

Chapter 14:

Conclusions

Introduction

This is a study of a pilot programme to support the values development of marginalised young people that uses a particular medium of outdoor retreats and has the particular aim of encouraging them to become agents of social change. The organisers of the programme, the Stoneleigh Group, made claims that the approach and the outcomes of the programme were radical. In this thesis I suggest that, whilst the practices of the Stoneleigh Project can, in certain respects, be understood as radical in approach, especially the retreats, the outcomes for the young people were more varied. Whilst the claims for radical outcomes were achieved in the sense that was meant by a number of the Stoneleigh Group partner organisations, that is following a radical pedagogy and achieving personally transformative outcomes that supported a considerable degree of social mobility, it was only partially achieved in the way that was intended by the Stoneleigh Group, the creation of agents of social change. Nevertheless, the advocacy work of some of the partners did achieve a more radical statement of the role of youth work in supporting young people as agents of change in society.

Chapter 1 raises four questions that are central to the concerns that are addressed by this thesis. The answers to these questions are summarised in turn below. Finally, some suggestions for further research are offered.

Questions One and Two: The Integrated Curriculum and Pedagogy of the Retreats

The first two questions posed by this research were:

- What knowledge and values were considered significant by the participants in the Stoneleigh Project?

- In what way was that knowledge gained and given voice?

With these questions I set out to explore the pedagogy and curriculum of the Stoneleigh Project and, especially, the retreat programme. My interest lay in the process and content of the retreat programme as it contributed to developing knowledge of the self and the self's relationship with the social world. In Chapter 10 I apply Taniguchi, Freeman and LeGrand-Richards' (2005) model of fractional sublimation to this process. Using this model, they claim that outdoor courses can offer experiences that cause the sublimation of identity. This, they suggest, is followed by a process of reconstruction. In the case of the Stoneleigh Project it is my view that the marginalised young people attracted to the programme were already in a state of crisis and so were already experiencing the process of sublimation of old identities and were therefore open to the construction of new ones.

I also apply Bernstein's (1996) concept of a pedagogic device to the understanding of the retreat programme. In his view this can create a site of new possibility by disembedding a body of knowledge from the everyday world and placing it in a pedagogic site. In the light of this idea I understand the retreats as disembedding young people from their everyday world and so creating new possibilities for self-knowledge. I suggest that the retreat facilitators and the host community valued self-knowledge as a means with which to explore identity.

In Chapter 10 I use Bernstein's theories to explore the pedagogy and curriculum that the retreat programmes developed to support the young people in reflecting on and reconstructing their identities. I argue that the Stoneleigh Project retreats are best understood as an integrated curriculum well towards one end of Bernstein's continuum of collection and integrated types of approach with both weak framing and weak classification. I identify a number of characteristics as significant in supporting this approach.

Self-knowledge and the construction of identity

The first of these characteristics of the retreat approach is what I claim to be the authentic experience of living in a remote community by an explicit and alternative set of values that challenged the established values of the everyday world from which the young people came. I argue that the retreat programmes were claimed by the participants to be effective because they offered the young people space in which to reflect on their identities and radical alternatives with which they could experiment. The experience, that I claim Bernstein would describe as a weak classification of knowledge, allowed the young people to express, examine and reconstruct their knowledge of themselves. Experiences of being defined by others were few and, when they occurred, the young people rejected them.

The second characteristic of the retreat programme that I claim was significant was the special nature of the social interaction within the community. I suggest that Bernstein would have described this as weak framing and that it led to pedagogic approaches that shared power and co-constructed knowledge. In particular, I claim the ideal held by the community of equitable power relations between the members of the community and the visitors, especially in the context of an unusual intergenerational mix, was influential in supporting the young people as the agents of the reconstruction of their identities. This equitable distribution of power was expressed in a number of ways considered to be significant by the participants. These included positive regard for others, the co-constructed nature of the programme, the approach to resolving conflicts and the attention to giving to the community rather than taking from it.

The approach taken by the community at Camas and adopted by the Stoneleigh Project can, in my view, be likened to Ord's (2007) youth work model of 'radical social change' and so lived up to the Stoneleigh Group's aspirations to support young people in becoming agents of social change.

