations, and he shares his thoughts and feelings with Christine as the situation occurs, and later with the former biker gang member. In our analysis and representation, this is contrasted with Jack's kind of agency, where power would be exercised through physical superiority and the verbal demonstration of his potential for violence. Martin reflects upon how the dialogue with these *significant persons* contributes to a feeling of a new duality. He feels a longing for a more unambiguous rejection of agencies and reproduces, in that moment, his old biker gang member identity. He longs for recognition of the positive in his critically reflective and expanded agency. It frustrates him that the former biker gang member, Morten, does not recognize and understand his reasons for action, his new concerns, even though he tries to explain them. Within this lack of recognition and understanding of his transformed identity, he ironically partly reproduces a restricted agency - the hard embodiment of gang member identity - by having to prove that he has not "gone soft". Here we analyze how (the reflection on) "hard" and "soft" masculinities (Flores, 2016) are part of the

conflictual process of transformation and reproduction of agency when moving beyond gang identities. Martin reproduces a distinct biker gang member masculinity, which contains power positioning as the dominant alpha male and demanding respect. Martin reflects upon how frustrating it is that he still needs to position himself as dangerous and strong towards the former biker gang member Morten at the gym. He makes a mental note to strive to become someone who will act more calmly the next time he encounters people from the old gang, although they may interpellate him as a (former and hard) biker gang member. This calmness would be in line with the academic reflexivity to which he aspires. Martin also notices that the reactions of Christine and Morten frustrate him more than the situation with the “spitting alpha male” itself. Here, we note that relations to certain people are more *significant* to Martin than others.

This process of meta-reflexivity might appear to reflect cognitive self-monitoring skills learned during various cognitive rehabilitation programs; however, because these reflections are shared in our research and in a scientific article, they become an example of academic reflexivity.

Social self-understanding and/or identity formation?

Building on the work of Dreier, Holzkamp and Mørck (2006: 44-47), we further develop a critical psychological conceptualization of social self-understanding:

“Holzkamp’s (1998: 21) and Dreier’s (2001: 52) conceptualization of coming to an understanding with yourself and others, are developed further by adding how the person is interpellated as part of different communities and action contexts, therefore the adding of the “we”.” (Mørck, 2006: 44, our translation)

The *significance* of “others” (other people) and “communities” is understood in relation to the process of identity formation: “Coming to an understanding with yourself, we and others”. In line with Mørck (2006), Martin’s *significant others* can be persons, relations and communities, such as his former “gang family”, his present “family” with his wife, as well as the academic community of practice developed with Line. These are all relations and communities that really matter with regard to Martin and his identity formation and include conflictual processes of being *moved* in different directions.

In earlier publications, we mainly used the critical psychological concept “social self-understanding” (Mørck & Hansen, 2015, Kristensen & Mørck, 2016, Hybholt & Mørck, 2015). Previous drafts of this article attempted to understand ‘Jack’ (the former gang member, performing hard masculinity), ‘Martin’ (the

whole person – across past, present and future) and ‘Peter’ (the academic, authoring scientific papers) as different (past, present and future) selves, thereby analyzing his change as a process of developing new self-understandings. In some ways, this early take bore similarities to Paternoster and Bushway’s (2009) identity theory of crime desistance; like them, we differentiated between a former self (as “criminal offender”), the working self (located in the present and under transformation), and the future, possible self (a self to which a person aspires). In other words, in this representation, it was possible to be or perform different selves at the same time. Paternoster and Bushway (2009: 1103) describe their identity theory as “more cognitive, individualistic, and forward-looking” when compared to other desistance theories within criminology, sociology and social psychology. In our present version of a social practice theory of identity formation, we want to develop a theoretical conceptualization where aspects of a former “hard” masculinity and a future “reflective academic” can be present simultaneously, interpellated by significant others and critically reflected and performed by Martin in and across contexts of his everyday life. In contrast to desistance theories within criminology, we would like to contribute a theory of a person’s mo(ve)ments that stresses the significance of the communities in which the person participates. We also want the theory to be more explorative, not reproducing dualistic tendencies within criminology or making crime a primary focus. Within the criminology literature, we see a strong tendency to reproduce analysis around a single primary axis – always returning to the question of whether you are still a criminal offender or a “non-offender”, promoting a movement towards a so-called “conventional identity” (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009: 1106), living a conventional life validated and accepted by “conventional others” (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009). If we want to understand Martin’s identity formation, whereby he, among many other changes, is becoming more of an academic and less gang involved, these concepts fall short. Martin’s participation, movements and telos are not conventional at all. We need a more explorative – non-dualistic – theory to grasp the content of his identity formation.

Instead of conceptualizing an inner or “cognitive” representation of a conventional, possible, future self as source of motivation (as in Paternoster & Bushway, 2009), we want to conceptualize a notion of identity formation, where identity is explored and produced in and through personal participation in societal *practice*. Therefore we suggest a focus on the content in his trajectory, exploring his feelings and engagements, his change in concerns and belongings. Instead of splitting up the identity in different selves or measuring the changing percentage of gang involvement, we explore how certain moments affects and moves him in different ways and sometimes also in conflicting, opposite directions. Building on Dreier (2001), Holzkamp (1998, 2013) and Mørck

(2006), we emphasize the *intersubjective coming to an understanding* as an *endless process*, where it is not a question of whether you reached a ‘full understanding of yourself’, nor a question of ‘reaching a better understanding of yourself’. Instead, it is the conflictual processes of feeling “split”, the feeling of being drawn or interpellated in different and perhaps opposite directions, and the tensions and the contradictions in practice that we want to capture with our social practice theoretical concepts of identity formation.

Etienne Wenger also uses the terms identity, engagement and belonging in conceptualizing identity formation as a duality of both reification and participation (Wenger, 1998); an approach we apply below.

Identity formation as processes of engagement and (be)longing

In the following, we also draw upon social practice theoretical conceptualizations of (be)longing as longing for belonging (Hansen, 2011), including those (Kristensen, 2013) that integrate Bronwyn Davies’s notion of belonging as longing to feel ‘at home’ (Davies, 2006).

Martin’s representation of the conflictual moment indicates a *longing* to be surrounded by people who recognize his changed and expansive agency and his more reflective and calm way of responding to conflict situations. Martin longs to be interpellated and recognized in this transformed identity. He is working hard to reject an interpellation in the (former) biker gang identity. Maybe that is why he finds himself more “safe and at home” when sharing and reflecting on his identity formation at our research seminar and PhD courses. As part of such academic communities, he is with others who value and reproduce critical, reflexive agency. It might be a paradox that Martin feels at home and safe in academia, while many other students experience anxiety when presenting and performing in an academic context. But maybe the feeling of safety is (re)produced because, in contrast to many other contexts, Martin has yet to meet significant others within academia who try to interpellate him into the hard, gang member masculinity.

The very accurate and nuanced reflection of these complexities replicates the fact that Martin is aware of future battles within his conduct of everyday life. Engaging in these battles in a reflexive manner enables a reproduction of expanded agency as part of his conduct of everyday life. By his engagements in recording and our common exchange and reflection of the audio logs, Martin continues to move towards becoming more of an academic, being more reflexive. He can also use these experiences and representations of ways of producing

expanded agency in future double-bind situations, where significant others may try to interpellate aspects of a hard gang member masculinity.