I argue that, in an experiential programme of youth transition, the link between power and knowledge is of special significance. An important aspect of self-knowledge that I discuss in Chapter 10 is the participants' experience of the self in different power relations with others to those experienced in the everyday world. In particular the participants claimed it

was important to experience the self in relationships that either gave more power to the young person or were equitable. Additionally, the participants commented that they thought it was especially important to develop knowledge about the particular ways in which each individual can express their power in relation to others in their personal and social worlds and in relation to choices in the public worlds of leisure, work and education. In these ways I suggest that knowledge of power was a major contributor to experiences of personal transformation and feelings of agency.

The skills of narrative and new possibilities for identity

The last characteristic of the retreat programme that I explore as a theme in this research is the importance placed on developing the skills of narrative, in both embodied and verbal ways, and of telling and listening to narratives of the visitors' life stories. I expand on this theme in Chapter 11. Developing the skills of narrative, I claim, is the critical aspect of the retreat programme that enabled young people to develop new knowledge of themselves in the context of their pasts, the sense they had of themselves on the retreats and the possible selves they might become afterwards. The participants often commented on the value of 'voice' in exploring their new sense of powerfulness in relation to those on the retreat and those in the narratives. I suggest that, in developing these skills, the young people gained or enhanced their abilities to transform themselves. It is, I argue, through the process of narrative, both embodied in their actions and verbalised in their stories, that the young people became agents in the construction of their identities.

In Chapter 11, I point out that, according to Labov (1972), the critical idea that defines a narrative as distinct from a story is the idea that a narrative evaluates 'complicating factors' in the story. I argue that this process of evaluation is central to the skills of narrative that the young people developed. I suggest that, in many cases, the young people developed narratives that described themselves as in positions of more power in relation to their old social networks. This led to narratives in which the young people developed new possibilities of themselves to live by, and considered new social networks and leisure, education and career paths. This, I suggest, gave them a sense of agency and feelings of empowerment. Narrative had the potential to act as a bridge between the authentic but contrasting and extraordinary world of the retreats and the possibility of sustaining a new

identity in the everyday world. The difference and diversity of social relations to be found on the retreats provided a context in which the young people could learn and practice the skills of expressing their emerging identities in different social networks that operated by different norms. This, I argue, was a critical competence necessary for effective personal and social transformation.

In Chapter 2 I describe how the Stoneleigh Group aspired to developing a programme that was, in their view, radical in approach and in outcome. The retreat element of the programme was, I suggest above, radical. It questioned the norms of society and helped the young people to question the norms that defined, and in some cases, marginalised them. It was successful at supporting the young people in confronting the marginalised identities with which they were struggling and gave them skills and experiences with which to construct new identities. The identities that the retreats made possible transformed their understanding of themselves and the possibilities that they imagined for themselves.

However, from the point of view of the Stoneleigh Group's aspirations for supporting young people in becoming agents of social change, these aspirational new identities, whilst supporting the social mobility of the individuals, often reproduced rather than transformed established social norms. At this point the programme, I suggest, was effective at supporting young people in becoming the agents of their own personal transformation but the outcomes were more varied in relation to the Stoneleigh Group's aspirations for social transformation.

Bernstein linked the role of constructing knowledge in a curriculum to the expression of power in maintaining or transforming the social order (Bernstein, 1996, p. 28 – 33). He claimed that a curriculum operating under an integrated code in which knowledge is constructed collaboratively amongst the teachers and students has the potential to reorganise knowledge, re-construct identities and so transform the personal and social conditions of the young person in a way that challenges the social order. Within the microcosm of the retreat community I argue that the young participants did have an experience of enhancement, inclusion and participation as citizens with an equitable share of power and resources. When this was not their experience they were able to identify and

challenge it successfully. Rather as Fingal's Cave acted as a symbol for the recovering drug user (see Chapter 11), the retreats acted as a symbol for a transformed sense of self in a meaningful narrative that was unfolding and which they felt increasingly that they were authoring. Therefore, in relation to Bernstein's three principles for an effective education for democracy, I suggest that the young people were encouraged by the retreat programme to become active citizens with a belief in their power to reproduce or transform the social world through their choices of adult identities. However, whether the outcomes of the retreats made a real difference in the lives of the young people, or whether they offered a liberal fiction that 'papered over the cracks' of the failings of the current distribution of power and resources in society by giving an impression of agency and power, depended on what the young people did afterwards.