Producing expansive agency through reflections of “hard” masculinity

In Søgaaard, Kolind, Thylstrup & Deuchar (2015), we also noted some similarities among former gang members in their ways of reflecting hard masculinity, and our analysis in this article. Here, some of the young men in the boxing and rehabilitation project ‘New Start’ made creative use of negative media discourses about the ethnic minority ‘gangster’ and ‘jackal’ in an attempt to reposition themselves as reforming adults. Instead of challenging the veracity of these constructs, they actively disidentified with the gangster, and particularly the ‘jackal’. They constructed a devalued ‘jackal masculinity’ associated with their adolescence, criminality and moral dubiousness, and an elevated notion of ‘reformed masculinity’ associated with maturity, self-control and (moral) agency (Søgaaard, Kolind, Thylstrup & Deuchar 2015: 10-11). Like the young men in Søgaaard, Kolind, Thylstrup & Deuchar (2015: 10-11), Martin’s categorization of Jack serves to mark critical and reflective distinctions between Jack/Martin, jackals/non-jackals and past/present (masculine) identities and figures as central in desistance narratives. As we see in our analysis of an audio log from 5 June 2014, Martin’s reflections also have similarities with the young men’s reformatory narratives emphasizing personal responsibility, determination and will. The audio log represents a continuity in the conflictual concerns and in Martin’s academic concerns. Martin describes the content and hence the conflictual directionality of his expanded agency, which moves him beyond gang membership:

“I used to be very aggressive and very rash; if someone said something to me, I reacted very quickly and would put people in their place. I don’t mean physically, but if someone annoyed me, I would respond very quickly and I got angry easily. I think it was mostly because I was stressed out and because being [in Jack’s position] forced me to run everything in a dichotomous manner, where it was all black/white, either/or - everything had to be done by the book. If someone made a mistake, my response would be swift and severe. Now that I am no longer in the [gang], I don’t feel the need to be that way anymore. And that suddenly makes me appear more understanding and accepting and less aggressive. It makes me appear more flexible and kind, but all of this also makes me look scared. As if quitting [the gang] leaves me no choice but to be nice” (Audio log, 05/06/14)

Martin is reflecting on a, for him, rather new concern to find a new and respected masculinity: "I am more susceptible to situations that would undermine the authority I have left". This is something that is also present in his reflections in the log about his encounter with the former biker gang member [Morten]. Martin continuously uses the moment-movement methodology in order to relate his transformation and reproduction of identity, as well as his conflictual change of masculinity:

“[I think] that I get angry because they move something within me that makes me feel insecure and then I respond by overcompensating and becoming even more angry. And I become aware of it by talking to Line about moment-movement methodology [...] which I’m now using to describe the situations; that this is an important situation because I act in a way which is very unfortunate and of course I have to learn why. Why was I so pissed of – and now I have an idea of why...” (Audio log 5/6/2014)

Martin is thus conscious of how rejecting the hard embodied gang masculinity that gave him special authority creates a new sense of *uncertainty*, which also produces anger. However, in the same log, Martin also plants the seed for a new type of academic, reflexive masculinity that, by and large, is recognized within the new academic communities, of which he is in the process of becoming a legitimate member:

"This thing, to sit here at ...22:16 and I have had a long working day at [construction project]. The feeling of sitting here now and it is all quiet and I work on the computer and prepare myself for the lectures ... it does something ... it gives me a feeling that it would be possible for me, in addition to an academic education, to do more work in this genre. That somewhere out there, there is a possibility for a civil future for me." (Audio log 5/6/2014)

Thus, Martin is not only becoming more reflexive, more academic in conflict situations, he is also slowly learning how to avoid reproducing the gang masculinity. He expands his agency by analyzing the recorded audio logs, reflecting on new and conflicting concerns while he is still able to physically recall the feelings he experienced in key situations. But what really gives him hope regarding the possibility of a future as a civilian is when he sits in silence and works on the computer. He feels hopeful when he sits there preparing the lectures he is going to present with Line. It gives him a feeling that he can be more than just a student, that he can become someone who critically reflects on

his transformation, applying academic theories. Such activities give him an extraordinary sense of meaning, offering hope and expanding his agency. In the next section, we will see how these activities also produce legitimacy and societal recognition within his new academic communities.

Expansive interpellation: Objectification and reification as a legitimate and productive person

Rooted in critical psychology as integrated within social practice theory, our study of movements beyond gang involvement is also about analyzing the possibilities for producing expanded agency in the new communities of practice in which Martin is engaged in. We analyze how concrete possibilities play a significant role in moving him beyond specific dilemmas with which he struggles in his process of major identity formation. The action possibilities and movements beyond marginalization contain elements of reification (Wenger, 1998) that provide the movements beyond marginalization with extra power. According to Wenger (1998), participation and reification are prerequisites for the meaningful negotiation and development of new meaning. Wenger's concept of reification refers to both a process and its product (Wenger, 1998: 60). In our case, reification manifests both in the research *process* and the *products* it generates: audio logs, academic presentations, recorded videos, interviews, a movie, articles, presentations, and other publications from which students can learn. These processes of reification, and our participation in the creation of the various research products, have an impact on our joint production of meaning and on Martin's experience of what is meaningful.

The involvement in collective projects, pursuing common interests, helps Martin to make sense of his new conduct of everyday life and, to some extent, move beyond the feeling of being positioned as a passive receiver of welfare state services and stuck as part of the Danish national exit program. Martin highlights:

“This whole thing, to be involved in different projects, it gives me the feeling of a small victory – the affirmation that I actually have something they can use. That I have something to offer in this unknown area in which my new life is going to take form. And I feel that such small victories lead to others. So it works really well. And now I will try to actively seek out further opportunities to engage in more projects.” (Audio log, 05/06/14)

Mørck et al. (2013) analyze how former gang members and others in marginal positions can be interpellated in practice communities and thus produce new

knowledge by contributing productively with lectures, important critical perspectives and knowledge at the so-called 'gang seminars' held at Grundtvigs Højskole. Martin has presented at one of these gang seminars, and he has also produced documentary films with Line and other participants in these communities:

"I am told that I am contributing. At the point I am currently at, I really have no idea of what I'm doing. I am surrounded by all these highly educated academics and I am stumbling about, but I am told that what I bring to the table is contributing and that makes me happy. Because, in the meantime, it helps me that I feel that I am in fact contributing with something." (August, 2014, A film 'The lived ethics'- used by Line and Martin in their courses to teach about ethics)

This quote illustrates Nissen's point about how subjectification and objectification/reification⁸ processes are a part of recognition and interpellation into positions of responsibility. In line with Nissen (2012), Martin describes a kind of "suspense." In the previous quote, we see how recognition includes power relations, where Line and other parties in academia validate and define Martin as a subject who is contributing in relevant and academic ways. The quote also illustrates how the very meaning becomes evident later on behalf of the collective, which is developing at the same time (Nissen 2012: 170-171). In the same film about ethics, Martin also refers to Jean Lave's recent article (Lave, in press, 2019) when he says "I'm learning what I'm already doing". Martin continues:

"It's kind of like what I think I'm doing together with Line at the moment. Most of what we are doing is something we create together. Some of it we already know, but suddenly we are adding theory to what we already know. We are creating a community of practice, her and me. And we have started to expand the community of practice, so that you [two of Line's former master thesis students and the leader of Fryshuset Denmark] are also a part of it. We are in the process of creating something new. For me to create something and be part of this community of practice, that's something I can understand using theoretical perspectives from Ole Dreier and critical psychology - how one's movements and being part of a collective process, how that affects me. This community of practice allows me to orient myself towards the new collective, instead of my old community. Sometimes, when I just do not know what to do, then I have this goal on the horizon that I would like to reach – and that makes me

⁸ Nissen's term objectification (Nissen, 2012) has many similarities to Wenger's concept of reification (1998).

focus on what I should do for now in this context." (August 2014, Martin, the documentary 'The lived ethics')

Martin employs theoretical perspectives while he learns and while he transforms and participates in the creation of academic products. Thus, together with Line and others, he comes to new understandings about his own process, including his movements beyond marginalization and the important ups and downs during what might be the most difficult period of his life.