The characteristics of an integrating idea

According to Bernstein (1971), a characteristic of an integrated curriculum is that it maintains a weak boundary between the educational and the everyday worlds. By this he meant that the curriculum would be perceived as relevant and valuable in both worlds and that knowledge could readily cross from one world into the other. However, this was one aspect of the retreats that did not have the characteristic of an integrated curriculum. I suggest in Chapter 13 that there was a strong boundary between the retreats and the everyday world. This boundary was created physically by the distance and isolation of the venues that were used to host them. The people who constituted the host community strengthened this separation. They were not a part of the young people's lives beyond the retreat and often came from culturally and socially different backgrounds. This was, in part, countered by the presence with each young person on retreat of a mentor from the same voluntary organisation. I discuss in Chapters 10 and 11 the potential impact that this contrast had for the transfer of learning, a widely held concern, as I discuss in Chapter 3, for the efficacy of outdoor education. Whilst the degree of difference and separation contributed to the possibilities for new identities, it has been argued that it could prevent the application of meaningful changes on return. As I discuss above, Bernstein also recognises the problem in the context of liberal educational initiatives that claim to offer a democratic outcome. His concern was that, in fact, they give the impression within the programme of an effective distribution of power whilst failing to help their students have an effect on its distribution within society.

The strength of the boundary between the retreat programme and the everyday world was, I claim, further enhanced by the concept of spiritual development, at least for some participants. I discuss the problematic nature of spirituality as a central concept in the curriculum of the Stoneleigh Project in Chapter 13. I indicate that, for some, it suggested a collection style curriculum of imparted values because of its association with religion and the perception of the established power of the church that this implied. For others I describe how it was considered to be an aspect of personal life not appropriate within an educational programme. In Chapter 10 I report how the young people reacted to it in various ways. Some with religious backgrounds found it familiar whilst others initially thought it was alienating and concurred with the concerns about religious connections.

I will return to the issue of a strong boundary between the retreat programmes and the everyday worlds below. At this point I want to refer to the discussion in Chapter 13 of the way in which spirituality worked as an integrating idea. Bernstein argued that such an idea would be necessary in an integrated curriculum in order to defend it from efforts at re-colonisation from the established institutions of education. This, he claimed, was because, once knowledge is disembedded from the everyday world and located in a weakly framed pedagogic site, it gains the potential for developing new possibilities that might construct different distributions of power and resources. I claim in Chapter 13 that I think that this was the role that spirituality assumed within the Stoneleigh Project and, especially, the retreats. I suggest that it might be useful to understand the remoteness of the retreat venues and the novelty of the community and its values as other characteristics that helped to support the integrating idea. The 'distance' they created from normalising influences protected the retreats from established views about personal development for young people out of doors. In particular, I suggest that the authority of the institution of the Iona Community as a respected if radical organisation helped to protect the Stoneleigh Project retreats from early attempts at 're-colonisation'. I will return to a discussion of the findings concerning the struggle for control of the Stoneleigh Project curriculum below.

Question Three: Agency and the Reproduction and Transformation of Social Order

The third question raised by this research was:

- Who exactly did this empower, on whose behalf and to what end?

This question relates directly to the Stoneleigh Group's aims. The Stoneleigh Group claimed to have developed a programme of what they termed spiritual development that supported young people in becoming agents of social change. This research suggests that this claim was not fully justified. Although some young people did achieve this outcome this research indicates that the credit for this belongs to the partner organisations concerned and not the Stoneleigh Group. However, this research also indicates that the Stoneleigh Project helped young people to gain some agency in their lives, which led to most of the young people transforming their personal circumstances and their social networks and to them continuing to develop identities congruent with their emerging values and aspirations. The research indicates that this was achieved by what I have termed lateral mobility that was supported by forms of social capital best described as 'bridging'.