Intersubjective validation as an important part of identity formation

Martin mentions several times how the process of learning is expansive and challenging when he actively participates in lectures, where his process of transformation is also brought into focus. His participation involves speaking in front of hundreds of graduate students as part of the module "Knowledge in Practice" at Aarhus University: "My body wants to walk out of the door up there," Martin says as he stands there, but he stays put and keeps talking. He seeks out the challenge and produces expanded learning and expanded agency as a legitimate participant of this new practice community. As an example, he volunteers to present what his group (six researchers and a few students) have talked about as part of their group work during a workshop with Jean Lave. Afterwards, he sends a text message to Line: "I was pretty nervous - but I guess there is a reason why it is called expansive learning". He makes the presentation in English in front of scholars and academics with many years of experience. Later that evening, he sends another text message:

"Hi Line. I am leaving. Thank you for today, the workshop was a really good experience. It was everything I hoped it would be - so thank you for making it possible." (text message, 22/08/14)

Line and Martin continue to put their joint experiences into words in a series of email exchanges. Line mentions that a doctoral student had said that it was "really cool" that Martin had made the presentation at the workshop and she would have liked to have told him that. Martin responds:

"It's nice that people from the outside can see a development, in addition to my own experience of it. I also think it makes it easier for outsiders to relate to our research / development of our community of practice when they get it presented the way you did in the lecture, or by watching the documentary we are currently working on. Sometimes it can be difficult to

make the theoretical part, and how it is implemented in our work, understandable. (Email from Martin to Line, 23/8/14)

Although these academic activities are demanding, participating in workshops and documentaries gives Martin a good feeling. This 'good feeling' also reflects a partial movement beyond the very difficult life situation he was in at that time (Mørck & Hansen, 2015). For four years, we have focused on this kind of collective-based expansive learning in different communities. The following excerpt presents Line's reflections after a doctoral course, titled "The Psycho-Politics of Self-Exposure", where we (Line and Martin) made two joint presentations. After the course, we organized a dialogical activity, exchanging our experiences in letters written "to us". This is an excerpt from Line's letter to this collective "us":

"I actually learned something new from our exchanges and the comments from the listeners: I learned that Martin had also moved and grown stronger and more comfortable in representing himself, us, and his former and 'other' self, that we called Jack in the paper [an earlier version of this paper]. This was the first time in our presentations that Jack was represented as an integrated part of himself - Martin - becoming the new and integrated old self - moving beyond marginalization and demonization. In this way, we were also touching upon the core of our research into exit processes as major identity formation, exploring important theoretical and empirical findings and generalizations together with the broader "us" of the doctoral course. Morten's conceptualization of the process of objectification and subjectification as prototype (Nissen, 2009), and as an alternative type of scientific generalization, was coming alive in the room and with us." (Line's letter to the "us" of the doctoral course: "The Psycho-Politics of Self-Exposure", September 2017)

We also presented our research during another doctoral course Line arranged with Klaus Nielsen, Jean Lave and Ross Deuchar in 2014, which gave rise to a discussion of ethical dilemmas that we used to make a documentary about "lived ethics". In the final section of this article, we want to discuss such ethical dilemmas and how the collective reflections during the doctoral course engendered further development of social practice ethics as an alternative to contemporary/institutionalized ethics (Badiou, 2002, Davies, 2011: 108).

Ethical dilemmas and movements through productions of new standards of social practice ethics

Researching major identity formations of former (biker) gang members during gang exit processes and exploring mo(ve)ments beyond is also about handling highly sensitive representations of personal changes in the conduct of everyday life. To maintain high ethical standards, we had to carefully consider various ethical dilemmas in relation to both the dominant institutional ethical standards and the imperative of enabling a safe exit, conducting research with Martin and expanding his agency in ways that could move him in directions he found meaningful, becoming a legitimate member of society.