Chapter 12 analyses the ways in which the young people perceived that their lives had developed after the retreats and during the mentored voluntary youth work roles provided by the partner organisations. For many young people this meant addressing personal issues or changing the quality of their relationships with family and friendship networks. In some cases the opportunity to return to the Stoneleigh Project in a different role was useful in supporting a new identity or sustaining a trajectory. Even for the few that continued to reproduce the conditions that marginalised them, their mentors claimed that they were in a better situation after the Stoneleigh Project. They were understood to have explored alternative pathways and to have found networks that could support these routes forward if they wished to return to them at some later point.

The analysis of the trajectories of the young people in Chapter 12 (see Diagram 1, p. 290) indicates that, once issues concerning their personal lives were resolved, further development occurred in their social and public lives. New social networks were formed and new leisure, education and work opportunities were pursued. In these cases, I argue that the majority of the young people made choices that, whilst transforming their personal situations, tended to reproduce social norms by choosing established pathways to

adulthood. I have described this pathway as 'lateral mobility'. However, this approach to transition was understood by the Stoneleigh Group partner organisations in different ways.

I argue that the experience of young people on retreat was of being disembedded from their everyday situations in a way that supported the reconstruction of new identities already provoked by the fractional sublimation caused by their variously marginalised situations. For some of the young people on the Stoneleigh Project the conditions by which they were marginalised were beyond their control. I suggest that they could only imagine escape. For others, I argue that the condition of marginalisation was more of a personal reaction to the way in which adulthood was being offered to them. That these young people understood themselves as marginalised was, in some ways, a resistance to the social norms that were steering them towards certain pathways that they rejected. This, some of the partners claimed, represented a challenge to the social order as young people followed, 'step-by-step', pathways into adulthood that their social and educational backgrounds would not have otherwise indicated. They broke with the social norms by not remaining marginalised and by not following the conventional pathways. For some Stoneleigh Group partners this was their aspiration for the young people and captured their hopes for what they meant by the Stoneleigh Group's aim. However, in Chapter 9, I suggest that the Stoneleigh Group had a more radical interpretation of social change than this.

Critical to these transformations, then, were the possibilities of moving on. In many cases the young people realised their transformed senses of themselves by a combination of leaving home, choosing paths that challenged parental and class based expectations of them and moving out of geographical areas and social groups. Hall, Coffey and Williamson (1999) suggest that exploring a relationship with place is an important aspect of youth development. They argue that these explorations were in relation to 'belonging' to a place thought of as 'home'. In this case 'home' was a place to be left. I suggest that only by leaving 'home' could their marginalised states be transformed. Perhaps the downside of transformation was letting go of a sense of belonging in order to become 'rootless'.

I suggest that one partner organisation in the Stoneleigh Group did achieve the outcomes that the Stoneleigh Group intended. In Chapter 12 I suggest that, in the case of the young

people from this organisation, the result of their actions was a transformation of the social norms of their community. In this case the way young people transformed the way young people were understood by that community, the role the community took in relation to young people and the meaning and nature of the educational and work opportunities that the community encouraged young people to develop for themselves. I argue that all of these changes challenged the norms of that community.

The most significant influence on the pathways to adulthood that the young people took was the opportunity provided by the partner organisations to which they belonged. In Chapter 12 I suggest that, whilst the retreats offered an integrating style of curriculum and pedagogy providing considerable opportunity for the young people to construct their own knowledge and values of themselves and the world they perceive themselves to inhabit, the follow up programme provided by the individual voluntary organisations had more in keeping with a collection style of curriculum and pedagogy. These follow up opportunities, I argue, were underpinned by the values of the partner organisation and not of the Stoneleigh Group. I have shown in Chapter 9 how these were, in most cases, quite different from the values of the Stoneleigh Group. Those organisations with a conservative understanding of youth development understood the role of youth work as helping young people to realise their potential within the conventional world of adult work, a view in keeping with Ord's (2007) 'personal development' model of youth work. They acted as change agents only in that young people who were understood as the victims of the inequities of the system were restored to conventional paths and so gained access to power and resources that might reasonably be expected within this system. These young people had agency in the sense that they played their part in reproducing the order within their social and public worlds.