In papers, films and presentations, we have shared our process of how to rethink the institutional ethical standards and develop new forms of social practice ethics. We will share some of these developments and actions possibilities that we think others, who also want to conduct some variation of mo(ve)ment methodology and social practice research from the societal margin, may find relevant.

Our joint venture was special in that Martin not only became a co-researcher, he also became a co-author. In our first papers and a scientific article, Martin used the alias “Peter Hansen” (Mørck & Hansen, 2015). However, his anonymity was challenged from the start because we had developed a gang intervention tool, the Life Conduct List, and were teaching courses together, for which Martin used his own name (see <http://lifeconductlist.dk/>). As such, many people were able to find out that Peter Hansen was an alias. It was also impossible to secure full anonymity when Martin and Line presented their research in person at conferences and teaching various courses. As our collaboration developed into a partnership, we also had to develop situated ethics allowing researchers and co-researchers (former gang members) to participate from alternative and multiple positions. This complex theme is discussed in greater detail elsewhere (Mørck, 2016: 9-11 Mørck & Hansen, 2015: 8-11, 22-23, Khawaja & Mørck, 2009). Summarized briefly, we developed a form of social practice ethics that involve ongoing reflection on the following questions:

“What are the dilemmas and possibilities of institutional ethics compared to alternative social practice ethics? Reflecting on (co-)researchers’ positioning, agency and feelings, when do we/they feel engaged, involved or used? How do we produce research that also expands possibilities in practice, such as contributing to concrete movements beyond marginalization, radicalization and/or gang involvement?” (Mørck, 2017)

Within our new standards of social practice ethics, anonymity and consent became a situated question of ‘in relation to whom’ where the concrete meaning and consequences for Martin were discussed. In that way, we discussed anonymity and consent in relation to each context and to the sensitivity of the topics presented. We also continually made decisions regarding when, and in what contexts, Martin could participate under his own name, and which topics to avoid. For security reasons, we only researched his exit process, rather than analyzing anything from his time within the gang environment. When using Martin’s own name, we had to consider very carefully if there was any part of the analysis that risked reproducing the marginalization, stigmatization and demonization that is linked to gang labelling.

The reproductions of hard masculinity and the reflections of “Jack” are the part of the paper where we might potentially risk reproducing marginalization and stigmatization. However, by illustrating how these reflections are part of Martin’s personal development and his movements beyond gang involvement, we believe we avoid these risks. Martin’s reflections about Jack also serve as an indicator of the directions of his changed masculinity. Jack comes to exist as both a discourse and possible interpellation of what is expected of a leading member of a biker gang. But Jack’s agency and representations of hard masculinity are also critically reflected as aspects of the former gang identity. Martin represents the formation of his new identity, an academic and reflexive self, who is able to reflect on and integrate his old critical reflective identity Jack. By representing Jack and his “hard” masculinity in a discursive ‘box’ analyzed in relation to restricted and expanded agency, Martin actively and consciously produces his ongoing personal development and moves beyond the gang identity.

Ethical principles of ‘giving back’

Drawing on Swartz’s principle of ‘giving back’ (2011), we also reflected on standards of “intentional ethics of reciprocity”; that is, finding ways to ensure that research treats participants fairly and is beneficial to research participants. Line’s way of ‘giving back’ was to conduct “just in time⁹” dialogues in the moment when Martin was caught up in double-bind situations. The continuity and common ‘just-in-time’ engagement helped deepen our understandings of the complexity of the common and specific aspects of the dilemmas and double-bind situations, helping Martin and “us” to reflect, pause and transform them into new

⁹ “Just in time”-dialogue consists of concrete and practice-oriented knowledge exchanges about situations “here and now” that may be a meaningful, difficult or problematic part of the everyday life, of the other. (Mørck & Østergaard, 2017)

situations, providing space for the production of expansive agency as part of Martin's conduct of everyday life.