More liberal partner organisations were effective at encouraging young people to help these organisations in their task of reaching other marginalised young people in their communities. In a number of cases young people became youth workers with their own organisations. These young participants in the Stoneleigh Project can be understood as having decided to address the problems of inequity but not its causes. In these cases the

youth work organisations can, I claim, be characterised as practicing a ‘critical social education’ model of youth work (Ord, 2007).

One radical organisation within the Stoneleigh Group set out to work with young people to transform the attitudes of their community to young people and the type and meaning of the work they could aspire to. In this one case, the young people effectively transformed the social context in which they lived, changing the values of the community to which they belonged in the process. However, it is this organisation that can claim the credit for this outcome and not the Stoneleigh Group. This organisation can, in my view, claim to be practicing what Ord (2007) terms a ‘radical social change’ model of youth work.

It is worth noting that the Stoneleigh Project was effective at supporting young people who already were in fluid social networks, and in some cases young people with weak or chaotic social networks, in achieving personal transformation or, in some cases where the pedagogy of the voluntary organisation was aligned with that of the retreat, acting as agents of social change (see Diagram 1, Chapter 12, p. 290). In this context the ‘young people’s social capital was not just a product of the social capital of their parents – the means of hoisting them up the ladder of achievement ... but as a vital means of renewal and development for society as a whole’ (Helve and Bynner, 2007, p. 9).

Young people in strong social networks were supported by the programme but cannot be described as experiencing personal transformation or becoming socially mobile. These young people understood the outcome of the programme as a good one but it was not the outcome the Stoneleigh Group set out to achieve. The programme did not support some young people with weak or chaotic social networks. Their ‘downward mobility’ (Diagram 1, Chapter 12, p. 290) maybe a realistic but little regarded counter flow to the upward or lateral mobility of others. Nevertheless, this pathway to transition might also benefit from effective youth work support at the very least. It may even be possible to counter the trend.

The Stoneleigh Group and the role of youth work

The Stoneleigh Group accepted the idea that modern society is more plural, fast changing and riskier and that individuals are expected to take on more of the responsibility for constructing an identity within this context. They developed a programme to support individuals in developing the agency to take on this responsibility. Nevertheless they did this within the framework of what Smith (2000) calls an associative life or what Bernstein (1996) termed *communitas*. I suggest that the influence of the traditions of 'good' youth work were evident in the practice of the Stoneleigh Group. They are embedded in the cultures of the partner organisations and appeared in the approach of the retreat communities and the mentoring and values of each of the voluntary youth organisations.

However, the approach of the Stoneleigh Group has similarities and differences with the origins of youth work that I discuss in Chapter 4. The practice of the Stoneleigh Group was not simply a reproduction of old ways. I argue in Chapter 5 that, in the past, social reformers used various approaches to associative life to support individuals in transforming themselves and their social situations. That time, I suggest, was also a time of rapid social change with the working classes gaining more access to the knowledge and wealth of society. The project then was partly to ensure a more equitable distribution of this new power and, at the same time, to ensure that the values that underpinned society were the core values of the current power holders. The discontinuity that was being addressed was between the working classes and mainstream society.

The structural problems of class still affected some of the young people who participated in the Stoneleigh Project. However, I argue that most of the young people involved were marginalised by the consequences of social mobility and not the barriers to it. Disrupted families and the perceived benefits of education displaced some young people from the value systems and identities associated with their roots. I suggest that UK society has yet to offer institutional pathways to alternative identities that hold any meaning for these young people. For the participants in the Stoneleigh Project the discontinuity lay between one generation and the next as much as between the classes or any other social divide. I suggest that the rate of change in values and lifestyles has begun to disrupt old patterns of transition that do not allow for those already attempting to adapt to a world they perceive

as substantively different from the world their elders define. Instead of seeking to impart a set of values from one generation to the next and so re-create the current order of society, I suggest that the Stoneleigh Group intended to support the development of a new set of values to cope with whatever it is the world is becoming. In helping to transform individuals whose value systems were already disrupted they also hoped to help transform the social order.