Another aspect of reciprocation and giving back was marked by our joint ownership and control of the production and storage of our empirical material about our research joint venture and Martin's everyday life and exit process. By registering Martin as a researcher with the university's Board of Ethics, we formally secured and continued a dialogical practice of shared control of the process of creating the boundaries between what is to be kept as private material and what is to be published in various media.

These social practice ethics encouraged us to think less rigidly and less absolutely about institutional ethics, caring more about how to design our various projects with respect to the critical psychological notion of common interest (Mørck & Hansen, 2015, Osterkamp, 2000, Mørck, 2017). On the one hand, we assessed common interests by dealing with ethical concerns about identifying especially sensitive empirical data that may involve risks for participants and making sure that such data are not made public. On the other hand, we also identified the key knowledge that, when published, could nuance and thereby expand and change real-world approaches to gang exit processes, as well as expanding the ways we conduct research within academia, and legitimizing new kinds of research. Our hope is, through knowledge exchange, to change the world for the better in the common interest (Mørck, 2016).

Conclusion

This article had two interconnected aims. Firstly, we wanted to conceptualize a mo(ve)ment research methodology and illustrate how to apply it when researching identity formation and expansive learning in relation to movements beyond gang involvement. Secondly, we wanted to contribute to the development of a social practice theory of identity formation; a theory able to grasp the complex and conflictual processes when people and communities move beyond marginalization or gang involvement.

Contributions to a mo(ve)ment methodology

Theoretically and empirically, we have conceptualized a mo(ve)ment methodology with specific relevance for studying people and communities, analyzing conflictual mo(ve)ments beyond marginalization. We conceptualized the mo(ve)ment methodology as an interdisciplinary approach that combines critical psychological practice research, anthropological critical ethnography,

social practice theory, feminist humanistic interdisciplinary traditions of collective biography and collective memory work. Our focus on mo(ve)ments beyond marginalization also makes our contributions highly relevant for other kinds of critical social studies, that share the emancipatory goal of social justice.

We illustrated Jean Lave's (2011) critical ethnographic ideal of rethinking and redoing one's work as researcher and activist and of becoming an apprentice to one's own changing practice. We analyzed the continuity, change and further development of the moment-movement methodology and illustrated how it can be applied in the 'in-depth' study of significant moments, emphasizing the conflictual aspects of identity formation, exploring conflictual feelings and an emergent insecure masculinity that is part of a movement beyond the hyper-masculinity related to gang identities (Søgaard, Kolind, Thylstrup & Deuchar, 2015).

We explored how to produce expanded agency, reflexivity and new action possibilities as part of collaborative research joint ventures. We demonstrated how our production of expansive agency is linked to our collaborative creativity, applying and developing social technologies and research methodologies. We used the collaboration around these co-creations of 'the new' to follow and explore in greater depth Martin's transformation of identity.

Contributions to a social practice theory of identity formation

We presented the critical psychological theory as a basis for the critical psychological conceptualization of 'coming to an understanding of yourself and others' (Holzkamp, 1998, Dreier, 2001). We integrated this within a social practice theoretical understanding of identity formation, with a special focus of how to 'move beyond' dilemmas, double binds and other aspects of marginalization. In our earlier work, we mainly used the critical psychological notion of 'coming to an understanding of yourself, we and others' (Mørck, 2006, 2014, Mørck & Hansen, 2015, Hybholt & Mørck, 2015, Kristensen & Mørck, 2016). However, through our prolonged and ongoing process of exploring the struggles and processes of 'moving beyond' involvement in a biker gang, we learned that we also need to integrate other theories to understand the process of identity formation in greater depth, both theoretically and empirically. In this article, we were inspired by research about masculinity and conceptualizations of embodied feelings of (be)longing from both criminology, social practice theory and post-structuralist and feminist traditions. We also integrated social phenomenological conceptualizations of the complex contradictions in life, such as double-bind situations (Laing, 1967). This helped us grasp 'the being' and 'the embodied experience' on the edge of existence, as we explored the embodied