Social transformation and the Stoneleigh Project

As I discuss above most young people who took part in the Stoneleigh Project transformed their personal circumstances through their own agency by adopting conventional pathways to adulthood and so acted in a way that reproduced the social order. However, the evidence I discuss in Chapter 12 shows that one small scale, recently formed and locally based partner organisation, ECO, demonstrated that it was possible to support young people in the process of acting as agents of social transformation. Bigger organisations were more likely to act on behalf of the established order in society. I suggest that these more conventional organisations were influenced by their long standing traditional roots in Christian based youth work and by the purposes of those who provide the funding, mainly the State. It is interesting to note that the organisation that was successful at achieving social change through the medium of the young people only accepted funding when the young people in the organisation were first consulted about what is needed and why.

The evidence from this study does not make it possible to explore whether young people are influenced primarily by the values of the youth organisation guiding them or whether they are attracted to youth organisations that will support their aspirations. There is some evidence that young people did change their allegiances when this was possible to be with youth organisations that were more congruent with their values.

I concur with Bernstein's remarks referred to in Chapter 8 that the world is changing to one that will need people with a greater degree of flexibility. I would go further and suggest that it is a world facing significant changes on several fronts. The ability to respond with new values and from these to create new lifestyles, not just new work patterns, is increasingly apparent. Education will need to respond to these trends. The breadth of this

task means that it will of necessity embrace personal and social as well as public worlds. The Stoneleigh Project curriculum offers a way in which educational initiatives can support people who are struggling with these dilemmas. Indeed the approach of the retreat programme in particular, I argue, appears to address exactly these needs.

Question Four: The Struggle to Break Out of a Liberal 'Papering Over of the Cracks'

The degree to which the Stoneleigh Project was or was not radical in an ideological sense has been discussed above. Question four is:

- How did the struggle for the control of the Stoneleigh Project illuminate the politics of radical curriculum development that was aimed at social transformation?

It was developed to help this research focus on the politics of the struggle for a radical or conventional interpretation of the process and outcomes of the programme. This struggle unfolded in relation to the claims being made for the programme rather than in relation to the actual processes and outcomes as understood by the participants.

In Chapter 13 I argue that the radical partners in the Stoneleigh Group advocating for social transformation gained control of the interpretation of the Stoneleigh Project. I suggest that a mismatch sometimes occurred between the actions that young people took and the claims that were made for their actions as a result of the enthusiasm that these advocacy groups had for the radical concept of the Stoneleigh Project. I argue that these organisations represented the Stoneleigh Project in a way that supported their interests and not in a way that always respected the evidence of the participants. This enthusiasm was, I suggest, driven by the founders of the Stoneleigh Group who were keen for the Stoneleigh Project to, as Bernstein (1996) would describe it, break free of the liberal fiction of education as an agent of social transformation. For them, I suggest, this involved not only resisting the re-colonisation of the Stoneleigh Project by conventional educational approaches and discourses, but also asserting that the young people did indeed become agents of social change in their communities.

Re-colonisation

In Chapter 13 I claim that the Stoneleigh Group created a second 'space for pedagogic discourse' through its advocacy role within the field of youth work. This was created by the members of the Group interested in the role of spiritual development for young people in helping with the project of social transformation. Control for the knowledge of the Stoneleigh Project and its interpretation was contested as Bernstein's (1996) ideas would have predicted. A space for pedagogic discourse opened up by pedagogues will be, he claimed, the subject of attempted colonisation by those with an interest in maintaining the social order. This certainly occurred in several forms although this research suggests that the attempts at colonisation by these interests largely failed. I suggest that these attempts failed because of the strength of what Bernstein (1971) would have termed the integrating idea of spirituality reinforced, I suggest above, by the authority of the Iona Community and the remoteness and contrasting approach of the venue.