struggles on the margins of society as well as the emergent processes of meaning-making when one becomes a legitimate member of 'our society'. This interdisciplinary take, integrating aspects of several theoretical understandings into our critical psychological and social practice theoretical understanding of identity formation, helped us arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the complex and conflictual aspects of Martin's process of becoming more of one thing (an academic) and less of another (a gang member). It was of particular help in understanding the 'in-depth experience' of the most difficult embodied moments on the margins as part of Martin's gang exit process. Nevertheless, social practice theory and critical psychology were the most important theoretical sources when analyzing the 'movements beyond' marginality.

For a long time, we struggled to decide whether to employ Mørck's (2006) critical psychology-inspired concept of 'coming to an understanding of yourself, we and others' or the shorter social practice theoretical concept of 'identity formation' when we write about 'social self-understanding'. We considered both concepts relevant, as the two theories are equally integral to our theoretical and analytical understanding of Martin's mo(ve)ments. Both critical psychology and social practice theory contributed to our basic understanding of identity and change as both transformation and reproduction. Both theories contributed equally to our underlying theoretical approach to mo(ve)ments that need to be studied across time, in and across contexts and communities, and with a special focus on how to move beyond marginal positions. We ended up choosing the concept 'identity formation' as part of the title of the article and as the primary term in the article for two reasons. We analyzed 'S(p)litting on the street' using both conceptualizations, initially focusing on the notions of self and self-understanding. However, we found that applying the notion of self reminded us of certain theories of personality that view personality as comprising multiple selves (as seen within postmodern psychology or diagnostic psychiatric versions of personality theories). This was a tendency and similarity we wanted to avoid. Furthermore, the notion of 'identity formation' simply sounded better in the title. Therefore, this became our preferred concept in this article, even though 'coming to an understanding of yourself, we and others' is still a core part of our approach to processes of identity formation.

Finally, when doing mo(ve)ment research on major identity formation in movements beyond gang involvement, we also need to critically reflect upon how we can avoid marginalizing, stigmatizing, delegitimizing and criminalizing those involved. We argue in this article that our way of researching expansive learning, and applying this mo(ve)ment methodology in research joint ventures, is one good way to transcend the risk of reproducing marginalization. We also reflected on ethical dilemmas, suggesting that we need to formulate new

standards for social practice ethics that are more suitable and relevant for this kind of ‘in-depth’ research into identity formation with former gang members. In line with other researchers who study ethics in practice (Deuchar, 2015, Swartz, 2011), we argue that we need to challenge and move beyond institutional standards for ethics when we conduct research alongside people in vulnerable positions. This is a topic we plan to explore in greater depth in future publications.

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Line Lerche Mørck is professor at Aarhus University, with special responsibilities in ‘Major identity formation, expansive learning and belonging - movement beyond gang involvement and radicalization’. She has been researching marginalized young people and adults, their everyday lives, learning and transcending marginalization within various educational and social fields, including social street work in relation to street riots and gang conflicts. In her Danish book “Boundary Communities” she developed a social practice theory on how to support learning and partly transcend marginalization through overlapping communities, which are constituted across ethnic and social differences. From 2019 she is leading a new 3 year project about “Community building – developing holistic, community-based preventive approaches”. The project explores how inclusive community building may prevent marginalization and produce movements beyond societal tendencies of ethnic and social polarization.

Martin Christian Celosse-Andersen is a former high ranking member of an international biker gang and he has been Lines research apprentice for five years. Together they have published three scientific articles, they have developed methodologies, such as mo(ve)ment ethnography and the Life Conduct List, which is both an approach within social work, and a methodology for research and documentation of change in everyday life conduct used within preventive social work. Martin has also organized a platform, where people from different societal margins and

others are doing presentations about their life changes, and he also using his own personal history to do dialogical work to produce societal change of the exit and prison systems in Denmark.