This resistance had the effect of maintaining what some members of the Stoneleigh Group thought of as a radical pedagogy and others as traditional youth work values. Young (1999) defines the ideals of youth work as

To engage young people in *moral philosophising* through which they make sense of themselves, their experiences and their world.

This is based on voluntary *relationships* with young people that involve accepting and valuing young people, honesty, trust, respect and reciprocity. Through such relationships youth workers support, enable and inspire young people to:

- Engage in philosophical inquiry through 'conversation'.
- Learn from their experience.
- Cultivate virtuous expression through practise.

This *process* of reflection and self-examination supports young people to increasingly integrate their values, actions and identity, and take charge of themselves as empowered and authentic human beings.

In my view the ideal of the Stoneleigh Group and of some of its members was close to this definition and, in some aspects of the programme, notably the retreats and some of the mentor/mentee relationships, and in many of the outcomes for young people this describes well the process, content and outcome of the Stoneleigh Project.

Advocacy

The advocates for the approach of the Stoneleigh Project were, I suggest, sometimes over-enthusiastic in their claims for its effectiveness at supporting young people in becoming agents of social change. Nevertheless this argument probably had some influence on the radical proposals made for the development of a curriculum for spirituality in youth work at a national level. As summarised above, one of the partner organisations can claim that they broke free of the liberal fiction in the actions that the young people took. Whilst I argue that the Stoneleigh Group cannot make this claim, they can say that they were able to support the discourse concerning spirituality in youth work in breaking free of conventional rhetoric. They encouraged more radical expressions of the purpose of youth work in supporting the transformational potential of young people in society.

This research suggests that, whilst this way of describing spirituality in youth work has some advantages, it also has the disadvantage of concealing a more rational account of the curriculum and pedagogic practice of what I would argue is more accurately described as values development. The term spirituality confused many of the participants in the Stoneleigh Project and that continuing to use this term to describe work of this nature is likely to alienate and confuse many other young people and youth workers. It will also inhibit important curriculum development. The approach to curriculum development piloted by the Stoneleigh Group would, I suggest, be more accessible if it is described as values development. Pedagogues could become more skilful in this work if obfuscating terms do not conceal the pedagogy from analysis and development. This is occurring at a time when I suggest a radical approach to values development is needed as society moves forward at an ever-faster pace into a period of social transformation. In my view this research highlights the importance of secularising the task of values development at the

same time as attempting to find frameworks that will protect the more radical potential of such programmes from re-colonisation by established approaches to informal education out of doors.

Questions for Further Study

The analysis in this thesis applies to one case study. Further studies could usefully explore the same questions with different age groups in different social situations. This would provide a wider base from which to consider curricula of empowerment and their potential for supporting personal and social transformation. The effectiveness of youth work interventions in relation to young people with different social network contexts is also worth further study as would be studies exploring youth work support for young people whose pathways are described in this thesis as 'lateral' or 'downward'. Studies that explored pedagogic approaches using other contexts than voluntary work and outdoor retreats would also be worthwhile. Comparisons involving emerging practices in the UK with practices of informal outdoor education and youth development in other countries could also be fruitful.

The interest taken by this researcher in addressing the gaps and blind spots in outdoor education research by examining pedagogic processes from the perspective of the participants has been fruitful. Further work using a critical ethnographic or narrative approach, and Bernstein's educational theories would, this writer believes, reveal much more to scrutiny for the benefit of professional practice.

Given the significance this conclusion has placed on the need for effective educational programmes of values development, further research that explores the struggle for control between innovative pedagogues and other political forces in society with an interest in the control and direction of educational initiatives would be especially welcome. Like Bentley (1998) I believe that educational programmes that take learners 'beyond the classroom', understand young people as active partners in their learning, is 'broader (offering) ... a wider range of experiences, roles and situations' (p. 1) and 'deeper because it must nurture a greater understanding in young people' (p. 1), will be much needed. As our society responds to a rapidly changing world I believe there will constantly be sites of struggle for

the control of the values of that society and that education in all its forms will be just such a site. Understanding this struggle will help in the development of effective, radical educational interventions at critical times of social transformation.